CHAPTER I

ANDHRA SOCIETY IN THE 19TH CENTURY
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The Andhra region was brought under British control by the beginning of the 19th century. The Anglo-French struggle, known as the Carnatic Wars, was started for the control of the Seas and more particularly for positions of strength on the Coromandel Coast where important factories were established in places such as Machilipatnam, Madras and Pondicherry. It took an altogether different turn with their military involvement in the contest then going on between the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharatasa and the Nawab of Carnatic with varying fortunes. It was, therefore, first commercial and then both military and political. The armed rivalry culminated in 1763 in the British supremacy over the South. The political power of the French declined. It was thus in the Madras Presidency that "the question was decided which of the European Nations should be supreme in India."\(^1\)

However, this did not automatically result in the establishment of British hegemony over Andhra. For, most of the Andhra regions were under the defacto rule of the Nizams oversince 1724.\(^2\) In 1765, Robert Clive, then Governor of Bengal, succeeded in securing a Firman from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam who gave away the Circar districts (the Ganjam, Visakhapatnam,

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1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Madras, I* (Calcutta, 1908), P.19.

Godavari and Krishna districts), except Guntur, to the British for their support to him in his misfortunes. The Nizam, the Subadar of the Deccan, unwillingly confirmed the cession of the Circars to the British through a treaty in 1766. The British, from that date became masters of coastal Andhra region stretching from Ganjam to Guntur. Guntur was occupied by them in 1788. In 1800, the Nizam, a year after the close of the fourth Mysore war (in which he fought in alliance with the British), had entered into a treaty with the British under the system of Lord Wellesley's subsidiary alliances, and ceded to the Company all the territories he acquired from Mysore earlier in 1792 and 1799. They included the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Anantapur, which since then, came to be known as Ceded districts. In 1801 Wellesley annexed the Carnatic region to the British Dominion as a result of which the districts of Nellore and Chittoor were brought under British Power. With this the British conquest of Andhra was completed.

The Andhra region had been the scene of misrule in the immediate past, with the proliferation of free-booting and


5. It was agreed upon that, by the Treaty of 1768, Guntur should be under the control of Basalat Jung, the brother of the Nizam, during his life time. Basalat Jung died in 1782 and it took six years more for the British to make good their claim to Guntur in 1788. See. Mohd. Abdul Waheeb Khan, ed. Brief History of Andhra Pradesh (State Archives of Andhra Pradesh Monograph Series No.1, Hyderabad, 1972), Pp.52-53.

6. Ibid., P.93.
squatting crowd of Rajas, Zamindars, and Poligars. The latter held real power, owing at least a nominal allegiance immediately to their overlord, the Nizam, and ultimately as well as in a fictitious sense, to the titular Mughal Emperor. The new British rulers imposed an armed peace upon this unruly host and thereby gave the misleading impression of their role as saviours of the country from chronic anarchy.

CASTE SYSTEM

Society in Andhra during the 19th century was based on the hierarchical ordering of innumerable castes and sub-castes. The village community was a combination of many caste groups.

7. During this period the Andhra region was frequently ravaged by the Pindari hordes who killed people mercilessly and pillaged their property. The general condition of law and order was far from satisfactory. See, for example, R. Suntharalingam, Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India (1852-1891), (Tuscon, Arizona, 1974), P.11, wherein he described: "The coastal Andhra districts... became focal point of power conflicts after 1748, its inhabitants were left to the mercy of grasping rent collectors, local chieftains, and Zamindars. In the interior Andhra districts conditions were decidedly worse. Here the impact of over a century of incessant wars led to widespread depredation, banditry, and depopulation of certain villages.... The inhabitants of this area armed themselves and lived in fortified settlements where they could withstand assaults by neighbouring chieftains and marauding gangs." Also see, A. Kaleswara Rao, Naajeevitha-Katha-Navyandhramu (Autobiography in Telugu), (Vijayawada, 1959), P.10, in which he described the Pindari invasion of Andhra in 1819. Kaleswara Rao was younger contemporary of Veeresalingam, a leading social reformer of Andhra during the later half of the 19th century, and took part in several reforms as well as political movements.
each following its hereditary calling and enjoying its fixed status. A number of sub-castes had branched off from the original varna system in course of time due to a variety of reasons. The most important of them were geographical expansion and growth of new crafts. In this respect it may be noted that certain sub-castes among the Brahmins in Andhra bear names denoting a particular area inhabited by them in the past. These numerous sub-castes were endogamous groups with inter-marriage and inter-dining strictly forbidden. These caste groups fragmented the society and prevented the growth of common social feeling or consciousness. The caste system,

8. For a detailed description of the village community in the Telugu districts see the Fifth Report of the Select Committee for the Affairs of the East India Company, 1812 (Calcutta, 1918), P.85.


10. See Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of South India (Madras, 1909), Vol.I, P.366, wherein he discussed different divisions among Brahmins like (1) Vaidikis, (2) Nityogis, (3) Tamballa etc. Among these divisions existed many sub-divisions denoting areas, e.g., (1) Murikinadu, (2) Veginadu, (3) Pakanadu. Also see Suravaram Pratapreddy, Andhrula Sanghika Charitra (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1950, second edition), PP.424-25. The author quoted a verse from 'Hameavimsati', a poetical work written in Telugu by Ayyalaraju Narayanamatyudu (1800-50) which reflected the social life of Andhra during his period. The verse mentioned different 'nadus' (territorial divisions) such as Velanadu, Veginadu, Pulugulanadu, Pragradu, Murikinadu, Rendu. Also see Vignanasarvaswam (Encyclopedia in Telugu), (Madras, 1959), Vol.III, P.14, wherein it is stated that these divisions existed, on territorial basis, not only among Brahmins but other castes also. Among Roddias, there are sub-divisions like Panta, Pakanati, Motati, Karnati and so on. Likewise among Vaisyas, Kammans, and Viswabrahmins there exist these sub-divisions.
which was more rigid than in the north, divided the entire population into three social groups, namely, the privileged, the under-privileged, and the untouchables (unprivileged).

The Brahmins were at the apex of this social hierarchy by virtue of a similar position which they occupied in ritualistic hierarchy and monopoly in traditional learning. They were also in the enjoyment of 'manyams', 'seratriams' and 'agraharams' and were thus an important segment in the landed gentry of the countryside. Although they were a minority, they commanded unchallenged respect and status and acted as arbiters of morals in society by virtue of their monopoly over learning and ritualistic supremacy. As guardians of learning and religion for centuries they became the indispensable priestly community. This position entitled them to other privileges like gifts and charities in the name of religion and also lenience in the matter of punishments.

11. 'Manyam', "literally means a living: an honour, or glebe-land, granted by the ruler, on quit rent or on various favourable tenures". See C.P. Brown, A Dictionary, Telugu and English (Hyderabad, 1966; first edn. 1852), P.704.

12. "Srotriam means literally A Village held at a favourable assessment, a present or a donation of a village made to learned men. Glebe-land held by a learned divine in gift or quit rent, and by his heirs." Ibid., P.1145.

13. 'Agraharam' means "a street or village inhabited by Brahmins. A village of which the old and hereditary cultivators are Brahmins. A village granted to Brahmins by government for charitable or religious purposes, either rent free or at a favourable assessment." Ibid., PP.17-18.
The Brahmins were divided into Srotrias or Vaidikis on one hand and the Niyogis or Laukikis on the other. However, this distinction of Vaidiki or Niyogi was confined to the Andhra or Telugu Brahmins. Vaidikis devoted themselves to the sacerdotal functions of 'teaching the Vedas, performing and superintending sacrifice, and preserving the moral principles of the people.'

Niyogis were secular and took to sword and the pen with equal felicity as generals of armies and as administrators or amatyas. They were more adaptable and naturally became predominant in things that really counted: position and power. They replaced Aravas and Jains as Karanams (village accountants), who styled themselves nowadays as Adivelamas and Kamsalis who similarly were used to style themselves as Viswabrahmins and who might have professed Jainism at first, in the administration at the local level.

An English civil servant observed that the secular members of the priesthood of India "ruled the political destinies of the country since the days of Menu (sic), no matter who held the sword, whether Mussulman, Mogul, Hindoo, or Mahratta, have from our first assumption of power ever striven to their utmost to fill the coffers of the state." By the end of the 19th century (1891), there were 113,000 vaidikis and 101,000 niyogis in the

17. J.B.W. Dykes, Salem, an Indian Collectorate (Madras, 1853), P.324.
Telugu districts.\textsuperscript{18} True to their tradition, the Niyogis were quicker in responding favourably to the new learning.\textsuperscript{19} These two sects, among Brahmins, were sub-divided into various endogamous groups. They were so well demarcated that it became impossible for any kind of social intercourse between them especially with regard to marriages.\textsuperscript{20}

Other groups of Brahmins in the area were those who had migrated from the Tamil Country. The prominent among them were the Arama Dravidas in the Godavari basin, the Dimili Dravidas of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts and the Pudur and Tummagunta Dravidas of Nellore district. The lowest rung among the Brahmins in the ritualistic hierarchy were the Tamballa Brahmins who were priests in Siva temples.\textsuperscript{21} In addition to the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Census of India, 1891, XIV, PP.312-13.
\item \textsuperscript{19} According to the 1891 Census, of 54,082 Niyogi male members, 2878 knew English. On the other hand, out of 56,779 Vaidiki male members only 1,674 were educated in English. Speaking in terms of percentages, 24.69% and 19.10% were illiterates among the Vaidikis and Niyogis respectively. See Anil Seal, \textit{op.cit.}, P.108. Dubashes or interpreters who served both the French and the British were drawn from the Niyogis such as Engula Veerasamayya, Vennelucunty Soobrow, Kandregula Jogipantulu and Burra Achohna.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Tamballa Brahmins are "a class of beggars who worship Shiva and who beat a drum.....These men are generally sudras but wear the sacred thread." C.P.Brown, \textit{op.cit.}, P.410. By virtue of the sacred thread they put a claim to Brahminhood.
\end{itemize}
division among the Brahmins on the basis of their religious and secular callings, there was another division based on matters of doctrinal differences which led to denominational differences. Some are known as the Smartas and some others as Vaishnava-avaites.

The Vaisyas (also called Komatis) came next to the Brahmins occupying a middle position between the Brahmins and the Sudras. Their position in the ritualistic hierarchy was not very much higher than that of the Sudras, even though they have begun in recent times to claim a 'Dwijahood' (the status of the twice-born). Like Brahmins, they were performing all rituals

22. The Smartas "were the followers of the doctrines of Sankara-charya which inculcate the worship of both Vishnu and Shiva". C.P. Brown, *op.cit.*, p. 1142.

23. Vaishnavaites were the followers of Vishnu. *Ibid.*, p. 120. See on this division Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar* (London, 1807), pp. 13-14.

24. See for example A. Kaleswara Rao, *op.cit.*, p. 25. He mentioned Atmuri Lakshminarasimham, a Vaisya, who rebelled against the Brahmin orthodoxy which allegedly denied his community the right to study the Vedas and perform Vedic rituals and even performed the Yagna and attained the status of 'Soma-yaji'. Lakshminarasimham in his later life became a strong supporter of the reform movements launched by Veerasingam. For his biographical details see G.V. Subbaraya Gupta, *Atmuri Lakshminarasimham, Somayaji Jeevithacharitra-Upayyasamulu* (Telugu) (Vijayanada, 1922). For an account of Lakshminarasimham's activities against the Vaidiki Brahmins and attempts at mobilising the Vaisyas in Andhra see C.J. Baker and D.A. Washbrook, *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change, 1880-1940* (Delhi, 1975), pp. 153-54.
scrupulously and prohibited widow remarriages and permitted infant marriages.25 The chief occupation of the Vaisyas was trade, even though many of them were money lenders and bankers.26 There were a few instances wherein some of the port-towns of Andhra like Kakinada, the Vaisyas acted as Dubashees and bankers during the 19th century.27 They were enterprising and prepared to migrate to areas offering commercial opportunities. A number of them migrated to the city of Madras, a place of security of life and property, and with better investment opportunities. They invested, primarily, in indigo and betel. Also some of them indulged in speculation, import trade in retailed goods, and a few of them acted as 'Dubashees'.28 By 1851, there were native agency houses operating in Madras. They were established


27. One such person was Pyda Ramakrishnaiah of Kakinada who later on liberally donated Rs.30,000 towards the widow remarriage movement launched by Kandukuri Veeresalingam. The Pyda family, after Ramakrishnaiah, became zamindars in the region. Even today the descendants of the late Pyda Ramakrishnaiah are leading traders, bankers, besides being big landlords in Kakinada. Minutes of Interview with Pyda Sriramakrishnamurthy, by the author, one of the descendants of late Pyda Ramakrishnaiah, Kakinada, who is in possession of personal papers of Pyda Ramakrishnaiah.

by, besides Tamil Chettiers, Komatis and Balija naidus from Andhra. There were several sub-divisions among vaisyias too.

Next in order came the sudras who formed the under-privileged section of the society. They were divided into a number of castes such as Reddis, Kammass, Kapus, Telagas, Rajus, Balijas, Kamsalas (also known as Viswabrahmins), Devangas, Padmasalis, Mangalis, Chakalis, Kumaras and so on. They were mostly peasant and artisan classes ranking below the Brahmins and the Vaisyias in social status but above the untouchables. The Reddis were prominent in the Rayalaseema area and the Kammas in the Circars. Both of them, along with the Velamas and Rajus formed the mainstay of the cultivating classes of Andhra, enjoying social dominance by virtue of their control of land and

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30. Abbe J. Dubois, op.cit., PP.14-15. Komatis were divided into two broad divisions; Gavara and Kalinga. The gavara komatis were sub-divided either on the basis of territorial, occupational, or religious in character: Penukonda and Vengamudu Komatis; Lingadharis Komatis, Vaishnava Komatis etc. Of occupational divisions, the chief were: Nume (oil), Nethi (ghee), Gantha (torn cloth), Dudi (cotton), Gone (gunny bag). Other sub-divisions were Veginna and Bori or Bedari. See Edgar Thurston, op.cit., Vol.III, PP.310-11.

31. Edgar Thurston, Vol.III, op.cit., P.145. He discussed various castes and sub-castes among sudras. To cite an example, the following sub-divisions existed in the Balija caste: (a) Gajula, (b) Gangavallu, (c) Telaga, (d) Tota, (e) Ralle, (f) Pusa, (g) Naga, (h) Jakkula, (i) Adapaba. Also see Sursavaram Pratapreddy, op.cit., P.426, wherein he gave a detailed list of several castes that existed in Andhra during the period under review.
production. Among the non-brahmin sudra castes mention should be made of Balijas (or Balija naidus) who might have had some connection with the Kapus and who were spread throughout Andhra. They have been, primarily, the trading community of Andhra from the medieval times. By being leading tradesmen they evinced more enthusiasm for learning and have thus come to occupy a high position in society.

The next social division consisted of the 'untouchables' (called Malas and Madigas, also called Panchamas) who were at the bottom of the social hierarchy. They were segregated and treated as virtual slaves in the villages. In the medieval period, they were known as 'Gosangulu' and their status was denoted by the word 'Lenka' which meant 'a serf'. Nevertheless, they played an essential role in the rural life of Andhra by contributing their labour to social production. Economically they were at the lowest rung of the ladder and were working as landless labourers. They were about 15.5 per

32. Eugene F.Irshick, Politics and Social Conflict in South India (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), PP.7-8. Also see Anil Seal, op.cit., P.98.

33. Census of India, 1891, XIII, P.236.

34. See for an account of their history, K.Sundaram, Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra (Machilipatnam, 1968), PP.57-59.

35. See P.Lakshmikanthan, et al. ed. Palnati Veeracharitra (originally said to have been written by Srinatha during the 16th century), (Vijayawada, 1961), PP.89 and 123.

cent of the total Hindu population in the whole of the Madras presidency in 1881 (about 3½ millions). Among them (the Malas and the Madigas), as it was the case with other castes, social intermixture was completely ruled out. The 'untouchables' had neither social status nor social rights. An awareness was gradually developing in them, during the 19th century, due mainly to the efforts of the missionaries and the government. The work of the missionaries was made easier because of the ill-treatment meted out to the Pariahs in the southern parts of India.

37. Census of India, 1881, Madras (Madras, 1883), I, PP.104-5.

38. W.Francis, Bellary, Madras District Gazetteers, (Madras, 1904), PP.76-77. Also see Edgar Thurston, op.cit., P.332. Also see, in this regard, the views of G.A.Oddie, 'Christian Conversion in the Telugu Country, 1860-1900: A Case study of One Protestant Movement in the Godavary-Krishna Delta', in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.XII, No.1 (January-March 1975), P.65, wherein he stated: "Untouchables...were by no means a homogenous group. In fact, they consisted of two main competing communities, the malas and the madigas - the social separation between them being almost as great as the gulf dividing untouchables as a whole from their caste neighbours above."

39. Referring to this Henry K. Beauchamp who edited Abbe J. Dubois's book stated: "The Christian missionaries in India have done and are doing much to elevate the condition and character of this class. In Madras city there are now Pariah associations, and also a journal specially representing Pariah interests." Abbe J. Dubois, op.cit., P.50, f.n.1.

40. This was realised by the progressive minded, English-educated natives who began sowing seeds of reforms in Andhradesa. Quoting the same Hindu Sastras and Puranas as their opponents did, they vehemently condemned the social evils, like caste system. See, for example, Kunugula Vcevaswamayya's Kasiyatra Charitra (Telugu), (Bezwada, 1941), PP.165-66. The first edition was published in 1838 (Madras).
These caste-groups had different codes of behaviour and etiquette, one for the 'higher' castes and the other for the 'lower castes'. The 'lower castes', in the 19th century Andhra, were seeking to imitate the higher castes and adopt their way of life in rituals and ceremonies. This process of 'sanskritisation' was followed by a caste or sub-division of a caste when it improved its material status. It desired to do so by adopting Vedic ritual, quitting callings considered degrading or polluting, taking to vegetarianism, child-marriage, discontinuing the practice of widow-remarriage and giving up taking intoxicating drinks and sacrifices of animals and fowls.

41. As mentioned earlier in the footnote 20, the vaishyas were trying to attain equal status with the Brahmans by performing Vedic rituals and sacrifices. Also the efforts of the Viswabrahmin (Kamsali) community not only towards 'sanskritisation' but also towards disputing an equal status with the Brahmans, if not a superior one, may be mentioned. It was based on the growing importance of this community of artisans as producers of the luxury articles for the feudal classes which were on the rise all over Andhra in the Vijayanagar period and thereafter. See for an account of this community, Edgar Thurston, op.cit., Vol.III, PP. 141-49. That this tendency was spreading among other communities is proved by the fact that Chinta Raghunatha Reddy (born around 1873) of Vayalpadu village in Chittoor district, under the influence of the Arya Samaj, put on the sacred thread according to the Vedic rites and came to be known as from then onwards as Raghunatha Varma. He also made men of other communities like Balijas, Boyas to wear the sacred thread. He opened a school for 'untouchables' at his residence and made them also wear the sacred thread. See Anonymous Satpadhamu (Chinta Raghunatha Varma gari geevithamu in Telugu) Part I (Madras, 1918).
to village-goddesses. 42

The gulf that existed among the non-brahmin castes in Andhra could be illustrated by a division among them into the 'right-hand' (Valangai) and 'left-hand' (Idangai) castes, a characteristic peculiar to south India excluding Kerala. 43 The origins of these divisions are difficult to explain. Inscriptional evidence shows that they had been in existence for the last one thousand years. This predominantly economic rivalry manifested itself, as it usually does, in a variety of social and religious forms. Though it is difficult and out of place to

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42. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Madras (I), op. cit., P.32. Two examples may be cited in this context, from among the non-Brahmin castes in Andhra, which have adopted Brahminical customs and ceremonies, Velamas and Kamsalis (viswabrahmins). The Kamsalis were known to be more Brahminical than the Brahmins, and apparently the same was the case with Jangams also. See Census of India 1891, Vol.XIII, P.147. The Kamsalis have adopted the caste titles 'Achari', 'Sarma', similar to the Brahmin titles. The male members started wearing the sacred thread after performing regular thread investiture ceremony like Brahmins. Also see, on this, A. Valdehi Krishna moorthya, Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan (From A.D.1000 to A.D.1250), (Secundrabad, 1970), PP.43-44.

43. For an analysis of this see an article by Arjun Appadorai, 'Right and Left hand castes in South India' published in the Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.II, No.2-3 (June-Sept.1974). Arjun Appadorai concluded the article stating that ".....there is no single and substantive explanation for the division of many of the constituent groups of South Indian society, between the eleventh and the nineteenth centuries into Right and Left hand groups." Also see, for a scholarly account of the same problem, C.S. Srinivasachary, "The origin of the Right and Left hand caste divisions", Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol.IV, Parts I and II (July-October 1929).
list out all of them, it can be stated now that they were vying with each other for the favour of rulers in the matter of perquisites and honours and at the same time claiming mutually exclusive privileges in things like religious processions and even residential quarters. The 'right-hand' castes are mainly of agricultural occupations and the 'left-hand' castes are mainly of artisan communities like Viswabrahmins. Serious clashes erupted between these two divisions which led to large scale violence and law courts were flooded with litigation of this kind.

The rigours of traditional ideas on pollution and taboos could not but get relaxed and consequently, social mobility became quite a common phenomenon. Nevertheless, the caste distinctions persisted, if not outwardly, in inner recesses of private thinking and feeling. In this sense, caste was driven underground, maintaining its sway over men's minds. With the introduction of western education, changes in the traditional economy, rise of new professions and growth of towns and the introduction of railways and other communications, more occasions


45. Enugula Veerasawamaiah, op.cit., P.370, f.n. Also see Census of Madras Presidency, 1871 (Report), Ch.XI, P.129, wherein it is mentioned: "...that the castes of the 'right-hand' fraternity claim certain privileges which they jealously deny to those of the 'left-hand'. The right-hand castes, for instance, claim the prerogative of riding on horse-back in processions, and of erecting twelve pillars to sustain their marriage booths, while the left-hand castes may not have more than eleven pillars, nor use the standards and ensigns belonging to the right-hand fraternity". Also see, J.Talboys Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times being History of the Presidency (Madras, 1882, first edn. 1861), P.247.
and opportunities were created for social inter-course between different castes. The Brahmans were the first to take to the new education, as fish to fresh water, and occupy salaried jobs such as those of clerks, dubasees (translators) in the government. Also due to certain social constraints imposed upon them (Brahmins) like abstention from manual work, prohibitions against involvement in trade and business (though less severe in this regard), they turned, in large numbers, to secular vocations.46

SOCIAL EVILS

Hinduism was not, strictly speaking, responsible for the ills and the evils which afflicted Hindu society later on. But this subtle distinction did not enter the popular mind. The common run of men and women associated religion with its social deformities to such a close extent that one was mistaken for the other. It can be said that Hindu society degenerated exactly at the same point where it was supposed that Hindu religion reached its 'Golden Age', i.e., the times of the Imperial Guptas.

46. Instances are many in this connection. The Sataka (generally, a composition of one hundred verses instructing people on morals and good behaviour) literature of this period abounds with verses conveying the change of the life-style of brahmins. See, for example, Seshadri Ramana Kavulu, ed. Bhaktirasa Sataka Sampatam (Telugu), (Madras, 1926), Vol.II, pp.26 and 44. Also see S.Subrahmanyasastry, Amubhavaloo Gnnapakaloo (Telugu), (Rajamundry, 1958), Vol.II, pp.260-61. G.V.Apparao, a well known modern Telugu poet and playwright, and a contemporary of Kandukuri Veeresalingam wrote a great social play condemning sale of brides, 'Kanyakulam' (Telugu) in which he portrayed some of the orthodox brahmins not only mouthing these ideas but even sending their children to learn English to secure lucrative jobs in the government. G.V. Apparao, Kanyakulam (Telugu), (Madras, 1968), first edn. 1897), pp.34, 95 and 223.
Indeed Hinduism, as it has been known ever since, was a departure from the metaphysical speculations of the times of the Upanishads. Superstition replaced reason and belief replaced inquiry, both in matters of religion and social usage. The Dharmastra not only reflected but also sanctioned these changes and thereby supplied the stamp of authority to them. However, these usages and abusages differed from region to region in intensity as well as in extent. So far as the Andhra region was concerned, the Apastamba Sutras were followed.

It may not be possible, not even necessary, to list out all these unseemly social deformities. Only the most glaring need mention. They can be classified under: (1) religious, (2) social, and (3) economic. Each one of them can further be divided, as for example, in the case of religious evils, into (1) idolatry, (2) ceremonials, and (3) practices relating to pollution and so on. The fact is that some of them overlap social evils and at times economic evils.
The cruelest of the socio-religious evils was 'sati' and the less cruel were hook-swinging and fire-walking.

These evils were prevalent in Andhra. Domestic slavery, the worst of the economic evils, was more common in Andhra.

Despite the declaration of the Board of Revenue in 1818 that the agricultural labourers were free, they frequently worked on contract and were bound to the same villages and families during

47. Judicial Consultations, Nos.2 and 4, dated April 6, 1821; Nos.11-12, dated July 27, 1821 (Madras Presidency). Also see Vennelacunty Soobrow, Life of Vennelacunty Soobrow (Madras, 1873), P.51. He wrote, 'I visited the ceremony of the widow of Toomoo Paupaiah who had just died burning herself on the funeral pile of her deceased husband.' It occurred in 1822.

Also see John A.C.Boswell, ed. Manual of the Nellore district (in the presidency of Madras), (Madras, 1873), P.250. He mentioned that in Nellore district the practice of 'sati' burning was prevalent and some of the sites were still perpetuated where these 'sati's' have been held by ashed or a rough temple being built over the spot. In some cases women who have thus sacrificed themselves have been deified and raised to the position of village Goddesses. See, for instance, N.G.Ranga, Fight for Freedom (Autobiography), (Delhi,1968), PP.5-6, wherein it is mentioned that a temple was raised in Nidubrolu in commemoration of 'sati' performed by one of his ancestors. According to him that temple is venerated by people even today. This was an instance of 'sati' among the sudras. Another instance of 'sati' among the sudras was brought out by T.V.Subbarao in his unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, "Telugu Vceragadhacharitramu", Sri Venkateswara University, 1968. He stated that one Birudavolu Narayananma, wife of Papireddy of Gudur (Nellore district), performed 'sati' round about the year 1828 and the story of her life is being sung today by people in that area as a ballad. Also see the article by P.Subrahmanyasastry, "Gramadevatalu" (Village deities), in the annual number (Ugadi issue) Andhra Patrika (Telugu), (Madras, 1922).

48. W.Francis, op.cit., P.64. Also see Elijah Hoole, Madras,Mysore, and the South of India (London, 1844, II edn.), P.357. A vivid description of the cruel practice of 'hook-swinging' is given by Abbe J.Lubois, op.cit., P.598.

49. For an instance of domestic slavery in Andhra see D.R.Banaji, Slavery in British India (Bombay, 1933), P.81, wherein he mentioned that in 1817 in Visakhapatnam district a seven month old child was sold for eight rupees.
their life time. Act V of 1843 deprived slavery of its legal status by declaring that law-courts would not entertain claims to slaves. Whether they were extensively prevalent or practiced is beside the point. But their existence on a large scale cannot be disputed. They might have been few and far between after the advent of the British rule but that they still persisted even during the British rule cannot be gain-said. Popular legends such as 'Bala Sanyasamma Katha' point this out.

The subordination of women in Hindu society was confirmed and strengthened with the passage of time and became a settled fact in the feudal stage of the country's development. Neither the Muslim rulers nor even the British ushered in a totally new and higher stage of social development for their own reasons. Whatever be the 'blessings' of British rule the fact that they needed a domestic prop to their alien authority, especially after it was put to the most dangerous test in 1857, resulted in the revitalisation of the moribund feudal order. This necessarily perpetuated all the social ills and evils, despite the superficial attempts of the British rulers such as Bentinck to wish them out of existence by means of legislation. Mere legislation, unsupported by popular approval, can never do away with immoral practices.

51. For the full text of the Act V, see D.H.Banaji, op.cit.,P.403.
52. See Sanyasamma Katha (author anonymous) (Telugu) (Madras, 1972).
They can, at best, show that the rulers were benevolent or at worst hypocritical. To sustain a dying social order in their own selfish political interests and at the same time try to legislate them out present the glorious double-talk of the colonialists. These ills and evils are themselves the products of the same benevolent social order and to separate them was ridiculous.

Most glaring among such ills and evils that beset the Andhra society in the 19th century were 'Kanyasulkam' (literally bride-price)\(^53\) and the 'nautch' problem. 'Kanyasulkam' produced, in its turn, evils such as infant marriages and cases of premature widowhood. The condition of a widow, mainly among the upper castes, was tragic. Among higher castes, the widow's head was shaved, ornaments taken off and the unfortunate woman was deprived of all pleasures of life. "She was not even allowed to participate in family ceremonies as her presence was thought to bring misfortune... She became often an object of contempt and maltreatment..."\(^54\)

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54. See, for a graphic description of widows and their miserable plight in society, the novel written by Kandukuri Veeresalingam namely, Rajasekhara Charitram, the social novel written in Telugu. Veeresalingam wrote it before 1880. The novel gives a vivid account of social conditions of Andhra during the 19th century. See K.Veeresalingam, *Collected Works* (hereafter referred to as *Col.Works*), (Rajahmundry, 1950), Vol.IV, PP.1-231. R.Raghunatha Rao, a leading social reformer of Madras and a contemporary of Veeresalingam, described the position of widow: "Her touch is pollution. Her head is shaved... She is made to fast once a fortnight, even at the risk of death. She often asks in vain why these things are done to her." Quoted in *Papers on Indian Reform* (editor not mentioned), (Madras, 1888), PP.78-79. Also see V.F.S.Raghuveeramshi, *Indian Society in the 18th century* (New Delhi, 1969), P.106. The description of the unfortunate position of widow of the 18th century had hardly changed in the 19th century.
This miserable condition drove some of them to prefer death to torture and commit 'sahagamana' (self-immolation). Sometimes the birth of illegitimate children led to infanticide. Among the so-called lower castes in the countryside widow remarriages were not unknown, though among the 'upper castes' they were almost completely absent.

Devadasis (mautch-girls, known as 'Bhogamvallu' in Telugu) came to be considered as a synonym for prostitutes. They developed into an exclusive caste of their own "having its own laws of inheritance, its own customs and rules of etiquette..." 55 Married to a presiding deity, they used to live by prostitution and were attending at private houses on all joyous occasions. 56

No doubt there were good performers of dance and music among them. 57 Nevertheless their performances were put to vulgar use, which led generally to the deterioration of moral standards, which were already none too high, in society. 58 To maintain a prostitute and to attend a 'mautch' performance became status symbols and marks of social standing. 59

57. It appears that these dancing girls flourished even under the patronage of the company administration. It was stated that in certain areas, district Collectors and other revenue officers maintained an establishment of these girls to dance before the distinguished visitors. See Francis Buchanan, op. cit., Vol.1, (1870 edn.), P.475.
58. Papers on Indian Reform, op. cit., PP.78-79.
59. K.Veeresalingam, Sweetyacharitramu (hereafter referred as Sweetya), (Autobiography), (Rajahmundry, 1934), Part I, PP.80-91. Veeresalingam's autobiography consists of two parts. The first part was published in 1911 and the second part in 1915.
Alcohol drinking, to begin with, was confined mostly to the lower sections of the society, even though a gradual spread of this habit among the more could be seen in the second half of the 19th century.  

SUPERSTITIONS

Consequent upon education being limited to a tiny fraction of society, ignorance stayed as ever resulting in a medley of superstitions. If an owl perched on a house, it would bring misfortune to the inmates and if a crow cawed on the roof of a house it would bring a guest. Bad omens included being questioned regarding business on which one was setting out; or directly after leaving the house, catching sight of a single brahmin, two sudras, a widow, oil, a snake or a sanyasi, would thwart the purpose of the visit. Good omens included hearing a bell ring, the braying of an ass or seeing a married woman, a corpse, flowers or a toddy-pot. Women and houses were often supposed to be possessed of evil spirits whom only a professional witch-doctor could exorcise. Trees and evil spirits were

60. The native newspapers reported during 1887-88 about the evils of drinking liquors and deplored the complacency of the government in not bringing out a legislation prohibiting this evil. They alleged that the government was interested in getting an additional income and hence its reluctance to ban liquor. See, for example, 'Vivekanarindani', Report on Native Newspapers, Madras Presidency, May, 1887, (hereafter referred as Native News).

61. F.R. Hemmingway, Godavari, Madras district Gazetteers (Madras, 1907), P.46. Also see J.D. B. Gribble, Manual of Cuddapah district (Madras, 1875), p.292, where he mentioned in detail the birds and animals which were supposed to be evil omens.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.
supposed to be intimately connected, and a stunted or deformed
tree was often pointed out as the abode of a devil.64 When a
man was supposed to be possessed by an evil spirit, "it it often
the practice to take him out to some especial tree, which is
supposed to be a favourite residence of demons, and there to
drive a nail into the trunk."65

Child birth was surrounded by a number of superstitions.
A pregnant woman was not supposed to see an eclipse or her child
would be born deformed.66 It was called 'Grahanan Soola'. Some
dreams were supposed to foretell coming events. It was a good
thing to dream of being bitten by a cobra and if the bite drew
blood it was considered specially good.67

Women would rely for the health of their children chiefly on
superstitious observances. When her children fell sick the
mother believed that it was caused by the displeasure of some
God or Goddess or by the influence of some evil spirit. They
would not get their children vaccinated, lest it provoked the
wrath of the Goddess for interfering with her sport.68

Drought was dealt with in various ways like pouring one
thousand pots of water over the lingam in the Siva temple.
Another way followed to invoke Varuna (the rain God) was that

64. J.D.B. Gribble, op.cit., P.284.
65. Ibid.
67. Ibid., P.47.
68. Papers on Indian Reform, op.cit., P.15.
the Malas used to tie a live frog to a mortar and take it round the village in a procession saying 'Mother frog, playing in water, pour rains by pots full'. The villagers of other castes would then come and pour water over the Malas. 69

**RELIGIOUS LIFE**

According to the 1891 Census besides the Hindus who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population (88.4%), there were the Muslims (6.3%), Christians (4.1%), and the Animists (1.2%). 70 A significant feature of this period was the rapid advance made in the number of the native Christians. Most of the converts were drawn from the lowest classes of society. It was perhaps due to their desire to run away from a caste-dominated and oppressive society to embrace a religion which held no caste distinctions and which also promised them education and better social opportunities. 71

Religious life in society was greatly affected by the supreme position held by the Brahmins. The Brahmanical festivals (like Sivaratri, Vaikuntha Ekadasi) were popular. Large Brahmanical shrines were drawing huge crowds of pilgrims, mainly from the richer sections of other communities. As poorer sections


70. *Census of India, 1891, Madras Presidency, Vol.XIV*, p.22 (Table VI).

could not undertake pilgrimages to distant places of worship and offer gifts, numerous small shrines sprang up to universally-accepted Gods. The 'Gramadevatas' or village deities were numerous. 72 Almost every village had a shrine to some 'perantalamma', or a woman who committed sati. 73 These 'gramadevatas' were of female sex. They included Nukalamma, Bangaramma, Maridamma, Paiditalli Muthyalamma, Poleramma, Gangamma and others. They had neither clear history nor definite attributes. Except in some cases where buffalo sacrifices were made, they did not have any special ritual. They were all equally held in awe and were worshipped as averters of dreadful diseases like cholera, small pox, and as possible granters of boons to those who made vows before them. 74 As the poorer and 'lower' sections of the society were generally the worshippers of the village deities their shrines were the poorest constructions. These consisted of one small cell and often a spot under a tree was marked by a few sacred conical objects, in stone or wood, smeared with turmeric with dots of vermilion.

A number of ceremonies were prescribed by the Hindu religion in the life of an individual from birth to death. Women and young girls had a good number of religious observances called 'vratams' and 'noras' to follow. However, most of these

72. For a detailed account on village deities, see the article by P.Subrahmanya Sastry, op.cit.
73. W.Francis, op.cit., P.267.
functions and ceremonies were mainly confined to the rich sections of the community who had the means as well as the leisure to perform them. The poorer sections of the society remained aloof from them or contented themselves with the less costly but more popular observances.

EDUCATION

Education, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was mainly confined to the Pial school system. It included courses in Sanskrit, arithmetic and Telugu, given to pupils by a teacher who taught them on a pial under the cares of his own house or under the shade of a tree for which he was meagrely paid by the parents of the pupils. As these schools existed for a very long time without much alteration in their

75. For a descriptive account of the Pial school system see Census, the Town of Madras 1871 (Madras, 1873), PP.13-14. Also see Education Commission, Evidence taken before the Madras Provincial Committee, Oct.1882 (Madras, 1884), in which an account of indigenous education was given. It ran as follows: "There is a sprinkling of indigenous schools all over the country; they are a relic of the old village system and are attended principally by Brahmns with a few sudras (especially the official class), merchants and others. Very little information of a general character is given in these schools...no proper discipline maintained, only the rule of terror. The schools are rarely carried on continuously, being suspended...when the teacher leaves. Scholars...profess to give fees, say about 4 annas a month, but...seldom paid regularly...the pial school masters are ....very poorly paid and they seldom continue long in one place." Also see Venkelcunty Sosbrow, op.cit., PP.65-67, wherein he gave a graphic picture of the Pial school system obtaining in the Madras Presidency.
style of functioning, they became irrational and outdated. The children were generally made to learn the whole alphabet in order. "They sing it like a song, over and over again, often without paying the slightest attention to the letters. Learning by rote was its character." It took quite some time to get out of this unimaginative and unscientific method of learning.

The Governorship of Lord Munro (1820-27) opened a new bright page in the progress of education in Madras Presidency. He issued a minute (June 25, 1822) enquiring into the state of indigenous education based on authentic sources. Munro asked for reports from the district collectors on the nature of education, number of schools and other matters of interest. A.D. Campbell, the collector of Bellary, mentioned in his report that the indigenous school-system was not in a flourishing condition due "to the gradual but general impoverishment of the country." He further stated that, "every school boy can repeat verbatim a vast number of verses the meaning of which he knows no more.

76. Papers on Indian Reform, op.cit., P.32. Also see A Lady (Julia Thomas) Letters from Madras during the years 1836-1839 (London, 1846), PP.23-24. This lady was identified as Julia Thomas, the wife of District Munsiff at Rajahmundry during this period.

77. Vennelacunty Soobrow, op.cit., PP.65-74. Soobrow, in these pages, published the report he submitted to the Madras school Book Society when he was made a member of it in 1820. He pleaded for the reform of the existing outdated school system and made a good number of suggestions to improve it.


than the parrot that has been taught to utter certain words." The enquiry was followed by the formation at the Presidency Town of a Board of Public Instruction in 1826. The committee was authorised to establish two principal schools in each district, and one inferior school in each taluk and a grant to the Madras School Book Society for educating teachers. For this purpose the Court of Directors sanctioned (Despatch dated 16th April 1828) an annual grant of Rs.50,000, which Munro had asked earlier. Under this arrangement 14 district and 18 taluk schools were set on foot together with a central school at Madras. The scheme languished after the death of Munro and was withdrawn in 1836.

80. Ibid., P.56. See for the extracts from the letter of A.D. Campbell H. Sharp, ed. Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1761-1839), (Calcutta, 1920, republished in 1965), PP.65-68. Campbell furnished particulars of the conditions of indigenous education in Bellary district. He mentioned that out of the total population of 927,851 there were 6,641 scholars only. It worked out to 7 scholars in one thousand population.

81. Arthur Howell, Education in British India, Prior to 1854, and in 1870-71 (Calcutta, 1872), P.69.

82. John Bradshaw, Sir Thomas Munro and the British Settlement of the Madras Presidency (Oxford, 1920, first edn.1893), P.193. It is significant, however, to note the views of Munro in this context. "Whatever expense", he wrote, "government may incur in the education of the people will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country, for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertions to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people." See Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Revenue Consultations, Vol.314, No.5, dt.10th March, 1826.

The main objects of the British in their educational policy were (a) to secure properly trained personnel for the public administration of the country at the lower levels, and (b) to spread western knowledge. The first aim was dominant during 1823-33 when finances of the company were not sound. The Madras School Book Society was founded in 1819 to enable people "obtain books at reduced rates", and also pursue the necessary changes in school education. During the period 1833-53, the company pursued the second object of spreading western knowledge due to an awakening of liberal ideas in England. A sum of Rs.50,000/- was apportioned to be spent on the Madras Presidency towards education out of which only "little more than half" was expended. When compared to the other Presidencies, this was much less. "Not one-tenth of the annual sum advanced in the promotion of education in Bengal, and not one-fifth of that expended in Bombay (with a scantier population) is appropriated in this Presidency."

The per capita expenditure on education in the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras is given in the following table. Column 'a' gives the government expenditure and

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86. Syed Nurulla and J.P. Naik, A Student's History of Education in India (1600-1965) (Calcutta, 1971), P.83. The first edition was published in 1945.

87. Census, the town of Madras, 1871 (Madras, 1873), P.66.

88. The Eighteenth Annual Report from the Governors of the Madras University, 1848-49 (Madras, 1849), PP.8-9.

89. Ibid.,
column 'b' shows the total expenditure from all sources, public and private.  

In Rs lakhs (Rs.00,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bengal a</th>
<th>Bengal b</th>
<th>Bombay a</th>
<th>Bombay b</th>
<th>Madras a</th>
<th>Madras b</th>
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<td>5.8</td>
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<td>18.1</td>
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<td>18.7</td>
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<td>9.0</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.A. = Not Available

Until 1854 the Company did not accept the direct responsibility of educating the masses. It followed the 'downward filtration theory' which, however, did not achieve the anticipated results and failed. It was a set back to the progress of education in India. The theory failed in practice because of

90. See S. Bhattacharya, Financial Foundations of the British Raj (Simla, 1971), P.323 (Table 21.2).
the lack of social mobility in Indian society, and also those few educated Indians secured jobs in the government service. Moreover, these educated people, apart from being a microscopic minority of the total population, were completely cut off from the mainstream of the life of masses. Thus the 'downward filtration theory' did sabotage the cause of mass education.\(^91\)

A few of these highly educated people, who either because they could not secure jobs or did not accept them, were however, the great forerunners of 'private Indian enterprise in education.'\(^92\)

The second half of the 19th century witnessed comparatively much progress in education with the establishment of Anglo-Vernacular schools in many parts of Andhra.\(^93\) This was facilitated by the establishment of rate-schools by G.N. Taylor (Sub-Collector to the Revenue Commissioner of the Northern Circars, at Rajahmundry) in the sub-division of Rajahmundry.\(^94\) He opened schools, on an experimental basis, at Nursapoor, Palcole, Penoogondah and Auchunta, which were 'supported by local subscriptions,' and their successful functioning attracted the attention of the inhabitants of many of the neighbouring villages which possessed substantial farmers.\(^95\) Taylor submitted to the government the wishes of the ryots of the villages

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92. Ibid.
94. For a full and analytical account on the system of rate schools, see J. Mangamma, *The Rate Schools of Godavari* (Hyderabad, 1963). This monograph was published by the state Archives, Hyderabad.
95. *Papers relating to the establishment of village vernacular schools in the sub-division of Rajahmundry* (Madras,1856), P.1.
in the Godavari delta area "...who have come forward to beg permission to contribute towards the expense of their children's education."\(^6\) He passionately pleaded in the memorandum submitted to the government "...that while the Tamil population are provided with no less than 950 schools, there are but 30 in the entire presidency of Madras, in which efficient Telugu instruction is imparted."\(^7\) The proposal was accepted and came to be known as 'Mr Taylor's System' (also known as Rajahmundry System of Schooling). A.J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction, wrote to the Chief Secretary, Madras Government that "...the greatest credit is due to Mr Taylor for what has been already accomplished, and the introduction of somewhat similar system throughout the country...."\(^8\) The system was continued even after 1862 when the Government came forward to pay a matching grant equivalent to the sum contributed by the ryots.\(^9\) Finally it was left to the option of ryots as some serious objections were raised in some quarters.\(^10\) The establishment of these schools in the Rajahmundry region created an educational atmosphere and people began "...to clamour for English and have in many places applied for better teachers."\(^11\) Perhaps, in this, one could see the beginnings of enlightenment in the

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\(^6\) Ibid., P.3.

\(^7\) Ibid., P.23.

\(^8\) Ibid., P.74.

\(^9\) G.O.No.329, dt.8th August 1862, Educational, Madras Presidency. Also see G.O.No.301, dated 16th Sept.,1862, Educational, Madras Presidency.

\(^10\) G.O.No.844 dt.7th June,1862, Educational, Madras Presidency.

Godavari district which was to become, later, the centre of reform activity in Andhra. The desire on the part of ryots to subscribe to their own education was, as noticed by Taylor, due to "...the indirect effects of our works of irrigation." 102

The establishment of schools around Rajahmundry was the first major attempt made by the government for the extension and improvement of education in the Andhra region. This clearly showed that the desire of people in these parts to learn English in particular and receive education in general was immense. 103

The great impetus came to education when the 'Local Funds' were created by the government in 1871. 104 The Local Fund Act (Act IV) provided funds, through house tax for the maintenance of elementary schools, for the training of teachers and for the construction of school buildings. 105 Act III of 1871 provided for the towns what Act IV did for the rural districts. Thus the municipal funds were declared to be applicable to the support of education. 106 As a result of this a number of schools were established.

Thus the growth of education in the Andhra region of the

102. Papers relating to the Establishment of village vernacular schools in the sub-division of Rajahmundry, op. cit., p. 3. Also see A Lady, Letters from Madras, op. cit., p. 132, wherein she described the enthusiasm of people around Rajahmundry, towards education thus: "...and certainly an increasing desire among the natives for instruction...at Rajahmundry...we used to receive applications for books from distant villages....and the people used to sit in our reading room for hours...."


104. Ibid., pp. 84-85.


106. Ibid.
Madras Presidency during the second half of the 19th century was phenomenal. The following table gives the combined efforts of the government and private agencies in the field of education during the years 1862-63 and 1898-99.\(^{107}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1862-63</th>
<th>1867-68</th>
<th>1879-80</th>
<th>1898-99</th>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>1,776</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>34,603</td>
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<td>633</td>
<td>1,135</td>
<td>12,859</td>
<td>46,937</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

107. The table is based on the statistics furnished by the Reports of Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for the years 1867-68, 1879-80 and 1898-99, published at Madras in 1868, 1880 and 1889 respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of institutions</th>
<th>Number of scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kurnool</td>
<td>1862-63 2</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1867-68 5</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1879-80 228</td>
<td>3,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898-99 670</td>
<td>14,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td>1862-63 12</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1867-68 19</td>
<td>1,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1879-80 488</td>
<td>7,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898-99 1,215</td>
<td>27,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuddapah</td>
<td>1862-63 23</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1867-68 47</td>
<td>997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1879-80 308</td>
<td>4,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898-99 841</td>
<td>17,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nellore</td>
<td>1862-63 9</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1867-68 226</td>
<td>3,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1879-80 554</td>
<td>9,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898-99 1,151</td>
<td>27,015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that the growth of education was more in the Circars than the Ceded districts. This was due to two factors, viz., (1) The Circars which came under the influence of the British earlier had more of its impact than the other regions, and (2) the educational activities of the
missionaries were widespread here. The table further illustrates another significant factor that the delta regions of the Godavari and Krishna districts were leading the other districts both in the number of schools and scholars. Significantly this was the region which was comparatively rich and where the urban growth was more than the other regions. Furthermore, as has already been noted, the Godavari district had the benefit of the Taylor’s system of ‘rate schools’ through which a good number of schools were established throughout the district.

In the spread of education, the missionaries too played an important role along with the government. Even though individual missionaries were carrying on informal schooling of children in the Godavari region prior to 1836,108 the first organised missionary school was started in 1836 at Nellore by the Free Church Mission.109 By the 1850’s the whole region was covered with an elaborate network of mission schools.110 The Missionaries started schools, both for boys and girls, and published books in Telugu. It was the Missionaries who first introduced the printing press in India and published books in Indian languages.111 However, their main object in spreading education

111. For a comprehensive account of the Missionaries and their contribution to Indian languages see J. Mangamma, Book Printing in India, with special reference to the contribution of European scholars to Telugu (1766–1887), (Nellore, 1975). With regard to the books in the Telugu language, see chapters V and VI.
was, undoubtedly, proselytization. 112

In 1877 three first-grade colleges were started in the Presidency among which one was established at Rajahmundry. 113 Between 1854-82, in Andhra there were, in all, four colleges. 114 Since the public philanthropy was slow in coming forward to undertake the establishment of schools, the government was exhorted to open more schools, and impart new education to the children. 115 However, since schools and colleges were established in urban and semi-urban areas, except for a sprinkling of elementary schools in the countryside, education, by and large, was urban-based. Moreover, the spread of education was confined to the upper and middle classes in society.

112. The Missionaries had to take care of the economic, social and cultural uplift of converts. "Their job began, not ended with the conversions." See Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, op.cit., P.35. A discussion of the activities of the Missionaries in Andhra is presented in chapter II.

113. F.R. Hommingway, op.cit., P.155. To begin with a Provincial school was started at Rajahmundry in 1854 and was made a second grade college in 1873 when F.A. class was opened. See, Henry Morris, Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavary District in the Madras Presidency (London, 1878), PP.29-30.

114. They were located at Rajahmundry, Vizianagram, Visakhapatnam and Machilipatnam. The Rajah of Pithapur started a college at Kakinada in 1854 and the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission started another at Guntur in 1885. See Vignanasarwamull, op.cit., P.1409. It is to be noted that all these colleges happened to be in the Circar districts. Higher education was yet to see the light of the day in the Ceded districts known as the Rayalaseema (the area ruled by Krishnadevaraya of the Vijayanagar kingdom).

115. See for example the news item published by Sammargadarsani requesting the opening of new schools with modernised syllabus and effective supervision. Native News, Sept.1887.
This can be established by citing the caste particulars of male Hindu pupils in the Madras Presidency during 1883-84.\textsuperscript{116} 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Percentage of total Hindus</th>
<th>Others including Pariahs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>Vaisyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegiate education</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above shows that Brahmins were holding an upperhand in higher education, whereas at the primary level, the Sudras who comprised all the communities other than Brahmins, Vaisyas and the Pariahs, were not, comparatively speaking, behind. For a decade from 1876 to 1886, 73% of the total Hindu candidates who successfully completed their university examinations were Brahmins. In 1888, for every 41 Brahmins of school going age, one was at college. However, during the same year, out of 2,004 Vaisyas and Sudras, who were half the Hindu population, only one was doing collegiate education and one 'low' caste Hindu in every 46,300.\textsuperscript{117} Compared to the total population of 'Pariahs' in 1881, their progress in education was very poor. There were 3.25 millions of 'Pariahs' in the whole Presidency i.e., 15.5 per cent of the total Hindu population.\textsuperscript{118} That education was confined to the

\textsuperscript{116} The Report of the Director of Higher Education, 1883-84 (Madras, 1885), PP.2-139 (Subsidiary Tables).

\textsuperscript{117} The Report of Director of Public Instruction 1867-68, (Madras, 1888), P.61.

upper castes in society like Brahmins and Vaisyas could further be established by the following figures.119

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Total males in caste</th>
<th>Percentage of literate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>551,951</td>
<td>72.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisyas (Komat)</td>
<td>144,223</td>
<td>60.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balijas</td>
<td>352,604</td>
<td>20.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapu or Reddy</td>
<td>1,222,546</td>
<td>9.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farish</td>
<td>997,319</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The economic background of these scholars must now be examined. The report of the Director of Public Instruction, 1885–86 stated that the children of rich landlords were making greater use of educational opportunities.120 The details for 1883–84, mentioned below, will show that those who sent their children to schools and colleges were mainly landholders and officials.121

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Colleges excluding professional colleges</th>
<th>Secondary schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landholders</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty officials</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traders</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


120. The Report of the Director of Public Instruction 1885–86 (Madras, 1887), P.7.

121. Table is based on the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, 1883–84 (Madras, 1885), P.37, and statistical tables, 2–3 and 54–55.
Thus many of these educated persons came from the families which owned land and also from families traditionally associated with administrative and professional work. This is also borne out by the evidence given before the Education Commission by eminent public men connected with education. Chentsal Rao stated: "The lowest classes in this country do not seek primary instruction at all. Their poverty compels them to employ their children as labourers from a very early age and... Pariahs and others of the lowest classes are not admitted into schools in which caste natives have any influence."

ECONOMIC LIFE

The establishment of the British rule in the Andhra region did not spell either the doom or the total destruction

122. Education Commission, op. cit. To the question that what classes of people would make use of the school and collegiate education, Rev. J. E. Padfield, Principal, C.M. Society Training Institution, Machilipatnam, replied that "Brahmins and the sons of government officials generally make up the largest class in our schools....".

123. Ibid. Chentsal Rao was Superintendent of stamps and stationary in Madras and a Fellow of the Madras University for more than a decade. He was also officially connected with the administration of schools in the Godavari district under the 'Taylor's system'. Rao pleaded for the establishment of a primary school in each village and that was the only way, according to him, to eradicate illiteracy in such a huge country as India. Rao was one of the leading social reformers of the Madras city along with Raghunatha Row and others.
of the Zamindars\textsuperscript{124} and Poligars\textsuperscript{125} in the Circar districts and Ceded districts respectively. Eventhough their wings were clipped

\textbf{124.} The number of zamindars was about 870. Nevertheless, their political power was much stronger. They controlled a quarter of the area of the Madras Presidency. The extensive zamindaris like Vijayanagaram, Pithapur and Venkata-giri were situated in the Andhra region. These zamindaris were considered as minor political kingdoms with extensive resources of men and money. See for example R. Sunthara lingam, \textit{op.cit.}, P.12. Also see C.H.Philips, ed. \textit{Select Documents on the History of India and Pakistan, 1858-1949} (London, 1962), P.126, wherein a memorandum on 'class progress in the Madras Presidency' submitted by S.Srinivasa Raghavanaiamgar, Inspector-General of Registration, Madras Presidency is given. In that he discussed the conditions of different classes in the Madras Presidency. Regarding the zamindars he stated that the total rental of their estates was Rs.161 lakhs while the peshucush was Rs.50 lakhs, that is, rental was more than three times the peshucush.

\textbf{125.} Poligar or palayakkaran was the holder of a territory, called 'palayam' in Tamil, 'palama' in Telugu and pollam in English, which meant literally an armed camp. It was a strip of territory consisting of a few villages, granted to a chieftan in consideration of the military service, that he agreed to render and the tribute that he consented to pay to the sovereign. As a political agency, the poligar system was associated with medieval South India. Tamilnadu and Andhradesa (Rayalaseema area) accounted for most of the poligars. In the English records the poligars of Tamilnadu were referred to as the Southern Poligars while those of Rayalaseema as western poligars and those of Coastal Andhra as Northern Poligars. See K.Rajayyan, \textit{Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamilnadu} (Madras, 1974), P.VI. There were nearly eighty Poligar chieftans and 30,000 renters were exercising sway over this region. Many of them were destroyed by the British and the remaining became loyal and law-abiding landlords under them. See, V.Yasoda Devi, "British Expansion: Internal Resistance in Andhradesa" (1750-1850), Paper read at the Seminar on Modern History, Madurai (1971).
and many of their erstwhile powers were taken away, their private armies disbanded and their policing functions discontinued, they were allowed by the new rulers to collect rents and transmit it to the government in their restricted spheres of authority. Besides a sizable portion of their former holdings was now transferred to the government and for the rest, they were made to pay 'pescush' on very stringent terms. The Andhra zamindars, mostly, were from the upper castes such as Kshatriyas, Velamas or Khammas. Wealth and social status conferred by caste combined to establish their ascendancy over the society.

Agriculture being the mainstay of people, the life of the peasants was miserable, positioned as they were between two sets of oppressors, one hereditary and native and another, the intruding and foreign, viz., the zamindars and the poligars on the one hand and the company on the other. People connected with land, in one form or another were 47.32 per cent of the entire population of the province. Of these 2,94,635 or 8.35 per cent

126. Census of India, Madras, 1891, Vol.XIII, PP.220, 235 and 237. Also see, M.Bapineedu, ed. Andhra Sarvaswamu (Madras, 1943), PP.162-65, for a list of the Telugu zamindars. Most of them were non-brahmins.

127. Mr Boudillon, revenue officer in the Madras Civil Service and a member of the Commission on Public Works, stated that the majority of people were worse economically, growing in poverty and debt. Quoted in Bruce Norton, A Letter to Robert Lowe, Joint Secretary of the Board of Control - On the Condition and Requirements of the Presidency of Madras (Madras, 1854), PP.18-21.

128. The population of the Madras Presidency, excluding the feudatory states, was 35,630,440. See the Manual of Standing Information for the Madras Presidency, 1893 (Madras, 1893) Chapter VI, Census, P.85.
of the entire population were non-cultivating land occupants, 8,257,605 or 23.39 per cent were cultivating occupants, and 5,421,286 or 15.36 per cent were cultivating tenants and sharers.\textsuperscript{129} It showed that the cultivating occupants were nearly thrice as many as the non-cultivating. Agricultural labourers account for 19.61 per cent or 4,109,740 persons of the total agricultural population.\textsuperscript{130} They were divided into farm-servants and field labourers, the former category were labourers employed on yearly basis, and the latter were the temporary hands employed seasonally, for the harvesting etc. Of the total number of agricultural labourers 934,950 were farm servants and 3,174,790 were field labourers.\textsuperscript{131} In addition to this, nearly one million persons who are shown as depending upon some non-agricultural occupations or other had also some interest in land or agricultural operations.

The only large 'industry' was weaving, which with allied occupations of spinning, dyeing and the like supports 1,320,000 persons.\textsuperscript{132} The supply of drink, condiments and narcotics afforded subsistence to a million and a quarter, but of these 440,000 were toddy-tappers and sellers and 460,000 were keepers of the well-known 'miscellaneous' shop.\textsuperscript{133} About a million were employed

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., P.331.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., P.332.
\textsuperscript{132} The Manual of Standing Information for the Madras Presidency, 1893, op.cit., P.89.
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
in personal and domestic services of which more than half were washerman and about one-quarter were barbers. There were about a half a million leather-workers, 300,000 carpenters and the same number of masons and builders. Priests, school masters and unqualified doctors were the chief professional men and there were only 18,000 lawyers. There were nearly three million unskilled labourers, of whom 2,609,000 were shown under the head of general labourers. In the above categories, except professional men, all others belonged to different castes and were doing hereditary traditional services. For example, barbers, washermen, carpenters, leather-workers and the like. They had no fixed payments or salaries. Some of them enjoyed inam lands called service inams. Others, like carpenters, depended upon the farmers who gave them paddy annually in lumpsum. The last category, general labourers, were mostly casual labourers who were employed on daily wages in activities such as house building, earth-removing, road construction.

The agricultural classes, primarily small peasants, suffered due to rack renting and over assessment irrespective of the type of settlement that was in operation. Under

134. Ibid.

135. Inam, is "A present, a gratuity to a dependant, land granted in gift, rent free for ever". C.P. Brown, op. cit. P.ii.
ryotwari tenure, the share of the government was half the value of the net produce of the land. However, the government acknowledged the fact that at the commencement of the ryotwari settlement, "the tax was determined in a somewhat rough-and-ready manner", which was supposed to have been rectified later.\textsuperscript{136} Though the land tax was imposed, theoretically speaking, on the basis of the government share of the produce of the land, this share varied much from district to district and also from time to time. The land revenue was in no case, to exceed 40 per cent of the gross produce in the case of lands for which irrigation water was provided at government cost, or one-third of the gross produce in the case of lands not so irrigated.\textsuperscript{137} This was naturally very high as the cultivating expenses and other miscellaneous taxes to be paid by people left them with very nominal amounts barely enough for their sustenance. On an average the costs and the profits of a ryot in Krishna district were as follows: The total value of the produce in an acre was Rs.160, out of which the ryot had to pay Rs.60/- towards government assessment, Rs.27-3-0 in the form of miscellaneous taxes and Rs.42-8-0 by way of cultivating expenses. The balance he was left with was a paltry sum of Rs.10-5-0 for the whole year.\textsuperscript{138} If this was the condition of the ryots in one of the richest of the circar districts, the misery of the ryots in the ceded

\textsuperscript{136} Manual of the Standing Information for the Madras Presidency, 1893, op.cit., P.71.

\textsuperscript{137} See, C.D. Maclean, Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency in each department in illustration of the yearly administration Reports(Madras, 1877), P.122.

districts could only be imagined.

Revenue defalcations became a regular feature in the Ceded districts due to the lack of irrigation facilities and vagaries of the monsoon. Nevertheless the Board of Revenue insisted on the maximum assessment and its ruthless collection, irrespective of what happened to the ryot. The revenue collections in the Ceded districts rose steeply. In 1800-1801 it was ₹12 lakhs and within one year in 1801-1802 it rose to ₹17 lakhs and to 18 lakhs in 1802-1803 and by 1804-1805 to ₹23 lakhs. When Sir Thomas Munro became the Governor of Madras, in 1820, he was obliged to recommend substantial revenue remissions, but they were successfully stalled by the Board of Revenue. The Madras Presidency was the most heavily taxed

140. Revenue Consultations as cited in Ibid., P.80.
141. In 1821, Mr. Campbell, Collector of Cuddapah, reported to the Board of Revenue on the excessive nature of land revenue. He stated: "The principal farmers of former days are reduced to poor and despairing bankrupts...and I have frequently found the ryots compare to me with regret, their present condition under the British government, with comparative ease they formerly enjoyed, even under the dominion of Tipu Sultan." See Report to the Board of Revenue, 20th April, 1821. In the later years, the government has empowered itself by Madras Act II of 1864 to recover land revenue arrears together with interest at 6 per cent and costs of process, by the sale of the defaulter's movable property including uncut crops or immovable property including buildings on land, or by execution against the person of the defaulter. See C.D. Maclean, op.cit., P.141.
in matters of land revenue. It was calculated that for every one lakh of population, the amount collected as land revenue was Rs.10,05,455 in Bengal, Rs.16,71,965 in Bombay and Rs.23,12,465 in Madras. It was stated in 1853 that only 17% of the farmers were able to pay the land revenue without borrowing from money lenders or merchants, while 49% had to resort to methods of mortgage of both land and cattle and the remaining 34% had to dispose off their crops and cattle soon after the harvesting.

Savage methods of torture were employed to collect revenues forcibly from people and as many of them were extremely poor, ignorant and afraid of the dire consequences, they never complained against tortures. The state of revenue administration, in both the Ceded and Circar districts, and the attitude of the company was aptly described by Lord Macaulay: "Govern leniently, but send us more money, practise justice and moderation, but send us more money, be the father and oppressor of the people, be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious."


143. Letter from Mr. Pelly to the Board of Revenue, 22nd Nov. 1853, cited in Ibid., P.51.

144. In this connection it is interesting to note that these inhuman tortures became a scandal and some enlightened members of the British parliament like Mr. Blacket, John Bright condemned these tortures meted out to the Andhra cultivators both in the Parliament and the Press, which finally resulted in the appointment of a committee to go into this. See Ramesh Dutt, The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age (London, 1906), first edn. 1903), PP.74-75.

a result of such an oppressive system of land revenue, cultivation was unwillingly pursued, and in several cases the cultivators deserted their lands. Furthermore, it resulted in heavy rural indebtedness throwing ryots to the mercy of village 'sahukars' (moneylenders).

Agriculture was in a bad shape with its heavy dependence upon the vagaries of the monsoon, infertile soil, outdated implements and little or no encouragement in the shape of taccavi loans to the peasants either from the government or the zamindars.146 Adequate attention was not paid either to the extension or maintenance of sources of irrigation like tanks and wells. The condition of irrigation works was far from satisfactory.147

The frequent occurrence of famines during the 19th century added to the wretchedness of the agricultural population. From among the rural masses three sections of people suffered most, namely, tenants, weavers and agricultural labourers. The famine of 1807 affected all the districts in the Circars and the Ceded areas. The famine of 1811, called Nellore famine, was of a serious nature.148 More disastrous was the Guntur

146. Commenting upon the static position of agriculture in the Madras Presidency, A. Saradaraju stated, "...we do not find much improvement in agricultural technique...and this lack of change is no new feature. It has characterised India for centuries for agricultural conditions in this country tend to be static rather than dynamic." See A. Sarada Raju, op. cit., P.61.

147. Ibid., PP.122-23.

famine in the year 1833 which wrought havoc with Guntur
district. The worst famine of the 19th century was that of
1876-78 which affected fourteen districts of the Presidency
covering an area of 80,000 miles. During this famine, three
fourths of a million, on an average, were on daily famine relief
for nearly two years. The government, in spite of a number
of reports sent by the district collectors and other revenue
officials, did not formulate any rational policy of famine relief or
prevention. It was only after the great famine of 1876-78,
that a commission, under the presidency of Sir Richard Strachey,

149. During Guntur famine nearly one half of the population died,
several others migrated to the neighbouring districts and
more than two thirds of the live-stock were lost. See,
Col.Walter Campbell an eye-witness, who stated: "...hundreds
die daily, literally of starvation...and although a strong
body of police are constantly employed in collecting the
dead....numbers of bodies are left to be devoured by dogs
and vultures." Out of a population of 512,617, in one year,
200,000 people died and the total loss of revenue was esti-
mated at two and one-fourth millions sterling. See Bruce
Norton, op.cit., P.42. Also see Annie Besant, How India
Wrought For Freedom (Madras, 1915), PP.LIII-LIV. Also
see Homesh Dutt, Vol.II, op.cit., P.49.

150. William Digby, Famine Campaign in Southern India 1876-78
London, 1878), Vol.I, P.11. Also see D.M.Bhatia Famines in
India (Bombay, 1963), P.89. He cited the report of the
Famine Commission (1880) which described the famine of 1876-
78 as "the most grievous calamity of its kind that the
country had experienced till then, since the beginning
of the nineteenth century."

151. Dharma Kumar, op.cit., P.105. Also see C.R.Williams, Letters
Written during a trip to South India and Ceylon in the Winter
of 1876-77 (London, 1877), P.102, wherein the author presented
a picture of famine of 1876-78, which he witnessed during his
stay in South India. For yet another eye-witness account see
Richard Temple, Men and Events of My time in India (London,
1882), P.459.
with Sir Charles Elliot as Secretary, was appointed by Lord Lytton to enquire into the famines in India and suggest the measures of relief and prevention. This was followed by three more Famine Commissions in 1880, 1898 and 1901.

The Permanent Settlement, with its magic touch of land-ownership and a permanent assessment, was envisaged to stimulate industry, promote agriculture and augment the general wealth and prosperity. It conferred ownership of the land upon the former feudal intermediaries who held political and revenue powers over large tracts of land. The sponsors of the Settlement did not care who the land owner was, so long as it was cultivated and land revenue was regularly paid. Since the respective rights of the ryots and the zamindars were left undefined and ambiguous the Settlement wrought much mischief. It enabled the zamindars to enjoy enormous incomes, and affluence led them to live on an unprecedented scale. Unfortunately

153. Ibid., P.227.
154. The Fifth Report, op.cit., Vol.II, P.172. The Court of Directors of the East India Company recommended in 1795 that the Permanent Settlement should be introduced in the Northern Circars. See Revenue Despatches from England - Despatch of April 28, 1795 (East India Correspondence).
155. This aspect has been brought out by Gail Omvedt in her article on "Development of the Maharashtrian class structure, 1818-1931." See Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.VIII, Nos.31-33 (August, 1973).
the rights of the peasants were nowhere defined, and thus the cultivators were exposed to unmitigated oppression. They were content with mere collection of rent and never showed interest in either the improvement of land or agricultural production. The Settlement, contrary to expectations, did not introduce capitalistic farming in India. It deprived the peasants of their traditional ownership-rights, and made them dependent upon the zamindars and suffer misery and oppression.

In the districts of Godavari, Krishna and Ganjam the Permanent Settlement resulted in the collapse of zamindars due to the excessive demands from the government. Several estates were either auctioned or surrendered, because of the inability of the zamindars to pay 'peshcush'.


159. George D. Bearece, British Attitudes towards India (1784-1858), (London, 1961), P.45.

160. M.P.R. Reddy, op.cit., pp.170-73. In the first ten years after the Permanent Settlement, however, the British Government was prepared to show some leniency towards the zamindars and proprietors. In some of the 'haveli' tracts substantial abatements were made during the first ten years and in some of the revenue agreements ('kauls') a passage had been inserted which allowed an increase in the revenues over a period until the amount which was to be permanent had been reached. By 1810, however, the attitude of the government had hardened and the inability of the proprietors to pay their revenues was accompanied by an auction sale or a private sale. See Benedicte Hieje, "Old Perspectives and New in the Discussion about India's Economic Development in the 19th century - A case study of Coastal Andhra Pradesh", Ithibas, Vol.1, No.2 (July-December, 1973), pp.69-115.
Circars in 1823, Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, was struck by the agrarian discontent and poverty of the people in the region. He recorded his suggestions and definitive views in his comprehensive minute dated December 31, 1824 in which he pleaded for the protection of ryots in the Circars. 161 He said that the Permanent Settlement deprived the occupancy ryots of their proprietary rights and bestowed them on zamindars and imaginary landlords. 162 Thus the failure of the Permanent Settlement in the Northern Circars led to misrule and anarchy in the sphere of revenue administration.

After putting down the Poligars of the Ceded districts, Munro undertook a survey of the area and introduced the Ryotwari system under which the condition of peasants became worse. Under the Ryotwari system, the benefit of every ryot being a peasant proprietor at a fixed assessment proved illusory. Land rent was as high as Rs.25 to Rs.50 per acre. 163 The fault lay in the over-assessment of land and exacting demands of the administration. This made agriculture completely unremunerative and prevented the formation of capital within the agricultural economy. Also it blocked the way to the flow of outside capital entering into the

162. Ibid., P.321.
agricultural sector. Peasants, who were in acute need of cash to pay land revenues, fell into the hands of 'sahukars' (money lenders) who became de facto landlords. In many instances the money lender and the landlord were one and the same. The condition of the peasants was described thus: "There are villages in which the owners of the land have become so utterly impoverished, that their whole land is mortgaged.... In very many other cases the ryots have contracted their holdings to what is just enough to give them the means of living, and cultivate that, less for profit, than because they must do so or starve, no other means being open to them to gain livelihood."

Several scholarly attempts have been made to assess the effects of these Settlements. Whatever might be the system, it was largely influenced by the way in which villages were constituted with their exclusive customs and institutions. These villages were the base of the revenue structure, and therefore, the settlements could never be implemented successfully.


165. Robert Eric Frykenberg, ed. Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History (London, 1969), Introduction, P.xiv. Land transactions took place mostly among the ryots and "money lender in not less than 80 per cent of the cases belong to the agricultural classes." See, S.Srinivasa Raghavaiyngar, Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of British Administration (Madras, 1883), P.254.

166. J.D.Boudilon, North Arcot District Gazetteer (Madras, 1854), P.147. The present Chittoor district of the Ceded districts was then a part of North Arcot district.

The British administrators during the first quarter of the 19th century were influenced by Utilitarian ideas which to a large extent influenced the official policy of Indian land revenue. Pressed to pay land revenue in cash, peasants borrowed money and also took to the production of cash crops and were thus exposed to the fluctuations of money market. The legal system introduced by the British ushered in more far reaching changes in the agricultural sector than land revenue. Now, poor peasants were placed at the mercy of courts where money lenders could get favourable decisions by engaging lawyers. Earlier, peasants could not be evicted from their lands as the traditional village system was relatively considerate to them.

A noteworthy feature of this period was the construction of the Godavari and Krishna anicuts on the initiative of Sir Arthur Cotton. Besides developing cultivation, the British


169. See F.R. Hemmingway, *Godavari*, op.cit., PP.79-85. "The Godavari anicut was the first of any real magnitude to be built by Europeans in this Presidency." The Cauvery anicut was an elaboration of native enterprise. The sanction for the Godavari anicut was received in 1847 and was completed by 31st March 1852. The work on the Krishna anicut was commenced in 1792 and was completed by 1853. Cotton submitted a detailed list of the considerations which should generally guide the selection of irrigation works. For a discussion of the imperialist character of the criteria proposed by Cotton, see, Sourin Bhattacharya, "India's First Private Irrigation Company", *Social Scientist*, Vol.4, No.3 (October, 1975), PP.35-55.
used the rivers as waterways for the transport of cash crops like cotton and tobacco from the interior parts to the main centres. However, they immensely helped the growth of agriculture in the Godavari and Krishna districts which from then on came to be called the granary of Andhra. In particular the overall growth of the Godavari district was phenomenal. The revenue leaped from the 13th place among the 22 districts of the Madras Presidency to the second place, and became "the most thriving in India from having been one of the poorest." When the work of the anicut commenced there were 561,041 inhabitants in the Godavari district and according to the census of 1891, the population increased to 1,517,741 or nearly 300 per cent. Dr. Roseburg (the Company's botanist who conducted an experimental farm for several years) said that

170. There are nearly 500 miles of canals which, besides carrying water for irrigation, are excellent lines of communication. Furthermore, the Godavari navigation system was connected with the Krishna system (with its 300 miles of navigable canals) and from it again into the Buckingham canal which runs along the coastline for a distance of 194 miles. Thus from Kakinada to Madras the canal navigation is about 500 miles. The provision of cheap carriage not only in and around the district but to the seaport (Madras) greatly helped the British to exploit the natural resources of the Godavari district which sprang into prosperity during this period. Lady Hope, General Sir Arthur Cotton, His Life and Work (London, 1900), P.134.

171. Sir Arthur Cotton, Lectures on Irrigation Works in India (Autumn Session, 1874), (Vijayawada, 1968), P.4. The revenue in 1843-44 from all sources was Rs.17,25,841 and by 1898 the land revenue alone was Rs.60,19,224, an increase of nearly 250 per cent.

172. Ibid., P.40.

173. Ibid., P.3.
Rajahmundry had some of the finest lands in India which could yield rich crops of sugar, cotton, tobacco and mulberries besides having extensive tracts of paddy cultivation. The anicut on the Godavari triggered off the commercial expansion of the related region of Rajahmundry. Before the construction of the Godavari Project the average export of the Rajahmundry region amounted to six lakhs rupees annually. After completion the amount of export trade rose to an annual figure of forty lakhs of rupees. The area on which this trade originated was 2400 square miles. Commenting upon the changes in Godavari district since the construction of the anicut, S. Nathamuni Mudaliar, a retired Tahasildar from the district, stated: "The wealthier classes were much benefitted and the condition of ryots was so much improved by the general high prices that instead of being in the hands of sevcaras, they were sevcaras themselves.... The vast increase in agriculture by irrigation has very materially improved the condition of ryots.... Roads have multiplied.... The number of village schools has so considerably increased that there are now four Deputy Inspectors (Sub-Assistants) and one Assistant Inspector for the whole district in the place of one Deputy Inspector.... This is besides an Inspecting Schoolmaster for each taluk.... The present project of Lord Connemara of connecting this part of the country with

175. See Sourin Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*
Madras by means of rail roads will still more develop the resources of the country.\(^{176}\)

The construction of railways in this part of the country, was commenced in 1890 and was over by August 1893. It was then called the East Coast Railway.\(^{177}\) The railways contributed to the further growth of trade and commerce and also made journey easy and cheap. They also led to the flow of ideas from and a direct access to the Presidency metropolis (Madras city).

There were no industries worth mentioning in Andhra except the handloom industry which had its commerce mainly with Europe, and the inland territories of the Deccan.\(^{178}\) Some agro-based industries came up during the first two decades of the 19th century. These consisted of such commodities as rice and dry grains like pulses and matchan.\(^{179}\) The spindle and the spinning wheel.

\(^{176}\) S. Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar, *op. cit.*, Appendix X, Section V, PP. cxxi-ccxiv. Also see, on the same theme, Henry Morries, *op. cit.*, P. 87.

\(^{177}\) C. Lakshmanarasmim, *Svacyacharitamu* (Bezwada, 1944), P. 106. Lakshminarasimham was a student and later a follower and coworker of Veeresalingam in his reform activities. He wrote his autobiography in Telugu. Extracts from it are translated and given in the thesis.

\(^{178}\) A. V. Ramana Rao, *op. cit.*, P. 7. Besides the textile industry, salt and saltpetre were also manufactured. While the weaving industry was in a flourishing state, the manufacture of salt had suffered a serious set back. Most of the salt had been exported to Bengal, but in that province a monopoly of the manufacture of salt was established by the British Government in 1765, and importation ceased. This led to a serious decline in the coastal trade. See the article of Benedicto Niejo, *op. cit.*

\(^{179}\) Ibid. By the middle of the 19th century, new cash crops like sugar and oil seeds were produced. As a result of this, a large sugar factory was established at Bhimilipatnam by the Madras Agency House, Arbuthnot company which had a stimulating effect on the cultivation of sugarcane in Ganjam, Visakhapatnam and Rajahmundry. From 1850 to 1860 the average yearly value of the sugar exported was Rs. 2,059,126 out of a total export figure of Rs. 21,66,454.
wheels were the two additional means of livelihood to the poor people. Thread-making was an important cottage industry and nearly as many as 200 varieties of cloth were produced. 180 However, the colonial interests in importing cloth from England ruined the native handloom industry and spinning as a separate profession was fast disappearing. 181 So millions of them became jobless and began to flock to agriculture 182 or migrate to towns that were coming up or leave for other countries like British Burma in search of livelihood. 183 It was during this period that several flourishing ports on the coastal Andhra like Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada, Narsapur and Machilipatnam decayed due to a fall in the export of textiles, carpets and the like. 184 Ship-building industry as well as overland trading to other parts of the country like Bengal languished.

Except from the census, little is known about the strength of industrial labourers. The census of 1881, by which time the traditional industries like textiles, salt-making, ship-building etc. declined, showed that workers engaged in Cotton, Flax,

181. S. Srinivasaraghavayengar, op.cit., P.93. Speaking for the Guntur district Frykenberg noted that the import of European cotton products were crippling the demand for local cloth production in Rajapet, Vetapalem, Mangalagiri and other towns. See Robert Eric Frykenberg, op.cit., P.4.
wool and silk industries numbered about 4,72,400 including females.\textsuperscript{165} The number of workers engaged in various types of metal industry such as iron, steel, copper, brass and mixed metals was 46,609.\textsuperscript{166} However, this does not include the numerous blacksmiths, goldsmiths and engravers scattered throughout the country-side helping the agriculturists with the tools and implements necessary in their daily operations. Chemicals claimed 48,980 whereas people engaged in leather industry were about 21,000.\textsuperscript{167} Salt making industry had 8,620, Gums & Resins 15,350 and the masons and other skilled workers involved in building industry numbered 41,640.\textsuperscript{168} A small number of 550 workers in book industry and about 600 in machine tools were employed.\textsuperscript{169} In the preceding account the strength of recognised sections of industrial labourers alone was given. They do not include the 'village industries' like pottery, tanning, basket weaving and mat making, carpentry etc. One significant characteristic of these occupations is that the same persons were both makers and sellers of their products.

The growth of towns in Andhra began by the middle of the 19th century and many towns came into existence by the close of the century.\textsuperscript{190} The movement of rural population to the urban

\textsuperscript{165} These figures are calculated on the basis of the statistics furnished in Imperial Census of 1881 - The Presidency of Madras, Vol.II, Table XII-a.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{190} A.V. Ramana Rao, \textit{op. cit.}, P.160.
areas was largely due to the higher wages and greater freedom from caste repression which the towns held out to the lower grades of the population and to the superior social and educational advantages and the more varied amenities which they offered to the better classes. Generally the railways increased the trade of those places where they reached and also created new trading centres along its track. Among other factors that contributed to the growth of towns, mention may be made of the starting of industries, famines, availability of cheap labour, tendency of rich landlords and other similar classes to live in towns, and modern education. The new professional classes (educated middle class) came into existence in the wake of these towns. The revenue settlements on the one hand and industry and commerce on the other failed to develop rural capitalist and strong commercial classes respectively. Middle classes in the Madras Presidency, therefore, comprised mainly of people belonging to different professions like teaching,

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192. Ibid. Also see A.V. Ramana Rao, *op.cit.*, P.160. Ramana Rao mentioned that due to communication facilities like waterways and railways, towns such as Vijayawada, Bhimavaram, Kakinada were developed and other towns like Vijayanagaram, Kurnool, Machilipatnam, Rajahmundry were already great centres of the age-old weaving industry. *Census of India, 1901 (Madras)* Vol.XV-A, Part I, Report, P.13, mentioned that from 1891 to 1901 there has been a striking advance in the total number of the town population, it being 25 per cent greater than it was ten years ago, although the population as a whole has increased by only a little over 7 per cent. The report further stated that the growth of municipal towns has been rapid.
law, medicine and civil service. In this connection it may be noted that progress of education was rapid in the Madras Presidency after 1857. Middle classes fought for liberal and democratic values and respected the individual but not religious authority. They stood for intellectual freedom and social mobility and became the carriers of new ideas and provided basis and orientation to social reform movements.

Thus the break-up of the old political and economic order had a deep impact on society. The new revenue settlements created private property in land introducing individual ownership of land and thereby transforming society from the basis of status to one of contract. This and other intruding commercial and economic forces which entered the village undermined...

193. See B.M. Bhatia, "Growth and composition of Middle class in South India in nineteenth century", The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. II, No. 4 (October, 1965).

194. S. Sathianathan, op. cit., p. 19. Madras was leading the other two Presidencies in the percentage of literacy. By 1886 it had 5 more colleges than Bengal. It was far ahead of Bombay with 23 more colleges and three times as many students.


196. See Sumit Sarkar, Bibliographical Survey of Social Reform Movements in the 19th and 19th centuries (New Delhi, 1975), p. 1. Sarkar states that "social reform movements of modern period had a clear upper caste (and upper and middle class) basis...". With regard to the Madras Presidency this was true as education was almost monopolised by the Brahmans and upper classes.
the agrarian economy of the pre-British period. The new land relations and the consequent change in the social fabric of Indian agriculture was a significant event in the process of the transformation from the pre-capitalist feudal economy of India into a formal capitalist economy. Karl Marx spoke of the destructive as well as regenerative roles of the British rule in India.\(^{197}\) The destruction of the old village economy, though it involved much suffering and misery, was a progressive event. It was a right step in the direction of uniting the Indian people economically into one unit.\(^{198}\) It put an end to the isolation of the village communities living in an atmosphere of social passivity and intellectual inertia. Further, the process of converting India into a market for foreign goods brought untold suffering to the village artisans who swelled the ranks of the landless poor. Pressure on land and the consequent rural unemployment accentuated the agrarian crisis.

Consequent on all this, there developed symptoms of a structural imbalance in the Indian society as a whole during the 19th century. These events, along with the spread of education, growth of towns, a modern legal system, political unity, better communications and the rise of new professional


\(^{198}\) A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay, first edn. 1948), P. 37.
(middle) classes led to the much desired social mobility and social change. Karl Marx, while commenting upon the crumbling of the village economy characterised it as "...the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia." The total break-up of the old economic structure and the full emergence of the capitalist system, however, did not take place and hence social change stopped midway, leaving the country semi-feudal and semi-capitalist, with strong ties between moribund feudalism and emergent capitalism, both subordinated to an overpowerful alien colonialism.


200. Viewing the developments of modern Indian history in the light of colonialism and its restraints was the concept formulated by Professor Bipan Chandra in his Presidential address (Section III), "Colonialism and Modernization", Indian History Congress, Thirtyssecond Session, 1970 at Jabalpur. For application of this concept to Bengal Renaissance, see Sumit Sarkar's article, "Rammohan Roy and break with the Past," in V.C.Joshi, ed. Rammohan Roy and the process of modernization in India (New Delhi, 1975).