CHAPTER - III

SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS IN HYDERABAD STATE

The autocratic Nizam regime effectively repressed political and social movements and mass mobilization along party and caste lines. The Congress and the Communists hardly made a beginning, even through front organizations, until the late 1930s. Instead, the Arya Samaj took on political importance, and fed into the Congress movement to give it a ‘Hindu nationalist’ tenor. Local Muslims and some Hindus (very often Kayasthas) formulated an ideology of a multi-religious, pluralistic ‘Deccani Hyderabad culture’ form the nineteenth century, but this came under attack both from Hindus and those Muslims who sought to promote a more orthodox Islamic identity.

Dalits faced pressures on both sides, to identify themselves as Hindus or with Muslims. In some ways there was closeness in Dalit-Muslim relations in the Hyderabad area itself, yet it was a closeness characterized by doubt. The relationship was expressed in a saying quoted by one Dalit activist, ‘The Dalit colony is the Muslim’s in-laws’ place’, meaning that Muslims took wives/girls from among Dalits. But this was an unequal relationship. In the devadasi custom among Malas and Madigas, the basavis or matangis very often formed relations with affluent or noble Muslims in Hyderabad itself, and when the Dalit reformers moved to stop the custom in the 1920s, one result was to increase Muslim antagonism. Muslims were ‘always
after our girls’, was a Dalit complaint. The closeness’ thus had a clear element of sexual exploitation in it, though Muslims did not observe untouchability, and was symbolized in the naming of Hyderabad itself, after a Dalit girl (Bhagyamma or Hyder Ali) said to have been brought into the harem of the founding prince.¹

The Adi Hindu movement

As this emerging, partly-educated Dalit middle class began to enter social life, the radicalization among Dalits throughout south India brought with it identification with the ‘adi’ ideology. It was Bhagyareddy Varma himself who presided over the momentous conference at Vijayawada in 1913 when the ‘Panchama’ identity was rejected and over a number of conferences after that. Nevertheless, in Hyderabad they took up an ‘Adi-Hindu’ theme: four Adi-Hindu conferences were organized between 1912 and 1924, and gradually the main organizers began to use this terminology. In 1924 Arigay Ramaswamy formed the Adi-Hindu Jatiyonnati Sabha; not to be outdone; Bhagyareddy transformed his Manya Sangam into the Adi-Hindu Social Service League. This became the main organization of the Dalits of Hyderabad, a feat attributed to his energetic organizing and ability to gain support from liberal Hindu sympathizers. Along with the traditional aims of internal reform (‘removing social evils, establishing schools, societies, reading rooms, bhajan mandalis’), the aims of the organization included ‘removing ignoble appellations and spreading the identity of ‘Adi-Hindu’'.
What exactly did the ‘Adi-Hindu’ identity connote? This term was spreading among sections of north Indian Chamars at this time claiming them, to be exploited and conquered original inhabitants and Bhagyareddy himself travelled to north India for some of the conferences, notably two in 1927 and 1930, which described the ‘depressed classes’ or ‘adi-Hindus’ as ‘descendents of the original inhabitants of this country who were rulers and owners of this land of their birth before the advent of the Aryans to the country."

This was familiar anti-caste radicalism. But ‘Adi-Hindu’ could also leave space for identification as Hindus with simply the assertion added that Dalits could claim a high position within the total community, that they had been among the creators of the Hindu epics.

These were issues debated and discussed among Dalits, and the 1931 Hyderabad Census reported on the controversy:

A controversy recently raged in the press as to whether the Adi-Hindus are Hindus. While the caste Hindus maintained a discrete silence, two opposing sections of Adi-Hindus entered the arena. The Adi-Dravida Educational League argued that, judged by the history, philosophy and civilization of the Adi-Dravidas, the real aborigines of the Deccan, the Depressed Classes are, as a community, entirely separate and distinct from the followers of Vedic religion, called Hinduism. The League’s contention was that Hinduism is not the ancestral religion of the aborigines
of Hindustan; that the non-Vedic communities of India object to being called ‘Hindu’ because of their inherited abhorrence of the doctrines of the Manusmruti and like scriptures, who have distinguished themselves from caste Hindus for centuries past, that the Vedic religion which the Aryans brought in the wake of their invasion was actively practiced upon the non-Vedic aborigines, and that the aborigines, coming under the influence of the Hindus, gradually and half-consciously adopted Hindu ideas and prejudices. A section of Adi-Hindus emphatically repudiated the above arguments in a statement in the press and deplored the tendency of the Adi-Dravida Educational League to seek to impose an invidious distinction. The concepts of God, the mode of worship, the system of rituals and code of customs and the manner of dress and way of life of the socially depressed classes are identical with those of the caste Hindus, and therefore they maintain that religiously adi-Hindus are Hindus.  

Communalism and the Arya Samaj

The years after 1930 in Hyderabad state saw growing radicalism, partly diverted into Hindu-Muslim tension and partly expressed in a communist domination of the Andhra Mahasabha and intensive rural organizing. These two factors, along with the growing influence of Ambedkar, provided the context for Dalit organizing during the period.

Growing Hindu-Muslim tension was embodied in the dominance of the Arya Samaj over nationalist Hindus, and in the rise of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul Muslimeen
politicizing commoner Muslims against the more integrative but aristocratic ‘mulki’ Deccani ideology. With state support for full-time paid propagandists, the Majlis began a conversion campaign which focused to a large extent on the vulnerable untouchables. Along with the state’s patronage and a mild amount of anti-vethbegar legislation, it provided a basis for Dalit attraction to a Muslim alliance. The Arya Samaj responded with attempts to reconvert, and communal clashes began to occur.⁶

Arya Samaj, founded in 1875 at Bombay by Maharishi Dayanand Saraswathi, has been hailed as one of the most potential and dynamic socio-religious movements of the day. It had a great impact on the life and thinking of the people particularly of the Hindus in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The political problems in Hyderabad related mainly to injustice of the minority rule over the majority. The minority of the ruler's community aspired to grow in strength through religious planks. Proselytizing the members of the majority community was one of the easy means to add to their own numbers. This was quite justified as long as the means are fair and merely persuasive. But when unfair means were employed the situation became quite explosive. The Arya Samaj in Hyderabad state was founded in 1880 in Dharur Taluk of Beed district which acted as head office to guide its activities. In 1892, the Arya Samaj of Hyderabad was started in Residency area, later renamed as Sultan Bazar. The first president here was Pandit Kamata Prasadji Misra.
But its impact was felt from the time Pandit Keshava Rao Koratkar, a great patriot and lawyer was elected the President of Arya Samaj in Hyderabad and he continued to remain at its helm 1932. He infused great vigour into the activities of Arya Samaj. He established many branches of Arya Samaj throughout the state and helped the spread of education through libraries and schools. They even rendered financial help to movements outside Hyderabad like the Moplah rebellion in Malabar.

The lopsided policy of the Nizam's government and their efforts to increase the number of minority at the expense of majority was questioned and checked by the Arya Samaj. Thus, the Nizam's government changed their attitude towards Arya Samaj and began to place a number of impediments before it. It grew so much that even the normal functioning of Arya Samaj had become impossible.

In 1938-39 a major Satyagraha campaign in Hyderabad was part of the rising national militancy, but took on a dangerous communal character. After 6,000 Satyagraha had been arrested, Gandhi himself called on the Hyderabad State Congress to call off the campaign. But the damage had been done; as Leonard notes, ‘the 1938 Satyagraha both demonstrated and solidified existing political divisions; it dealt a death blow to an indigenous, all-inclusive mulki movement.’ Anti-imperialism in Hyderabad, in other words, was being expressed as anti-Muslim. The Nizam regime announced constitutional reforms in July 1939 but there were no strong group of moderates to respond to a compromise.
Role of Andhra Mahasabha

While the Arya Samaj was rising within the Congress fold, communists were gaining dominance over the strongest of the linguistic-cultural organizations, the Andhra Mahasabha. Communist organizing in the state had begun only in 1938 when the newly formed unit of the CPI got in touch with members of progressive groups in Hyderabad, ranging from members of the Mahasabha and Maharashtra Parishad to the ‘Comrades’ Association’ among progressive Muslims. In 1939 these groups converged into the Nizam State Communist Committee. The Andhra Mahasabha became the centre of activity, and communists found a base in the rural areas of Telangana where commercial agriculture was beginning to provide scope for a newly assertive peasantry. Initially, the Mahasabha started out as a literacy movement with the nomenclature Andhra Jana Sangham, but soon turned into a political platform for progressive leadership. In the 1930 conference, the Andhra Jana Sangham had converted its name to Andhra Maha Sabha and the use of the word 'Andhra' was quite objectionable to the Nizam's government but the Telangana leaders stuck to it and refused to substitute it by the word Telugu or Telangana. The Communists made good use of the platform to launch a militant movement against the feudal regime in the Telangana region of Hyderabad state.

In an atmosphere of illiteracy, ignorance and feudal rule, there were only a few enlightened social workers in the city. Some of them were Unnava Venkataramiah, Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Suravaram Pratap Reddy, Ravi Narayan Reddy,
T. Anantha Venkat Rao, Ramachandra Reddy Deshmukh, Alladurgam, Gopala Venkat Rao and Datta Narayana who constituted themselves into an organization called the Andhra Maha Sabha. It is also significant to note that along with the Andhra Maha Sabha conferences, Andhra Mahila conferences were also held in 1930.

The most harmful practice that the Sangham endeavored to stop was 'begar', a form of forced labour. According to this system, government officers, Patels, Patwaries, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes exercised a right to employ the skill and labor of craftsmen for their own benefit without any payment to the workmen. Though the Nizam had issued firmans against the evil practice of enlisting forced labor, there was no relief for the victims. Therefore the Sangam published a booklet in Telugu and conveyed the knowledge of the firman to all the sufferers. The other forceful demand was to abolish Urdu as a medium of instruction to Hindu girls. The Mahasabha also fought against the evil practice of devadasi system.

By the year 1938, strong leanings towards Communism began to appear among some members of the group. The split in the group began to appear between nationalist persons like M. Ramachandra Rao and Ravi Narayan Reddy, the Communist leader. The 11th and 12th annual conferences of the Sabha were held at Bhuvanagiri and Khammam under the Presidency of Narayana Reddy alone. The Andhra Communist leaders including Chandra Rajeshwara Rao participated in the conference which was attended by more than ten thousand people. K.V. Ranga Reddy and M. Ramachandra Rao denounced the session as a Communist Party meeting and
organized a rival Sabha called the Nationalist Andhra Maha Sabha. This Sabha held two sessions in 1945 and 1946 and then decided to merge itself with its counter parts - the Maharashtra Parishad and the Mysore Parishad in the Hyderabad State Congress. The Sabha under the Communists held its 12th session at Khammam 1945 and more than 40,000 attended the conference. On 3rd December 1946, the Communist Party was banned and naturally the activities of the Andhra Maha Sabha also came to a halt.

The Library Movement:

Libraries are the storehouses of knowledge. Public opinion can be moulded by supplying books or periodicals to them. The starting of libraries created a great attraction for mother tongues. It helped the various movements to spread rapidly. The Library movement gradually became a cultural movement, and the renaissance, which followed, resulted in the political movement. Through the efforts of Mulla Abdul Qayum, the State Central Library was established in 1892. But the public opinion in Telangana in particular, and in the state in general was developed by the opening of Sri Krishna Deva Raya Basha Nilayam in 1901, with the efforts of Komarraju Lakshman Rao, Gadicharla Harisarvapha Rao, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, N. Venkata Ranga Rao, and Ravichettu Ranga Rao, Adipudi Somanath Rao etc.

Sripada Damodara Sarwalekar and Kesava Rao Koratkar were responsible in starting a Marathi Library, in Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad, in 1901. The starting of Vignanachandrika Mandali in 1906, Sri Raja Rajanarendra Bhasha Nilayam in 1904
at Hanamkonda, the Andhra Samvardhini Library at Secunderabad in 1905 helped, in
the intellectual awakening. The Albert Reading Room, Secunderabad was also
prominent during the period. The starting of the Library movement helped in the
cultural and political revival in the state. Thus we find that the seeds for the cultural
revival in the state were sown as early as 1901, but due to the peculiar suffocating
conditions prevailing in the state, one of them being the educational backwardness of
the people in general, and of the Telangana people in particular, it took a long time,
for the seeds to sprout. However, as Sarojini Regani rightly said, “We find that
Hyderabad was also getting affected by the breeze of national renaissance pervading
in British India and this resulted in the spurt of social and cultural activities”11 and
the awakening of Hyderabad state.

Vandemataram Movement in Hyderabad State: 1938-39

The Vandemataram movement: in Hyderabad State, though short lived, was an
unprecedented and a genuinely dynamic student movement. It helped to bring about
political awakening and radical nationalism among the youth in the state. It started as
a non-party, Hindu student agitation, against the ban on singing Vandemataram song
in Aurangabad Intermediate College Hostel on 16th November 193812 and later spread
to other parts of the state. When the song was banned in the prayer halls of Osmania
University Hostels at Hyderabad on 23rd November 1938, it gathered momentum. The
movement was a sort of revolt against the increasing communal influence partly of
the Nizam’s Government and of the Ittehad-ul-Musalmeen Party (founded in 1928),
and partly against the growing influence of the Indian Muslim League\textsuperscript{13} on the University Campus. This was a unique agitation which gave training to the students, who later became leaders in various walks of life.\textsuperscript{14} This movement, however, had no relation with the contemporary Satyagraha and other agitations launched by the Hyderabad State Congress, the Aryan Defence League, the Hindu Civil Liberties Union,\textsuperscript{15} etc.

It was customary in all the Government institutions to sing a song of loyalty of the Asafia dynasty in Hyderabad State. The students of Government Intermediate College, Aurangabad objected to this practice and decided to sing the national song i.e., Vandemataram song in their College and hostels in November, 1938. But the song was banned on 16\textsuperscript{th} November, 1938 by the University authorities both in the college as well as in the hostels. The Hindu students encouraged by G. M. Shroff, a staff member of the Aurangabad College, protested against the ban on the song.\textsuperscript{16}

Osmania University students sharply reacted to the attitude of the college authorities in Aurangabad and the fall out could be seen in the hostels. There were two prayer halls in each of the Osmania University Hostels since the beginning of 1938; one for the Muslims and the other for the Hindus. The Muslim prayer hall was free from any restrictions, whereas the songs sung in the Hindu prayer hall\textsuperscript{17} were subjected to scrutiny by the government as it suspected that songs like Vandemataram had political overtones, apart from hurting non-Hindus. The University authorities banned the singing of the Vandemataram song in the prayer hail on 28 November
1938. On the same day, students submitted a memorandum to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor requesting the revocation of the ban order. Contrary to the expectations of the students the Pro-Vice-Chancellor reiterated the earlier ban order stating that it was issued by the Executive Council, the supreme executive body in the State.

Supporting the ban of Vandemataram song, Raha Bare Deccan, a leading Urdu paper from Hyderabad, observed that Bankim Chandra Chaterjee wrote the song only to ask Hindus to revolt against Muslim rule and destroy mosques. Therefore, it was objectionable to the Muslims. The Hindu students declared that it was meant neither to hurt the Muslims nor had any political design. They considered it only as a sacred song which aroused nationalism. On the evening of November 28, when the day the song was banned, the students went to the prayer hail and sang the song. When the students were coming out of the prayer hail of ‘B’ hostel, the Warden and other representatives of the University authorities took the signatures of the students who had violated the University order. On 29th morning, the students were literally kept under house arrest, when they were asked not to leave the hostels, and not to attend the college until further orders.

When the students were asked to leave the hostels on the night of 29th November 1938, they formed an “Action Committee” of the Vandemataram strikers with K. Achyut Reddy as President, P.G. Puranik, Narasing Prasad Jaiswal, D.M. Deshmukh, S.K. Imarti, Narendra Dutta and few others as members take necessary
action depending on the situation. The Action Committee decided to continue the movement unabated till their demands were met.

The Government decided to check the movement by adopting repressive measures. Policemen were posted not only in the hostels and campus colleges, but also along the roads leading to the University Campus. University authorities gave notice to the strikers that by December 10, 1938 they should apologise and resume classes, otherwise their names would be struck off the rolls. As the students refused to comply with the orders, the names of 350 students of the Osmania University College were struck off the rolls on 12th December 1938. On the same day, 70 students from the City College, 310 from the Gulburga College (including High School students) and 120 students from the Mahboobnagar High School were removed from the respective institutions. Simultaneously, the Government also stopped the payment of scholarships and fees concessions. Further, the Government had declared on December 10th that the Vandemataram song would not be allowed to be sung in any of the Government institutions and also threatened the striking students of dire consequences regarding services and employment opportunities.

The educational authorities, frightened by the growing awakening among the students, prohibited the students from delivering speeches or contributing articles without previous approval of the authorities. Mumtazeem Muqaddam Kotwal even ordered that anybody who sang Vandemataram song should be handed over to police, Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, Education Minister of the State told a student
delegation not to demand for Vandemataram song. Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State, was sympathetic at the beginning and tried for a compromise with the striking students. But owing to the increasing influence of communal forces on the Government, the Prime Minister hardened his views towards the striking students. ‘When the strike was in progress, Sir Akbar stated in his reply to a student representation that there would be no compromise on the song and further said that students would not get jobs if they study in Nagpur or other Universities as a matter of policy of the Government.

Notwithstanding systematic efforts of the Government to crush the agitation, the movement became a statewide phenomenon. It received the blessings of national leaders like Gandhi, Subash Chandra Bose, Nehru, etc. But the State Government was adamant not to re-admit the expelled students. Ravada Satyanarayana, a Lecturer in Physics, Osmania University, advised the striking students not to lose an academic year. Therefore, the students planned to go to Nagpur and other neighboring Universities. The University students’ en mass wrote to the enlightened and liberal Vice-Chancellor, T.J. Kedar of Nagpur University seeking admission, and he asked them to apply individually for consideration of their cases.

Consequently, in January 1939, Nagpur University and its affiliated colleges admitted all the expelled students of Osmania University, whoever had applied. The Osmania University authorities were furious and commented that Nagpur University did not observe the “usual etiquette”, and took the matter to Inter-University Board.
The expulsion of students from Osmania University and their consequent admission in other Universities also created grave problems to the students and their parents. The students came from a cross section of the population, and majority of them were economically poor. Hence there were attempts by a few students and others for reconciliation. A. C. Sen Gupta, Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur wrote to Sir Akbar on 7 March, 1939 indicating his willingness to mediate between the students and Osmania University. However, the authorities of Osmania University were not enthusiastic about the mediation. Further, the authorities were unwilling to withdraw the circular on the ban of the song and the expulsion of students. The University, however, was prepared to offer good terms for readmission.³⁵

However, further financial support to the movement came from the most unexpected source i.e., Kotwal Venkatrama Reddy, who had tremendous influence over the Nizams Government.³⁶ Though the movement did not have any tangible results at the end, it created a new situation in the Hyderabad State. Commenting on the movement Kotwal Venkatrama Reddy used to say that the Government was in trouble not only from the students but also from many other fronts, since political movements were in progress in the State.

Role of Hyderabad State Congress

As a result of the efforts of the Andhra Maha Sabha political awareness was taught to the people and the idea of starting a "Hyderabad State Congress" on the lines
of the State Congress Committee in the neighboring Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka states took shape. When the AICC held its session at Kakinada in 1923 under Maulana Mohammed Ali a delegation under the leadership of Vaman Naik attended the session from Hyderabad State. Dr. Burugula Ramakrishna Rao who was among the members of the delegation translated the Hindi and Urdu speeches delivered by the leaders from North India into Telugu as per Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's instructions. But it has taken another 13 years before efforts were made to form the State Congress. In 1936, a move was made by Siddanahalli Krishna Sharma, Burugula Ramakrishna Rao, Pandit Ramachari, Ramakrishna Doot, Swamy Ramanand Thirtha and Govindrai Nanal to give shape to the proposal to form the State Congress.

Another movement that greatly spread among the young was the Vande Mataram movement which needs special mention. The government had banned the singing of Vande Mataram by students of Osmania University even in their hostels. Many students violated the orders and launched an agitation. The Mahboob College also took active part in it which was visited by Swamy Vivekananda in 1893.

Though a number of Congress leaders worked tirelessly for the political awakening in Hyderabad one of the leaders, Swamy Ramanand Thirtha stands foremost among them. He was truly the guiding spirit during this period. Through his selfless leadership, he gave a firm direction to the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. The Swamy saw in the princely state the danger of an anti-national, non secular entity
perpetuating itself in India's body politic. Therefore cutting down all political
diplomacy and with characteristic bluntness, he said that the apex should go and the
pyramid should be dismantled. The most famous among his followers include P.V.
Narasimha Rao, who later went on to become the Prime Minister of the country in
1991. Others include Marri Chenna Reddy, who later became the Chief Minister of
Andhra Pradesh twice.

By birth a Kannadiga, Swamy Ramanand Thirtha's original name was
Venkatesh Bhavan Rao Khedgikar. His permanent residence was in the territory of
Telangana. He was the head of the Rama Thirtha Mission. In his own words he
described the state of affairs in Hyderabad thus... "In so far as Hyderabad is
concerned, the paramount power has remained paramount not only protecting the
highest feudal monarchy in India and the world but also utilized the supreme position
for modeling the imperial layouts of political department of the government of
India".37

In July 1938, leaders like Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, Burugula Ramakrishna
Rao, Ramachari Joshi, Digambara Rao Bindu held a meeting and decided to launch
the Hyderabad State Congress at any cost. They decided to enroll hundreds of primary
members and organize a general body meeting in September that year. On September
9th in 1938, the Nizam issued an order banning the Congress in the state.38 Despite the
objections, Swamy decided to formally inaugurate Hyderabad State Congress on 24th
October 1938. Immediately he was arrested because he offered Satyagraha. The
Satyagraha was started on the 24th October, 1938 by the Hyderabad State Congress and was suspended on the 24th December, 1938 by Kashinath Rao Vaidya, the eighteenth director of the Satyagrahis, mainly on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. Swamy was released from jail, while sounds of Vandemataram and flogging reverberated in the jail.

The Congress also made many efforts to win the approval of the government for lifting the ban on the Congress. They justified the formation and continuation of the Congress by stating clearly its objectives. They stated that the name 'Congress' was adopted merely to stress on the nationalist basis underlying this movement as distinguished from that of communal or provincial movements. They also stressed that their movement was founded upon sincere loyalty to the Asaf Jahi throne and it would always strive to enhance the prestige and power of the king who was the symbol of glory and power of the state. Another important fact is that it was absolutely non-communal in outlook.

In the prevailing situation, Swamy Ramanand had no option but to decide to resort to civil disobedience once again so that matters may come to a head. He also addressed a letter dated 10th September 1940 to Sir Akbar stating that with deepest regret he has to resort to Civil Disobedience owing to the attitude of uncompromising opposition shown by the government of the HEH towards the Hyderabad State Congress.
Since the Government was allergic to the use of the word "Congress", the name of the organization was changed from Hyderabad State Congress to Hyderabad National Conference. But the Government objected to this also stating that the body could not be called National since all the communities were not represented in it. It was pointed out the Congress had in fact, members drawn from all communities. Out of a total of 1000 members, as many as 150 were Muslims. But the Government did not consider it adequate. K.S. Vaidya was quite disgusted with the twisted interpretation given to words and phrases by the Government.

The ban was finally lifted on 3rd July 1946. After the ban on the Congress was lifted and the Hyderabad State Congress formed, Swamy Ramanand was elected as its first President. The Cabinet Mission came to India in 1946 and had discussion with a number of groups in India. The Hyderabad government came to the conclusion that it would remain an Independent state outside the Indian Union. As India's Independence became an imminent fact by August, people were eager that the Hyderabad State should become part of India. The struggle reached a high point on August 14th and 15th as the government took steps to crush the movement at any cost. The government even banned the hoisting of the Indian national flag. Swamy Ramananda called upon the people to face the challenge thrown by the government.

The state liberation movement received tremendous response from all sections of the people with farmers, industrial workers and women joining hands. Police resorted to lathi charge when people violated the ban order on hoisting the national flag.
flag and firing took place in many places and hundreds of people were arrested including leaders like Swamy Ramananda Thirtha, Dr. G.S. Melkote and others. Women were also arrested for hoisting the national flag. 7th August, 1947 was observed as "Join India Union Day". In response to this, schools, colleges and workshops were closed. The struggle continued till November 30, 1947 when a "Standstill Agreement" was signed under which important leaders arrested were released. But, due to the Agreement, the Hyderabad state did not become free.

Meanwhile the Razakars under the leadership of Kasim Rizvi, resorted to looting, violence and rape of women in villages and created chaos. The Congress leaders toured the villages and infused courage among the people and submitted a memorandum to the government on the atrocities being committed by the Razakars. But the government did not take any action on the memorandum. The State Congress leaders felt that there was no alternative but to represent the situation to the central government. A delegation of Congress leaders proceeded to Delhi, met Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel and explained to them the anarchic conditions prevailing in the Hyderabad State and the people's desire for merger of the state with the Indian Union.

The movement gained strength and at midnight of September 13, 1948, the Congress workers formed 'Liberation Groups' and marched into the Nizam's state from all the four sides. Simultaneously under the instruction of Sardar Patel, the forces of Indian Government also entered the state from all sides and liberated the state from the despotic rule of the Nizam.
Awakening of Dalit Consciousness

The economic changes introduced by the colonial rulers in the 19th century in order to consolidate their rule and intensify the exploitation of India, had an impact on the relations of production in the rural areas and created new classes from among the various castes, the various revenue settlements – the zamindari, rayatwari, etc., the introduction of railways, defence works, the colonial education system, the uniform criminal and civil law and colonial bureaucracy affected the caste system and modified its role in society.

In the land settlements, the British ignored the inalienable rights of the actual cultivators, in many areas made the intermediaries, the non-cultivating sections that only had a share in the produce traditionally, become the sole proprietors of the land. In the zamindari settlement areas, the Shudra peasants became tenants at the mercy of the landlords; in other areas a class of peasant proprietors arose, but even in this the larger peasants gained while the actual cultivators became tenants or sharecroppers. The Shudra peasantry was divided into an upper section of the rich; intensified exploitation coupled with famines and other crises, indebted peasants of all the cultivating castes who were pushed into the ranks of the landless.

A section of artisans became landless labourers. A class of rural poor, landless or poor peasants emerged from the ranks of most of the middle and lower castes in the 19th century.
The most significant changes have been in the countryside. The close correspondence between caste and class no longer exists in most parts of the country. The old upper caste zamindars and other big feudal landlords have, to some extent, been weakened and feudal authority is, to a large extent, asserted by smaller landlords, the former big tenants of the zamindars and the large peasant proprietors. While the position of the upper castes has weakened the most, the new landlords are from the middle castes. The middle castes are, today, significantly divided along class lines. The landlords and the rich peasants are a small group from the traditionally cultivating castes, and these castes are also found in large numbers among middle and poor peasants and even among the landless.

The lower sections of the middle castes, i.e., the artisan castes are primarily middle, poor or landless and some are continuing their traditional occupations. Therefore, today, the main exploiting class in the rural areas consists of the earlier upper caste elements, i.e., the Brahmins, the Rajputs, together with the upper stratum of the middle castes, such as the Patidars, the Marathas, the Jats, the Yadavs, the Vellars, the Lingayats, the Reddys, the Kammas, the Nairs, etc.

The middle peasants, comprising about 25 percent of the rural households, largely come from the major cultivating castes and from other lower castes, as well as a small section of Dalits. This section has contradictions with upper sections of the rural elite, but due to the caste relations and low class consciousness in areas of low class struggle, they are trailing behind the elite landlord sections of the other castes.
The poor and the landless, who consist of 60% of the rural households, have the greatest number of caste divisions, including a large number of small artisan and service jatis, and even Muslims. This class consists also of a large number of households from Dalits and Adivasis. Of the rural agricultural labour families, 37% are Dalits and 10% Adivasis, while the remaining half was drawn from the cultivating castes and other lower castes. Here, caste divisions among the exploited are the greatest.

**The Non-Brahmin Movements**

The anti-Brahminical movements in India, especially in Maharashtra, are important because the specific characteristics of Indian caste feudalism and the way it was transformed and yet essentially maintained by British colonial rule, defined the specific anti-feudal tasks of the Indian revolution. The most basic anti-feudal task, the land question, took on extremely complex features as a result of Indian caste feudalism. Because of the way in which hierarchical relations were maintained within the village and among the exploited classes themselves, and because of the way in which productive work for the land was institutionalized through the jajmani/balotedari system, it was insufficient to look at the land question simply in terms of landlordism.

Similarly, the slogan of ‘land to the tiller’ was abstract and insufficient in the Indian context without understanding the overall Brahminical domination. For the
fact was that much of the land had two tillers – the cultivating middle caste peasant, whether tenant or ryot, and the Dalit field servant, whose connection to the land was equally long-standing. The very inequality among the exploited, institutionalized through the feudal caste hierarchy, meant that the need for creating unity in the context of resolving land question was crucial. It is hard to see how this could be done without a specific programme of action constituting poor peasants including Dalits, as well as caste Hindu toilers who would have the responsibility of seizing and distributing the village lands and instituting necessary programmes of co-operative and collective agriculture.

Though attempts were begun by the Dalit castes from the late 19th century to organize themselves, the various sections of Dalit liberation movement really began to take off from the 1920s in the context of the strong social reform and anti-caste movements, which were beginning to develop a genuine mass base. The non-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu especially provided an important support. It is not accidental that Jyotirao Phule, the mali (gardener caste) who lived in the middle of the 19th century, made the initial ideological advances and formulated a theory of Brahminism and ‘Irani Aryabhat’ conquest turning the Aryan theory upside down to identify with the original ‘non-Aryan’ Shudra and ati-Shudra inhabitants of the country.

Dalits, to some extent, were organizing the 19th century also. An early attempt in Maharashtra was the movement of Gopal Babu Wangankar. Much organizing
focused on the effort to regain their rights to serve in the British Indian Army, which they had helped till the 1870s, but which was then withdrawn from them. It was in the 1920s, however, that the Dalits began to organize strongly and independently throughout many regions of India. The most important of the early Dalit movements were the Adi-Dharma movement in Punjab (organized in 1926); the movement under Ambedkar in Maharashtra, mainly based among Mahars, which had its organizational beginnings in 1924; the Nama-Shudra movement in Bengal; the Adi-Dravida movement in Tamil Nadu; the Adi-Karnataka movement; the Adi-Hindu movement mainly centered around Kanpur in UP; and the organising of the Pulayas and Cherumans in Kerala.

In most of the cases the Montagu - Chelmsford Reforms provided a spark for this organization of Dalits, but the crucial background was the massive economic and political upheavals of the post-war period. The movements had a linguistic-national organizational base and varied according to the specific social characteristics in different areas, but there was considerable all-India exchange of ideas and by the 1930s this began to take the shape of all-India conferences with Ambedkar emerging as the clear national leader of the movement. The founding of the Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942, and its later conversion into the Republican Party, gave Dalits a genuine all-India political organization, though this remained weak, except in certain specific localities, and did not by any means constitute the entire Dalit movement.
Social Reform Movements in Hyderabad

While other exploited sections of society identified both Hindus and Muslims as oppressors, and still others were led into the Hindu fold, there was some Dalit attraction to Muslim culture in Hyderabad. The period between 1920 and 1940 saw a clear split in the Hyderabad Dalit community on this issue. In this narrow and communalized framework, a small but vigorous Dalit movement developed after 1910, based among Hyderabad Malas. This particular movement has the advantage of having its organizational history thoroughly documented by a later activist, P.R. Venkatswamy.  

Three men stood at the centre of it in the early period: Bhagyareddy Varma, B.S. Venkat Rao and Arigay Ramaswamy. Bhagyareddy (1888-1939) was originally Madari Bhagaiah, a steward for a Catholic family who educated him, who became involved with, and later employed by, the Brahmo Samaj and took the name ‘Bhagyareddy Varma’ to emphasize the rights of Dalits to claim a high status, ‘Varma’ being Brahmanic and ‘Reddy’ indicating high status non-Brahman. His organizing activity began in 1912 when he formed the Manya Sangam, with members including a building contractor, a confectioner-baker, the Superintendent of the Hyderabad public gardens and other employees, a disparate group which gives a sense of the emerging ‘Dalit middle class’, still without much education but, as a colleague described them, ‘young and enlightened young men.'
At the same time Arigay Ramaswamy, who had been an office boy, carpenter and ticket collector on the railroads, began a social reform group in Secunderabad and Madari Audiah, the son of a butler, had started another Manya Sangam at Ghasmandi. All these organizations stressed internal social reform: attempting to ban drinking of alcohol and meat-eating at social functions, abolition of the devadasi custom. This group also found itself in conflict with the traditional ‘caste chaudhuris’ or headmen of the Malas, and worked throughout the 1920 to reform this system, settling up alternative ‘courts’ to handle disputes outside the state’s courts and in the process to try to broaden caste customs’.

Arigay Ramaswarny, according to Venkatswamy’s account, who was himself religiously, inclined and adopted the pose of a guru, seemed to have had tendencies towards an incorporative position:

‘In our meetings he used to instill in us the sense of self-respect and to feel proud of ourselves as we were the aboriginals and masters of this land. The foreign invaders hostilely dubbed us as ‘Rakshasas’ in their Shastras and Puranas. At the same time he insisted that we should give up the social evils which crept into our society and due to which we were contemptuously treated by the Hindus. . . . From Hindu platforms he talked of Vedanta, defects in the social structure, criticized Brahmans and recited atrocities against the Panchamas and the inhuman treatment meted out to them in the abominable Manusmriti’. 
This was by and large an integrationist position. In later times Ramaswamy opposed Ambedkar’s 1935 call for conversion and joined the nationalist Andhra Mahasabha, staying with the ‘right wing’ of Gandhian Congressites when the split occurred between them and the communists. Later he followed his Congress connections to become part of the All-India Depressed Classes League (also called the ‘Harijan League’) led by Jagjivan Ram.

Bhagvareddy’s rejection of tradition was more radical. In treating untouchables as the original ‘sons of the soil’, in seeing Brahmans as outsiders pushing all the original Indians down to south India, he was said to have used the term ‘Adi-Hindu’ in a way in which ‘Hindus did not refer to religion but was given by foreigners to those living in India. He opposed temple entry movements generally, and at one of the important Adi-Andhra conference disputes in 1938 in East Godavari, refused to preside until all there agreed not to support a bill for temple entry then being introduced in the Madras provincial council by M.C. Rajah. He was also an ardent admirer of Buddha and celebrated Buddha jayanti for the first time in 1913 and again in 1937, two years before his death. While politically inactive during the 1930s, he gave his support mainly to the Ambedkarite group of Dalits in Hyderabad.41

The ‘autonomy versus integration’ dispute which we have seen in the Nagpur-Vidarbha region was playing itself out among the Dalits of Hyderabad in a context in which an appeal to identity as ‘original inhabitants’ dominated discourse. However, the limitations of the Hyderabad organizing efforts have to be noted. Almost all
organizing contacts were limited to Hyderabad city, in contrast to Maharashtra and the Andhra areas. Although leaders like Bhagyareddy Varma made trips to north India and coastal Andhra, there is little evidence from accounts such as Venkatswamy’s of vital rural contacts in Hyderabad state itself, though some village schools were said to have been founded. There was also clearly no working class of the type which lent such vitality in Nagpur and Bombay, and no sign of much thinking on economic issues during the 1920s.

Hyderabad Dalit politics was marked by intensive competitive struggles. During the 1920s these were primarily between Arigay Ramaswamy and Bhagyareddy Varma, founding rival ‘Adi-Hindu’ organizations, rival reformed caste panchayats, with occasional physical confrontation and fights between the factions. During the 1930s similar battles took place between B.S. Venkatrao and Arigay Ramaswamy, and later between Venkatrao and Subbaiah. While there were ideological-political differences embodied in these disputes, the personal competition for leadership is striking.

During the 1930s, Ambedkar’s movement was to attain some significant mass base in the Marathi-speaking regions of the state, while the communists won a foothold in the rural Telugu districts using some of the same issues the Ambedkarites were using in other terminology-opposition to vethbegar and land for the landless. But the Telugu speaking Hyderabad Dalit leadership appeared aloof from this; when they went as Dalits to the rural areas in the 1940s they most often went to
Marathwada and there had to speak the language of Ambedkarism; they had little organic connection of their own. Perhaps because of this, for all the initial impulse towards an autonomous Dalit identity, in practical political terms the main Dalit organizations and leaders of Hyderabad were to be divided, in later years, between Hindu (Congressite) and Muslim (pro-Nizam) orbits.

**Role of Social Organizations and Institutions**

**Arundatiya Mahasabha**

In order to organize the Arundatiya or Madigas in the Nizam State, Shri Arigay Ramaswamy founded Arundatiya Mahasabha. Shri Girkala Mallesh Rao and Shri B.S. Venkatrao helped him in the formation of the Mahasabha. It was founded in a specially called for meeting of the Arundatiyas at the Reddy Hostel, Hyderabad on 1st June 1931. This organization proved to be useful in organizing the Arundatiyas in Telangana region of the Nizam state.

**Audiah Memorial High School Committee**

This school was previously named after Sir William Barton, the then President of Hyderabad who donated the land to the school in Secunderabad. The school was founded by S.hrl M.L. Audiah, the renowned Dalit leader (1866-1938) in the year 1906. He was President of the School Management Committee and Shri C.V.
Padmarao Mudaliar, a sympathizer of Dalits became its Secretary. It was run under the auspices of the League to Help the Helpless”.

Later the Scheduled Castes Trust Fund Bar Board took over the charge of the management with J.H. Subbaiah as its Chairman.

In the year 1961 when K. R. Veeraswamy was appointed as Honorary Secretary of this Institution, the name of the school was changed after its founder Shri M.L. Audiah. It was taken over by the Education Department of the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

**Hyderabad State Depressed Classes Association**

The Youth League of Ambedkarites was formed by P.R. Venkataswamy arid B.S. Venkatarao at Hyderabad on 17th May 1936. Shri B.S. Venkat Rao was its President and Shri P.R. Venkataswamy was Its Secretary with Its office km Hyderabad.

The aims and objectives of the League were:

1. To organize the youth of the Depressed Classes under one banner.
2. To support Babasaheb Ambedkar in his mission to lead the community out of Hinduism.
3. To enlighten the community on the evils of Hinduism.
4. To obliterate existing caste differences among them.
5. To start a vigorous campaign to ameliorate their social and economic disabilities.

However, it was decided on 29 May 1938 to rename the League as Hyderabad State Depressed Classes Association. The objectives of the Association were just like those of the League. It was done so because they wanted to expand its activities in view of the proposed reforms in the Hyderabad State. Shri B.S. Venkat Rao was elected President of the renamed organization.

The Association submitted a memorandum on 7 May 1939 to Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Nizam’s Executive Council. They demanded, among others, separate electorate and educational facilities for the Depressed Classes.

However, after the merger of Hyderabad with India in 1948 the Depressed Classes Association was merged with the Scheduled Castes Federation. Further, it joined with the All India Depressed Classes League affiliated to the Congress.

**Hyderabad State Scheduled Castes Federation**

At first, the Hyderabad State Adi-Hindu Mahasabha came into existence on 1 June 1941 in a meeting of the Adi-Hindus at Jamsed Hall, Hyderabad. It was presided over by B.G. Madre.
The aims and objectives of the Mahasabha were:

1. To revive and develop the ancient culture of the AdiHindu and foster the spirit of brotherhood among them and to organize them into one united body.

2. To remove their social disabilities, to strive for their economic betterment and their educational advancement.

3. To achieve their legitimate political rights by peaceful and constitutional means.

Later on, it came to be known as Hyderabad State Scheduled Castes Federation, and affiliated to the All India Scheduled Castes Federation which was founded by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar at Nagpur in 1942.

**Jagan Mitra Mandal**

It was founded in 1906 by Shri M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma at Hyderabad. The organization used to arrange Harikatha programmes and afterwards, Shri Bhagya Reddy Varma would explain to the untouchables that “they were the real and original inhabitants of India and that the others have migrated from Central Asia for their livelihood and that the main cause of their backwardness was their ignorance and illiteracy”. It was the pioneering organization of the Depressed Classes in Hyderabad State. It inspired a new awakening among the people.
Scheduled Castes Students Union, Hyderabad

A Scheduled Castes Students Convention was called on 11th August 1950 at Nallagunta Temperance center. In the conference an organization named “Scheduled Castes Student Union” was formed with K. Narayan Rao as President. The Union was meant to solve the problems of Scheduled Caste students.

Andhra Mahila Sabha and Durgabai Deshmukh

Durgabai Deshmukh revolutionized the concept of social work, building on the diverse foundations laid by statesmen such as Ramabai Ranade, Mahatma Gandhi and Kakasahib Kalelkar. She laid the foundations of organized voluntary efforts and lobbied for state recognition and support to these institutions.

Durgabai was born in Rajahmundry on July 15, 1909, into a family that was dedicated to social service and that practiced religious tolerance. She displayed leadership qualities even during her youthful interaction with other young people, and could teach in a palatable manner. Durgabai passed her matriculation examination privately in 1934 from Banaras Hindu University. She passed the intermediate examination and later B.A. Honours in Political Science. She continued her education into her late-20s and became a lawyer. In 1953, she married C.D. Deshmukh, who was the Union Finance Minister. He later became Chairman of the University Grants
Commission and served as Vice Chancellor of Delhi University. Both were dedicated to public service.

Seeds of social reform were sown early in her mind and she became conscious of the injustice suffered by women in all strata. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the social reformer Kandukuri Veeresalingam was a close friend of her grandfather. Durgabai fought against the system of child marriage and dowry, and the harassment of widows in the name of custom, although she herself was married at the age of eight. She gradually became involved with the nationalist movement and understood the need for women to be educated. She was a forceful, persuasive public speaker and was imprisoned during the Salt Satyagraha. She came to understand the pitiable conditions of woman criminals and wished to arrange free legal aid for them. This gave the impetus to the free legal aid centre of the Andhra Mahila Sabha in Hyderabad, particularly to help unlettered women of all classes.

On the basis of her experience and observations, Durgabai realized that lack of education impeded women’s progress. Education would provide them economic independence and create social awareness. This impelled her to lay the foundation for adult education programmes, which were taken up by the government of independent India.

In 1922, she started Hindi classes in the Balika Hindi Pathashala. The mini-school was to be the nucleus of the future Andhra Mahila Sabha, the mammoth social
welfare organisation which eventually had service centres in Madras, Hyderabad and several districts of Andhra Pradesh. The Madras institution, started in 1937, organised many programmes such as condensed courses of education for adult women, nursery schools and crèches for working mothers, milk distribution for poor children, training of auxiliary nurse midwives and maternity centres.

When her family settled down in Madras, the centre at Dwaraka, known as “the Little Ladies Club”, was formed. In 1939, Durgabai joined the Madras Law College and simultaneously started her work in the women and children’s wing of Chennapuri Andhra Maha Sabha. The celebration of the silver jubilee of the Andhra Maha Sabha led to the emergence of the Andhra Mahila Sabha. In 1937 she founded Andhra Mahila Sabha in Madras for the betterment of womankind. She sought and got donations from the rich for her cause and made Andhra Mahila Sabha a very big institution. That institution today runs several hospitals, colleges and high schools in the states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

As Member of Parliament, Durgabai worked to set up a social welfare board in 1953 to carry out programs of educating, training and rehabilitating the needy women, children and the disabled. After marriage Deshmukh couple moved to Hyderabad, bought land next to Osmania University and built a house and called “Rachana”. In the same neighbourhood, they got the Literacy House built. Eminent leaders like Indira Gandhi, Sarojini Devi and M. Venkat Rangaiah came to give lectures at the Literacy House. In Hyderabad she also established and started the Andhra Mahila
Sabha elementary school and then went on to build larger institutions like the hospital, and the colleges, which run successfully even today. These literacy institutions were started with the vision of providing the women of Andhra Pradesh an opportunity to learn how to read and write. In 1946, Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundation stone for the first building of the Andhra Mahila Sabha.

The second Andhra Maha Sabha and Mahila Mahasabha held at Devarakonda reiterated all the resolutions of the previous meet and made a special appeal for the establishment of district Education and Technical Education Councils. Burugula Ramakrishna Rao, the president regretted the opposition to the introduction of the Bill seeking prohibition of child marriage.

The third Andhra Maha Sabha was held at Khammam with Pulijala Venkata Ranga Rao presiding. The reception committee chairman was Aitaraju Rama Rao and Yellapragada Sita Kumari presided over the Women's conference. This conference was very important in the history of the Andhra Mahasabha considering the opposition it had to face and the determination with which it faced the opposition from conservatives (Sanatanists) and conducted the proceedings successfully. In this conference like the earlier ones the focus continued on the need for state support to educational activities particularly to the establishment of libraries as was done in the Baroda State. In addition, state support was sought for the promotion of indigenous medicine like Ayurveda, which formed an integral part of cultural freedom.
The Fourth Mahasabha was held at Sirsilla in Karimnagar district in January 1935. Strengthened by the experiences gained from the earlier three conferences, foolproof arrangements were made under the leadership of Avunune Venugopal Rao, chairman, reception committee and Smt. Joginepalli Radha Bai, chairwomen of the reception committee for the Mahila (women) Session. The venue of the conference was named after Vemulavada Bheemakavi, a great Andhra poet of 9th or 10th century.

The fifth Andhra Mahasabha was held at Shadnagar and Venkatnarayan Reddy was chosen as the chairman of the reception committee. Smt. M. Raghavendra Bai was the Chairwoman of the reception committee for the Mahila Mahasabha session. Cutting across linguistic barriers the reception committee had named the venue of the session as "Deshabhakta Vaman Naik Nagar". Konda Venkat Ranga Reddy was elected as the president of the Mahasabha and Smt. Burgula Ananthalaxmi Devi as president of the Mahila Mahasabha.

The sixth Andhra Maha Sabha was held at Nizamabad, the editor of the Urdu daily 'Rayyat' Mandumula Narsing Rao presiding. The women's session was presided over by the well known Telugu story writer Smt. Nandagiri Indira Devi. The conference considered the same resolutions that were being considered since its inception. The secretaries of the conference were promptly sending the Government such resolutions which needed immediate administrative action or legislative consideration.
The seventh conference of Andhra Mahasabha held in 1939 at Malkapuram once again expressed its support to the draft bill introduced in the state legislative Assembly seeking a ban on child marriage. The conference regretted that despite sufficient funds being allotted under the head "education", the Government had not been evincing interest in the spread and development of elementary education.

The eighth conference was held at Chilkoor in 1941, and it was presided over by Rangamma Obul Reddy. In this conference women demanded economic freedom and equality. In the Mahasabha there was a difference of opinion between the moderates and communists and like wise in the Mahila Mahasabha also some fundamentalists disliked the idea of freedom and economic independence being given to women. The ninth Mahasabha was held at Dharmavaram in 1942, and it was presided over by Rangamma Obul Reddy. The Tenth Mahila Mahasabha held at Hyderabad in 1943 was presided over by Yellapragada Sita Kumari. From this conference onwards the women decided to hold their conferences separately totally disassociating themselves from the Mahasabha of men, in order to acquire and preserve their individuality.

The Eleventh conference was held at Bhuvanagari in 1944. In the eleventh conference resolutions were passed to stop the practice of "Adapapalu" and slavery. The twelfth conference was held at Madikonda in 1945. The thirteenth conference was held at Kandi in 1946. The subsequent annual Mahasabha witnessed the
emergence of different factional groups and by 1942 the inevitable split had taken place.

Durgabai’s name is integrally linked with the Andhra Mahila Sabha. This grand institution has completed 100 years of useful service in the field of social welfare. The services organized by it are in the fields of health, medical care, nursing and education. Durgabai was a member of the Constituent Assembly. By the time India attained Independence, she had established herself as a criminal lawyer and played an active role in drafting and enacting the Hindu Code Bill. Her efforts to elevate the status of women were evident in her involvement with parliamentary Bills.

**Sufi Reform Movement**

By the late nineteenth century, the perception of a need to defend Islam had also reached the administration of the princely state of Hyderabad, where British influence had gradually increased since the signing of the Preliminary Treaty in 1213 [1798]. During the reign of Mahbub Ali Khan (1285 [1869],1329 [1911]), the official character of the state became increasingly Muslim as the prestige and purpose of Mughal culture slipped further into the past. New administrative bodies were formed to oversee the religious life of Hyderabad’s Muslims, while other organizations aimed to propagate Islam among the lower castes and classes of the state. During Mahbub Ali Khan’s reign, official emphasis on the Islamic character of the state began to have a detrimental effect on the relationship between Hindus and Muslims. A number of
new laws and regulations made their contribution to the mass of legalistic and administrative declarations that served increasingly to separate Hindu and Muslim forms of religious expression. Under Mahbub Ali Khan, laws were also passed to regulate the celebration of Hindu festivals, especially when they coincided with Muslim ones as during the coincidence of Dussehra and Muharram in 1885. Given the long history of the common celebration of the 10th day of Muharram by Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan, such policies were of great and incremental significance.

On the evolution of a provincial Muslim revivalist movement in Aurangabad, the second city of Hyderabad State that upheld the Sufi character of other early reformist groups. Given the often reactive character of both Muslim and Hindu reform movements at this time, and their clear parallels with and in some cases antecedents in Christian missionary organizations, attention is also paid to the presence of British missions in this north-western corner of Hyderabad State during the same period.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed scores of Muslim poets, scholars and religious notables migrate to Hyderabad. The turmoil in the north had two major, and intertwined consequences for Hyderabad. First, it caused the vivid sense of rupture with the past that found expression in such movements as the modernism of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1316/1898). Second, it caused North Indian Muslims, whose ideas were formed under these new circumstances, to move to
Hyderabad in search of preferment. And so the social and intellectual tensions of the Muslim north spilled over the borders of the Nizam's State.

This was the society in which Iftikhar All Shah Watan would spend his adult life. Born in 1833 into the old religious establishment of Hyderabad, Watan was the descendant of a line of sayyid religious notables whose association with the Deccan dated back to the Qutb Shah sultanate (1518-1687). His career, though, would coincide with Hyderabad's greatest era of social and religious reform, a period which saw considerable numbers of North Indian scholars migrating to Hyderabad in search of employment in the Nizam's expanding civil and educational service. It was this influx of North Indians, many of them associated with the new ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his college at Aligarh, that in late nineteenth century initiated in Hyderabad the acrimony between those designated as mulki ('national, compatriot') and ghayr-mulki ('non-national, foreign').

As the terms of the debate testified, this movement of persons, ideas and the government positions that made them influential was one we would now frame through the terms of trans-nationalism. And so it was: British India was another country; those raised and educated there were considered 'foreigners;' and for many Hyderabadi 'nationals' their arrival presented a threat to the Deccan's distinct religious and cultural integrity.
Watan's Arabian ancestors had arrived in Hyderabad two centuries before his birth during the reign of Abd Allah Qutb Shah (1626-1672), a period when numerous men of the pen arrive from the Hadramawt and the Hijaz. His forebears settled in the fortress city of Golkonda, the urban predecessor of Hyderabad that sheltered the Qutb Shahs until their defeat by the Mughals in 1687 and which remained Hyderabad's great fortress when the city became the capital of the Nizams' successor state less than a century later. Born in the Muhammadnagar quarter of Golkonda in 1833, Watan too grew up surrounded by the great symbolic bastion of Deccani independence, his family still supported by the lands the Qutb Shahs had granted them. However, on the death of Watan's father, the lands came into the possession of his elder brother, Sayyid Muhammad Madam, who in his obsession with alchemy reportedly spent his entire inheritance in pursuit of the philosopher's stone and so proceeded to ruin his family.

Watan's family played a central role in the diffusion of his teachings, contributing to the profusion of khanaqah networks that formed the neglected counterpart to the late thirteenth/nineteenth century's better-known madrasah networks, particularly those of Deoband (founded 1866) and the Nadwat-al-'Ulama' (founded 1893). While Hyderabad also saw important madrasahs founded in this period such as the Jami'ah Nizamiyyah Madrasah founded in 1875. The activities of Sufi family networks thus also partook in this flurry of institution founding.
Watan was himself first initiated into his own family Sufi tradition that had been introduced to Hyderabad by his ancestor, Sayyid Muhammad Arab Husaynl. This was common enough practice, for Muslim children in the Deccan were accepted as the disciples of Sufi patrons as an infant rite of passage. If his own family contained a Sufi lineage, then as in the case of Watan a child would be initiated by his father, grandfather or uncle. Most families, not possessing such an ancestry of their own, instead, maintained patronage connections of initiation and allegiance to Sufi families from generation to generation. While many old family networks certainly broke down in the late thirteenth/nineteenth century, others continued and formed an important mode of social and moral stability.

First, Watan became a disciple of another Hyderabadi Sufi, Akbar All Shah (1855), at whose hands he was accepted into the Chishti order. Then, after the death of Akbar All Shah, Watan set out on his travels, first visiting the most important Sufi pilgrimage centre in the Nizam's territories, the shrine of Gesu Daraz (1422) at Gulbarga, before then making a pilgrimage beyond the borders of Hyderabad to the shrine of Mu'In-al-Din Chishti (1236) at Ajmer in North India. He is said to have resided there for several years before travelling onwards to Mecca.

The most prominent aspect of Watan's prose writing was the central role given to the relationship between the Sufis and the Shariah. Like many of his contemporaries elsewhere in India, Watan articulated a form of Sufi practice that could in no sense be conceived as an alternative to the observance of the Law but was
rather an interiorised expansion of it. Of course, such a vision of a sober and restrained Sufi praxis was by no means new. Some of the earliest documentation we possess on Sufi history, such as the writings of the early Iraqi Sufi al-Junayd al-Baghdadi (910), depicts a pietistic path that took both the letter and spirit of the Law seriously indeed. At the same time, from almost their earliest appearance the Sufis had also counted among their fellowship antinomians and ecstatic for whom the Shariah was an irrelevance or even an obstacle on the Path. Watan's sober teachings reached the Deccan's country folk through the rural mission of his son Farid 'Alam Husayni (1927) and his follower Mu'in Allah Shah (1926). Sufi movement or tradition, thus, spread throughout the dominions of Nizam and continue to do so even to this day.

While some of these movements had a profound antipathy towards the popular traditions of Sufi piety, others like the Barelwi movement founded from the 1880s onwards and the Tabligh Jamaat founded by Muhammad Ilyas (1944) near the Sufi shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin in Delhi in [1926] had a much closer relationship with the Sufi traditions of South Asia. What united all of these movements, however, was a suspicion of the ignorance and religious instincts of the common man, leading them all to promote change or reform of one kind or another.

Emergence of Christian Missionaries

Christian missions began to make steady inroads from the turn of the century. The largest increase in their number had occurred in Medak, where the Christian
community added 4,500 persons to its strength by 1921 census. Next to this in the order to their gain, are Nizambad, Karimnagar and Mahabubnagar and 672 in Nalgonda. It may be noted that the Wesleyan Methodist and the Baptist missions worked chiefly in the Telangana districts, the former being more prominent in Karimnagar, Adilabad, Medak and Nizamabad and the latter in Mahabubnagar and Nalgonda. Roman Catholics are more in evidence in the city and in the district of Nalgonda. Hindus, Musalmans, Animists and Christians together form about 99 percent of the total population. Thus the followers of other religions found in the state are numerically very insignificant. They are more or less confined to city alone.7583 percent of the Christian population are concentrated in Telangana districts in which Warangal claims the largest number followed by Nalgonda, Medak, Hyderabad City, Nizamabad and Karimnagar.

Catholics: The community of Roman Catholic Christians are scattered all over the state. The exact date of the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission or the actual number belonging to that section is not available. In 1881, they numbered 6,436, of whom Indians were 4,443. In 1911, the total community was reckoned to be 18,473, of whom 16,322 were Indians, and in 1921, they are returned as 21,259. During the decade this body of Christians has not grown as rapidly as the others. In a letter addressed to the census officer Dr. D. Vismara, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Hyderabad said they had no active propaganda during the decade and that the increase of 6,125 since 1921 is due to the natural multiplication and the immigration of some Reddys and Togatas.
Protestants: The term 'others' refer to Protestants of the Anglican community, Baptist, American Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist, Presbyterian and other Churches number altogether 1,30,106 or 86 percent as against 73 percent in 1921, of the total Christian community. The phenomenal rise in the number of Protestant Christians during the decade from 45,843 to 130,106 is due to the activities of the Domakal Mission of the Anglican Communion and the English Wesleyan with their headquarters at Medak. The Dornakal mission is operating in Warangal and Nalgonda districts among Malas and Madigas of the Adi-Hindu community and also among Kammas, Reddys, Dommaras, Vaddars and Erukalas. The number of converts from these sources during the decade is reported to be 8,415. The English Wesleyan Methodists have during the decade made immense strides, extending their sphere of work to many new areas in Telangana.

Christian missionaries contributed to the cultural, educational, social change in the Telangana. They established schools, institution, where they taught embroidery, tailoring, interior decoration, lace making etc. The first public school in Hyderabad was founded in 1834. and was followed shortly after by another school opened by the roman catholic missionaries. Since then the later mission has gradually progressed with the result that several schools and convents were established in various parts of the state. The American Baptist Telugu mission commenced work at Secunderabad in 1875 and since then branches have been opened. The work of this mission was chiefly among the Telugu population.79 Another social organization which was established
in 1926 at Secunderabad was started as a movement to propagate the mission of love and mercy in and around the city of Secunderabad and Hyderabad.

An association was duly started which had been styled as Manava Seva Samithi with a creed, constitution and a strong representative executive. The aims and objectives were to appeal to the authorities as well as to the people to discontinue cruel practices and ceremonies, spread the mission of peace, love and mercy, to take up non political questions of human welfare, to consider and take steps to improve art and literature, to uplift the depressed and poor to purge out the evils in the Hindu society and to be a pillar of support and strength to the helpless and the needy Hindus. They opened 80 night schools for depressed class people. One social organization was established in 1881 July and meetings held every Sunday at 5 a.m. at All Saints institution of Hyderabad. This organization helped widows, the crippled and the blind. 17 women received temporary help according to a report of Home department. Free passes were frequently granted to help persons to travel in search of employment.

These trends of organizing on linguistic, caste, ethnic or religious basis soon gave way to broader movements and social formations which addressed themselves to the issues of linguistic freedom, educational opportunities especially for women and greater political expression and representation.
Role of Madapati Hanumantha Rao

Hanumantharao Maadapaati (1885-1970) was one of the founding fathers of modern Telugu Nation. He awakened the sleeping Telugu people of Telangana to rise against the autocracy of Nizam rule in the independent kingdom of Hyderabad. He stirred up love and nationalistic feelings for Telugu language and Telugu nation. He played a huge role in the renaissance of Telugu literature and Telugu language. He played a prominent role in the development and spread of a literary movement for libraries and Andhra movement in the formation of State of Andhra Pradesh.

He founded Andhra Janasangham in 1921 for the benefit of Telugu speaking people in Hyderabad kingdom. He became the secretary of Andhra Janasamgham and spread its branches throughout Telangana. This association became Nizam State Andhra Mahasabha in 1930 and played a historical role in inspiring Telugu people. Hanumantharao chaired the fourth convention of Nizam State Andhra Mahasabha.

In addition, Hanumantharao played an important role in establishing Sri Krishnadevaraayaandhra Bhaasha Nilayam, Vemanaandhra Bhaasha Nilayam, Naraayanguda Aandhra Baalikonnatha Paathasala, Mahila Kalaasala etc. After Hyderabad kingdom joined the Indian Union in 1948, he was elected as mayor of Hyderabad in 1951. The Government of India awarded him “Padma Bhushan”, in 1955 and Osmania University conferred him honorary doctorate in 1956. After the
Andhra Pradesh state was formed (in 1956), he served as the first Chairman of Legislative Assembly from 1958 through 1963.

**Survaram Pratapa Reddy’s contribution**

Survaram Pratapa Reddy was a social historian from the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh, India. Pratapa Reddy was born on May 28, 1896 in Boravelli village in Gadwal estate of erstwhile Hyderabad State. His mother was Rangamma and father was Narayanareddy. Their native village was Itikalapadu in the district of Mahabubnagar. Pratapa Reddy completed his primary education at his uncle Ramakrishna Reddy's residence in Kurnool. He studied Sanskrit literature and grammar under the guidance of Vellala Sankarasastri. Later he finished his FA at Nizam College, Hyderabad. Then he obtained BA and BL degrees from Presidency College, Madras and became a lawyer for a short while.

He wrote a social history of the Telugu people, Andhrula Saanghika Charitra, which was first published in 1949 and has since gone through many editions. It was the first Telugu language book that won the best national book award (Kendra Sahitya Academy Puraskaram). Pratapa Reddy was a scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, Urdu and English languages. He had tremendous admiration for Telangana Telugu. He is famous for his research articles, novels, poetry, story writer, and literary criticism. He compiled a list of 354 Telangana poets under the title "Golconda Kavulu" to prove that Telangana also had a great tradition in literature and poetry.
Reddy wrote approximately 40 books, including *Nizamrashtra Palanam*, *Mogalayi Kathalu*, *Sanghoddharana*, *Ucchala Vishadamu*, *Grandhalayamu*, *Hinduvula Pandugalu*, *Haindava Dharmaveerulu*, *Yuvajana Vignyanam*, etc. Most prominent among his writings was *Andhrula Sanghika Charitra* (*Social History of Andhras*), which won him prestigious "Kendra Sahitya Academy Award", a federal Indian government award for literature. In this book he described a thousand years of Telugu cultural and social history. He was the editor and founder of *Golconda Patrika*, a journal in Hyderabad State. Many of his articles appeared in journals like *Sujata*, *Shoba*, *Bharati*, etc.

He was moved by the sad plight and illiteracy of Telangana people. He was disturbed by the fact that Urdu was the ruling language and Telugu had no respect. There were no facilities for Telangana Telugus to study in their mother tongue. Raja Bahadur Pingali Venkatrama Reddy, the police commissioner of Nizam State, employed him as the secretary of Reddy Hostel in Hyderabad. Pratapa Reddy set up a very good library in the hostel and brought activity and discipline among the students. He quit his job at Reddy Hostel to launch a Telugu language journal "Golconda" for the benefit of Telangana people. Golconda was published twice a week.

**Prominent Dalit leaders of Hyderabad**

In the Telangana region, Dalit leaders like M.L. Audiah (Secunderabad), Arigay Ramaswamy (Hyderabad), M.V. Bhagya Reddy Varma (Hyderabad), Rao
It was because of the efforts of the leaders of the Dalit liberation movement, the process of the eradication of untouchability had started in the State. The erstwhile Madras State passed the Social Disabilities Removal Action 1938 and the Madras Temple Entry Act in 1948. These Acts were in application in Andhra region. The erstwhile Hyderabad State, after the Police Action, passed The Hyderabad Harijan Temple Entry Regulation in 1358 F. and ‘The Hyderabad Harijan (Removal of Social Disabilities) Regulation in 1358 F. These Acts and Regulations were in Implementation in Telangana region.
REFERENCES

1 Interview, Jagamba Jaganathan, Hyderabad, 24 June 1987.


3 Resolution No. 6 of the All-India Adi-Hindu (Depressed Classes) Conference, Allahabad, 16 November 1930 from the collection of M.B. Gautam.


*Interview* with Dr. Alam Kundumeri, Professor of Philosophy, who was a student of Intermediate and an active participant in Vandemataram Movement in 1938 (State Archives).

Some of the leaders of the movement subsequently became academicians and political leaders of Congress, CPI, CP (ML), Arya Samaj, etc. To mention a few: Mr. P.G. Puranik became a Professor of Physics, Osmania University, Mr. Achuta Reddy, Mr. P.V. Narsimha Rao became Congress leaders, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao became CPI (ML), Mr. Narendra Dutt a Radical Humanist, and Mr. Narsing Prasad Jaiswal an Arya Samajist, etc.

Golkonda Patrika, 1 December 1936 & 3 December 1938.

There were three hostels in the University Campus viz., A, B and Temporary. In Muslim prayer halls, prayers like (a) *Allah-ho-Akbar* (b) *Ia Abad Khalagu Alam Yah Riyasat Rakie. Thuzha Osman Ba Sad Iqbal Rakke... Saraaz-e-Islamee Ameer Monta-e-Bashee* were sung and in the prayer halls meant for Hindus, generally three songs were offered: (a) *f-Jay Prabo An.sadma Gnano Deejiva* (b) *Jaijagadesh Hare* (c) *Vandemataram* as justified by Dr. P.G. Puranik, Professor of Physics and former Principal of Nizam College, Hyderabad, who was a student of M.Sc. Physics, in 1938 and a Member of the ‘Student Action Committee’.

The letter was signed by the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, see for more details ‘Osmania Vidyardhulalo Sanchalanamu’, *Golkonda Patrika*, 1 February, 1938.


Quoted in *Golkonda Patrika*, 5 December, 1938.


The Action Committee consisted of 10 or 12 Members from author’s discussions with Professor P.G. Puranik. *Golkonda Patrika* also mentioned that a Committee of 11 or 12 was formed as the “Action Committee” but their names were not given. See *Golkonda Patrika*, 1 December, 1938.

‘Students Strike Continues’, *Bombay Chronicle*, 6 December, 1938.

There were about 400 Hindu students in various classes in Osmania University. Of them about 130 Hindu students were in Hostels. See *Golkonda Patrika*, 1 December, 1938.


*Golkonda Patrika*, 29 December, 1938.


gathered from the discussions with Prof. P.G. Puranik (Archival Material).

Ibid., p.114. Nagpur University gave open welcome to the expelled students and Madras University admitted 33 students in its Engineering Colleges. 150 students were admitted in Industrial School in Jabalpur. However, Inter University Board seems to have passed a resolution stating that Nagpur University should not admit expelled Osманians without entering into communication with the Osmania University. See Ramesan, N., *Op.Cit.*, Vol. IV, p.115.

On 25 June 1939, the Nizam’s Government announced that it was prepared to attend to all the problems of the Hindu students, including uniforms, religious teaching, etc., but not to accept any compromise on Vandemataram song. See *Golkonda Patrika*, 29 June, 1939.


According to V.K. Bawa, “Constitutional and Administrative Structure of Hyderabad State and Some Speculations on Its Demise”, in *Hyderabad 400 - Saga of a City*, ed. by K.S.S. Seshan, the State Government acted in a high handed manner by banning the Hyderabad State Congress in 1938 when it was on the verge of being formed on grounds it was predominantly Hindu body, p.27.


Venkatswamy’s account makes this clear, and he ends with a bitter comment about the factionalism caused by the ‘narrow and selfish interests’ of the leaders; P.R. Venkatswamy, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. II, pp.662-63.


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