SOCIAL CHANGE AND NATURE OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA 1920-22

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Certified that the dissertation entitled Social Change And Nature Of Social Participation In Non-cooperation Movement In Andhra 1920-22, submitted by Atlury Murali is in fulfilment of eight credits out of the twenty four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this Univeraity. This dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or other University, and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before examinera for evaluation.

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The study of the history of colonial rule in South India in general and Andhra in particular has been a neglected area of study. Colonial impact, Nationalist politics, changes in agrarian social structure and peasants and working class movements in Andhra districts are yet to be properly assessed. Hitherto, the national politics in Andhra were interpreted in different ways. There has been, on the one side, the over-glorification of the role played by the Congress by the nationalist historians,[1] and on the other side, the denegration of nationalism as 'factionalism' by some Cambridge historians.[2] The writings of Professor Venkatarangaiya are worth considering among the nationalist historians. His works are in the main a collection of documents from the Archives and news paper

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1. M. Venkatarangaiya (ed.), The freedom struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra), volumes-4, (Hyderabad, 1969); Sarojini Regani, Highlights of Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, (Hyderabad, 1972).

2. C.J.Baker, and D.A.Washbrook, South India: Political Institutions and political change, 1880-1940, (Delhi,1975); C.J. Baker, The Politics of South India, 1920-37, (Delhi,1976) D.A. Washbrook, The Emergence of Provincial Politics, 1880-1920, (Delhi, 1977); "Country Politics: Madras 1880-1930", in Modern Asian Studies, Vol.7, No.3, 1973.

reports, which gives valuable information on different aspects of the political movements in Andhra. This collection of source materials on the national movement in Andhra is the first of its kind. Other nationalist works are narratives of systematically arranged chronological events and the presentation of descriptive accounts of the freedom struggle in Andhra. They mainly emphasise the part played by the Congress in the struggle and fail to pose certain crucial questions concerning the development of nationalism and the anti-Imperialist struggle. They fail to analyse colonial rule and its impact on the development of new social classes, which in turn determined the nature of social participation, class character, and ideology of the national movement in Andhra. Even in dealing with the national movement they hardly touch upon the question of peasantry in relation to the freedom struggle. Especially questions like how did the conjunction come about between mass movement and freedom struggle led by the Congress leadership; what was the rural social base of the congress; and what was the pattern of peasants' integration into the anti-Imperialist struggle, were neglected. Our criticism of the nationalist-historians is on the ground that they fail to answer a basic question, i.e., what was the basic pattern of the integration of the different social classes into the movement? We have to make attempts to penetrate the surface and investigate the underlying deep tides and forces at work.

Study of the economic history of Andhra is also part of the problem. There are very few works on the economic history of Andhra during the colonial rule. Sayana, Ramana Rao and Ranga[1] have, no doubt, directly studied the development of economy and peasant movements in Andhra, but their method is descriptive rather than analytical. Sayana claims "to have presented a systematic and comprehensive study of the Agrarian problems of the Madras Presidency", with an emphasis on "economic condition of the agrierian classes and the degenerating effects of the system on the economic and social structure as a whole"[2]. But interestingly he has not assessed the real changes in the agrarian social structure. Due to the changes imposed by the colonial government in the agrarian economy, there developed a "rich peasant" class, which in turn brought changes in the agrarian social class relations. This also had a direct bearing on the course of the peasant as well as nationalist movements in Andhra. But he emphasises only the revenue burden in Ryotwari areas and the rent enhancement and other burdens in Zamindary areas and fails to assess the

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1. V.V. Sayana, Agrarian Problems of Madras Province, (Madras, 1949); A.V. Raman Rao, The Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh 1765-1957, (Bombay, 1958); N.G. Ranga, Economic Conditions of Zamin Ryots, (Bezwada, 1933); The Modern Indian Peasant, (Madras, 1936); Economic Organisation of Indian Villages, vol.I, (Bezawada, 1926), and vol.II, (Bombay,1929); Revolutionary Peasants, (Delhi,1949); Agricultural Indebtedness and Remedial Means,(Tenali,1933); and for other works see Bibliography.

2. V.V.Sayana, op.cit., Introduction.

differential effect on different classes. Raman Rao too, has failed to escape from these handicaps, as Professor T. Raichoudhary has rightly remarked: "the emphasis through out is on a description of economic condition rather than on any analysis of long term trends."[1] Instead of merely emphasising over-assessment they should have examined the burden of assessment in terms of price rise, rent rates and so on in order to know which class exactly was affected by the over-assessment and increase in revenue and rent rates over a period of time. The analysis of the differential impact of the assessment on different agrarian social classes is necessary to know which classes suffered most in that system. This in other words would reveal the social base of the peasant as well as the national movements.

N.G.Ranga's writings give some first-hand information since he is an actual participant and the leader of the anti-Zamindari peasant movements in Andhra, which enables us to grasp their inner-contradictions, inspite of its general exaggerations. But with their nationalist approach, all these writers present a simplified but uniformly pervasive picture of economic stagnation. They do bring out the social conditions of the peasantry which was burdened by the high revenue and rent demands, pressure on land, and the pernicious hold of the usurious

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1. T. Raichoudhary, Contributions to Indian Economic History, (Delhi,1960), p. 131.

money lenders and so on. However, the complexities of social change, the growing class differentiation and the contradictions in the agrarian social structure in the context of the newly emerged rich peasant class have yet to be assessed in the light of new data.

Even more misleading are the interpretations and notions advanced in a number of studies by the Cambridge historians. In particular, Baker and Washbrook have seen South Indian nationalism as no more than a conglomeration of factions, held together by patronage, clientage and linkages. Those who claim to be nationalists are really indulging in no more than, in Baker's phrase, "antics". The nationalists were said to have had neither idealism nor ideology and are believed to be inspired by nothing nobler than a desire for office and jobs and a self-interest which led to an incessant shifting of loyalties and a constant hopping on the band-wagons.[1] In order to fit the Congress Party also to this "Procrustean bed"[2] as well, they reduce the significance of the mass campaigns which the congress organised after 1920's.[3] In trying to

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1. S. Gopal, "Review of Baker and Washbrook's books on South India", in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.xiv, No.3, July-September, 1977, p.405.

2. Ibid., pp. 406-407.

3. The 'No-Tax' campaign in Guntur in 1921-22 is attributed to the grievances of personalities and the conduct of discontented village and forest officials. See Baker and Washbrook, South India, op.cit., pp.98-142.

fit the rise of the Congress into a 'reductionist framework', Baker has hardly used authentic sources, but has relied on some extracts from the Justice Party organ Justice and so on.[1] Baker has gone to such a level that he has interpreted, for example, the 'Chirala-Perala' struggle in Guntur as a movement led by Gopala Krishnayya,[2] since he "was particularly interested in Chirala where government had recently refused to allocate him a piece of land to start a school".[3] Since much has been written on the overall weakness of the Cambridge historians approach to nationalism,[4] we shall not be taking up its weakness here in detail. However, the grave defect of these books lies

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1. For example, in support of the proposition that the Congress was using extremely dubious electioneering tactics, the only source cited is often the organ of the Justice Party itself. See Baker, op. cit., p.279.

2. In the case of Chirala-Perala struggle it was observed by Andhrapatrika. (August 4,1921), that "The sight of thousands of people living with young children, exposed to heat and rain and suffering all sorts of troubles and diseases ought to have grieved very much even the hearts of enemies .... People cannot be fools to leave their houses and live in forests, simply because Mr. Gopalakrishnayya, a non-cooperator, has told them to do so ....".

3. Baker and Washbrook, op.cit., p. 115.

4. S. Gopal, Book review, op.cit., pp. 405-411; T.K. Ravindran, Review of Baker and Washbrook's book 'South India, op.cit.,' In Journal of Indian History, Vol. Liv, August 1976, Part II, pp. 462-464; A.K. Bagchi, "Needed : Political Economy of British South India", in Social Scientist, vol. 7, No. 1/2, August - September 1978, pp. 95-102.

in the failure of the authors to get a full perspective of South Indian developments and to study political and organisational changes from a broader angle.

This study of the non-cooperation movement in 1920-22 is limited to the Andhra districts of the erstwhile Madras presidency.[1] The eleven districts of Andhra have an area of 67,212 square miles and account for about 52% of the aggregate area of the Madras Presidency i.e., 142,260 square miles.[2] Based on geographical and climatic conditions the Telugu districts can be divided into two regions. One is the Northern circars comprised of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore which can be broadly classified as 'Delta' coastal region. The Deccan or ceded districts comprised

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1. They were 1) Ganjam, 2) Vizagapatam, 3) East Godavari, 4) West Godavari, 5) Kistna, 6) Guntur, 7) Nellore, 8) Kurnool, 9) Anantapur, 10) Cuddapah, & 11) Chittoor. The coastal districts, formerly known as the Northern circars, were obtained by the British East India Company in 1765. In 1800, the Nizam of Hyderabad ceded the districts of Kurnool, Anantapur and Cuddapah to E.I.C. and later the districts of Chittoor and Nellore were also obtained from the Carnatic ruler and included in the province of Madras. The Telugu speaking area was formed into a separate state only after the Act in 1953. And this was enlarged into Andhra Pradesh by the addition of Telengana (9 districts) in 1956.

See O.H.K. Spate, A.T.A. Learmonth and B.H. Farmer, India, Pakistan and Ceylon : The Regions, (London, 1967), pp. 728-738 ; R.L. Singh (ed) India A Regional Geography, (Varanasi, 1971), pp. 821-850 and also see pp. 851-79.

2. Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1920-21, (Madras, 1922), pp. 1-5; Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, for the year 1921-22 (Madras, 1923), p.1.

of Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah and can be classified as 'Dry' inland region.[1] The coastal districts were, however, economically divided between the 'dry' upland taluks and the coastal taluks, which derived a natural alluvial richness from the Kistna and Godavari river deltas.[2] Another important part of the Andhra area was the 'Agency Division'. As its name indicates, "the Agency comprises what were formerly the Agency tracts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari." This was"a primitive country consisting almost entirely of jungle and low hills, deficient in communications, devastated by fever, sparsely populated by ... tribes who speak languages of their own, ... reluctant to leave their own country and depend for their livelihood almost entirely on sporadic cultivation."[3]

The Rayalaseema or the 'Deccan' districts as they are generally called were considerably less prosperous than the coastal districts. "Situated in the middle of the Peninsula where it gets the full benefit of neither monsoon, this division must always have a struggle to maintain its population. The prosperity of all these districts ... immediately effected by even a

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1. Statistical Atlas, op.cit., 1920-21, p.4; Spate (et.al.) op.cit., pp. 721-727; R.L. Singh, op.cit., pp. 821-830.

2. Statistical Atlas, ibid., See chapters on Kistna, Guntur and Godavari districts.

3. Census of India, 1921, vol.xiii, Madras, Part 1, Report, (Madras, 1922), p. 7.

comperatively small shortage of rainfall, while Bellary and Anantapur especially (were) ... seldom free if not from the reality, at least from the hunting apprehension of famine, and from the epidemics which came in famine's train."[1] The difference in the physical make-up of the ghats perhaps explains not only mere contrasts in the climatic and rainfall conditions but also the handicaps in the distribution of the sources of agricultural water supply in the different regions of the presidency. The average of the normal annual rainfall was less than 60 cm. in Anantapur and Western Kurnool districts of Rayalaseema. It was a rain shadow area for both the monsoons as it was located between two uplands - the Karnataka Plateau on the West and the Andhra Ghats in the East. The failure of rains was a common feature of the climate, in this part of the Region and somewhat semi arid conditions always prevailed.[2] Even the soil "on the whole, ... deficient in organic matter, nitrogen, phosphorus and other plant nutrients and the content of soluble salts (was) --- very low".[3] In these peculiar

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1. Census of India, 1921, op.cit., pp. 7-8.

2. R.L. Singh (ed.), op.cit., pp. 825-27; Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1921-22, op.cit., pp. 2-11; Spate (et.al.) op.cit., pp. 721-727

3. R.L. Singh, op.cit., pp. 827-828; For further details on the geological basis of the soils in the presidency see Manual of the Administration of Madras Presidency, vol II, (1885), pp. 8-20, Appendix III.

conditions, "it can be made productive only through adoption of improved techniques of dry farming and heavy inputs of organic and inorganic fertilizers."[1] But paradoxically the case was different in the colonial context. This ruggedness of the topography, the infertility of the soil and the semi-arid climatic conditions adversely effected the agriculture of this region, which made the plateau a single cropped region.[2] On the other hand, the lack of irrigation projects forced Rayalaseema to depend on wells which shared 44.5% of the net irrigated area in Cuddapah, 38.5% in Chittoor, 38.4% in Anantapur and 16.9% in Kurnool.[3] These were, however, in turn entirely dependent on water from North-East Monsoon, the failure of which might produce havoc on the harvests.

The Rayalaseema area thus with its low rainfall, low water table and serious soil-erosion formed a famine zone. The earliest famine recorded in Bellary was that of 1792-93 and since the beginning of the 19th century, it was burdened with serious famines, for example, in 1803, 1824, 1833, 1853-54, 1866, 1876-78 and 1891-92. In 1838, 1844, 1861, 1864 and 1868 also, the seasons were very

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1. Ibid., p. 827.
2. Ibid., pp. 842-843; Statistical Atlas op.cit., 1910-11, p. 5.
3. Singh, op.cit., p. 843.

unfavourable over the whole or parts of the districts and in many years the rainfall had been scanty or unseasonable.[1] The effects of these famines were the rise in prices and terrific human toll from starvation. In 1892-93, the rice sold at 8 lbs. for a rupee and cholam the staple food of the masses at 24 lbs. for a rupee. In 1803, the prices rose by 300% and whole sale emigration took place. In 1838, the year of the Goontoor famine, when in that district 150,000 persons out of a total of 500,000 died from want of food and cholera that followed the famine; in Gooty and Bellary alone 12,000 persons died during the out break.[2] It was observed that "Grain riots occured in several places, and there was a considerable mortality from starvation."[3] In 1851-54, a storm swept over the district damaging the tanks and irrigation works in 1851; and before the repairs were completed, heavy and unseasonable rainfalls (1852) ruined the crops. In 1853 the total fall of rain was only '6' inches and famine set in. One-third of the cattle in the district died..."[4] In 1866, the failure

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1. Second Report of the Central Executive Committee, Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, 1897, with complete Accounts and Proceedings, and the Provincial Committees Reports from January to October, 1897. (Calcutta 1898), p. 360.
2. Manual of Madras Administration, op.cit., (1885), Vol.II, P. 80.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

of the rains doubled the price of food. Bellary formed one of the districts most severely affected in the great famine of 1876-77.[1] Thus the whole district lies within the famine zone. So is also the case of Cuddapah[2], Anantapur[3] and Kurnool[4]. In 1888 the Government observed that "the districts

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1. Ibid.

2. From the commencement of the district history alternative droughts and floods appear to have prevailed. Between 1800 and 1802 there were famine distresses; in 1803 the past three years of drought preceded a great bursting of the tanks due to sudden and excessive rainfall. In 1818, 180 tanks in one Taluk alone were breached. In 1820, a violent storm burst 770 tanks and destroyed human lives and many cattle. In 1851, in one of the villages alone 500 people were drowned. In 1823-24, 1833, 1865-66 and 1891-92 severe distress was caused owing to the failure of crops and price rise. It also suffered severely in the great Madras famine of 1877.

See Ibid., p. 76; Report famine Charitable Relief fund 1897, op.cit.,p. 360.

3. The earliest famine recorded was 1792-93. In 1803, 1823, 1832-33 both monsoons failed and the worst on record was 1832-33 famine. In 1838, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1853-54, 1865-66, and 1876 to 78, were the famine recorded years in the district. The period 1876 to 78 being the largest great famine in that period. In many years the seasons were described as unfavourable.

See Ibid.

4. Generally both Kurnool and the neighbouring district of Bellary suffer from droughts and famines at intervals. Since the beginning of the 19th century it suffered 8 times from famines. In 1804, 1810, 1824, 1833, 1853-54, 1866, 1876-78 and 1891-92 it suffered with drought and scarcity and prices rose high. The deaths were 48,000 between October 1876 and June 1877. The outturn of all crops were precarious.

See Ibid., Manual of Madras (1893) op.cit., Vol.I, pp. 85-89.

of Bellary and Anantapur are the poorest and most backward in the presidency, the most sterile and the most subject to drought; the ryots pay the present revenue with difficulty; and they have as yet, far from fully recovered from the famine of 1877-78... These words are mere commonplaces and they would apply equally well to the affected protions of Kurnool and Cuddapah."[1] It was recorded in the census of 1921 that, "during the past decade these districts have all lost in population and Bellary especially has been very badly hit. The epidemic of influenza took greater toll in these districts that in other parts of the presidency, and in addition to the abnormal mortality from this cause Bellary and Anantapur were at the end of the decade visited by famine".[2] Especially the year 1918-19 was most unfavourable. "The south-west monsoon was a general failure being short in every district ... the deficiency was most striking in the Deccan, where dry cultivation was 78% below the average of the previous five years".[3]

On the contrary, the East Coast North division, which includes the wealthy deltas of the Godavari and Kistna rivers, on the whole had an adequate rainfall and was sufficiently protected by irrigation to guarantee its prosperity except

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1. Report, Famine Charitable Relief Fund, 1897, op.cit., p. 360.
2. Census, 1921, op.cit., p.8.
3. Ibid., p. 10.

in a very few abnormal seasons.[1] Midnineteenth century irrigation projects and later communication and transport facilities endowed the coastal districts with an ever greater prosperity.[2] "The country" reports Madras Gazetteer, "is a vast expanse of rice-fields, dotted with gardens and villages ... as the rice grows higher, the dividing boundaries are hidden; and the whole country looks like a single ricefield, the groves around the villages, the road avenues and the white sails of the boats gliding along the main canals breaking the uniform sea of waving green crops".[3] Irrigation was most highly developed in these two deltas and there was "hardly a river on the East coast across which dams have not been dug to carry water to the land."[4] Over this area two crops of paddy were taken each year and even the development of commercial crops was noteworthy.[5] Since this area had rich alluvial soils',[6]

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1. Census of India, 1921, op. cit., p. 7.
2. Report on the Direct and Indirect Effects of the Godavari and Krishna Anicuts in Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Guntoor, (1858, Madras); F.R. Hemingway, Godavari District Gazetteer, (Madras, 1907); G.M. Rao, Changing conditions and Growth of Agricultural Economy in the Krishna and Godavari Districts, 1840-1890, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Andhra University, Waltair, 1973).
3. Imperial Gazetteers of India, Madras-I, (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 268-
4. Statistical Atlas, 1910-11, op.cit., p. 5.
5. Ibid.
6. The 'alluvial soils' are met with only along the courses of the Godavari and the Kistna. They are transported soils and have deposited with alternate layers of sand and silt. The older alluvium has a more clayey texture and dark colours as compared to the recent alluvium of sandy texture and lighter colour. See R.L. Singh, op-cit., p. 828.

the yield per acre was also encouraging. In fact, the productivity of different soils depends on their capacity of supplying the ingredients necessary for plant growth and other aspects of the texture of the soils. In this respect regur or alluvial soils were of comparatively far greater agricultural value than the red soils. However, the alluvial soils were more valuable in terms of favourable production conditions for paddy and the black cotton or regur soils were important for a good production of industrial crops like cotton, groundnut and so on. Consequently, for the purely delta districts, the proportion of land under rice cultivation when compared to other crops was very high. Almost all coastal districts especially Godavari and Kistna had a sizeable surplus of foodgrains. On the other hand, the Godavari district was not handicapped by famines. The same was also on the whole the case with Kistna and Guntur in spite of some serious famines and cyclones.[1] No doubt Godavari region was formerly liable to severe floods caused by a sudden rising of the river, but they were controlled by embarkments and other irrigation works mostly developed in the 19th Century.[2] So naturally no great famine has occurred since 1833.[3] The importance of irrigation and

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1. Manual of Madras, 1885, op.cit., pp. 79, 81 and 84
2. Ibid., p. 81
3. Ibid.

secure agricultural production conditions were reflected in the high density of population in some of the delta districts. Of the natural divisions in Madras Presidency the least densely populated was (in 1921), of course, the Agency which had only 75 persons to a square mile. Next came the Deccan with 139 persons; the East coast North or coastal region had 345 persons to a square mile. In fact by 1921, the density of the Deccan had fallen by 6% and that of the Agency by 3%. However, there had been an increase in the East Coast-North (Ganjam, Vizagapatnam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore) by 11%. The most densely populated taluks in this division naturally were those of the deltas of the Godavari and the Kistna rivers in the districts of Godavari, Kistna and Guntur. All these taluks infact showed an increase of population in 1921 which varied from 4% in Razole to 11.5% in Narasapur.[1] It was clearly observed that "the variation in the population of districts and taluks has been considered (and)... The dominant factors in the movement of a pre-eminently rural population like that of Madras must necessarily be connected with agricultural conditions... Of the districts which have

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1. The density of population per. sq. mile in Ganjam was 420, whereas in East Godavari it was 714.
   See Census of India, 1921, op.cit., pp. 18-20.

the largest increase in population... are districts, in which rice is extensively cultivated and the greater part of the cultivated area is irrigated...."[1]

Thus an analysis of the internal geography would reveal the striking disparity in the economic conditions of the Rayalseema and coastal Andhra districts. However, one should not forget the fact that the real intricacies would be evident only if one takes sufficient account of the outward orientation of the economy fashioned by the colonial rulers. Still we have dealt with this distinction between the dry inland and delta Andhra not to obscure our broader perspective, but to note the difference in the nature of the polarization of agrarian social classes. In the colonial context we find that the mass of the population were small landowners with no reserve of capital. The failure of a single monsoon involved a general distress whether he was in 'Dry' inland or 'Wet' region. In the dry inland region the natural drawbacks added to the colonial system of exploitation actively prevented the emergence of a strong middle peasantry having both labour and capital resources. Here the polarization was between big landlords and poor peasants. The case of coastal Andhra districts was, however, different. There we find the emergence of a rich peasant class due to the favourable conditions in

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1. Ibid., p. 24.

Agricultural production. In this region the middle peasants and occupancy tenants crystalized into a powerful peasant class, which later dominated the political arena. These aspects we shall be examining in detail in the second chapter.

It is clear that in the works of above mentioned historians, who have written on South India, certain important questions pertaining to changes in social structure and in national movements have remained unasked and unanswered. We will attempt here to analyse those conditions, of course, within the overall framework of colonialism as a particular system. The basic changes in the socio-economic conditions; the emergence of new social classes; and the role of the different social classes in accelerating the nationalist movement would be discussed in detail. In other words, our aim is to explain the national movement as a social phenomenon that emerged out of the inherent contradictions of colonialism. In order to help determine the social character of the movement, our endeavour would be to investigate the social transformation preceding the commencement of the nationalist movement in Andhra, its goals, ideology, methods of political tactics and broadly the social hegemony over the movement.

Our study would be divided into four chapters. In Chapter II we will discuss the changes in 'Economy and Society' of Andhra in 19th and first two decades

of the 20th century. The process of new social class formation and the nature of contradictions that were coming up within the Andhra Society during the period will be discussed in detail. The chapter III deals with the direct bearing of all these inner contradictions upon the political field. The movements led by Congress during 1920-22 and their limitations would be discussed in the light of the nature of the social participation and political tactics of the movement. The class character of the non-cooperation movement will be assessed in Chapter IV. The ideology and class character would be discussed in the light of the social hegemony over the movement in Andhra.

CHAPTER - II

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF ANDHRA IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF 20TH CENTURY

I

The most outstanding feature of Indian history in modern times has been the advent of British imperialism which developed on the basis of the capitalist transformation of European economy. As a consequence of the British rule, India passed into the orbit of world capitalist economy in a "subordinate or colonial position".[1] This was particularly so from the beginning of the 19th century. From then onwards, there grew up an irreconcilably antagonistic and exploitative relationship between British and Indian economics. Especially with the destruction of Indian handicraft industries, the traditional balance between indigenous industry and agriculture was shattered, resulting in a complete loss of internal equilibrium of production[2]

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1. Bipan Chandra, "Colonialism and Modernisation", (Presidential Address) Indian History Congress (1970), p. 2; Bipan Chandra, Amales Tripathi, Barun De, Freedom Struggle, (National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 1972) p. 16.
2. Z.A. Ahmad, The Agrarian Problem in India (A general survey), (A.I.C.C., Allahabad, 1937), p.vii.

The 'colonial exploitation'[1] of India, took different forms according to the stage reached by the economic development of the exploiting country.[2] This was the historical phenomenon which largely controlled the pre-independence Indian economy.

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1. For a detailed discussion on the different dimensions of this aspect see:

   R. Palme Dutt, India Today, (Calcutta, 1970); Dadabhai Naoroji, Poverty And Un-British Rule in India, (publications Division, Govt. of India, 1969); Romesh Dutt, The Economic History of India, Volumes 1 & 2 (Publication Division, 1976 & 77); Ramkrishna Mukherjee, The Rise And Fall of The East India Company (Berlin, 1955); SabyasachiBhattacharyya, Financial foundations of the British Raj, (I.I.A.S., Simla, 1971); B.H. Baden - Powell, A Short Account of The Land Revenue and its Administration in British India, with a Sketch of the Land Tenures, (Oxford, 1913); The Land - Systems of British India, Volumes - 3, (Delhi, 1974); Irfan Habib, "Colonialization of the Indian Economy, 1757-1900", in Social Scientist, Vol. 3, No. 8, March 1975, (pp 23-53); Marx & Engels, On Colonialism, (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974); Bipan Chandra, Karl Marx, His Theories on Asian Societies And Colonial Rule, (Mimeographed, 1978); "Colonialism and Modernisation", op.cit.; "The Indian Capitalist Class and British Imperialism" in R.S. Sharma and Vivekanand Jha (ed), Indian Society: Historical Probings, In Memory of D.D. Kosambi, (P.P.H., New Delhi, 1977) and The Rise And Growth of Economic Nationalism in India (P.P.H., New Delhi, 1977).

2. Joan Beauchamp, British Imperialism in India (London, 1934) p. 11.

   She explained these stages as:

   "During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the plunder of India was the chief source of the accumulation which made possible the development of industrial capitalism in Britain, and in the nineteenth, India provided the principal market for British manufacturers, while at the same time the economic drain of her resources was ruthlessly continued. British capital investment in India, together with intense exploitation of Indian labour, backed by all the forces of the crown, represents the third and final stage in the system of robbery, for it is a method which carries within it the seeds of its own destruction". (Ibid.)

Hence, the need for a study of the economy of Madras Presidency in the colonial context, before we go into the social and political aspects.

Broadly speaking, due to the indispensable needs of a colonial government, the agrarian structure evolved during the British rule empowered the colonial government to appropriate a large share of the agricultural produce in the form of revenue. When the vast majority of the inhabitants of a country are dependent on an industry, agriculture - which is itself dependent on a well developed tenurial systems and moderate revenue demands; it is clear that a failure or any serious deviation from the above two aspects must unfavourably or sometimes calamitiously affect the entire agricultural community. Paradoxically, the Madras Presidency was settled with different tenurial systems and an unequal distribution of land revenue burden, which in turn generated many evils in the agrarian systems. Hence, to start with, we shall examine the development of different tenurial relations in Madras Presidency, particularly in the districts of Andhra, alongwith the land revenue systems in order to understand the structural changes in the agrarian economy,[1] as also the changes in the agrarian class relations.

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1. The economy will be discussed in terms of aspects like; (1) Land tenures and revenue burden, (2) Rents and price rise, (3) Rural credit and indebtedness and (4) Commercialization and marketing system.

LAND TENURES:

The system of land tenures established a pattern of relations on land that formed the framework within which agricultural production was carried out. The manner in which land was held not only determined the methods and techniques of production, but also strongly influenced the distribution of the agricultural production. Hence, it is important for us to examine the land tenures in Andhra under the British rule.

In 1920-21 the Madras Presidency comprised of 27 districts[1] and had an area of 1,42,255 square miles. Of which 19,287 square miles were occupied by the newly constituted "Agency Division"[2] and 21,962 square miles by Zamindaries.[3] "Pasture and agriculture" formed the occupation of a majority i.e. 70% of the population of the Presidency.[4] Land was held mainly under the "Ryotwari", "Zamindari", and

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1. Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1920-21, (Madras, 1922), p. 1.

2. Ibid., and also see Administrative Report of the forest Department Of The Madras Presidency, 1923-24, Vol.II (Madras, 1925), p. 17. The Agency tracts in Ganjam, Vizagapatnam and Godavari districts were constituted into a new 'Agency Division' or district for administrative convenience from 1st Dec., 1920 and this was again merged with the above districts within a short span of time, i.e. from 16th October, 1923 as a measure of retrenchment of expenditure.

3. Ibid., The zamindaries of Andhra were chiefly situated in Ganjam, Vizagapatnam, Godavari, Kistna, Nellore and Chittoor. When considered the whole Presidency the concentration was mostly in Andhra districts.

4. Ibid., (1911), p. 7; This increased to 71% by 1920-21, Ibid., (1921), p. 7.

"Inamdari" tenurial systems. The extent of holding under different tenurial systems in Andhra is presented in the table given below.

(Table 2.1, see backpage)[1]

The history of the revenue set up in Andhra under the British rule dates back to 1766[2], when the Madras Government took over the management of the Northern circars viz., Ellore, Chicacole, Rajamundry, Mootazanagar and Moostafanagar (Guntur).[3] In these areas, the system

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1. Ibid., (1911 and 1921), calculated for agency division separately for 1920-21, but in the case of 1910-11, the agency figures are included in the totals owing to the lack of correct separate figures in detail as the case of 1920-21.

2. Early British acquisitions in the Coast of Northern Circars.

Year	Station	District
1611	Pettapoly and Mosulipatnam	Kistna
1625	Armegam	Nellore
1634	Veeravasaram	Godavari
1679	Madapallam	Godavari
1683	Vizagapatnam	One of the Northern circars.
1722	Ingeram	Godavari
1751	Bandamoorlanka & Neelapilly	Godavari

Macleans, Administrative Manual of Madras Presidency Vol.I (Madras, 1879) para 94.

3. Ibid. These formed the later districts of Vizagapatnam, Ganjam, Kistna, Godavari and Guntur. For further details see: Aitkins, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads p. 114; Manikonda Satyanarayana, Bhumi, Ryotu and Raju (Telgu), (Bezwada, 1946) pp. 143-44; Lanka Sundaram, "British Beginnings in Andhra", Triveni, Nov., 1928; B.H. Baden-Powell, The Land-Systems of British India, Vol.III (Delhi, 1974) p.7.

TABLE - 2.1

NUMBER AND AREA OF VILLAGES

Districts	Ryotwari		Inam		Zamindari		Total		Percentage of Ryotwari to Total area	% of Inam to Total	% of Zamindari to Total
	Number	Area under Govt. + Minor Inams	Number	Area Acs	Number	Area Acres	Number	Area Acres			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Ganjam	976	1141957	539	234370	3039	1718628	4554	3094955	36.88	7.57	55.53
2. Vizagapatam	269	357328	842	491984	1643	2074234	2754	2923546	12.22	16.83	70.95
3. Godavari	448	976242	90	93820	317	558601	855	1628363	59.55	5.74	34.31
4. Kistna	774	1937466	354	467059	694	1376281	1822	3780806	51.25	12.35	36.40
5. Guntur	763	3332127	162	210334	58	102721	983	3645182	91.41	5.77	2.82
6. Nellore	518	2529382	283	385733	925	2187938	1726	5103053	49.57	7.56	42.88
7. Total	3748	10274502	2270	1883000	6676	8018403	12694	20175905	50.92	9.33	39.74
7. Kurnool	695	4728781	89	123309	-	-	783	4852090	97.46	2.54	-
8. Bellary	873	3529212	89	115654	-	-	962	3644866	96.83	3.17	-
9. Anantapur	750	4130672	136	131196	-	-	886	4281868	96.94	3.06	-
10. Cuddapah	755	3509715	218	214980	-	-	973	3724695	94.23	5.77	-
11. Chittoor	468	1834623	368	957568	1468	1198125	2304	3990316	91.10	15.53	33.37
Total:	3541	17753003	900	1142707	1468	1198125	5909	20093835	88.35	5.69	5.96
Grand Total:	7286	28027505	3170	3025707	8144	9216528	18603	40269740	69.60	7.51	22.89
Agency Division	1965	3050277	88	273780	10794	9374602	12847	12698659	24.02	2.16	73.82
Grand Total	9254	31077782	3258	3299487	18938	18591130	31450	52968399	58.67	6.23	35.10
In 1910-11 :											
Grand Total	10007	31840716	3120	2917120	20361	17595455	33488	523353291	60.82	5.57	33.61
(including Agency)	753	762934	138	382367	1423	995675	2038	615108	-	-	-
% of increase/ decrease on 1910-11.	(-)7.53	(-)2.40	4.42	13.11	(-)6.99	5.66	(-)6.09	1.18			

Source: Statistical Atlas 1920-21 and 1910-11.

of revenue collection followed by the Muslim rulers was by and large continued by the colonial rulers. The collection of revenue was made through the Poligars/Zamindars/Contractors[1]. When the East Indian Company acquired the districts of Bellary, Anantpur, Cuddapah, a portion of Kurnool and Palnad taluk of the Guntur district in 1800 from the Nizam of Hyderabad[2]; and Chittoor and Nellore in 1801 from the Nawab of Arcot[3], there developed a different tenural system, called the "Ryotwari" system. This was later implemented by Sir Thomas Munro.[4] In fact the important phase in the ryotwari

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1. B.H. Baden - Powell, op.cit. Later, because of the influence of Bengal Government, a special commission was appointed and between 1802 and 1804. These districts were parcelled out into permanently assessed (revenue) estates. These were called as Zamindari estates in Andhra.

2. Ibid., p. 8; Nilmani Mukherjee, The Ryotwari System in Madras, 1792-1827, (Calcutta, 1962), p. 20

3. Boswel, Nellore Manual; S.C. Ray, Land Revenue Administration in India, (Calcutta University, 1915) p. 61.

4. Between 1802 and 1806, a systematic survey and settlement of the ceded districts - Bellary, Cuddapah and Kurnool - covering an area of 26,592 square miles was taken up by Sir Thomas Munro. Since the attempts were made to introduce Permanent settlement in all territories of the Madras Presidency between 1807 and 1810, which of course, proved abortive, the ryotwari system was introduced into all parts of the province, where a permanent settlement of the land revenue had not already been effected with zamindars, only by Munro during his term of governorship i.e., 1820 to 1827. For a detailed study see: Nilmani Mukherjee, The Ryotwari system... op.cit., pp. 17-121; History of Land Revenue Settlement And Abolition of Intermediary Tenure in Tamil Nadu, (Government of Tamil Nadu, 1977) hereafter as H.L.R.S.A.I.T.T.N. R.C. Dutt, The Economic History of India Vol. 2, (1970, Reprint) pp. 47-48; B.H. Baden-Powell, A short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India: with a sketch of the Land Tenures (Oxford, 1913), pp. 31-32.

system was started with the reinterpretation of Munro's term 'fixed or permanent'[1] land revenue demand, followed by the determination of a general revision of all ryotwari settlements in 1855. The subsequent resettlements were for 30 years duration. Between 1866 and 1887, the Madras Presidency government carried on settlement operations in many of the Andhra districts, to know the accurate extent and value of land under several categories, which in practice enabled the government to demand more and more revenue (this will be discussed later).

Under the 'zamindari' tenure,[2] broadly speaking, land was held as independent property. The right to hold the zamindaries permanently on a fixed revenue, with hereditary rights and the rights to transfers[3] was given to the zamindars. This new right in perpetuity sanctioned by the colonial government generated many evils in the zamindari system.[4] Contrary to this, under the 'ryotwari'

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1. For a detailed discussion, especially on the change of Government Policy see: Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government, (Government of India, Calcutta, 1920) pp. 152-243.

2. When the revenue is assessed on an individual or community owning an estate, and occupying a position identical with, or analogous to that of a landlord, the assessment is called as 'zamindari' M.L.R.S.A.I.I.I.N., p. 52; S.C. Ray, op.cit., p. 2

3. Ibid., pp. 43-52; V.V. Sayana, The Agrarian Problems of Madras Province, (Madras, 1949) p. 50; S.C. Ray. op.cit. pp. 81-83.

4. A detailed information on early zamindari system can be obtained from the following works: (Cont...next page)

tenure[1] the land was held by the individual ryots with a right of occupancy, which was both heritable and transferable. Here the revenue was subjected to the principle of deductions and additions in certain circumstances and subjected to omissions if need be after intervals of 30 years.[2] There

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(Continued from last page...4)

N.G. Ranga, Economic Conditions of the Zamindari Ryots, (The report of the Economic Enquiry Committee) (Bezwada, 1933).

W.K. Firmingeer, Report from the Select Committee of Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1917) pp. 145-215.

B.H. Baden-Powell, The Land Systems...op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 133-38; and A short Account of the Land Revenue...op.cit., pp. 154-168.

R.C. Dutt, The Economic History of India under Early British Rule, Vol.I, (Delhi, 1976) pp. 60-65

Macleans, Administrative Manual of Madras Presidency, Vol.III, (Madras, 1879).

Baliga, Studies in Madras Administration, Vol.I, (Madras, 1960) pp. 82-83.

S.S. Raghavaiyengar, Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last 40 years of British Administration, (Madras, 1898) pp. 222-28. M.L.R.S.A.I.T.I.N., pp. 43-52.

1. When the revenue is assessed on individuals who are the actual occupants, or are accepted as representing the actual occupants of small holdings, the assessment is known as 'Ryotwari'. M.L.R.S.A.I.T.I.N., pp. 37-38; S.C. Ray. op.cit., p. 2.

2. M.L.R.S.A.I.T.I.N., pp. 37-41.

were also other varieties of land tenures, the important one was the inamdari system.[1] There was perpetual free-holds held under a title-deed,[2] enfranchised inams or grants of land or of the land revenue thereon[3] and inam holdings including jagirs or grants of land or of land revenue held under a tenure dependent on the fulfilment of certain conditions.[4] Under either system there may be rent-paying tenants. In fact, the landed interests varied according to the nature of the tenurial system. Between the government and the actual cultivator it may be there were one/two or more interests intervened.

(Table 2.2 (next page)

The table indicates the numerous intermediary landed interests, of course in a schematic form.

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1. For a detailed documented history of 'Inamdari' tenure see Ibid., pp. 53-63; for the definitions of different terms associated with 'Inamdari' such as Inam, Inamdari, Inam Estate, Inam Land, Inam Village and so on, see P.T. George, Terminology in Indian Land Reforms (Orient Longman, 1972).

2. Ibid., pp. 80-81. These show proprietorship as against the government and paid no land revenue.

3. Ibid., p. 81. These were held under a title - deed showing proprietorship as against the Government and paid a 'quit-rent' fixed for ever, calculated at a favourable rate.

4. Ibid., p. 84

TABLE - 2.2

Intermediary Landed Interests in Different Tenures

One Interest	Two Interests	Three Interests	Four Interests (a)	(b)
1. The Government was sole proprietor (Khas estates alluvial islands and so on.)	1. Government. 2. The ryot or occupant with a defined title (not a tenant).	1. Government 2. A landlord (Zamindar and so on) 3. The actual cultivating holders, individual co-sharers and C.	1. Government 2. Landlord 3. Sub-proprietors or tenure holders. 4. The ryot or actual cultivator.	1. Government 2. An overlord or superior 3. An actual proprietor or landlord. 4. The actual cultivating holders individual co-sharers and C.

Source: Baden- B.H. Powell, A short Account of the Land Revenue and Its Administration in British India: with a sketch of the Land Tenures. (Oxford, 1913) p. 129. The original Table has been modified to some extent, so that it can indicate the intermediary landed interests with more clarity.

In fact, there existed an even more complex network of interests. This complex network of interests broadly indicates the appropriation of the agricultural produce in the colonial context and this will be discussed in the subsequent pages. First of all let us examine the land revenue demand and its burden on different agrarian classes in relation to the tenurial systems.

II

LAND REVENUE

Many nationalist historians have often emphasised the heavy burden of land revenue demand and the coercive processes employed, both by the Government and Zamindars, in the realization of the revenue and rent respectively, as the main causes for the impoverishment of the peasantry under colonialism. This logic may broadly explain the objective social basis of the peasant discontent and their participation in the national movement. But the process of "depeasantization" was a more complex problem. No doubt the increasing revenue demand not only absorbed the petty profits but also cut into the meagre subsistence income of the peasants. High rentals and revenue demand forced the peasants to borrow money from the money-lenders even at abnormal rates, which aggravated the situation. In order to know the process of "depeasantization", we shall not see just the revenue burden, but the actual relations of production, who appropriated the surplus and in what forms and what were the relations between the landlord/Government and the direct producer and among the various classes of peasantry.

The revenue demand, of course, increased in most of the Andhra districts after every resettlement operations. The "unjust enhancement" of the revenue demand under the ryotwari system, based on the principles of 30 years period for every revision, as observed by Mr. Dutt, would "necessarily

impoverish ryot".[1] He further observed that in the "settlement and survey operations which were introduced after 1857, the real position of Madras cultivator was lost sight of... the Madras cultivator instead of holding his land in perpetuity without any increase of assessment... subjected to enhancement at each recurring settlement and has been reduced to a state of poverty and indebtedness which makes him an easy prey to famines in years of bad harvests".[2]

Table - 2.3

Average revenue per acre

Districts	Year	Dry average per acre			wet average per acre		
		Rs.	A.	p.	Rs.	A.	p.
Godavari	1864	1	11	0	6	2	9
	1884	1	8	5	6	3	2
Kurnool	1865	0	15	2	6	5	6
	1884	1	0	1	7	14	4

Source: Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol.I, p. 145 and Vol.2, pp. 412 and 415 (Madras, 1885).

1. Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government, (Calcutta, 1920) p. 153 "Initially" Mr. Dutt observed, "Madras ryot had a declared and indefeasible right to an unalterable and perpetual assessment" and "this right has been confiscated by the British Government... when they established the new settlement... and introduced at that time permanency only for a period, whereby the assessment is subjected to possible revision after each such period". (after every 30 years) Ibid., p. 152

2. Ibid., pp. 154-55.

Table - 2.4[1]

Land Revenue Demand

Financial Year	1892-1893	1893-1894	1894-1895	1895-1896	1896-1897	1897-1998	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901	1901-1902
% of increase/decrease of land revenue	117.7	125.4	127.9	126.7	117.6	125.0	127.5	121.6	128.6	128.9

Note: The figures are for the Madras Presidency. The figures of 1891-92 being taken as = 100. And the share of the land revenue due to irrigation is excluded from the calculation. And 1896-98 were famine years.

The above two tables show the steady increase in the land revenue incidence per acre and the receipts respectively. In fact, the revenue demand was more rapid in the first two decades of the 20th century. The assessments in Godavari district alone in 1901-2 was increased by 24 percent.[2] The net ryotwari demand[3] during 1906-7 amounted to Rs 570.96 lakhs against Rs 557.65 lakhs in the previous year.[4] This demand for the presidency during 1915-16 had been raised to Rs 631.91 lakhs as against Rs 619.05 lakhs in the previous year.[5]

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1. Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress And Condition of India, 1901-2 (Indian Office, 1903) (Hereafter as Moral and Material Progress), p. 161.
2. Ibid., p. 159
3. 'Net ryotwari demadd' i.e., less remissions but including water-rate, second crop and miscellaneous revenue.
4. Report on the Settlement of Land Revenue (Jamabandi) for Fasli 1316 (1906-7), (Madras, 1908) (hereafter Settlement of Revenue), p. 5
5. Ibid., For Fasli, 1325, (1915-16), p.7

The increase is shown below:[1]

Table - 2.5

The Increased Amount of Revenue Under Different Heads in those Particular Years.

Under different heads.	In lakhs of Rupees 1906-7	1915-16
Increase in the assessment of holdings.	5.41	2.82
Increase under second crop and water-rate.	0.75	2.06
Decrease under remissions.	6.68	5.51
Increase under miscellaneous.	0.27	2.47
Total increase	13.11	12.86

This indicates that the increase of demand was mostly on the highly irrigated delta districts in the form of water rate and soon. When the percentage of increase in total demand was nearly 11 percent, the increase under water-rate and second crop was nearly 175%. This increase, especially in the case of water-rate, was very high in 1920's. Table 2.9 clearly shows that the incidence of revenue per acre has also been increased most in highly irrigated delta districts like Godavari (21.4%)(from Rs. 5.84 in 1901-2 to 7.09 in 1920-21) and Krishna (25.9%) (from Rs. 5.30 in 1901-2 to Rs. 6.63 in 1920-21). When it was marginal in the case of (dry) ceded districts.

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1. Calculated from Ibid.

However, the burden of revenue was not uniform for all tenures. The revenue demand in ryotwari areas had been increased by 13.2% whereas it was only 0.06% in zamindari areas. The table below demonstrates this unequal distribution of the demand and its differential increase.

Table - 2.6[1]

Increase in total revenue demand under different tenures.

	1905-6 Rs.	1906-7 Rs.	1914-15 Rs.	1915-16 Rs.
Peshkash on permanently settled estates.	4,983,617	4,983,333	4,987,350	4,986,531
Shrotiem jodi	756,628	766,052	756,323	756,294
Ryotwari and miscellaneous.	55,792,691	57,095,494	61,891,575	63,152,536
Total	61,532,936	62,844,897	67,635,248	68,895,361

When the increase in the total revenue demand was 12%, it was mostly in ryotwari area alone. So the sole contribution was by the ryotwari tenure, for the very nature of the tenurial system allowed a periodical increase whereas it was not so in the zamindaries, since the revenues were fixed permanently. But it does not mean that the cultivators under the zamindaries were well-off. In fact under this tenurial system, the peasants were exploited more not only by the zamindars but also by numerous intermediaries in different ways. Under both tenures, if the pattadar or tenant did not himself cultivate the land he was in the position of a superfluous middleman intervening

1. Ibid.

between the actual cultivator and the state/zamindar and exacting intermediate rent in order to maintain his own idle existence.[1] The table below shows the extent of the surplus retained by the zamindars, after paying the 'peshkash' to the government.

Table - 2.7 (see next page)

However, the increase in revenue rates was highest in the regions where the agricultural production, irrigation, market and communication facilities were highly developed. In the coastal districts like Godavari, Kistna, Vizagapatam, Ganjam, Guntur and Nellore the incidence of revenue per acre was much higher than in the backward Rayalaseema districts like, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool, Chittoor and Cuddapah (See Table 2.9). On the other hand, in the Rayalaseema districts the frequent famines, lack of favourable seasons and irrigation facilities and so on, resulted in insecurity in the agricultural sector[2], and hence, theoretically - practically as well - it was found impossible to increase the revenue demand as in the case of coastal Andhra districts.

Moreover, the income of the peasant was not just determined by the absolute increase in the total amount of revenue per acre. What mattered was its relation to the returns from the land and the expansion of cultivation under different tenures.

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1. Gilbert Slater (edited), Economic Studies, (Some South Indian Villages), Vol. I, (Oxford, 1918), p. 235.
2. See Famine Commission Reports for years (see Bibliography).

TABLE - 2.I

Statement showing the approximate area and revenue of the Zamindaries in Andhra

District	Name of Zamindaries	Area as per census of 1881						Estimated revenue realised by zamindars from cultivators/tenants		Peshkash payable to Government		Percentage paid to the Govt.	
		Cultivated/ Cultivable		Uncultivable		Total							
		1906-07 Acs.	1915-16 Acs.	1906-07 Acs.	1915-16 Acs.	1906-07 Acs.	1915-16 Acs.	1906-07 Rs.	1915-16 Rs.	1906-07 Rs.	1915-16 Rs.	1906-07	1915-16
Ganjam	Parlakimedi	227200	227200	40800	40800	268000	268000	430543	444304	82156	79724	19.08	17.74
Vizagapatam	Vizianagaram	384000	384000	81280	81280	465280	465280	1790027	2265069	494004	484763	-	-
	Bobbili	65280	65280	12160	12160	77440	77440	546320	544103	83652	83465	15.31	15.34
	Jeypore	-	-	-	-	-	5975680	-	916043	-	15988	-	1.74
Godavari	Pithapuram	157120	157120	49280	49280	206400	206400	863098	888504	243098	243098	28.17	27.38
Kistna	Nidadavolu-Beharzallin	122880	122880	18560	18560	141440	141400	437308	311611	112546	112505	25.74	36.1
	Devarakota	89600	89600	28160	28160	117760	117760	237623	257002	79508	79508	33.46	30.94
Nellore and Guntur	Venkatagiri	760960	760960	401280	401280	1162240	1162240	1068500	1180242	368871	368752	-	-
Chittoor	Karvetnagar	-	218880	-	222720	-	441600	-	888781	-	104907	-	11.8
	Kalahasti (Chittoor)	-	128640	-	245120	-	373760	-	738127	-	123200	-	16.69
	Kalhasti (Nellore)	-	239360	-	166400	-	405760	-		-		-	

Source: Reports on the Settlement of Land Revenue, For Fasli 1316 (1906-7) and Fasli 1325 (1915-16) Madras), pp. 16 and 20 respectively.

Firstly, the rate of increase of the revenue demand was much higher than the rate of increase in the expansion of cultivation, especially in the ryotwari areas. The table below demonstrates the extent of cultivation under different tenures between 1910 and 1920.

Table - 2.8[1]

Expansion of Cultivation Under Different Tenures

Year	Ryotwari Area under Govt. & minor inams Acs.	Inam Area Acs.	Zamindari Area Acs.	Total area Acs.	% of Ryotwari to total	% of Inam to total	% of Zamindari to total
1910-11	31,840,716	2,917,120	17,595,455	52,353,291	60.82	5.57	33.61
1920-21	31,077,782	3,299,487	18,591,130	52,968,399	58.67	6.23	35.10
% of increase/ decrease	-2.4	13.11	5.66	1.18			

Thus, under the ryotwari system, when the cultivated area was decreased by 2.4%, the total increase of 1.18% was contributed by the other two tenurial systems. On the other hand, the revenue demand/burden was increased more in the ryotwari areas than in the zamindari areas. This was perhaps due to the very nature of the tenurial systems. To sum up, we can safely argue that the state did absorb a large proportion of the full "potential surplus" in the ryotwari areas, whereas it

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1. Calculated from Statistical Atlas of Madras Presidency, 1910-11 and 1920-21.

TABLE - 2.2

Table Showing Incidence of Revenue paid in Cash/kind in relation with price-rise and Outturn.

Districts	Incidence of Revenue per acre 1901-2 Rs. p	1910-11 Rs. p.	1920-21 Rs. p.	Sale price of paddy (in measure to a Re.) 1901-02	1910-11	1920-21	Quantity of paddy to be sold to pay the revenue (in seers) 1901-2	1910-11	1920-21	*Average 'Outturn' of paddy crop: 100-denoting a normal crop. **1906-7	1910-11	1919-20***
Ganjam	2.57	2.81	2.67	22.9	24.7	11.6	66.56	69.40	30.97	83	83	86
Vizagapatam	3.10	3.72	3.50	22.4	21.5	9.8	69.44	79.98	34.30	92	83	89
Godaveri	5.84	5.70	7.09	25.3	22.4	8.4	147.75	127.68	59.55	91	83	96
Kistna	5.30	5.81	6.63	25.3	21.4	10.7	134.09	124.33	70.94	83	83	90
Guntur	2.47	2.87	2.94	#18.8	19.0	9.7	46.43	54.53	28.51	76	83	101
Nellore	2.19	2.60	2.64	22.7	19.4	11.2	49.71	50.44	29.56	75	83	106
Kurnool	1.23	1.35	1.30	20.2	19.3	9.1	24.84	26.05	11.83	83	86	101
Bellary	0.93	0.98	0.93	20.6	20.4	9.6	19.15	19.19	8.92	92	92	87
Anantapur	0.76	0.84	0.63	20.6	23.8	9.8	15.65	19.19	6.17	86	83	90
Cuddapah	1.52	1.84	1.71	18.8	21.5	9.9	28.57	39.56	16.92	72	75	99
Chittoor	1.62	1.94	1.48	m 31.05	22.7	10.9	51.03	44.03	16.13	-	83	97

* The 'outturn' figures are of Ryotwari (including minor inam) areas. But in 1919-20, figures that of non-ryotwari areas also included so far as information is available.

** Since figures for 1901-2 were not available in 100 parts, I have taken 1906-7.

*** Since the agency figures were given (from 1920-21) separately, I have chosen 1919-20 instead of 1920-21.

\# Figures for the year 1906-07.

m Figures for the year 1903-04.

Sources: 'Incidence of Revenue per acre' is calculated based on Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1910-11 and 1920-21, Appendix VI; 'Sale price of paddy' is calculated based on T. Prakasam, Report of the Madras Estate Land Act Committee, Part III, Price-Levels and Graphs (Madras 1938); 'Average "Outturn" of paddy crop' is compiled from Season and Crop Report of the Madras Presidency For The Agricultural Years 1906-07, 1910-11 and 1919-20, Board of Revenue (Revenue Settlement, Land Records & Agriculture), Madras; 'Quantity of Paddy to be sold to pay the revenue' is calculated based on the above information.

was absorbed mostly by the zamindar and the occupancy/non-cultivating tenant in the permanently settled estates. In general, this might have restricted the accumulation of surplus in the hands of peasants.

Secondly, the income of the peasant was also determined by the nature of the returns from the land. In Andhra (in irrigated regions), even though the level of revenue demand was high, the land owner/pattadar alienated much less in terms of produce in kind. This was due to the rise in prices. In other words, the rupee prices were rising gradually from 1890 to 1914 with great rapidity afterwards. Although in a 30 years settlement the number of rupees a pattadar paid, let us assume, had remained more or less the same, the quantity of produce which he sold in order to obtain a given number of rupees to pay the revenue had been reduced generally to about one-half[1] by 1920 and sometimes even below this. The Table - 2.9 clearly shows this trend.

In order to examine this point more closely let us see the case of Godavari district. Table -2.10 (no doubt) shows that the theoretical demand of half-net asset had been implemented by 1903 itself. And the incidence of revenue per acre had been increased by 21.4%, whereas the quantity of paddy which he sold to pay the revenue was reduced by 59.7%. Even the yield had been increased by 5.5%. Whereas in 'Dry' areas they alienated much less of the total production. For instance

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1. Gilbert Slater, op.cit., p. 238

TABLE - 2.10

Theoretical Demand of the Half-Net Asset And The Actual Realisation of the Demand.

Class of soil	Outturn in seers.	Paddy value at Rs.72/- per garce.	Deduct 10% of for unfav-ourable seasons etc.	Remainder	Deduct cultiv-ation expens-es.	NET	Half-Net	Rates sanctioned Taram 1+2 1st class source rate.	Taram 2+3 2nd class source rate.	Demand % of half net asset 1st class rate	% of ha half-net asset. 2nd class rate.
		Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.		
YEAR 1862-63											
1A or permanently improved.	1725	28.87	2.59	23.28	5.50	17.78	8.89	7.00	5.50	78.74	61.87
I or Black Clay	1500	22.50	2.25	20.25	5.25	15.00	7.50	5.50	5.50	73.33	66.66
YEAR 1903											
1A or permanently improved	1725	*42.40	4.24	38.16	14.00	24.16	12.08	12.00	10.00	99.34	82.78
I or Black Clay	1500	*36.87	3.69	33.18	13.00	20.18	10.09	10.00	9.00	99.11	89.2

*Paddy value at Rs. 118/- per garce.

Source: For year 1862-63, calculated from Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, op.cit., (1885) pp. 411-412 and for year 1903 calculated from Government, 1903, of Madras Revenue, G.O. No. 372, 7th Apr., 1903 Revision Settlement of the Godavari District, pp. 24-25.

in Kurnool and Cuddapah, when the incidence of revenue per acre was increased by 5.7% and 12.5% respectively the quantity which they alienated to pay the revenued was decreased by 52.4% and 40.8%. It does not mean that the increase of revenue in absolute terms had not affected any of the agrarian classes. For a petty landholder even this increase could mean ruin, since he hardly benefitted from the rise in prices. This we will discuss in detail later in rent and price rise section. What is important here is the benefits derived by the rich peasant class due to this particular trend.

III

RENT AND PRICE RISE

Rents and sub-rents were prevalent both in zamindari and ryotwari tenures. However, these rents varied from one tenure to another. The ups and downs in rent rates were perhaps closely connected with the price rise. Hence we shall discuss the trend both in rentals and price rise and its influence on the agrarian classes.

The dominant mode of surplus extraction was rent in kind and cash. In the zamindaries - with some exceptions, however, - and inam villages, the rentals were the 'paimash'[1] (original settlement) rates, which were generally much higher than the ryotwari assessments. Even the rents varied from estate to estate. Under the ryotwari system also the rates of rent varied but were based on the nature of the irrigation facilities, fertility of the soil, yield per acre and so on. Broadly speaking in both the tenures the rents frequently varied according to the crop; rice paid much less.[2] In the first decade of the 20th century the highest fixed zamindari rental was believed to be Rs 45 per acre of irrigated land.[3] In zamindaries an extra charge was also

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1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Madras-I (1908), p. 52
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Higher rates have also been mentioned for crops like sugarcane in Godavari district.

made on fruit trees in addition to the land rent.[1] Generally, half of the produce was given to the cultivator, and the other half to the zamindari tenant/zamindar, who let out his land and all the straw was given to the cultivator only, who supplied himself with all the necessaries for cultivation.[2] This of course was taken in kind by the tenant. In some cases the zamindari tenant himself supplied one pair of bulls and ploughed the land, while the cultivator (sub-tenant) simply helped him in his work. In that case only one-sixth of the produce was given to the cultivator. If the zamindari tenant supplied two pairs of bulls, one-eighth went to the cultivator.[3] There is ample evidence recorded by Prakasam and Ranga Committees on rack-renting of the producers by the landlords and the intermediary tenure holders like the muttadars.[4] It was rightly remarked that "the traditional share 1/2 of the ryots was reduced to 1/4 or 1/5 by the additional imports levied on various pretexts."[5]

With the introduction of the Estates Land Act of 1908, monetization of rents took place on an extended

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 53; Gilbert Slater, (ed), Economic Studies, op.cit., p. 97. (A village - Thettupalli, in Chittoor district - Study by E. Krishnamurthi).
3. Ibid., pp. 97-98
4. For details on Muttadars see, T. Prakasam, Madras Estates Land Committee Report (Madras, 1939), supplemental volume, p. 619; for other details also see N.G. Ranga, Economic Conditions of the Zamindari Ryots, op.cit.
5. S.S. Raghavaiyangar, Progress of the Madras Presidency, op.cit., pp. 220.

scale by means of commutation and the most persistent struggle occured over the peasants demand for the commutation of their produce rent into money rent. This struggle for commutations was also intended to stabilize the occupancy status of the peasantry. But the village studies by different scholars in 1915[1] proved that the dominant mode of rent payment by the sub-tenant, be it to the tenant (non-cultivating) or zamindar, was still in kind. The striking feature of this period was that the occupancy ryots or tenants, like the zamindars, had always demanded and got the rents in kind from their sub-tenants, but they (tenants) changed this payment to the cash rent whenever they paid to the zamindar taking the advantage of the 1908 Act. The net result was the accumulation of much of the surplus with the occupancy ryots, especially at a time when the prices of paddy and other products were moving upwards, and this was more widespread in the delta region. So naturally, under the zamindary tenural structure, or for that matter even under the ryotwari tenures, the chief victim was the actual tiller/sub-tenant who became "the source of the varied exactions of the pattadars, izaredars, zamindars...

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1. Gilbert Slater, op.cit., pp. 97-98.

all sitting one over the other".[1] The high rents ruined the sub-tenants completely. The rents were so exorbitant that the subtenants were left with very little margin for their subsistence.[2] Table 2.11 demonstrate the surplus appropriated by the occupancy tenants in terms of rent from the sub-tenants. (see Table 2.11 next page)

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1. T. Prakasam, op.cit., p. 619.
   The area under sub-tenancy varied from 25% to 60% of the total area held (Ibid.).

   When compared with the non-delta districts, sub-letting was much more prevalent in the delta region in the form of share cropping, fixed rent in kind and 'Makta' i.e., fixed rent in kind of cash, whereas the extent of sub-letting "was not more than 10% in the districts like Ganjam. It was of course, more than 30-50% in the delta districts like Godavari, Kistna, Guntur and so on. This trend can be explained by the fact that the introduction of money rents was both faster and extensive in the delta areas than in the non-delta districts. See V.V. Sayana, The Agrarian Problems of Madras Presidency, op.cit., p. 97

2. Driver observed that, "the conditions in Madras show that under landlordism the cultivator is not only exploited by the landlord but by all those who are natural allies in the system and who are protected at the cost of the cultivator" P.N. Driver, Problem of Zamindari and Land Tenure Reconstruction, (Bombay, 1949) p.66.

Table - 2.11

Surplus appropriated by occupancy tenant

Sl. No.	Name of the Estate	Patta No.	Out-put.	If con-verted to Rs.	Share of Patta-dar.	Money value Rs.	Rent to zamin-dar.	Net* differ-ence	% of share paid to zamindar.
1.	Repudi	62	12	120	Half	60	6	54	10.0
2.	-do-	90	14	140	Half	70	5	65	7.1
3.	-do-	99	16	160	Half	80	4	76	5.0
4.	-do-	31	16	160	Half	80	5	75	7.5

Source: Compiled from T. Prakasam, Madras Estates Land Act, Committee Report, (Madras, 1939).

Thus the rent paid by the cultivating peasants invariably averaged between 50-80% of the gross produce and the actual producers were increasingly deprived of the total surplus. And at times the rent ate into their subsistence and this in turn set in the process of disintegration of the peasantry. On the other hand, a large share (60-90%) of the surplus was appropriated by the intermediary tenure holder. And this surplus thus extracted formed the basis of a struggle for rent between the two sections of rent receivers i.e., the non-cultivating tenants and the zamindars.

Even though this process was somewhat different in ryotwari tenural structure the general outcome was the same as in zamindaries. The ryotwari land was sub-rented on various systems/terms. Under the produce rents system ½ to 3/4 or more of the gross produce was paid to the landholder/ pattadar.[1] Mostly the fixed amounts were paid in kind even though there did exist the money rents and other less simple forms.[2] On irrigated land the sharing of produce was most common. The share varied from one to 1 ½ tons of rice worth Rs 45 to 70 was common rent on good double-cropped irrigated land.[3] The grain-rents were from three-quarters to one ten

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1. Imperial Gazetteer, op.cit., p. 53
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

of rice on land supplied by irrigation only.[1] A general rental everywhere on common dry lands was twice the assessment but was often raised to five or even ten times on all classes of land.[2] The rise in rents was more sharp in the wake of rise in prices, particularly in the first two decades of the 20th century.

Thus, generally in the ryotwari tracts the percentage of assessment to rental in the case of all classes taken together varied from 10.7 to 29.0; this percentage in half the districts in the Madras presidency was, however, less than 17.1[3]. To assess the rental burden of this rise in rentals let us take up the case of Kistna and Godavari districts. The table on next page (Table 2.12) shows the increase in lease value alongwith the sale value of the land, in wet land (delta and plane) area.

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1. Ibid. An inquiry into the leases on 6,968 acres showed that the rental of 'dry' lands averaged 3.4 times of 'garden' lands (irrigated from wells but including as much 'dry' as 'garden') 5.1 times and of 'wet' lands 5 times the assessment. In many cases, chiefly 'garden', the rental exceeded 8 times the assessment. (Ibid).

2. Ibid., p. 54.

3. Report of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1924-25, Vol.I (1926, Calcutta) p. 81. These figures were the result of an elaborate examination of the question made ten years before the committees appointment i.e., probably in 1914-15, in the Madras Presidency.

Table - 2.12

Increase in Lease and Sale Value of wet land.

Years	Lease value of 1 acre.				Sale value of 1 acre			
	Delta		Upland		Delta		Upland	
	Kistna	Godavari	Kistna	Godavari	Kistna	Godavari	Kistna	Godavari
	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs.
1900-1904.	27.12	16.06	12.57	9.94	139.00	124.00	125.00	80.00
1920-1924.	72.37	50.00	50.37	29.12	598.00	640.00	471.00	333.00
% of increase	166.85	211.33	295.06	192.96	330.22	416.12	276.8	316.25

Source: Compiled from Madras Resettlement Report East and West Godavari Districts (1929). P. 194.

This increase was mostly in the wet land i.e., highly irrigated area when compared with the increase in dry areas. The table below shows the difference in increase by 1920-24.

Table - 2.13

The Difference in Sale and Lease values between Wet and Dry Areas.

Class of soil	Average Sale Value of one acre		Average lease value of one acre.	
	Kistna	Godavari	Kistna	Godavari
Delta:	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.	Rs. p.
Wet	598	640	72.37	50.00
Dry	175	333	14.69	19.87
Difference	423	307	57.68	30.13
Upland:				
Wet	471	335	50.37	29.12
Dry	110	75	8.50	6.44
Difference	353	260	41.87	22.68

Source : Ibid.

But interestingly rentals in ryotwari areas were most prevalent among the ryots who had land of 10 acres and more. This section rented in most of the rented out land.

Table - 2.14

Area Rented In By Different Sections of the Peasants.

Area owned	Number of lessee	Average holding owned	Area rented	Average area/ holdings rented	Total rent Rs.	Rent per acre Rs.
			Kistna district (ryt)			
No land	5	-	15.52	3.10	90.0	6.0
One acre and less	7	0.28	11.41	1.63	148.0	12.8
Between 1 and 5 acres	11	1.42	18.06	1.64	273.0	15.0
Between 5 and 10 acres	12	2.60	15.00	1.25	368.0	24.8
Over 10 acres	51	15.00	395.91	7.76	4480.0	11.31

Source: Report of the Economic Enquiry Committee (Madras, 1931), Vol.I, p. 33 (For further details see Table No. 1).

Thus, the consolidated village enquiries by the Economic Enquiry Committee indicated that landless people and small holders were not very much in the run for lands to be rented and that only the ryots each of whom had at least 10 acres and more rented most of the lands. This was because, only such ryots had atleast "a pair of bullocks each"[1] and who

1. Report of the Economic Enquiry Committee, Vol. 1, (Madras, 1931), p. 33. (hereafter as Economic Committee).

therefore would like to take land of other pattadars for rent to get more surplus in the wake of rising prices. This was more striking in the dry areas.

Generally speaking the landless people cannot command credit to purchase bullocks and carts. And landlords (who lease out the land) on the other hand, do not have much trust in them, for they could not give any security for rent in case of failure of harvest. Added to this, high rents[1] kept the landless people away from the competition in renting in lands. On the other hand the cost of cultivation increased so much that even though the petty landholders and landless managed to lease in the land, they were completely ruined. The table below shows the enormous increase in cost of cultivation per acre.

Table - 2.15 (see next page)

In 1915 the village enquiry by K.S. Narayana Murti in Kistna district (Vunagatla village) proved that the cost of cultivation was very high when compared to the earlier period. An enquiry into the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots, showed that the per acre expenditure was Rs 42.43 eventhough it was dry land.[2] Thus soaring rents and cost of cultivation added to the frequent failure of crops forced the petty

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1. Ibid., p. 34

2. Gilbert Slater (ed.), op.cit., pp. 113-14.

TABLE 2.15

PER ACRE COST OF CULTIVATION (in rupees)

Holdings	Agricultural implements		Cattle depreciation		Cattle Maintenance		Manure		Seeds		Pelera		Labour		Total		% of increase	% of increase in cattle depreciation	% of increase in cattle maintenance	% of increase in labour
	1900	1928	1900	1928	1900	1928	1900	1928	1900	1928	1900	1928	1900	1928	1900	1928				
5 acres and less	0.90	1.13	2.67	9.83	4.00	13.08	2.50	5.00	0.75	2.00	Nil	6.00	10.19	23.46	21.00	64.50	207.14	230.71	227.00	179.57
10 acres and less	1.60	3.30	1.50	5.19	3.00	13.30	2.50	4.82	0.75	2.00	Nil	6.00	10.09	23.76	19.45	63.46	226.27	246.00	346.33	135.03
15 acres and less	0.94	3.13	1.12	5.92	2.16	11.08	2.50	6.66	0.75	2.00	Nil	10.00	10.10	21.90	17.57	60.69	245.42	428.57	412.96	116.83
20 acres and less	0.74	2.44	1.15	6.30	2.10	8.90	2.50	7.05	0.75	2.00	2.35	9.53	8.60	23.96	18.19	60.18	230.84	447.83	323.81	178.60
25 acres and less	0.76	2.70	1.36	6.51	2.50	10.62	2.50	6.87	0.75	2.00	3.50	12.82	9.02	22.04	19.39	63.55	227.75	378.68	324.80	144.35
30 acres and less	0.64	2.92	1.22	5.30	2.22	8.92	2.50	6.66	0.75	2.00	3.52	10.44	7.28	19.74	18.13	55.98	208.77	334.43	301.80	171.15

SOURCE: Report of the Economic Enquiry Committee, Vols. I to III and other connected papers (Madras, 1931), pp. 96 & 102.

NOTE: The original figures were given in M. A. P. and I have changed them to A. p. (considering the old 12p. as one anna of modern 6p.)

ryots and sub-tenants to oblige to borrow money for buying bulls, grain and more particularly to pay his rents/revenue, which in turn resulted in the alienation of his property/ land. This land was of course, bought mostly by well-to-do persons/ryots as a sort of investment and also because it was sometimes sold at a price lower than its right worth.[1] Thus, there emerged a rich peasant class in both the tenurial systems through a process of usurpation of the much of the agricultural produce in the shape of rent and so on. This class was able to stabilise its position especially between 1900-1920, due to the secular price rise of agricultural commodities. Let us see how far different agrarian classes benefitted during this period of price rise.

As the grain prices were gradually increasing during 1880 and 1920, the zamindars/tenants and landlords (in ryotwari areas) preferred to collect rents in kind particularly on wet lands. Rise in prices, in fact, was the most important cause of a rapid change in the agrarian relations; as they provided incentive for the commutation of the customary rents into money rents, particularly in the zamindari areas. As the data on prices indicate there was a rapid increase in the prices of foodgrains (see Table 2.16 next page). It is also clear that the prices of all agricultural commodities reached the highest point in 1919-20 and started declining

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1. Ibid., p. 102

VARIATIONS IN PRICES IN THE ANDHRA DISTRICTS (In rupees per garce)

YEARS	Ganjam		Visagapatam		Godavari(East)		Krishna		Nellore		Guntur		Anantapur		Bellary		Kurnool		Cuddapah		Chittoor	
	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam	Paddy	Cholam
1880-81			93		125	134	134	171	147	175	142		138	135	159	134	174	138	164	155	138	182
1900-1	176		206		222	303	225	308	237	337	225		235	327	247	341	251	317	271	356		
1901-2	185		214		189	212	189	223	211	255		206	233	301	233	295	237	275	255	305		252
1902-3	173		178		165	164	170	183	178	181		175	194	207	206	228	194	199	202	199		179
1903-4	129		139		155	156	163	176	158	168		161	159	137	170	158	164	139	148	137		143
1904-5	133		154		176	202	177	239	196	269		236	164	187	176	180	189	221	189	234		254
1905-6	183		208		213	270	217	286	239	313		263	224	255	220	258	206	252	222	261		301
1906-7	225		233		254	297	243	306	246	310	255	291	241	286	241	275	224	253	245	294		306
1907-8	264		271		272	337	252	342	259	356	261	337	262	330	279	315	266	324	276	340		361
1908-9	269		320		300	386	297	390	291	380	305	371	319	361	315	346	291	310	316	353		400
1909-10	200		249		234	301	247	343	259	345	271	350	270	309	272	307	253	271	267	319		357
1910-11	194		223		214	281	224	333	247	353	252	338	301	269	235	281	248	277	223	301	211	323
1911-12	214		247		261	321	255	356	240	343	285	357	234	297	260	313	261	298	246	317	236	
1912-13	237		257		230	354	294	401	303	359	327	389	306	311	309	324	324	364	318	362	297	
1913-14	231		248		317	299	271	348	282	349	267	337	295	317	294	339	328	333	318	350	274	
1914-15	231		268		308	263	282	315	252	309	262	298	289	299	286	289	275	282	303	315	269	
1915-16	253		261		325	305	255	345	241	307	262	306	275	283	259	263	268	267	329	301	260	
1916-17	235		251		324	303	262	372	261	382	278	370	255	292	280	258	267	321	313	347	252	
1917-18	207		244		327	348	286	411	258	400	304	456	262	379	312	408	285	436	292	403	250	
1918-19	326		350		433	518	318	548	351	617	386	636	390	623	463	798	413	624	410	578	372	
1919-20	438		495		544	673	388	752	494	811	492	828	532	728	579	790	626	774	576	790	494	
1920-21	412		488		565	627	448	669	428	650	493	678	489	661	496	694	526	679	481	629	437	
1921-22	328		386		502	496	393	569	369	536	450	585	476	580	441	619	452	595	445	558	419	
1922-23	258		323		425	370	351	468	394	498	392	476	417	456	386	477	380	439	417	445	411	

SOURCE: T. Prakasam, Report of the Madras Estates Land Act Committee, Part III, Price-levels and Graphs (Madras, 1938).

NOTE: One Madras garce is equal to 4,800 seers. And 80 tolahs' weigh of rice is one seer.

from 1922 onwards. The depression period (1929-33) witnessed the lowest point.

The most important feature was increase of Cholam and Ragi prices as compared to the paddy. For example in Guntur district Cholam was increased by 302%, Ragi by 194% and Rice by 119% between the years 1900 and 1919-20. (For other districts see Table 2.16). The increase in the price of millets meant that the burden fell over those classes who consumed them. Obviously the poor peasants and other lower sections of the agricultural population were affected severely, for they mostly consumed millets. For instance in Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Chittoor more than 50% consumed the millets, and in Godavari, Kistna and Nellore more than 30% of them consumed the millets.[1] Moreover, these poor peasants/landless labourers, cultivated the lands of the zamindars and rich peasants as share-croppers and under-tenants paying exorbitant rents, mostly in kind. As we have seen earlier they paid nearly 50-80% of gross produce as rent to their superior tenants/ landowners and hence they alienated most of their produce without storing enough for their consumption. Thus when the price level was at its highest they had to purchase foodstuffs for their consumption. This meant unavoidable suffering at the time of price rise for the poor peasant classes.

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1. Statistical Atlas ... op.cit., 1940.

Commenting on the effects of the rise in prices on different classes Mr. Datta observed that the classes that benefitted were cultivators and purchasers of commodities which have risen in price faster than the cost of production. He further remarked that the petty proprietors holding their lands directly from the state in the Ryotwari Province of Madras also benefitted, for their profits from agriculture were greater than they were in the past.[1] Actually, how far were the petty proprietors able to benefit by price rise? No doubt, that petty proprietors did constitute a very considerable class (See Table 2.17, next page) [2] of the agricultural sector. And theoretically they were the independent peasant proprietors. This independence was only from the state but not from other serious constraints of the agrarian structure of that time. In other words, in reality, there were considerable classes of landed proprietors who had either no surplus produce to sell at all or whose surplus produce was so small that any increase in prices obtained was more than swallowed up by the increase in the cost of production and living conditions.[3] In other words, the poor peasants/petty proprietors did not possess necessary capital to cultivate independently and they were forced to depend on the moneylenders/merchants/rich peasants for their

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1. Economic Committee, p.40.
2. For details see Table 2.18 on cultivating landowners and other agrarian classes on the next page.
3. Economic Committee, p. 40.

TABLE [illegible].17

Division of Holdings in terms of payment of Land Revenue.

	Ganjam 1910-11	Ganjam 1920-21	Vizagapatam 1910-11	Vizagapatam 1920-21	Godavari 1910-11	Godavari 1920-21	Kistna 1910-11	Kistna 1920-21	Guntur 1910-11	Guntur 1920-21
Holdings paying Rs 10 and below	65,201	78,561	8,116	9,334	26,655	32,215	54,635	70,144	122,437	166,702
% to total	75.36	75.29	45.74	39.9	40.85	44.82	42.57	45.23	40.91	54.36
Between Rs 10 & Rs 30	11,311	17,944	4,817	7,442	20,943	22,775	39,997	47,299	78,672	92,101
% to total	13.07	17.2	27.15	31.31	32.1	31.69	30.3	30.5	33.07	29.98
Between Rs 30 & Rs 50	5,408	4,246	1,928	3,219	7,722	7,700	16,532	13,394	23,405	27,553
% to total	6.25	4.07	10.87	13.76	11.84	10.71	12.10	11.86	9.53	8.97
Between Rs 50 & Rs 100	3,156	2,561	1,890	2,653	6,132	5,335	12,811	12,326	14,904	15,620
% to total	3.65	2.45	10.65	11.34	9.47	7.42	9.38	9.27	6.08	5.08
Between Rs 100 & above	1,448	1,030	993	750	3,748	3,340	6,483	6,432	5,300	5,233
% to total	1.67	0.99	5.6	3.21	5.74	5.36	5.05	4.15	2.36	1.71
Total holdings	86,524	104,342	17,744	23,393	65,250	71,374	129,349	155,005*	[illegible]	[illegible]

	Nellore 1910-11	Nellore 1920-21	Kurnool 1910-11	Kurnool 1920-21	Bellary 1910-11	Bellary 1920-21	Anantapur 1910-11	Anantapur 1920-21	Cuddapah 1910-11	Cuddapah 1920-21	Chittoor 1910-11	Chittoor 1920-21
Holdings paying Rs 10 and below	63,672	63,432	94,534	100,214	81,184	97,947	78,642	102,472	130,134	153,533	69,080	109,440
% to total	57.0	53.58	68.29	71.2	63.61	67.87	66.17	71.01	77.18	80.32	77.82	84.0
Between Rs 10 & Rs 30	30,785	35,035	31,706	30,173	38,767	35,063	26,346	31,918	29,926	29,509	15,291	16,223
% to total	27.56	29.6	33.9	21.63	30.46	24.3	22.17	22.12	17.75	15.44	17.22	12.45
Between Rs 30 & Rs 50	9,094	10,514	7,834	6,241	7,922	6,910	9,473	6,153	5,743	5,246	2,717	2,847
% to total	8.16	8.88	5.7	4.13	6.21	4.79	7.97	4.26	3.41	2.74	3.06	2.19
Between Rs 50 & Rs 100	6,578	6,510	3,101	3,297	3,670	3,373	3,337	2,760	2,231	2,326	1,284	1,421
% to total	6.0	5.5	2.24	2.15	2.38	2.34	2.81	1.91	1.32	1.22	1.45	1.1
Between Rs 100 & above	2,723	2,906	1,210	1,367	1,087	1,014	1,067	1,012	583	543	390	386
% to total	2.44	2.48	0.97	0.89	0.86	0.70	0.89	0.70	0.35	0.28	0.44	0.37
Total holdings	111,712	118,306	139,405	139,392*	127,630	144,307	118,855	144,315	168,607		88,762*	130,[illegible]37

	1910-11 Total	1910-11 % to the total holdings	1920-21 Total	1920-21 % to the total holdings
Holdings paying Rs 10 and below	794,270	61.23	992,994	64.32
Between Rs 10 & Rs 30	322,451	24.86	368,492	23.87
Between Rs 30 & Rs 50	96,778	7.46	99,123	6.42
Between Rs 50 & Rs 100	58,144	4.43	58,692	3.8
Between Rs 100 & above	25,522	1.97	24,496	1.59
Total holdings	1,297,165		1,543,377	

* Original totals are wrong, hence corrected.

SOURCE: Based on Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1910-11 and 1920-21, Appendix II.

credit. Hence the production decisions were imposed by the needs and interests of their creditors. And in practice they were not allowed to produce independently according to their needs. Being dependents on the creditors/rich peasants, their (peasants) economy was subordinated to the rich peasants economy. Thus they did not benefit from the rising prices. As evidence, recorded by the Banking Enquiry Committee, indicates that the poor peasants or the average delta ryots did not and could not store their produce but had to part with it either as soon as the harvest was over or a month or two before the harvest by entering into an advance forward contract with his sowcar who pays him a miserably low price, taking full advantage of the necessity which compels them to sell it to him.[1] Thus, the poor peasants had to sell their produce soon after the harvesting at low price and to buy their consumer goods in the market when the prices were high, since he was left with nothing to store for his consumption, perhaps except heavy debt.[2]

The rise in prices also resulted in the shifting of the payment of the agricultural wages from kind to cash especially in the first two decades of the 20th century.[3] But this became most prevalent in the delta districts.

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1. Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report (Madras, 1930) Vol.II (Written Evidence) p. 591 (hereafter as Banking Committee).
2. Ibid., Vol. IV (Oral Evidence).
3. Statistical Atlas... op.cit., 1940

TABLE 2.18

AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

DISTRICT	Non-Cultivating Land-owners				Non-Cultivating Tenants				Cultivating Land-owners				Cultivating Tenants				Agricultural Labourers (Field labourers + farm servants)			
	% to total Population 1910-11	% to total Population 1920-21	% of Population Increase over 1910-11	Increase or the % over the 1910-11 number	1910-11	1920-21	%		1910-11	1920-21	%		1910-11	1920-21	%		1910-11	1920-21	%	
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Ganjam	3.37	2.81	-1.89	-19.28	0.53	0.90		49.68	19.72	22.85		13.71	24.77	31.46		24.63	19.77	20.04		-0.56
Visagapatam		1.87		-12.36		0.40		-25.91		13.96		11.43		45.4		19.69		7.29		-56.13
Godavari		4.77		23.16		1.43		878.73		26.23		71.42		9.75		-28.9		34.36		6.52
Kistna	3.15	3.62	6.8	22.35	0.65	2.08	6.8	244.56	25.85	25.32	6.8	6.67	13.62	12.08	6.8	3.06	29.51	23.50	6.8	-14.95
Guntur	3.83	3.06	6.6	-14.9	0.24	3.23	6.6	904.17	43.69	48.26	6.6	17.74	2.8	3.84	6.6	46.33	18.98	20.25	6.6	13.71
Nellore	1.91	2.77	4.32	51.57	0.57	1.42	4.32	161.48	22.77	21.04	4.32	-3.58	16.2	18.01	4.32	15.97	24.01	23.54	4.32	2.25
Cuddapah	5.11	2.87	-0.68	-44.13	0.43	0.68		56.91	41.59	45.28		8.14	2.35	1.97		-16.72	22.0	23.14		4.47
Kurnool	4.91	4.12	-2.17	-17.79	0.15	0.57		267.8	40.22	40.06		-2.55	3.65	3.13		-16.1	24.13	25.32		2.64
Bellary	1.99	4.17	-11.04	96.54	0.14	3.28		2009.64	49.79	36.64		-34.55	3.95	13.22		197.59	18.34	21.24		2.98
Anantapur	2.49	2.53	-0.76	0.94	0.13	2.18		1613.83	37.22	45.89		22.36	7.39	5.59		-24.93	21.62	17.32		-20.49
Chittoor	1.33	1.67	2.46	28.54	0.65	0.78		22.2	34.48	25.04		4.8	33.43	33.61		3.01	15.11	14.24		-3.45
Agency		3.24		736.68		0.93		540.62		27.23		43.89		36.09		-23.13		12.88		-32.86
TOTAL FOR ALL DISTRICTS	475354	527280		10.92	66862	233952		250.95	4609261	5080962		10.23	3312403	3490763		5.39	3729354	3398792		-9.11

SOURCE : Madras, Census Reports, 1911 and 1921, pp. 140 & 140-41.

It was also said that there had been an increase in wages also. Since 1911 there was 100% increase in wages.[1] But this rise in wages did not match the abnormal rise in the foodgrain prices.[2] The purchasing capacity of the rupee had declined to such an extent, (See Table-2.9) that the peasants lived from hand to mouth without even bare necessities of life.[3] The table given below clearly demonstrate this disparity.

Table - 2.18.A
Wages of the agricultural labourers
when compared with price rise.

Years	1842	1852	1862	1872	1911	1922
1. Field labourers without food (daily wages in annas).	1.5	2	3	4	-	4 to 6
2. Price rise (Seers per rupee).	40	30	27	23	15	5

Source: N. Mukherjee, Land Problems of India, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

Hence the price rise was not at all advantageous to the poorer sections of the agricultural sector/ community.

The upper sections of the peasantry and tenants in the zamindari areas, because of their substantial landholdings, decline of revenue demand in terms of produce which they alienated, the facility of payment of the revenue/ rent in

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1. Economic Committee, (Vols.I-III, and other connected papers) p. 46.
2. Ibid.
3. Mohammad Ali and Bajrang Lal Teli, 'Land Tenure - A Hazard in Agricultural Development", in Mohammad Ali (ed), Dynamics of Agricultural Development in India (Delhi, 1979) p. 145.

cash to the state/zamindar, storage and credit facilities, and development of communications, were closely integrated into the market and benefitted considerably from the rising prices at that time.[1] With the necessary capital in their hands, they were generally free from the exploitation of the moneylenders, which enabled them to sell their produce for their own benefits.[2] A good number of statements of the colonial bureaucrats would substantiate the fact that the well-to- do sections of the peasantry benefitted from the secular rise in prices. The collector of Kistna district felt that "the land-owning classes benefitted greatly by the rise in prices...".[3] In fact the benefits derived by the substantial landholders due to price rise can be seen in terms of the increase in land under cultivation (particularly under commercial crops) and the development of the trade and commerce linked with agriculture.[4] This we shall be discussing in the next section.

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1. Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Appendix to Report, (Bombay, 1928), pp. 267-69. Here they showed clearly not only the rich landholders but also the middlemen who has substantial capital, of course in some cases only, benefited mostly by marketing the agricultural produce in the wake of price rise.

2. A.V.R. Rao, Nobbili Zamindary (Madras, 1907) pp. 269-70. Banking Committee, Vol.II; Economic Committee, p.71 and Appendix No. 20, for further details.

3. Statistical Atlas... 1940. "The Collector of E. Godavari observed that "the condition of the delta ryots is... generally better than that of the upland ryots... whether in the upland or delta it is only the capitalist that is flourishing while the (poor) ryot living more or less from hand to mouth". (ibid.)

4. This impact has been shown by Dharma Narain and A.V. Ramana Rao. D. Narain, Impact of Price Movement on areas under selected crops in India, (London, 1965); A.V. . Rao, op.cit., pp. 274-309.

To sum up, the high rates of rents and price rise in the 1910's and 20's ruined the marginal landholders and tenants-at-will. But it did pave the way for the emergence of a new rich peasant class who influenced the political arena in 1920's. In other words, whether it was in kind or in cash, the rents did rise sharply and this rise was more sharp in irrigated regions due to the price rise. But, for the presidency as a whole, this rise in rent was predominantly the expression of the land hunger of the small producers seeking to survive which, of course, resulted in their impoverishment and exprppriation. This rise was also due to the increased pressure of population on land. In the wet irrigated areas, like Godavari, Kistna and Guntur districts, the rise of rent was also because of the expansion of units of cultivation, stabilization of the middle peasant and the accumulation of surplus capital in the hands of rich peasants/ occupancy tenants, in the time of rise in prices.

We have seen that the rentals and price rise have ruined the marginal landholders; and, now, let us examine in detail how far the rural credit and indebtedness speeded up this "depeasantization" and impoverishment of the poor peasant, paving the way for the emergence and consolidation of the rich peasant class.

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IV

RURAL CREDIT AND INDEBTEDNESS

Before we examine the commercialization of agriculture and the marketing system, we shall first of all see the system of rural credit and the consequence of indebtedness of certain agrarian classes in the colonial context. Since the credit system played an important role both in the nature of agricultural production and marketing of the produce, it is necessary to discuss this in detail.

Among small peasants the necessity for frequent and cheap borrowing is obvious. As in other countries of small holdings, wherever the organization of credit is absent, the isolated position of the individual ryot in such matters renders credit dear and leads to serious indebtedness [illegible]. The agriculturists in Madras Presidency were generally poor, being very much oppressed by the landlords. They borrowed money from ordinary moneylenders/ rich peasants for their cultivation expenses, at compound interest varying from 18% to 24%.[1] They were also pressed by unavoidable burdens like the revenue, rent and arrears, and forced to resort to the sowcar who was the main source of rural credit. The sowcar became a source of the agricultural capital and a powerful force in the rural sector in the colonial period.[2] Even otherwise as Karl Marx noted

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1. The Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1930), Vol.II, p. 33 (hereafter Banking Committee).

2. See S. Ambirajan, Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India, (Vikas, 1978), especially pp. 110-129; J.B. Phear, Indian Famines and Village Organisation, (London, 1877) p. 12.

"The really important and characteristic domain of the usurer is the function of money as a means of payment. Every payment of money, ground rent, tribute, tax etc., which becomes due on a certain date carries with it the need to secure money for such purpose."[1]

In Andhra, inspite of the Imperial Bank of India, in the larger villages and the co-operative societies, the greatest sum was lent out by local moneylenders, merchants and dealers.[2] There was an indigenous commercial caste, which specialised in usury i.e., '_Komatis_' or '_Banias_'who were also local traders and merchants. In fact, every merchant had some dealings with the bigger ryots. The latter used to send their produce to the merchant's shop and a '_Kata_' was kept. The accounts were settled periodically. Very often smaller traders of the village collected the produce and sent it on their own account to the business centre.[3] This clearly indicates that trade and usury were inextricably linked up in the rural areas. However, this traditional moneylender was replaced by the rich ryot-creditors from the beginnning of the 20th century alongwith the domination of the petty traders was still dominant. It was observed that four-fifths of the registered debt outside the city of Madras was that of

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1. Marx, Karl, _Capital_, Vol. 3 (Moscow, 1977), p. 599
2. _Banking Committee_, _op.cit._, p. 176
3. _Ibid_.

ryot-creditors and that professional moneylenders were in a small minority. Floating debt in cash or grain, at lease equal in amount to all mortgages was probably owned in a greater degree by ryots to ryots.[1] The examination of Table 2-19 (see next page) undoubtedly indicates that this change to the ryot-creditors was note-worthy. And, taking the case of Andhra as a whole, one also finds that the penetration of merchant-capital into the production process, and the consequent domination over it, was limited due to different constraints. Let us examine this problem of indebtedness more closely in order to know the real burden of debts on different agrarian classes.

Indebtedness amongst peasants is common and probably all ryots borrow at one time or the other.[2] In Andhra, a large number of ryots were continuously in debt; unable to begin cultivation or to subsist during the growth of crops except by petty borrowing but returning at harvest time all but a moderate surplus to their creditors, many more were frequent in continuous difficulties. Since the amount of debt and its interest relative to land and crop value was large, the peasants petty surplus was ruthlessly liquidated resulting in their impoverishment. This burden of debt on petty land-holders increased during famines. For instance, during 1898 famine it was estimated that

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1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Madras-I (1908), p. 49.

2. See Tables - 2.24 and 2.25.

TABLE - 2.12

Statement showing the profession of Borrowers and Lenders

Name of the District	Year	Number of document	Profession of Borrowers				Profession of Lenders				Total Amount in Rs.	% of Agriculturist in Col.3.
			Agriculturist	Trader	Money-Lender	Others	Agriculturist	Trader	Money-Lender	Others		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Delta - without possession												
Kistna	1901	517	387	8	-	124	267	113	-	137	108394	-
	1924	758	617	13	-	128	313	143	114	188	366210	-
West Godavari	1901	1284	268	8	-	1008	640	164	3	477	236335	-
	1924	741	345	9	-	387	301	79	1	360	349148	-
East Godavari	1901	1380	526	15	1	838	580	138	-	662	399917	-
	1924	1181	553	23	-	605	419	89	10	663	611975	-
Delta - with possession												
Kistna	1901	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	572	-
	1924	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	595	-
West Godavari	1901	20	1	-	-	19	11	-	-	9	3372	-
	1924	71	24	-	-	47	40	4	-	27	19835	-
East Godavari	1901	60	18	2	-	40	42	3	-	15	12221	-
	1924	41	12	1	-	28	19	-	-	22	10169	-
Upland without possession												
Kistna	1901	71	51	1	-	19	34	22	-	15	17529	-
	1924	38	2	-	-	36	3	9	-	26	17040	-
West Godavari	1901	115	20	-	-	95	66	27	1	21	16792	-
	1924	102	49	5	-	48	51	27	-	24	46170	-
East Godavari	1901	271	172	9	-	90	159	60	-	52	158294	-
	1924	215	148	5	-	62	103	52	1	59	233707	-
Upland with possession												
Kistna	1901	8	7	-	-	1	2	5	-	1	1758	-
	1924	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	1900	-
West Godavari	1901	14	4	-	-	10	12	1	-	1	2262	-
	1924	17	9	-	-	8	16	-	-	1	4821	-
East Godavari	1901	56	37	1	-	18	38	2	-	16	12441	-
	1924	14	12	1	-	1	8	3	-	3	4515	-

Source: Madras Resettlement Report, East and West Godavari District (1929)
Based on the statement showing the purposes of and the parties to the mortgages registered in selected sub-Registrar's Office.

the indebtedness of small ryots had increased by about 25%.[1] As observed by Mr. C.L. Spencer, in 1898, the small landholders would completely recover their position within two or three years if the seasons were favourable. But for the timely assistance of the Indian Charitable Relief Fund it would have taken longer, five years or more.[2] But interestingly the same Spencer observed earlier in his statement that the loans by the Charitable Relief Fund were alloted only to the "deserving cases" and that too "to those who had property to furnish as security for repayment...."[3] It was, of course, clearly brought out by the Deputy Collector of Bellary. He observed that about three lakhs of rupees were advanced as loans to landowners (in his district) but it was "only large pattadars that could save money out of the produce of their land after meeting their expenses, that received loans generally to a large extent. Small pattadars who lived from hand-to-mouth preferred seeking relief from works to receiving state loans".[4] He further observed that the "indebtedness of the cultivators has increased for the reason that the period of repayment and the terms of interest are favourable to those prevailing in the local money market. The periodical visits of unfavourable Seasons render borrowing a matter of necessity to the

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1. Indian Famine Commission, 1898, Appendices, Vol. II, (Calcutta, 1898), p. 30.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
4. Ibid., p. 54 (emphasis added)

cultivators whose resources depend entirely upon good harvests."[1] Thus the periodical visits of unfavourable seasons and the other constraints hardly allowed the marginal ryot to recover from the old debt and, hence, the recovery of the small landholders from the indebtedness at that time, as observed by Spencer, was a myth.

This process of 'development of underdevelopment' of the peasant's economy was hastened by the land revenue and rent burdens as we have seen earlier. It had been proved by experience that "in all provinces that the cultivators... fail to lay by from the surplus of good years a sufficiency to meet their obligations when bad years come..."[2] Consequently when the government/tenant tried to extract the remissions of rents in the years immediately following famine years alongwith normal revenue/rent, the cultivators were forced to borrow on conditions incompitable with his solvency and independence to pay the demand.

Table - 2.20

Revenue Demand in famine and Non-Famine Years

Official Years	Land Revenue demanded (in lakhs of rupees)
1872-73	469.35
1873-74	445.15
1874-75	463.55
1875-76	454.50
1876-77	329.66
1877-78	349.49
1878-79	494.85
1879-80	485.00

Note: Famine Years are 1876-77 and 1877-78.

Source: Review of the Madras Famine, 1876-78 (Madras, 1881), p. 291.

1: Ibid.

2: Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1901 (Calcutta, 1908) pp. 88-89.

Thus, due to many unfavourable conditions - both natural and artificial - the peasant economy was subordinated to the merchants, moneylenders or rich ryot-creditors to whom the peasant was heavily indebted. Now let us see how far the high rates aggravated the situation.

By 1900, mortgages, in and outside Madras city, were less than one-third with possession.[1] Interest on mortgages varied between 6% and 36%, but three-fourths paid between 9% and 18%.[2] And obviously the non-mortgage debts carried somewhat higher interest.[3] Particularly in the Andhra coastal districts the middle ryots borrowed money from a rich ryot or a moneylender on interest at the rate of 12% per annum.[4] Generally speaking, in cases of failure of monsoon or excess rain, ryots borrowed paddy itself for their consumption on the condition that they will repay 1 1/2 times the quantity borrowed.[5] The grain loans, however, were also taken for seeding their lands mostly by the middle and poor ryots. The rate of interest on these seed grain loans varied from 50% to 100%.[6]

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1. Imperial Gazetteer... op.cit., p. 49
2. Ibid. For details see, Srinivasaraghava Ayyangar's Memorandum of 1893, op.cit., and the Report on Agricultural Banks, (1895), Vol. 1, pp. 229-42.
3. Imperial Gazetteer... op.cit., p. 49
4. Banking Committee, Vol.II, p. 488.
5. Ibid., (Written evidence by D.C.B. Coconada)
6. Ibid., p. 417. "The sowcars... purchase all that the agriculturist chooses to sell and stock the grain in their godowns at rates in most cases previously settled at the time of advancing loans.... In other cases they purchase with reference to prices lower than in (the nearest town) market". (Ibid.)

Inspite of the high interest, the peasants borrowed these seed grain loans, for they were left with no produce to store for seeding or even for immediate consumption - since they parted with their produce as quickly as possible even at low price.[1]

Thus the rate of interest generally begins with Re. 1 and may go to even Rs 2 per month for 100 rupees of loan. However, in many of the districts when the interest rate of co-operative societies was only 9% to 18%, generally middle and poor class ryots borrowed their money not from these societies but from moneylenders/rich peasants, who charged 12% to 24% and sometime 36% to 48%.[2] Due to these high rates of interest, particular sections like 'Idigas' and 'Kapus' were reduced to the status of tenants and this was not an unknown spectacle in the upland part of the Andhra districts.[3]

However, one should not overlook the fact that indebtedness was a more serious problem in zamindari areas when compared to the ryotwari areas. This perhaps was due to the very nature of the tenurial system and the

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1. Ibid., p. 176

2. Ibid., p. 713

3. Ibid., p. 176 President of District Co-operative Societies Guntur observed, that "the villages are indebted more to the professional moneylenders than to the Banks and Co-operative Societies (obviously he included all classes who used to lend money). The rates of interest charged by them have brought about the ruin of many families. I have known many people who were in affluent circumstances a decade or two ago and who have lost their all now owing to the machinations of the professional moneylenders." (Emphasis added) P. 593 and also see p. 134.

position of the actual cultivators. The poor ryots offered their crops as security to the merchants/sowcars in the ryotwari tracts.[1] Whereas in zamindari tracts, in majority of the cases, ryots did not pledge their crops as security, for the 1908 Act authorised the zamindar to distraint standing crops for his arrears and his rent was recognised as first charge on the land.[2] Hence the merchants charged generally 24% to 37 1/2% of interest and demanded a greater extent of land as security in the zamindari areas than in the ryotwari areas. In other words, in zamindaries the rate of interest was higher because the sowcar did not know the amount of rent the tenant owed to the landlord nor did he even know when land would be sold. Then again tenant had to pay the gross produce to the landholder. So naturally there was very little for the moneylender to profit from, and thus, he charged a higher rate of interest and demanded more land as security.[3] There were instances, for example, in Kakinada, where 'Marwaris' demanded a pledge of gold and silver rather than land or crops as security for mortgages to give loans to the ryots.[4] But this was not so in the case of ryotwari areas. The delta ryots in these areas found it extremely easy to obtain credits,

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1. Ibid., p. 741
2. Ibid., p. 132
3. Ibid., p. 10. Remarks by Biswanath Das, one of the witnesses before the Banking Committee.
4. Ibid., p. 58

from the numerous rich ryots (Kammas by cast), 'Karnatis', 'Komatees' (sowcars) and so on.[1] Most of the delta ryots were also not prepared to mortgage their lands or to offer their crops as security since the values of their lands were very high. This infact was the one substantial advantage of a marginal landholder derived from the higher prices prevailing for their lands in the ryotwari areas.[2] But, broadly speaking, in both the tenures the poor peasants suffered heavily from the cronic problem of indebtedness.

Now let us also see which class actually benefitted from this system of moneylending. Even though the money was lent by different sections of the society, the lending business carried on by certain agrarian classes was most significant in the delta districts. The proportion of cash advanced by the different moneylending Agencies, for instance in Kistna, East and West Godavari districts was as follows:

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1. (Evidence given by N.G. Ranga) Ibid., p. 738

2. Ibid., p. 741.

Table - 2.21

Percentages of Cash Advanced by Different Money Lending Agencies

Lender	Kistna		West Godavari		East Godavari	
	1901	1924	1901	1924	1901	1924
Agriculturist	51.64	41.29	49.85	40.62	42.03	35.48
Trader	21.86	18.87	12.77	10.66	10.00	7.54
Moneylender	--	15.04	0.23	0.14	--	0.85
Others	26.50	24.80	37.15	48.58	47.97	56.13
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: The figures are only for Delta - without possession.

Source: Madras, Resettlement Report, East and West Godavari Districts (1929), pp. 154-55.

Probably a large number of the moneylenders under the category "Agriculturists" came from the ranks of rich peasants, who came to acquire liquid capital through favourable returns of investments and rents from their lands. Perhaps even under the category "others" most of the people who had some interest in the agriculture might have been included. But we cannot certainly say about this 'Others' category due to lack of detailed source on them. However, the above table clearly demonstrates that nearly 45% to 50% of those who lent money were agriculturists.[1] They lent money to poor peasants. But there was a fundamental

1. See table 2.19. For further details also see V.V. Sayana, op.cit., p. 167 (for zamindaries).

difference between the 'vaisyas' or 'sowcars'- who were traders in villages - and the rich ryots. No doubt both classes advanced money to the poor ryots for cultivation expenses, capital and land improvements. But the nature of the interest was different. The 'Vaisya'/trader was interested in the crops on the fields, since his profession was business, whereas the latter was anxious to grab as much land as possible.[1] Consequently the former obtained forward contracts for the crops of their debtors while the latter tried their best to get the debtors into their clutches so that land could be hoped to add to their lands. This, obviously, accentuated the trends towards the disintegration of the peasant holdings. There were a number of cases in which "small ryots who were indebted to big ryots surrendered their lands in discharge of their debts."[2] Narayana Murti has observed in a 'Vunagatla' village study (Kistna district) that "one of the greatest curses that an Indian village suffers from is the indebtedness of its inhabitants. Almost every family in our village has some family debt or other, whether it has property or not. Capitalism and moneylending are the chief occupations of the rich, the result being wealth heaped on wealth on the

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1. Banking Committee, op.cit., p. 740.

2. Ibid., p. 219

one hand and poverty heaped on poverty on the other (emphasis added). I can count six families that were once financial magnates of the village, now reduced to absolute poverty."[1]

Despite the fact that nearly 80% of the total credit was advanced by the private agencies, the loans by co-operative societies also played a significant role. The rich sections of the agrarian classes were benefitted mostly from the development of these societies, at a time when the majority of the poor and middle agrarian classes were exploited ruthlessly through moneylending capital by the same rich classes. In other words the benefits from the co-operative societies also helped to some extent in consolidating the rich peasant class.

These co-operative societies did not significantly expand their operations in 1910's and 1920's. As in other parts of India, the co-operative movemet in the Madras Presidency began around 1904 when the first Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed by the Indian Legislature.[2] The earlier rural societies were all credit

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1. Gilbert Slater, op.cit., p. 116
2. Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Appendix to Report, (Bombay, 1928) pp. 261-62; for details see, J. Vijayaraghava Achariyar, Report of the Committee on co-operation in Madras 1939-40, (Madras, 1940).

societies,[1] formed for the purpose of giving loans to ryots to purchase agricultural requisites, necessaries of life and for the payment of Government revenue.

Table-2.22[2]

Development of different credit Societies.

Year	Credit Societies	Societies for purchase, production & sale	Other forms	Total
1904-05	8	--	--	8
1912-13	1,006	2	--	1,008
1917-18	2,271	19	--	2,290
1919-20	4,156	60	2	4,218
1921-22	6,206	79	4	6,289
1926-27	11,000	132	304	11,436

Note: The majority of the societies of "Other forms" are societies for the acquisition or leasing of land for cultivation by members of the depressed classes.

1. J.V.Acharyar, op.cit., p. 12. Between 1906 and 1911 there was a phenomenol growth of these societies. C.C.S. Act II of 1912 gave legal recognition to production and distributive societies and to various forms of central organisations. Late P. Rajagopalachariar was the first registrar.

The Development of co-operative movement in Madras Presidency

Year	Number of Societies	Membership	Working capital in lakh Rs.
1904 (30th Aug.)	1 (Tirur Society)	--	--
1907 "	63	6,439	
1912 "	972	66,156	
1915 "	1,600	118,726	142.10

Note: Of the total societies of 1915, 1,446 were agricultural credit societies and remained were urban Credit Societies.

2. Royal Commission on Agriculture... op.cit., p. 262.

In 1918-19 out of 127,853 ryot members[1], who belonged to Agricultural Co-operative Societies,[2] there were only 4,111 agricultural labourers or 3.22%[3] of the total membership. During this year the Agricultural Societies were 3,082, whereas the central Banks and non-agricultural societies were only 26 and 465 respectively.[4] But in 1919-20 the number of Agricultural Societies rose to 4218 whereas the other two remained at 30 and 641 respectively.[5] Of the total membership the Agriculturists, no doubt, increased from 1,32,041 to 1,80,612 (between 1918-19 to 1919-20), an increase of 36.78%, whereas the non-agriculturists increased by 33.48%[6]. However, the representation of poor ryots and agricultural labourers was far from satisfactory. In this period the membership of poor ryots had been increased from 17,304 to 25,414 an increase of 46.87% whereas the agricultural labourers

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1. In 1926-27 the co-operative movement had a membership of about 833,000 (rural and urban) of which 497,940 were agriculturists. Ibid., p. 263.

2. The representation in 1926-27 as follows:

1. Non-cultivating landowners	-	52,650.
2. Cultivating landowners	-	338,611.
3. Tenants	-	63,378.
4. Field labourers	-	43,940.
Total:		497,940.

Ibid. Still the percent of field labourers to the total was only 8.7.

3. Report on Native Newspapers - Madras, Reel No. 24, Year 1920, p. 52 (hereafter RNNP Madras); Andhrapatrika, 5 January 1920.
4. Andhrapatrika, 28 February 1921, pp. 4-5.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

were increased from 4,173 to 10,636 an increase of 154.9%.[1] But their percentage in total number was very low. The deposits of course, rose from Rs. 122 lakhs (in 1918-19) to Rs. 154 lakhs (1919-20).[2]

As stated above the co-operative societies represented mostly the substantial class of cultivators and particularly left untouched the lowest strata of the agricultural community, especially in 1920, since the agricultural poor ryots and labourers constituted only 19.96% and 5.88% of the total membership of agriculturalists. Reviewing the report on the progress made by the co-operative movement in 1918-19, the Andhrapatrika of the 5th January 1920 observed that the "co-operation found on money-making principle, is proving itself more useful to the rich than to the poor as is evident from the report under review... it is clear from this that landholders are unwilling to admit labourers as members of co-operative societies, and that there can be no good whatever of co-operative societies which fail to be useful to the poorer classes". [3]

Inspite of the fact that most of the money was advanced being spent on productive purposes, (see Table - 2.23 on the next page) the co-operative credit was available only to certain sections of the peasantry. Basically the working of the co-operative societies was defective in so far as they did not offer adequate access to the lower

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Lab.L.P. - Madras, op.cit., pp.51-52.

TABLE 2.22

Statement showing amounts of loans by agricultural societies for productive purposes and paying off prior debts

Years	Grand Total Rs	% of Cultivation	% of Purchase of Cattle	% of payment of Kist	% of Improvement of land	% of Purchase of raw-materials for Industries	% of Trade	% of Education	% of House Building	% of manufacture and purchase of country carts	% of Purchase of land	% of food and necessaries of life	% of paying off prior debts
1904-05	3773	5.96	17.63	13.52	1.72	4.24	13.46	-	1.33	-	-	35.52	6.63
1905-06	48302	16.08	12.17	28.98	1.36	0.92	12.44	-	4.97	-	0.83	6.45	15.81
1906-07	193927	14.81	12.17	16.92	6.02	0.76	11.74	-	5.36	-	1.56	3.16	27.49
1907-08	313598	14.22	11.80	11.31	6.23	0.57	14.03	-	3.60	-	1.08	3.83	33.32
1908-09	683939	11.52	10.76	6.93	5.60	0.26	15.26	-	3.68	-	3.43	4.85	37.71
1910-11	1567906	6.86	14.22	4.94	3.49	0.46	9.90	-	5.22	-	3.77	4.76	46.39
1911-12	2250414	7.04	13.11	3.23	3.89	0.91	9.45	-	4.67	-	4.32	5.32	48.39
1912-13	2242741	8.33	13.50	3.29	3.49	0.51	12.25	0.07	4.79	0.62	5.01	5.73	42.41
1913-14	2564660	6.48	11.93	3.37	3.59	0.63	13.99	0.19	5.09	0.44	4.56	4.74	45.10
1914-15	2578865	7.52	10.56	4.11	3.91	0.35	16.52		5.17		4.55	5.65	41.66
1915-16	3301495	8.61	8.40	5.78	3.43	1.42	15.45		5.27		5.02	4.44	42.21
1916-17	4455006	9.73	6.92	9.12	3.39	0.39	15.60		4.95		4.21	4.08	41.64
1917-18	4863809	11.26	7.14	8.46	3.43	0.55	16.65		5.01		3.66	5.05	38.79
1918-19	6546534	12.53	7.55	8.39	3.94	0.65	13.00		4.72		3.68	7.83	37.22
1919-20	8693964	14.54	9.31	7.93	3.58	0.68	14.59		4.19		3.71	9.72	31.74
1920-21	8638376	13.77	9.57	8.04	2.93	0.77	13.23		4.60		3.37	11.82	26.81
1921-22	11476478	15.75	10.42	5.80	4.16	0.72	12.73		4.63		4.10	9.63	32.06
1922-23	12342083	13.43	8.78	6.48	3.98	0.80	13.08	0.31	4.00	0.54	3.41	9.60	30.60

SOURCE : Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Vol.III, Evidence taken in the Madras Presidency

strata of the peasantry. The poor ryots could not practically approach the co-operative societies directly to get loans, since they could not produce the necessary security,[1] as required by the rules of the societies. In other words, loans were given, on the basis of the purpose of loan, character and social status of the person, his repaying capacity and so on. The only way in which a poor peasant could get loans was through the mediation of the landholder or their authorised agents or through getting a personal security of one or two members of the society itself.[2] The Chairman of the co-operative commission's report also remarked that "the loans made under these Acts have been of help to the more substantial class of cultivators who can produce the necessary security but they have left practically untouched the lowest strata of the agricultural community".[3] Hence it could be concluded that the co-operative movement primarily helped the expansion and consolidation of the rich peasant class.

While the fruits of the co-operative movement were enjoyed by the rich peasant class, by virtue of their very economic and social status, the indebtedness of the poor and middle peasants became the order of the day. As is evident from Banking Enquiry Committee Report,[4] the debt

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1. J.V. Acharyar, op.cit., p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 9.
4. Banking Committee, op. cit., p. 298.

burden, in Andhra, was borne more by the bulk of the poor peasants. The magnitude of this indebtedness can also be seen in relation to the transfer of the original pattas. An enquiry conducted into 24 villages of Kistna, East and West Godavari districts,[1] established the fact that due to the above discussed economic pressures, i.e., revenue, rent, cost of cultivation, debt, famines and other burdens, majority of the poor and middle peasants lost their pattas/holdings either to the rich peasant or to the sowcar. In these villages, out of 2,288 pattas at the time of the last settlement, only 591 or about 26% had remained in the hands of the original pattadars or their heirs without any material change.[2] Only 202 pattas or about 9% had increased in size. The rest, i.e., at least 65% of the pattas, had undergone partial or complete change of hands.[3] In other words nearly two-thirds of the pattadars were unable to retain their holdings in that period of 30 years.[4] Thus it is established that about 42% of the total or more than 63% of the pattas that had undergone changes had done so because of the above enhanced economic pressures.[5]

Now let us examine this economic decay of the poor peasants more closely. The Economy Enquiry Committee [6]

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1. Economic Committee, op.cit., p. 69.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 71.

also proved that those ryots whose assets were worth not more than Rs 100 each were most heavily indebted.[1]

Table - 2.24

Consolidated Enquiries into Debts

Those whose property is worth	% of their property involved in debt			Debt per head		
	Kistna	West Godavari	East Godavari	Kistna	West Godavari	East Godavari
Below Rs 500	55.77	69.31	91.64	137.17	167.61	261.23
From Rs 500 to Rs 1,000	38.22	43.44	44.39	267.08	303.83	297.25
Rs 1,000 to 5,000	25.97	26.15	27.30	--	--	--
Rs 5,000 to 10,000	19.49	21.99	22.58	1372.83	1507.77	1469.60
Rs 10,000 to 20,000	16.82	18.28	18.78	2329.75	2455.36	2461.84
Rs 20,000 and more	12.16	14.63	20.78	4709.25	5381.92	7231.62
All the ryots for district	17.07	19.48	23.82			
District average				1070.21	1236.23	925.47.

Source: Report of the Economic Enquiry Committee, Vols. I-III and other connected papers (Madras, 1931) pp. 72-76.

The above table clearly shows that those having property valued at less than Rs 500 were heavily indebted. The ryots who were having Rs 500 to 5,000 worth of property, who can be considered as the landowners of "5 acres and less"[2], each had to clear off a debt of Rs 250 to Rs 330 per head.[3] The total

1. Ibid., pp. 69-76.
2. Ibid., p. 72
3. Ibid.

debt of the big owners was perhaps more than that of small owners but, unlike in the case of small landholder, very little part of their property was involved in debts. On the otherhand, many of the poor ryots were obliged to borrow money at more than 15% interest rate per annum, mostly for cultivation expenses, liquidation of old debts, family expenses and the like.

Table - 2.25

Purpose of Debts

	Kistna	West Godavari	East Godavari
Purchase of New Lands	25	17	20
Cultivation Expenses	25	38	37
Liquidation of old debts	4	33	19
Family expenses	37	6	14
Marriage Expenses	--	--	--
Litigation Expenses	1	3	1
Trade	7	2	8
Miscellaneous	1	1	1
TOTAL:	100	100	100

Source: Ibid: p. 76.

Table - 2.26[1]

Particulars about rates of interest and the money borrowed at that interest as % of total debt

	Kistna	West Godavari	East Godavari
Less than As. 12 ½	0.8	0.01	0.6
More than As. 12 ½ but less than Rs 1-0-6	54.8	76.5	90.1
Between Rs 1-4-0 & 1-0-6	36.2	17.3	6.0
" Rs 1-4-0 & 1-9-0	7.7	6.0	2.9
More than Rs 1-9-0	0.9	0.01	0.2

It is noteworthy that as much as 34% of the total amount of debt of the ryots enquired into the Kistna district was given out at 15% interest.[2] Even in other districts the percentage of interest paid by ryots was as high as in Kistna.

The real importance of the burden of these high rates of interest is evident, if it is realised that they fell only upon those who were least able to bear this high burden. Those poor ryots, whose property was worth little, whose assets were negligible and who were very badly in need of money were often forced to pay "very high and even

1. Ibid., p. 74; Note, As = Annas.
2. Ibid.

abnormal rates of interest".[1] We can also say that at least 25% of the total (See Table- 2.25) indebtedness was caused due to their inability to finance their cultivation with their own capital and nearly 40% due to the problems of family expenses and cronic indebtedness. On the other hand while the smaller ryots were more heavily involved in debt than the rich ryots, (since their debts absorbed much greater portion of their assets than those of the rich) and they paid abnormal rates of interest, the rich peasants benefited by maximum utilization of the co-operative movement and thus consolidated their economic as well as social status especially in the first two decades of the 20th century. The emergence and consolidation of rich peasant class cut deep into the agrarian social structure, widening the division between the agrarian social classes. This process can be further examined in relation to commercialization and marketing of agricultural production.

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1. Ibid., p. 75. The rates of interest vary according to the kind of moneylender also. If he was a ryot, the rate was never more than 18%; but if he was a merchant who rather interested in "Namulu" and "Jatti" it was often not less than 50%. If he was, however, a Marwari, the rate amounts upto at least 36% compound interest.

   There were also regional variations. In the case of upland ryots, the rate was always above 12% and was often 50 to 100% compound interest. Many of them were obliged to get advances of credit only as "Namulu" or "Jatti" or both systems. This was not the case with Delta (wet) ryots. (and this we have discussed above) (Ibid.)

V

COMMERCIALIZATION AND MARKETING

In order to know which class of people benefited from a rise in prices, we shall also closely examine the commercialization of agriculture and marketing system of that period. In Andhra districts, as elsewhere in India the practice of arable husbandry varied with the soil, rainfall distribution and irrigation facilities.[1] Irrigation, in particular, was highly developed in the great deltas of Godavari and Kistna. On the East-coast, on almost all rivers, the dams were constructed from which channels had been dug to carry water to the land.[2] Rain and drainage water was also stored in innumerable 'tanks' or artificial lakes formed by enclosing depressions and small valleys.[3] Even though the Madras Presidency was distinguished by the variety and extent of its irrigation works, area irrigated by a very large number of tanks which depended for their supplies on the local rainfall was still the dominant factor.

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1. Statistical Atlas... op.cit., 1910-11, p. 5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Table - 2.27

Area Irrigated with Different Sources

Figures in Thousands of Acres (omitting '000) for Madras Presidency

Years	Area irrigated from				Net area irrigated including other sources	Total acreage of crops irrigated.
	Govt. canals	Private canals	Tanks	Wells		
1891-92	2,472	24	1,698	1,034	5,363	6,286
1900-01	2,802	25	1,881	1,107	5,971	Not reported
1901-02	2,922	86	2,165	1,205	6,585	26,155
1911-12	3,535	180	3,299	1,442	9,587	33,068

Source: Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India, 1901-02 and 1911-12, pp. 207 & 226.

Capital outlay had also been increased on different works.

Table - 2.28

Statement showing the Capital Outlay on Different Works - Madras Presidency.

Details	Productive Works		Protective Works		Minor Works	
	1901-02	1911-12	1901-02	1911-12	1901-02	1911-12
Capital outlay to the end of year (in £)	4,595,000	5,568,000	323,000	386,000	669,000	639,000
Mileage in operation	7,800	11,980	210	231	2,548	1,083
Area irrigated(acres)	2,896,000	3,485,000	85,000	99,000	568,000	352,000
% of 'net revenue' on capital outlay	9.55	9.93	0.72	1.76	7.0	5.15

Source: Ibid., 1911-12, p. 322.

Most important among the major works were the deltaic systems of the Godavari, Kistna and Cauvery which together irrigated 2,712,000 acres in 1911-12.[1] In these deltas the conditions were as favourable for irrigation as in the tracts served by the great perennial canals of the Punjab.[2] The development of irrigation boosted the commercial crops. This development of irrigation was of course, most rapid under Godavari and Kistna systems in Andhra districts.

Table - 2.29

Area Charged as Irrigated

Years	Godavari System		Kistna System	
	First Crop Acs.	Second Crop Acs.	First crop Acres	Second Crop Acres
1899-1900	683,000	60,407	588,000	500
1923-1924	770,000	223,153	757,000	3,000
% of increase	13.00	269.4	22.00	500.00

Source: Madras Resettlement Report, East and West Godavari Districts (1929, Madras) p. 193.

Here the increase under first crop was 13% in Godavari and 22% in Kistna. It was even more impressive in the case of second crop being 269.4% and 500% respectively. This indicates better exploitation of land especially at a time when prices were moving upwards. However, the basic drawback in the

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1. Moral and Material Progress, 1911-12, p. 322.

2. Ibid.

development of irrigation was its concentration only in certain districts.

Table - 2.30

Development of Irrigation in Different Andhra Districts.

District & Natural Division	1911			1921		
	% of cultivable area of		% of cultivated area which is irrigated	% of cultivable area of		% of cultivated area which is irrigated
	Net Cultivated	Double cropped		Net cultivated	Double cropped	
Madras Province	65.3	8.6	25.9	63.4	8.3	28.3
Agency	33.8	1.1	40.7	41.8	0.6	26.6
Deccan	74.1	3.4	7.7	66.5	2.4	7.5
Cuddapah	62.1	7.1	19.9	53.9	5.2	20.1
Kurnool	78.1	2.7	4.7	72.0	2.1	4.6
Bellary	85.8	1.5	2.7	80.4	1.0	2.5
Anantapur	65.4	4.0	10.2	56.0	2.4	10.3
*Chittoor	52.6	9.9	47.6	40.2	7.7	43.4
East Coast North	65.9	12.7	37.3	64.3	13.1	43.3
Ganjam	81.0	16.5	43.5	75.5	14.6	50.5
Vizagapatam	62.7	23.9	47.7	59.9	22.0	49.5
Godavari	70.4	21.3	49.6	69.3	22.6	69.7
Kistna	62.4	8.9	45.5	63.6	12.5	55.6
Guntur	78.8	11.6	13.5	76.4	11.0	16.2
Nellore	49.7	5.6	36.7	46.4	4.8	37.3

* Chittoor is in East Coast Central.

Source: Census of India, 1911, vol. XII, part-I, p.16 and 1921, vol. XIII, part-I, p. 27 (Madras)

This concentration of irrigation development in East Coast North division had also influenced the commercialization of the agrarian economy. This does not mean that commercialization had not taken place in ceded districts or in the so called "dry zone". For example the commercialisation of paddy did develop in both the divisions, of course with a degree of difference, due to the conditions of production. As A.K. Bagchi observes, "one difference between the relatively fertile and easily accessible regions and the 'dry' regions of interior was that it was easier to centralize the surplus in an exportable form in the former areas; hence they provided a lusher field of operation for European traders and capitalists".[1] Perhaps this difference will not appear so important if one sees within the overall framework of colonial inequalities and exploitation. The extent of the commercialisation of the agrarian economy would be discussed in the light of the cropping patterns in these two divisions. The table - 2.31 (back page), shows the extent of area under food and non-food crops.

From the above table it is clear that the area cultivated under 'industrial crops' has been increased by 24.7% within 10 years. The phenomenal growth of cotton and groundnut, which constituted the bulk of the exported

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1. Amiya Kumar Bagchi, 'Needed: Political Economy of British South India' (Review article of Baker and Washbrook books) in Social Scientist, Vol. 7, No. 1/2, August-September 1978, p. 99.

TABLE - 2.31

Percentage of crops cultivated area

OR

Area of food crops and non-food crops as percentage of the total area

District and Natural Division	Rice		Cholam, cumbu and Ragi		Other food crops and pulses		Groundnut		Cotton		Other crops	
	1920-21	1910-11	1920-21	1910-11	1920-21	1910-11	1920-21	1910-11	1920-21	1910-11	1920-21	1910-11
Agency	40.1	50.5	16.0	16.7	11.6	15.8	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.3	31.6	16.6
Deccan	4.5	5.7	37.6	38.0	31.0	34.5	4.7	0.9	10.5	13.0	11.7	7.9
Cuddapah	9.3	11.4	46.1	50.6	17.6	17.4	9.4	2.6	9.4	8.4	8.2	9.6
Kurnool	3.7	4.2	38.9	39.3	31.5	35.3	3.3	0.4	0.7	14.5	21.9	6.3
Bellary	1.5	1.7	38.7	38.7	31.6	36.2	1.4	0.2	21.0	17.8	5.8	5.4
Anantapore	6.6	9.1	28.8	28.0	38.8	42.1	7.5	1.3	8.0	7.6	10.3	11.9
Chittoor	23.0	28.7	45.0	44.7	16.0	12.9	3.6	2.5	0.1	0.1	12.3	11.1
East Coast North	38.4	37.2	21.2	26.5	17.6	17.6	0.5	0.1	2.9	3.1	19.4	15.5
Ganjam	58.3	56.3	4.9	16.1	15.2	14.0	1.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	20.5	13.2
Vizagapatam	31.3	31.6	17.7	30.8	19.1	18.2	1.7	-	1.1	1.0	29.1	18.4
Godavari	53.0	51.2	10.5	8.4	15.3	18.3	-	-	0.9	0.9	20.3	21.2
Kistna	52.0	50.0	21.1	22.2	9.4	9.5	0.1	0.0	2.9	3.5	14.5	14.8
Guntur	15.5	14.4	27.7	31.0	25.8	24.0	0.2	0.0	7.3	7.5	23.5	23.1
Nellore	27.2	24.0	42.7	45.2	19.2	20.1	0.1	0.0	3.0	2.8	7.8	7.9

Source: Census of India (1910-11), Vol. XII, Madras, Part-I, Report, (Madras 1912), p. 16. Ibid., (1920-21), Vol. XIII, p. 27.

industrial crops, was striking in the Deccan districts. Cotton has been increased by 18.6% where as groundnut increased by nearly 306%. On the other hand, the increase in indigo and castor had been concentrated in the East Coast North, the percentage of increase being 109.8 and 10.8 respectively. In the Deccan or ceded districts indigo increased by 32.2%. Numerically this increase may look meagre but perhaps it can be considered sizeable if compared with the nature of soil in these two divisions. As a whole it can safely be argued that the development of paddy and some of the industrial crops had been concentrated mostly in East Coast North districts, where as it was stagnant except in the case of some important industrial crops like cotton, groundnut and so on. Thus both the divisions were influenced by the commercialization of agriculture, even though it was more in East Coast North, and the consequent emergence of new agrarian classes under the British Rule, especially in 1910's and 1920's. Inspite of the impressive development in East Coast North, the area influenced by the industrical crops in Andhra districts as a whole (11 districts) was nevertheless small. Over 13% of the crops grown were industrial crops in nature during 1910-11,[1] and this progress reached to only a little over 14% in 1920-21.[2] These crops were of

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1. Statistical Atlas ... op. cit., 1910-11, p.6

2. Ibid., 1920-21, p.6.

course entirely composed of cotton and oil-seeds in equal parts,[1] and items like sugar and dyes increased from less than one percent in 1910-11,[2]p to only one percent in 1920-21.[3]

The development of these commercial crops in almost all regions in the Madras presidency was mostly influenced by the national and international trading situations. For example the area under indigo had been steadily declined till there were only some 80,000 acres under it in 1910-11[4] due to the lack of international demand. However, it increased to over 300,000 acres in 1917-18, owing to the scarcity of synthetic dyes during the First World War;[5] but again fell to 109,298 acres in 1920-21.[6] Particularly, the development of industrial crops in Andhra, like everywhere else in India, was tremendously influenced by the international fluctuations and scarcities. However, in the case of non-industrial commercial crops like paddy one would find the influence of not only international but also National situation or scarcities.

The increase in commodity production tremendously influenced the agrarian classes in Andhra. The coming of the

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1. Ibid., 1910-11, p.6, and 1920-21, p.6.
2. Ibid., 1910-11, p.6.
3. Ibid., 1920-21, p.6.
4. Ibid., 1910-11, p.6.
5. Ibid., 1920-21, p.6.
6. See Table-2.32 (next page).

TABLE 2.32

CROPPING PATTERN IN ANDHRA (in Acres)

YEARS	Cereals					Pulses		Vegetables & fruit trees	Condiments and Spices	Industrial Crops					Oil-seeds		Miscellaneous	Total First & Second Crop	Area Cropped more than once	Net Area Cultivated
	Paddy	Cholam	Cumbu	Ragi & Variga	Others	Horse-gram	Others			Cotton	Indigo	Sugar-cane	Tobacco	Others	Castor	Others				
1910-11	3594392	3190450	1160928	1168540	2142692	756128	940078	268987	300514	1160151	61644	31490	46749	38712	352854	595458	735207	16469723	1664855	14804868
1920-21	3959275	3209571	950173	1042091	1595111	893118	787630	210846	292320	1356822	109298	35973	23160	32746	275900	658368	544391	15980139	1773838	14206301
Total number increased/ decreased	374383	19121	-210755	-125449	-547571	136990	-152445	-58141	-8194	206671	47654	4517	-23589	-5966	-76954	62910	-190816	-489584	108983	-598567
% of increase/ decrease	10.4	0.6	-18.2	-10.82	-25.6	18.1	-16.2	-21.6	-2.7	18	77.3	14.34	-50.5	-15.4	-21.81	10.6	-25.93	-3	6.6	-4.0

		Paddy	Increase/ Decrease	%	Cotton	Increase/ Decrease	%	Indigo	Increase/ Decrease	%	Sugar-cane	Increase/ Decrease	%	Tobacco	Increase/ Decrease	%	Castor	Increase/ Decrease	%
* Six Coastal Districts	1910-11	3065691			311076			35846			13694			22290			80440		
			470114	15.3		50245	16.2		39348	109.8		3212	23.5		-7304	-32.8		8698	10.8
	1920-21	3535795			361321			75194			16906			14986			89138		
** Five Rayalaseema Districts	1910-11	519211			839075			26798			17796			24459			272414		
			-95731	-18.4		156426	18.6		8306	32.2		-7729	-43.4		-16285	-66.6		-85652	-31.4
	1920-21	423480			995501			34104			10067			8174			186762		

* Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore.

** Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, and Chittoor are Rayalaseema districts.

SOURCE: Based on Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1910-11 and 1920-21, Appendix III.

market, in practice, determined the decisions of the peasantry. As Dharma Narain has observed, the fate of the peasantry depended upon the fluctuations of the market. The increasing cultivation of commercial crops like cotton which made the peasants dependent upon the vagaries of the international price situation, as we have seen earlier, also forced them to borrow money from the moneylenders due to increased cost of cultivation and the failure of initial boom, i.e., immediately after the First World War.[1] On the other hand the prices of rice rose steadily throughout 1917 and 1918 due to national famines and other international conditions which imposed many constraints on the internal and external trade. The trade was banned in the case of foodgrains like paddy, which helped the local and inter-provincial merchants rather than the actual producers. The substantial landholders, who produce paddy, and middlemen secured enormous profits. The poor peasants were pressed from two sides, since the wages were slow to respond to the rise in prices of foodgrains, due to internal scarcity and famines, and there was considerable pressure of price rise on the cooly classes, persons with fixed incomes and the petty landholders.[2] This price trend, of course, strengthened the rich peasant class which mostly took up the commercial cropping like the production of the paddy (and other foodgrains) for the market and which was able to control the marketing system through its storage facilities and so on.

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1. S. Ambirajan, Classical Political Economy and British policy in India op.cit., p. 131.
2. Statistical Atlas ... op. cit., 1920-21, p. 13.

The position of merchant - moneylenders was also strengthened since they tightened their grip on the small peasants and tenants at that time. Thus the commercialization of agriculture helped in expansion and consolidation of the rich peasants/merchant moneylending classes. And this trend was further strengthened by the peculiar marketing and trading conditions.

Eventhough trading and exchange in agricultural commodities were well advanced in Andhra in the 20th century, the method by which agricultural produce passed from the producer to the ultimate consumer was far from satisfactory. Under the British rule the development of communications, linking up the remote areas with the urban trading centres, wrought changes in the marketing system which was hitherto mostly confined to a limited geographical location.

Communications between nearly all parts of the presidency had become easy by 1910 and there was no district which was not connected with the rest of the presidency by railway.[1] This obviously boosted the internal trade which in turn linked the regional/local markets with the national market. This development of the national market boosted the exports in seaborne trade. Especially in Andhra, a regular traffic was maintained along the sea coast by steamers linking up all the chief seaports. On the east coast, particularly

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1. Ibid., 1910-11, p. 13.

from Cocanada to Madras and further South, there was, for nine months of the year, an unbroken system of inland water carriage,[1] which was also the chief means of transport. Subsidiary to the railways, the interior lines of communication by the road had been greatly extended; consequently most parts of the presidency were, by 1910, fully within the influence of trade.[2] This tremendous improvement in communications enabled the merchants and traders to control the regional as well as national markets. They were able to import food-supplied from one district to another and even from beyond the presidency at the time of scarcity, and they thus not only monopolised the trade but also controlled the marketing conditions and the price levels. In fact, the very process of the marketing of the produce was not at all advantageous to the poor and middle peasant.

The cultivator suffered from many handicaps, like illiteracy and ignorance of the price situation especially of the commercial crops, high cost of transport and indebtedness.[3] The most important constraint was his indebtedness, more often to his village merchant or rich ryot creditor. He was, therefore, not free to market his produce to the best advantage. The average delta ryot does not store his produce but sells soon after the harvest, usually

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Royal Commission on Agriculture ... op. cit., p. 267.

entering into a forward contract with the sowcar who pays him a miserably low price.[1] The poorer and middle sections of the peasantry, pressed by revenue demands, rent and old debts parted with their produce as quickly as possible which was not to their advantage. These objective economic conditions hardly allowed them to store and market their produce to their best advantage.

The keynote to the system of marketing agricultural produce in the Andhra districts was the predominant part played by the host of middlemen. The number of intermediaries varied from three to four; the travelling agent of the local merchant, the local merchant, the 'dalal' or the agent of the whole sale merchant and the whole sale merchant or the local European firms.[2] These host of middlemen played a larger part in the case of commercial crops such as groundnut, cotton and jaggery than in the case of food-crops.[3] Their part varied, too, according to the economic condition of the cultivator. The rich ryot who had comperatively large stocks to dispose of, took his produce to the taluk or districts centre and sold it through a 'commission agent' locally known as the 'dalal merchant'.[4] If the produce remained unsold, it was stored in the dalal's godowns at the cultivator's expense.

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1. Banking Committee, vol. II, p. 591.
2. Ibid., p. 298.
3. Royal Commission on Agriculture ... op. cit., p. 268.
4. Ibid.

But many of the rich agriculturists in most of the villages owned godowns either in the village or in the town and stored their produce without dalal's help. This produce of the rich peasants generally constituted the (1) produce of their lands cultivated by them, (2) produce agreed to be given to them in discharge of money lent by them, (3) produce given to them by the sub-tenants on their lands, (4) produce sold by needy ryots who without selling could not pay up the land revenue and other demands and (5) produce which they purchased as part of their trading business in expectation of profit based on the trend of rising prices.[1] They ultimately sold this produce to the merchant in the town when the market was favourable to them, i.e., at the time of highest prices. This class of ryots were thus able to largely avoid the middleman/rural merchant's exploitation and were therefore able to make huge profits in the wake of price rise.

Barring therefore, rich ryots, the rest were hardly benefitted from this marketing system. The middle ryot generally disposed of his produce through the same agency of dalal's in the town, but, unlike the rich ryot, he was not free to choose his commission agent/dalal, for he had already taken advances from a particular dalal on the condition that he should hand his produce over to that dalal to sell in the market.[2] Not only, therefore, did he sell at an unfavourable rate but also paid

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1. Banking Committee, op.cit., p. 593.

2. Royal Commission on Agriculture ... op. cit., p. 268.

a heavy interest, upto 36% or even more on his advances.[1] As his relations with the 'dalal' were those of creditor and debtor rather than of selling agent and producer, he was hardly benefited from this system of marketing even at the time of price rise. The case of the poorer ryots was more heart-breaking. In almost all cases the major portion of produce passed into the hands of the village moneylender/merchants. Whatever remained was sold to petty traders, who toured the villages and the price at which the produce changed hands was mostly governed not so much by the market rates as by the needs of the ryots.[2] In the case of the dealer in their village, mostly a merchant, he did not and could not pay the price at once to the producer. After selling the produce to the nearest town merchant or mill owner who used to do rice business, at a small margin of profit for himself, the merchant then paid out of the sale proceeds to the agriculturist.[3] In this system the village dealer often used to purchase not only at a lower rate-if there was no competition-but also paid the amount very late. So the poorer and middle ryots who were usually pressed for immediate needs, often prefered to sell their produce for immediate cash payment even at lower rates, which were usually offered by the same village merchant or by outside petty-traders who toured the villages.

It was thus the cultivator's chronic shortage of money that allowed the intermediary to achieve a prominent position

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Banking Committee, op. cit., p. 593.

in the marketing system, exploiting the ryot. But this intermediary system had not affected the cultivators who were tolerably well off. For instance, in the case of Kistna and Godavari deltas (in the case of a ryot having 15 acres and more) if one the ryot had paid off his 'Kist' he used to store his produce waiting for a good price.[1] He would to keep a very steady eye on the prevailing prices for rice imported from Burma and was in no haste to come to terms with the agent of buyer, if the terms were not beneficial to him.[2]

In the case of commercial crops for export, such as groundnut, cotton, tobacco turmeric and so on, there was once again a long chain of intermediaries between the producer and the exporter. The cotton pressing mills in Guntur and the tobacco refining mills in Chirala (Guntur district), which were under the management of European capitalists, who had many widespread organisations, advanced money through intermediaries at all times to ryot's in distant villages and 'captured' their produce at lowest prices.[3] In fact, the 'forward contracts' had intruded very largely into the marketing system of cotton. Generally the producers did not have direct contact with the

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1. Royal Commission on Agriculture ... op.cit., p. 268.
2. But the man who tilled the land in the Cauvery delta was also not in quite such a happy position, for much of the valuable land there was in the hands of a small number of large landholders; who therefore, accumulated the bulk of the surplus available for export to Ceylon. The same is the case of the under-tenants or actual tillers of the land under the Zamindari system/or for that matter under all systems in Andhra. Ibid., p. 269.
3. Banking Committee, op. cit., p. 593.

larger exporting firms. These exporting firms entered into 'Advance contracts' with local merchants for the supply of a definite quantity of cotton at a speculated price. This introduction of element of speculation affected the ordinary cultivators,[1] even though this hardly affected the substantial landholder in the long run, since the low price he got in years of heavy out-turn was compensated by the higher price which the merchant would be forced to pay in years when the crop was short and the contract difficult to fulfil.

Even in the case of groundnut crop, the exporting firms had no direct dealings with the producer[2] and consequently there arose a host of middlemen, who shared most of the profit on ryot's produce. In the case of sugarcane there was a special system in vogue. The sugarcane grower generally marketed his produce as jaggery. The firms directly advanced both 'seeds' and money to the cultivators on the conditions that the jaggery & cane would be sold only to them.[3] This system is operating even at present in many of the coastal Andhra districts.

Thus in this long chain of intermediaries in the case of commercial crops for export, as the first link in the chain came the village merchant, moneylender or the well-to-do-ryot, who brought the produce at a cheap rate and charged heavy interest on advances. If he was in business on a substantial scale, he might sell direct to the merchant in the town, who in

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1. Royal Commission on Agriculture ... op. cit., p. 269.
2. Ibid., p. 268.
3. Ibid., p. 269.

turn did business with the broker of the exporting firms, and where producing areas lay close to town, the wholesale merchant frequently took the place of the village merchant.

Thus, even though the commercialization of agriculture brought prosperity to the cultivators at a time of sharp rise in prices, the prosperity was concentrated only in the hands of a substantial landholders and the host of intermediaries. Due to the very conditions of the marketing system, the rich peasant benefitted most by bringing his produce directly to the market. In fact, most of the petty dealers, who brought a large quantity of produce on a number of carts to the principal markets, were being financed either by the dalals of the town-based merchants or by the big landholders/rich tenants of the village. The small peasants on the other hand, could not bring their produce themselves directly to the market, for the simple reason that as soon as the crop was harvested they had to sell their produce to the merchant - moneylender or the rich ryot - creditor, who had advanced the required capital for their cultivation. They often had to part quickly with their produce due to the revenue, rent, and other burdens. Moreover, generally they sold their produce at the time of low-prices, i.e., at the time of harvest, and did not get the full value of their produce. It was only the big ryots / rich tenant who could affort to wait, stock the produce either in their own or rented godowns and sell it where and when the prices were high.[1]

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1. Banking Committee, p. 219.

The commercialization and marketing conditions helped, on the one hand, the emergence and consolidation of a rich peasant class. On the other hand, the merchant class, due to the trade boom and so on, not only consolidated but also expanded its base under the colonial rule.[1] These two classes played a remarkable role in the political field also, which we will be discussing later.

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1. " ... the sudden growth in internal and foreign trade led to the expansion of the merchant class at all levels. But the logic of an underdeveloped colonial economy soon asserted itself ...." limiting the scope of their expansion, which perhaps explains their participation in the anti-imperialist struggle. See Bipan Chandra, (et.al), Freedom Struggle, op. cit., p. 33.

VI

A NOTE ON AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

So far we have discussed the factors, which wrought changes in the agrarian class relations under colonialism in Andhra. We have seen how the development of commodity production, price rise, high rentals, unequal revenue burdens, system of money-lending and the rural indebtedness, helped the emergence and consolidation of a rich peasant class.

During this period the expansion of commercial and entrepreneurial agricultural farming marked the transition to a money economy. The expansion of foreign trade led to significant changes in the pattern of agricultural production. The process of commercialization brought more acres over to cash-crops, chiefly cotton, groundnut, tobacco, sugar.[1] With the coming of cash-crops and the development of communication and commerce there also the growth of capital in the rural sector. Our analysis in the earlier pages clearly showed that this capital was, however, accumulated only in the hands of a rich peasant class. This transition also involved the coming into existence of a group of middlemen traders specialising in the marketing of the cash crops. The indigenous middlemen became a link between the petty cultivators in the village and the urban based export agencies. The commercialization

1. For detailed tables see,
Agricultural Statistics of British India (Annual Reports); Season and Crop Report of the Madras Presidency (Annual reports); Statistical Atlas of Madras Presidency, 1910-11 and 1920-21 (Madras).

of agriculture, was not confined to crops viz., cotton, jute, sugarcane and the various oil-seeds, but also spread to the food-grains, since an increasing proportion of the total production of all foodgrains in this period passed through the market instead of being consumed on the farm.[1] The prices of agricultural commodities came to depend on world prices, seriously effecting the fortunes of petty landholders, for the peasants were made to bear all the unfavourable consequences of the instability to which the world trading system in agricultural products was subjected. It is true that the poor and middle sections of the peasantry derived very little benefit from the commercialization of agriculture. On the other hand the burden on these classes was further increased because of the high cost of cultivation, ruthless exploitation by merchants/rich ryots, moneylending agencies, soaring rentals and high revenue demand and so on.

On the one hand agriculture became the handmaiden of trade, and the trader appropriate the large share of whatever gains occured from the agricultural exports or for that matter even from internal marketing. On the other side, land was gradually passing from the hands of original small proprietors into the hands of non-cultivating classes of moneylenders and the bigger landholders. Especially the

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1. D. Bhattacharyya, A concise History of the Indian Economy 1450-1950 (Calcutta, 1972), pp. 46-48; and also see Z.A. Ahmad, The Agrarian Problem in India (A General Survey), (A.I.C.C., Allahabad, 1937).

occupancy tenants in the zamindari areas and substantial landholders in the ryotwari areas crystallised into a 'rich peasant class' in this period, due to the secular rise in agricultural commodity prices, the emergence of commodity and labour market, the gradual decline of the revenue demand in terms of the produce alienated and so on. The poorer and middle peasants were evicted and turned into mere tenants-at-will and agricultural labourers. However, we are not arguing here that capitalism developed in agriculture in a pure form. For that matter there could not emerge a sphere of pure contract and competition under the prevailing circumstances during colonialism. But the emergence of this rich peasant class did mark a tendency towards a capitalist intrusion in agriculture, since this class gradually acquired wealth by expanding production and was on the way to becoming "the future capitalists". This development, of course, ultimately depended upon the general historical transformation of agrarian economy into capitalism on a societal scale. Even though the changes that occurred under British imperialism in Andhra were not uniform, the position of the poor and middle peasants was same in every region.[1]

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1. The Collector of East Godavari remarked that "the condition of the delta ryot is... generally better off than that of the upland ryots... whether in the upland or delta it is only the capitalists that is flourishing while the ryot lives more or less from hand to mouth". Statistical Atlas of Madras Presidency, 1940, p. 18.

The excessive cutting up and scattering of holdings, the conflict between the richer and the landless peasantry, between the cultivating and money lending classes, and between the occupancy tenants and zamindars were aspects of social tensions, which were aggravated due to the very nature of colonial rule. The increase of the landless classes from decade to decade, the transfer of land to money-lenders and rich ryots and the multiplication of a class of intermediaries who profitted from the complexities of the prevailing land system, were symptoms of an inequitable system of distribution, which explains the social base for the peasant/nationalist movements in Andhra.[1]

In brief we can list four main grievances of the peasantry in Andhra in 1920's. (1) The gradual passing of the land from the hands of the original small proprietors into the hands of the rich peasants and moneylenders who were non-cultivating classes. (2) Excessive burden of indebtedness. (3) The consolidation of irrigation cess in irrigated coastal Andhra districts and making it obligatory on all farmers in irrigable areas to pay it whether they actually used irrigation water or not.

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1. Radha Kamal Mukherjee observed that "the system of tenure have created an Indian agrarian problem which today has its social and political repercussions and which has led the peasantry to enter with enthusiasm into the "no rent" programme of the passive resistance movement".
R.K. Mukerjee, "Indian Land Tenure", in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 9, (1963) p. 112.

This enhanced the revenue burden in turn. (4) Excessive demands and inelasticity of land revenue which weighed heavily on the small proprietors. High rentals along with number of unauthorised cesses in the case of zamindari ryots added to the burden. All these constraints, added to by a hierarchy of parasitic middle-men, effectively prevented the accumulation of capital in the hands of the actual cultivator thereby condemning Indian agriculture to remain backward and unenterprising. This widening gulf of the economic division of society, at a time of developing rural prosperity, in turn had its social and political repercussions. This widening economic gulf, in fact, led the peasantry to enter with enthusiasm into the "no-tax" campaign of the passive resistance movement in Andhra between 1920 and 1922. However, in order to know the nature of the social participation in the Non-cooperation movement in depth, we should also see, in brief, the development of the merchant/capitalist, and professional classes.

VII

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES AND ARTISAN CLASSES

As we have seen in the earlier Sections, the evolution of a new pattern of agrarian relations fostered by the colonial rule in Andhra districts was regressive in character and the source of agrarian tensions. "...The new pattern was neither capitalism nor feudalism, nor was it a continuation of the old Mughal arrangement. It was a new structure that colonialism evolved. It was semi-feudal and semi-colonial in character."[1] The disruptive role of the colonial rule was not just confined to the agrarian economy in isolation, but it shook the very foundations of the old-economy through the destruction of the union between agriculture and handicrafts and artisan industries.[2] Karl Marx observed

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1. Bipan Chandra, Amales Tripathi, Barun De, Freedom Struggle, (National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 1972) p. 19.

2. For a detailed history of this aspect, see,

   R.P. Dutt, India To-day (Second Indian edition, 1970, Manisha), Part II, pp. 79-193;

   D.R. Gadgil, The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times 1860-1939, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, Reprint fifth edition 1974), pp. 33-46 and 169-183;

   Bipan Chandra, The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India (P.P.H., New Delhi, Reprint 1977), pp. 55-65;

   A. Sarada Raju, Economic conditions in the Madras Presidency, 1800-1850, (University of Madras, 1941)

   B.D. Basu, The Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries, (Calcutta, 3rd edition, 1935);

   Edgar Thurston, Monograph on The Cotton Fabric Industry of the Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1897);

in 1853 that, "England had broken down the entire framework of Indian Society, without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindu..."[1] In this context Marx further observed that "...The hand-loom and the spinning-wheel, producing their regular myriads of spinners and weavers were the pivots of the structure of that (pre-British Indian) Society... It was British intruder who broke up the Indian hand-loom and destroyed the spinning-wheel. England began with driving the Indian cotton from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindustan and in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons... British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindustan, the union between agriculture and manufacturing industry."[2] However, Marx viewed this "decline of Indian towns celebrated for their fabrics was no means the worst consequence",[3] and regarded

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1. Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India" New York Daily Tribune, 10 June 1953, in On Colonialism, (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974), P. 37.
2. Ibid., pp. 38-39, "The Governor-General reported 1834-35: "The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton-weavers are bleaching the plains of India", Marx, Capital, Vol. I (Moscow, reprint 1977) p. 406.
3. Ibid., p. 38

this destruction positive as "the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia."[1] He viewed this as a positive destruction, since he regarded the regenerative aspect as inherent in the system. This understanding of Marx was perhaps based on his "wrong"[2] understanding of the basic characteristic of the pre-colonial Indian Society as a stagnant, society which lacked the inner momentum

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1. Ibid., p. 40. However, Marx never kept quite in condemning the ruthless exploitation of the colonial rule. He said that, "England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But... The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia ? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England, she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution". (p.41)

2. Bipan Chandra, Karl Marx, His Theories of Asian Societies And Colonial Rule, (Mimeographed, 1978). In this article he beautifully discussed or rather summed up the results of the recent historial research on the different stages of Indian social development and clearly showed "that Indian society has like other societies, undergone massive and basic economic, political and social changes." (p. 69), especially see pp. 62-100; and

   also see, Irfan Habib, "Problems of Marxist Historial Analysis", in Enquiry, (Delhi) Vol.III, No. 2, Monsoon 1969, pp. 52-67.

for change[1]. However this seems to have been a wrong assumption, since 19th and 20th centuries showed that even though "India was ruled by industrially the most advanced nation in the world... there was no induced development of capitalism."[2] Lastly, to quote Bipan Chandra, "... Colonialism did not enable the craftsman, as was expected by Marx, to modernise production and thus open the way to capitalism from below. Instead, it destroyed both the petty capital invested in the instruments of production and the craftsmen's skill and either threw them upon land as unskilled peasants and labourers or forced them to continue handicraft production with methods and instruments inferior to those they had used earlier and at lower level of subsistence... (thus) India continued to be the classical model of an underdeveloped economy."[3] The Indian Economy was thus transformed into an agricultural colony of British

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1. see On Colonialism, op.cit., pp. 35-41 and 81-87.

2. Bipan Chandra, Karl Marx, His Theories of Asian Societies... op.cit., p. 118; Also see R.P. Dutt, India To-day, op.cit., Part II, especially pp. 79-92. To quote him, "In England the ruin of the old hand-loom weavers was accompanied by the growth of the new machine industry. But in India, the ruin of the millions of artisans and craftsmen was not accompanied by any alternative growth of new forms of industry." (p. 119).

3. Bipan Chandra, Ibid., pp. 120-121; for a detailed discussion see pp. 108-136.

manufacturing capitalism. However, we are not arguing here that there was total absence of germs for the future development of capitalism in India, nor that there was no material premises for the future new society. What we are interested in is that the overall structure of colonialism was anti-development though scattered here and there were a few elements conducive to capitalist development. Some small portion of the total economic surplus was invested in industry and capitalist agriculture or commodity production. But most of the surplus was appropriated either by the state or foreign merchants and money lenders; and this part was not used for the development of capitalism in India.[1] Only the rich peasants invested to some extent in commodity production.

Against this theoritical background I would like to discuss the position of handicraft and artisan industries and the conditions of artisans and capitalist classes in Andhra.

From time immemorial till the end of the 18th century, the extent of South Indian manufactures was considerable. South India had been renowned for the

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1. For a detailed discussion see Ibid; Colonialism, Stages of Colonialism And the Colonial State (written in 1976 for a Seminar in Mozambique) (Mimeographed).

skill of craftsmen and the excellence of manufactures.[1] James Grant in his Survey of the Northern Circars bears witness to the flourishing condition of industry and commerce on the coromandal coast in general and in the Northern circars in particular in the 18th century.[2]

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1. For a detailed emperical study on the conditions of the craftsmen and manufacturing industries see:

   A.V. Raman Rao, The Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh 1766-1951, (Bombay, 1958), pp. 12-24, 32-46, 106-114, 172-187 and 307-332;

   A. Sarada Raju, Economic Conditions In the Madras Presidency, 1800-1850, (University of Madras, 1941), pp. 146-182;

   And a detailed references can also be found from:

   Narayana Rao, Report on The Survey of Cotton Industries in the Madras Presidency, (1929); Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India (1810); E. Balfour, Report on Iron And Coal In The Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1855); J.T. Wheeler, Handbook to Cotton Cultivation in the Madras Presidency, (Madras 1862); Dodwell, The Madras Weavers under the Company (Indian Historical Records Commission, 1922).

   And scattered information is available from:

   Pharoah & Co., A Gazetteer of Southern India with the Neighbouring Provinces and Singapore, (Madras, 1855); D.F. Carmichael, Manual of the Vizagapatam District (Madras 1868); J. Kelsall, Manual of the Bellary District, (Madras, 1872); J.A.C. Boswell, Manual of the Nellore District (Madras 1873); J.D.B. Gribble, Manual of the Cuddapah District (Madras, 1875); H. Morris, Manual of the Godavari District, (Madras, 1878).

2. A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 147.

According to the Circuit Committee even the peasants supplemented their income from agriculture by manufacturing palemporees, saries, muslins and plain cloth for native wear.[1] For example, there were 10,170 looms in the circars alone producing cloth worth 12,204 pagodas annually. The Dutch used to export from Bhimlipatam alone annually 1,000 bales. In fact, number of varieties of fine punjams were commissioned from these Southern pargenas of the Circars.[2] The conditions were same in the ceded Districts also. Considering the whole Andhra, one can easily point out centres like Nellore, Ingeram, Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, Bhimlipatam, Guntoor and so on as the busiest centres of weaving and other cottage industries with a flourishing trade.[3] At the beginning of the 19th century, Andhra districts still retained their pre-eminence in arts and crafts and the consequent profitable export business. But by the end of the 19th Century a fundamental change in the character of the nature of the industrial (indigenous) production had taken place. Southern India from being an exporter of manufactured articles became a marketing centre for the imported English cotton piece-goods and other articles.

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1. Quoted a number of references from this report in A.V. Raman Rao, op.cit., p. 14 ff.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 16-22.

Especially raw materials were grown in increasing quantities decade by decade for export purpose, and in fact, replaced the manufactured Andhra piece-goods in exports to Europe or England. As Raman Rao rightly observes:

> the establishment of foreign rule, followed by an economic crisis and changes in the commerce of the (Andhra) districts led to the gradual extenction of the textile industry in the East Coast. There was no capital for investment; nor was there adequate encouragement for the native products. As a result a majority of the weavers of Bhimlipatam, Vizagapatam, Tuni, Nellapally, Bandamoorlanka, Ingaram, Madapollam and Masulipatam were slowly forced to work as agricultural labourers.[1]

The chief industries carried on in the Presidency at the end of the century were handicraft, cotton-weaving and spinning, cotton-ginning and pressing, coffee-curing, tile-making, printing, sugar-refining, tobacco-curing, tanning and rice-dressing.[2] Of course, leather making (articles for market), dyeing, glass-making, diamond and copper-mining, saltpetre manufacture and iron-making and smelting were also there among the other industries.[3] Of these, cotton-weaving and spinning were by far the most important when we consider the number of operatives employed in these manufactures. With regard to many of

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1. Ibid., p. 17.
2. Report on the Administration of The Madras Presidency During The Year 1905-06 (Madras, 1906), p. 56 (hereafter as Administration Report 1905-06.
3. A Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 147.
4. Administrative Report 1905-06, op.cit., p. 56.

these industries very little information is available officially except from some monographs and census returns and so on.[1] Based on the available data let us see at least in brief the position of different manufacturing industries, with special emphasis on cotton textile, dyeing and tanning industries.

Broadly speaking industries in Andhra can be classified into rural and urban, even though often many appeared both in urban and rural sectors. However, traditionally, the village carpenter, mason, blacksmith, tanner, weaver and so on were so much interwoven in the village economy that without their help the whole village agricultural economy would have been paralysed. The interdependence worked smoothly and the artisan classes were paid usually in kind at harvest time at the rate of a certain number of measures of paddy based on the size of holdings. However, their trades were mostly carried on with the help of simple and crude primitive tools and equipments like, "one or two axes, a few saws

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1. Few references from which information is available: Edgar Thurston, Monograph on the Cotton Fabric Industry of the Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1897); Henry T. Harris, Monograph On The Carpet Weaving Industry of Southern India, (Madras 1908); Edwin Holder, Monograph on Dyes And Dyeing In The Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1896); Monograph On the Woollen Fabrics, (Madras, 1898) and J.A. Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, Translated by H.K. Beauchamp, (Oxford, 1897).

and plasses."[1] aided of course, mostly by their innate skills. But much of this excellence was, by the middle of the 19th century, a thing of the past. Especially industries like "iron-mining and smelting had been completely ruined, while weaving, dyeing, tanning and other industries were still struggling hard to continue.[2] "At the opening of the last century, iron-making and smelting was carried on to a considerable extent, the entire demand for agricultural implements, carpenters' and smiths' tools, iron boilers for sugar making, domestic utensils, etc., being met by the local production."[3] In fact, this iron-industry was widely distributed in the Andhra districts at the commencement of British rule.[4] But it was completely destroyed by the 1850s basically owing to the foreign competition and the uneconomic production inherent in it. The methods of mining ore and manufacture were primitive and not scientific and mechanised. Consequently they led to very low yields and inferior

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1. J.A. Dubois, op.cit., p. 35

2. For details see Pharaoh & Co., A Gazetteer of Southern India..., op.cit., pp. 65, 285, 165 and 22.

3. A Sarada Raju, op.cit., pp. 150-151; also see village studies of Madras Presidency which clearly demonstrated the deteriorating conditions of the village industries. Gilbert Slater, op.cit., especially pp. 111-122 and 230-244, P.J. Thomas & K.C. Ramakrishnan, op.cit., especially pp. 214-263 and 377-435.

4. A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., for a detailed history of iron-industry see pp. 150-162.

quality of iron, in spite of the richness of the iron ore.[1] On the other hand, the iron industry was not encouraged by the government owing to their colonial interests. Even though some English capitalists like Mr. Heath were helped to establish modern iron industries, the results were gloomy and led to the ultimate break up of the single modern factory i.e., the "Porto Novo Iron Works" in 1860-61, forcing Andhra to depend completely on imported finished foreign iron.[2] As early as 1855 an enquiry by Mr. Edward Balfour revealed the unsatisfactory conditions of the state of iron manufactures and the declining position.[3] For instance, in Ganjam the method of manufacture was lost and the industry ceased to exist; in Rajahmundry there was not a single furnace in blast in the whole area or perhaps in the whole district; and in most of the Andhra districts, there was clamour for imported iron and steel not only for government use but also for private usage.[4] Even though the native iron

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1. Ibid., pp. 152-156; E. Balfour, op.cit.,pp 18-19.
2. Ibid., pp. 156-159.
3. Edward Balfour, op.cit., pp. 6-8.
4. Ibid., p. 8; P.J. Thomas and K.C. Ramakrishnan, op.cit., "The blacksmiths... have suffered much... because of the competition of machinemade goods. The nails, bars, locks and knives which they used to make are not wanted. The blacksmiths are bound to fare better if iron ploughs and other implements become more popular with the agriculturists as the fitting and repairing of these, if not the making, will have to be done by them. Nothing has been done by the Department of Agriculture or Industries or any other organisation to improve the village workshop so as to increase the efficiency of the blacksmith and reduce his working costs." (p. 385)

manufacturing industries were destroyed, the artisan classes continued to work in their workshops, of course, using the imported iron. Earlier it used to be, even at the end of the 19th century to some extent, the most widespread industry after weaving when considered in terms of persons employed.[1] In 1881, of a total of 131,414 males engaged in labour connected with the metals, about 90 percent were members of the Hindu artisan castes. And as a whole the metal-workers formed about one percent of the entire male population.[2] However, the number of blacksmiths or iron-workers was only 52,238 which when compared with the population of Andhra was rather small.[3] Lastly, to quote N.G. Chetty's remarks (1886) about the Nellore iron industry, it "has of late greatly declined. The furnaces at Ramallakota and other places on the Erramalas have all been closed", the cause being that the iron which was used for agricultural purposes was largely of English make.[4] Thus the characteristic development was the increased import of British iron goods, which was, infact, stimulated by the government policy in spite of the adverse effects upon the indigenous iron-industry. Almost all those British

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1. Manual of The Administration of The Madras Presidency, Vol.I, (Madras, 1885), p. 358 (hereafter as Manual of Madras 1885).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., In 1881 the gold and silver smiths were 76,469; brass and copper smiths 17,798 and workers in tin 224.

4. Narahari Gopalakrishnamah Chetty, A Manual of The Kurnool District, in The Presidency of Madras, (Madras, 1886), p. 175; P.J. Thomas & etc., op.cit., p. 385.

goods were admitted duty free, while the indigenous producers were subjected to various oppressive taxes such as the "Moturpha" and the "Transit" duties.[1] Consequently, within a few decades, i.e., by the end of the 19th century in Andhra Districts the indigenous iron was ousted from the field and the industry dwindled into insignificant position. However, one need not take it as a peculiar case. The iron industry in fact, merely shared the general fate of Southern Indian handicraft industries, though the blow to this industry was somewhat more ruinous than the case of some others like weaving, dyeing, tanning and so on.

In the beginning of the 19th century, among the other urban handicrafts[2], tanned goods and leather articles

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1. A Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 161. The result of those duties was that "private imports of metal into the Presidency (almost entirely iron and steel goods from Britain) rose from ₹ 49,411 in 1811-12 to ₹ 7,22,098 in 1830-31 and ₹ 17,09,818 in 1850-51. By 1860-61 the imports had been raised to ₹ 30,29,989 and the increase was maintained in the subsequent years." (pp. 161-162).

2. In Andhra districts, Urban industry was mainly in the nature of Handicrafts and the country was famous for some of the world famous luxury goods like cotton, silk and woollen fabrics, carpets, rugs, brilliant dyes and dye-stuffs and so on. However, all these were facing the threat of foreign competition towards the end of the 19th century and in fact one by one began sinking into oblivion. This will be discussed in the subsequent pages.

had a lion's share in the prosperous trade with Europe. Tanning and export of skins had become very large business in Andhra districts especially in the beginning of the 19th century, and the Madras leather was well known and highly appreciated both in Europe and in American markets. In fact, South Indian skins fetched higher prices than those shipped at other ports in India. The salted hides were transported from Bengal to be tanned and exported from Madras.[1] Perhaps the superiority of the leather was recognised even against the European goods, partly due to fine quality of the bark used for tanning and party to the superior methods of manipulation.[2] The only drawback involved in this traditional tanning system was the time drawn process. In the village side much of the production was carried on exclusively for native consumption and here quality was much superior to urban based production. In fact, in the villages the work was carried on very roughly. "Lime and tangadu bark were the chief materials used,"[3] in the process of tanning. Tanning was done mostly in traditional style, and technical improvements were not made owing to the social and economic conditions of the particular

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1. Manual of Madras, 1885, op.cit., p. 360.
2. Ibid.
3. N.G. Chetty, op.cit., p. 179. It would be very interesting to know the social conditions and constraints interlinked to the economy or occupational structure. The tangadu bark which was used in the tanning was generally cut only by the Madigas, and the other classes considered it beneath their dignity to do that work since it was considered to be the work association with the notion of pollution, which inturn must be carried on only by the low-caste Madigas. (Ibid.).

class or caste involved in that industry.[1] Tanning and making of leather goods were mostly done by the 'Madigas' in the circars as well as ceded districts, numbering about 750,000 from Nellore to Vizagapatam and the ceded districts[2]. The social and economic conditions (including their obligations in the village system) of the low-caste 'Madigas' hardly allowed them to break away from traditional manufacturing system in Andhra. Generally they were attached to the families of the ryots in the villages, especially in Northern circars, and were entitled to get the dead animals of their houses. After getting the dead animals, they used to follow the indigenous method of tanning i.e., first "keeping it in lime and by using indigenous herbs and barks of trees,"[3] they would get the finished leather. Out of it they would make drums, chappals, agricultural implements, buckets for drawing water and other articles useful for blacksmiths and carpenters. Though they would make all these articles, it did not mean they were allowed freely to market them for their economic benefits. Firstly they had to supply in return for the dead animals, sandals for the ryots' family, belts for their bullocks and other agricultural implements.[4]. Thus, in practice they were

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1. Ibid.

2. See for further details, Monograph on Tanning And Making of Leather Goods in The Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1903).

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid; P.J. Thomas (et.al.), op.cit., p. 386

left with little leather to market for their own benefit. On the other hand the leather workers were needed in agriculture for making and repairing of leather tubes and buckets used in lift irrigation. But much of their work went after the advent of iron buckets, mostly imported or urban manufactured, which took the place of leather in water lifts.[1] Earlier in all the villages, they were the suppliers of sandals to the villagers, for which they were generally paid in cash, and which they used to make from the leather left over after making the articles to their ryots.[2] But the foreign machine-made goods began to drive them out of this petty employment also. In order to improve their condition, it was necessary that the government must actively help the development of chrome leather industry and make other necessary improvements to the traditional manufacturing system. But, contrary to this, government policy was aimed at encouraging English leather goods in terms of placing orders for its Military Board even at high prices, which inturn seriously effected the indigenous industry. Thus lack of incentive on the part of

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1. Ibid., pp. 386 and 429.
2. Ibid., p. 386. Interestingly still one will find this class performing its traditional role in many typical Andhra villages. The same old low-caste Madigas will be found living separately from the villages with their age old economic and social degradation, scanty clothing and food and thatched huts, generally surrounded by horrible stinky surroundings.

government[1] added to foreign competition ruined the leather manufacturing handicraft industry in Andhra, especially by the end of the 19th century.

Another important handicraft industry was that of textile fabrics and the allied dyeing industry. In 1881, there were 742,737 males engaged in textile industry, of whom nearly three-fourth were weavers.[2] In 19th century the handloom fabrics of Andhra were in great demand in all European countries,[3] despite severe competition from the machine-made textiles of England[4]. However, by the end of 19th century, they began receding into the background in the world markets, as well as in the home market due to

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1. Proceedings, Department of Commerce and Industry, Branch Industries, June, 1919, Nos. 7-22 - Part A, Confidential. p. 61.
2. Manual of Madras, 1885, op.cit., p. 358.
3. The Palempores and chintzes of Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, Bandamurlanka and the white cloth of Tuni were very tough competitors of the British cotton piece-goods. Especially, the chintzes of Masulipatam enjoyed a great celebrity abroad. "They were celebrated for the freshness and permanency of their dyes, the colours being brighter after washing than before". Ibid., p. 358; A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 163; and also see Edgar Thurston, op.cit.
4. Sarada Raju, op.cit., pp. 163-165; Edgar Thurston, op.cit., pp 3-7. Sir George Birdwood observed that a law was passed prohibiting foreign piece-goods in Britain "for the protection of the Spitalfields Silk manufacture but proved of little or no avail against the prodigious importation and tempting cheapness of Indian piece-goods". Wrote in 'Industrial Arts of India', quoted in E. Thurston, Ibid., p. 3.

the obvious Industrial Revolution and the consequent competition from the British cotton piece-goods.[1]

Textile production in Andhra was widely diffused. The coarser stuffs, especially those used by the poorer classes, were generally of local manufacture.[2] Of all the old cotton fabric handicrafts, the most important were 'Palempores' of three varieties: (a) Block printed only, (b) block printed and hand printed, and (c) Hand printed only. In fact, Masulipatam was the only centre which produced the 'inimitable palempores' which had so much demand in Europe and Persia. Mr. Havell basing himself on tour inspections of the industries of the Madras Presidency, observed that the textile industry in Madras Presidency;

> "may be divided into two branches, the first including handkerchiefs and turbans, cloths for males and females (dhuties and saris), bed-cloths - all, with the exception of the last, being for strictly domestic use. The second embraces cloths of special manufacture, nearly always handprinted, used as canopies over the images of Hindu gods, and at marriage or other ceremonies. They are used to drop the car of the god in sacred processions. The different varieties in the first class of manufacture are used nearly exclusively by Mohammedans, though in the South of India, the Mohammedans have assimilated many of the customs and habits of the Hindu, and the second kind, of course, is made for Hindus only. In the Madras Presidency, Masulipatam in the Kistna district, Palakollu, Gollapallem near Cocanada in the Godavari district, Nagore and Kumbakonam in the Tanjore district, and Paramagudi and Pamban in the Madura

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1. C.J. Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Vol. 2, pp. 122-5, 220, 632; Ralph Fox, The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism, (New York, 1933), pp. 34-36.

2. A Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 164.

> district, are the chief places where the former kinds are made, while for the other variety, Kalahasti in the North Arcot district, Salem, Palakollu and Masulipatam are noted. The colours used in the printing are, in all cases, the same, though the whole of them are not always in use in one place.[1]

The kind of palempores usually displayed at exhibitions were large cloths used as screens or canopies printed by hand, with conventional representations of trees (the Persian tree of life)covered with flowers, parrots, peacocks and other birds perched or flying among the branches. At the foot sometimes a flowing river or tigress and other would beasts prowl round underneath the shade of the tree. But this type was no means the usual kind made.[2] Even the limited manufacture of this kind was deteriorating. In fact, there were only three families existing in 1890s who were capable of preparing the above said palempores and that too only made to order.[3] This decline was perhaps due to the "tedious process of repeated boiling which the red colour requires", i.e. nearly "two months" period was required for the "preparation of each cloth",[4] and also lack of demand and good business. Moreover, these were not able to compete with the British goods in the market, owing to the longdrawn process of

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1. Written in "Journal of Indian Art", quoted in Edgar Thurston, op.cit., p. 13.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

preparation and the consequent high cost of the cloth when compared with the machine-made foreign goods. Thus the artisans, who could prepare these classic designs, which hitherto enjoyed overwhelming demand in Europe and Persia, were become very few by the end of the 19th century.[1]

Apart from Masulipatam, another important weaving centre was Ayyampet, where not only cotton but also woollen and silk rugs were manufactured. However, in the case of Bhavani weavers they manufactured only cotton rugs on vertical and horizontal looms.[2] The case of Adoni weavers was striking who manufactured cotton rugs and carpets on horizontal looms.[3] In fact, the case of Adoni gives the general picture of Andhra.

As early as 1897, it was observed by Edgar Thurston in his monograph on cotton fabric industry in Madras Presidency that,

> The weavers are Muhammedans, used indigenous vegetable dyes until about fifteen years ago. The yarn is either dyed locally with imported mineral dyes or purchased ready-dyed from Europe. The mineral dyes are durable and brighter than the vegetable colours. The greatest number of looms owned by a single individual is ten. <u>They are not so well off as the last generation</u>, as the number of loom-owners has increased and the profits have consequently to be shared among a greater number of houses

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 14.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 8.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 9.

> (since there was no expansion of business). They have moreover, to compete against cheap imported carpets, and carpets of jail manufactured with patterns similar to these they turn out... The carpets are absurdly cheap. One with parallel stripes, 6' x 3'10", is sold for Rs 2-8-0. Such a carpet takes a man a working day of 10 hours to make, and he is paid six annas. One with diamond pattern, 7'4" x 4' is sold for Rs 3-4-0 and, after paying the weaver twelve annas and deducting the cost of the material, a profit of about two annas is left.[1]

Even the Kurnool weavers, who used to export carpets in very large quantities to Hyderabad, Berar, Nagpur, Agra, Cawnpore, Poona, Jubbulpore, Bombay, Khandesh, Gadak, Dharwar, Hubli, Bangalore, Mysore, Kampli, Madras, Cuddapah, Rajahmundry and other places in Northern and Central India, were in serious distress by the end of the 19th century, since the demand for their products has been altogether ceased.[2] The prices of carpets in the local marked crashed down to such an extent that they barely covered the cost of the twist used, and left absolutely no margin for even the cost of labour.[3] Besides the looms for carpet weaving, there were other looms also, producing different kinds of cloths. All these looms had provided occupation to Muslim weavers mostly *poshe* females, who could not do any work other than weaving. The closing down of these looms by the end of the 19th century, caused loss of occupation and

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1. *Ibid*.
2. *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.

livelihood to a very large number of weavers; who were reported to be about four thousand in Kurnool town alone.[1] Even in Venkatagiri, the industry had declined owing to bazaar merchants taking to selling imported mull, book-muslin and colour-printed fabrics which had the advantage of cheapness.[2] This crisis in the handicraft industries and their gradual decline were a common phenomenon in all Andhra districts.[3]

Similarly, Manchester goods had nearly driven the Andhra products out of the field.[4] Edgar Thurston remarked in his monograph that there was "a marked deterioration and decline in the native dyeing and weaving industries, for which two primary factors... mainly responsible, viz., the importation of aniline and alizarine dyes, and of piece-goods more especially cheap colour-printed fabrics.[5]

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1. Ibid.; N.G. Chetty, op.cit., p. 175. "The number of weavers in the district exclusive of women were 15,122. They do the work in their own houses, partly on their own account, and party on account of traders who advanced money for cloths." And of course, this was the case of weavers in every Andhra district. (Ibid.).

2. Ibid., p. 11.

3. Proceedings, Board of Revenue, No. 317, dated 6th November, 1896.

4. Manual of Madras, 1885, op.cit., pp. 358-59 and 363; E. Thurston, op.cit., pp. 7-11, 15 and 16-17; A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., pp. 175-182; A.V. Raman Rao, op.cit., pp. 184-187.

5. E. Thurston, op.cit., p. 16.

On the other hand, the process of decay of these industries was furthered by the lopsided government policy.[1] As D.R. Gadgil has remarked that "towards the end of the (19th) last century the urban industry of India had only two courses left to follow, either to change its methods and turn out cheap art wares - products generally of a terribly sweated industry - of doubtful artistic value, but paying commercially like the art industries of Japan, or keep to their old standards and face decay - slow or rapid."[2] But the 'very traditional system of production'[3] and the lack of capital, added to the lopsided tariff policy of the government and the consequent flooding of the Andhra markets with the English cheap cotton piece-goods, hardly allowed the textile industry to recover from its shambles. The contemporary village studies also strengthen

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1. A.Sarada Raju, op.cit., pp. 171-175; also see Department of Commerce and Industries, Industries Branch, January, 1919, No. 115 - Filed and Indexed; August, 1919, No. 6 - Filed; and June, 1919, Nos. 7-22, Part - A-(Confidential).

2. D.R. Gadgil, The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times 1860-1939, (Delhi, fifth edition, 1972), pp. 44-45. Infact a picture of decay was recorded by Pharoah & Co., op.cit., pp. 9-10, 53 and 285.

3. Tennant "Indian Recreations", (1803) p. 30, quoted in A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 166; J.A. Dubois, op.cit. pp. 35-36 and 81-82.

   "The beautiful fabrics were manufactured in wretched thatched huts built of mud, twenty to thirty feet long by seven or eight feet broad. In such a work room, the weaver stretches his broad, squats on the ground, and quietly plies his shuttle surrounded by his family, and his cow and his fowls". (Ibid.) Even tools were simple and crude. "In the manufacture of fine muslin, in which they excell all the world, the wheel, the reel, and the loom, are a simple and artistic structure..." (Tennant Ibid)

this fact of 'deindustrialisation' in Andhra districts.[1] "Hand spinning and weaving were for long the most important of rural industries and many a village aimed at self-sufficiency in respect of clothing until the close of the 19th century. By 1900, however, hand spinning had succumbed to machine spinning, while hand-weaving was holding its own... Hand spinning was a mere memory in most of the villages."[2]

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1. Gilbert Slater, op.cit., especially Vunagatla,(Kistna District) Village Study, pp. 111-122. "At the time of the 1891 census, there were 69 weavers; in 1901,17 ; in 1911, 12; now (1918) there are only three. Foreign yarn of 10, 20 and 40 nos. is purchased from fairs held at Nidadavolu, four miles off. The cloth woven is a very rough sort, used by the very poor classes; 75 per cent of the people prefer and use foreign goods. The implements are of the ordinary country type and ofprimitive nature. There is no co-operation among the weavers. They are unable to face the mill competition. As they find little demand for their goods, they are frequently forced to go away as agricultural labourers, and practise weaving only as a hobby for leisure hours. A weaver with five sons, as a rule, sends four of them to agricultural work and only one to his own industry. Till 10 years back (1910) 95 per cent of the population used to wear the village cloth. Now 75 per cent prefer and use foreign clothing. Two weaving families recently went to Rajahmundry as factory coolies. Ten years ago (1910), many women of low castes used to practise hand-spinning. A little cotton was grown in the village upto 1912, but latterly it was sold for higher prices than the spinners could pay." (p. 115).

2. P.J. Thomas & etc., op.cit., p. 387.

The position of the dye manufacturers, which were very intimately connected with cotton fabric industry in Andhra, was in no way better. In Andhra, the dyeing was done mainly by "Small men in small dye-houses."[1] Their individual requirements were small and they were highly conservative. As we have noted earlier, Andhra districts had enjoyed the monopoly of producing palempores and chintzes and other colourful fabrics which were very famous for the permanency of their colours. For instance, the chintzes of Masulipatam enjoyed a great celebrity abroad, chiefly for the "freshness and permanency of their dyes" and "the colours being brighter after washing than before".[2] In fact, the brilliancy of the colours could be achieved only through a longdrawn process of dyeing. Arnee muslin was exceedingly fine and would be styled in Europe as a gossamer texture; but it was very rarely made even in 1880s owing to the lack of demand and competition from the cheap machine-made goods and artificial dyes. Even the preparation or dyeing process was a long drawn one. The bleaching process in this case occupied usually about a month's time. And after the process if a piece of pure white Arnee muslin was immersed in water it could be seen only with difficulty. Similar brilliantly dyed fabrics were manufactured also in Nellore, Godavari

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1. Department of Commerce & Industry, No. 115, Filed and Indexed, January, 1919, "Administrative Report of the Department of Industries, Madras Presidency, 1917-18", p. 11.
2. Manual of Madras, 1885, op.cit.,p. 358.

and other places, but the industry was almost extinct by the end of the 19th century.[1] Gollapalem near Cocanada, and Bendamurlanka near Amalapuram specialised in preparation of vegetable dyes and dyeing of cotton and silk fabrics. In fact, in each district there were some centres or villages which specialized in dyeing cotton, cloth, woollen and silk fabrics.[2] In Andhra, the dyeing was carried on by castes like <u>Baliias</u>, <u>Maddivandlu</u>, <u>Rangarazus</u>, <u>Malas</u>, <u>Musalmans</u>, <u>Devangis</u>, <u>Padmasalis</u> and so on. The stuff generally used in dyeing was the "<u>maddichekka</u> or the Indian mulberry."[3] In general these plants grow spontaneously and was available in almost all jungles of the Andhra districts, especially in districts like Kurnool, Vizagapatam, Godavari and so on. "Its roots, especially the bark of the roots, yield a red dye."[4] In fact, the process of dyeing was a tedious and longdrawn one. It took generally eight days.[5] By the end of the 19th century the preparation of vegetable dyes and other forms were abandoned, when it was found to be easier and cheaper to dye with imported mineral dyes and cheaper to weave cloths with imported than with country-dyed yarn.[6] However, the superiority

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 359.

2. For a detailed history see Edwin Holder, <u>op.cit</u>., "Vizagapatam had 26 cotton dyeing and 1 silk dyeing villages; Kurnool 8 cotton dyeing and 7 silk dyeing villages and one woollen dyeing village; Anantapur, 43 cotton dyeing and 3 silk dyeing villages; Cuddapah 36 cotton dyeing and 5 silk dyeing villages; Bellary 52 cotton dyeing and 80 silk dyeing villages; while Nellore had only 36 cotton dyeing and no silk dyeing village." A.V. Raman Rao, <u>op.cit</u>., p.176.

3. N.G. Chetty, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 176.

4. <u>Ibid</u>.

5. For a detailed note on the method of dyeing see <u>Ibid</u>. pp. 176-177.

6. Edgar thurston, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 7.

of the old vegetable and other forms of dyes when compared with mineral dyes, was such, that the traditional form retained still some base in Andhra districts by the end of 19th century. Even the caste and religious customs to some extend helped in preserving the dyeing industry. For example, for marriage ceremonies some castes would not wear imported fabrics and used only locally-woven and dyed cloths.[1] However, by 1900, cheap foreign dyed goods and dye stuffs had acquired a near complete monopoly of the native bazaar markets. Almost all upper and middle classes and urban based people began to go more for English goods. The only sections which still patronised the native manufactured cloth were the poorer classes, whose purchasing power had been reduced a lot at this time. Moreover, by the end of 19th century, imported cloths exactly similar in appearance to the common country-bordered white cloth, usually used at the time of certain ceremonies and so on had been introduced into Andhra market. Moreover, it sold at two-thirds of the price or less when compared with native cloth.[2] Thus by 1900 like the cotton fabrics industries, the traditional dyeing practices had also receded into background due to the unequal competition in the market with the British machine-made cotton piece-goods.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, Madras Provincial government actively encouraged the experimental operations in chrome tanning, weaving, dyeing and other manufacturing sectors. The question of government intervention in the Madras tanning industry was first taken up in January, 1903. At this time when government consulted the Chamber of Commerce for its opinion on the question of government's assistance, the Chamber's reply however, was negative.[1] Consequently, the state followed a non-intervention Policy. Again, however, the question was reconsidered in a different context.[2] Some experiments were carried on in School of Arts in 1903 to improve the chrome leather. However, the "object in view being not to manufacture a leather which compete with the products of Europe and America, but merely to turn out something superior to the locally made articles."[3] As a whole, the provincial government, after spending about Rs 55,000 over a period of 7 years between 1903 and 1910 gave the equipment, capital and machinery to an European capitalist

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1. Proceedings of Department of Commerce and Industry, Industries Branch, "Memorandum on the Department of Industries in the Madras Presidency." August 1919 - No. 6 - Filed, pp. 6-7.

2. Ibid., p. 7. Mr. Chatterton suggested that experiments should be made with the object of introducing and popularising the more enduring chrome leather, since the leather used in making 'Kavalais' or the buckets used by the ryots for the well irrigation was tanned with inferior methods, and the consequent perish of these buckets after a comparatively short period of use. But these experiments were abandoned later. (Ibid).

3. Ibid.

to carry on the business privately in the presidency, i.e. to Messrs. Chambers & Co. By 1918 it employed 1,100 men partly on bark and partly on chrome tanning and had expanded its base especially owing to the demands for war goods.[1]

In the case of weaving the experiments in improved methods of weaving were commenced only in 1901-02, the concentration being on the popularisation of flyshuttle looms.[2] In February, 1906, a weaving factory was started on experimental basis in the presidency, the objective being "to ascertain by experiment whether it was possible to improve the conditions of the hand weaver in Southern India."[3] Good wages and regular continuous employment were offered, but interestingly sufficient number of capable hand weavers did not turn up to join the factory. It was observed that "weavers much preferred working in their own houses assisted by their women and children, and evinced great dislike to the discipline and regular hours incidental to factory life. Few of them moreover were free agents. Most of them were in the hands of the cloth merchants who viewed the factory with suspicion and directed their influence against it."[4] However, the facts seems to be different and more problematic which

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1. Ibid., p. 8
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p. 9.
4. Ibid.

were in fact, inherent in the nature of the colonial rule. This was clear if one would see in the light of the fact that, these experiments aroused a "considerable interest and was the direct cause of numerous small private factories being started" by the cloth merchants and other native capitalists. Soon most of the factories failed in their business[1], not because of the lack of capital and skilled labour, but due to the marketing conditions which favoured the import of the British cotton piece-goods. In fact, the weaving class[2] desired not so much wage labour but active

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1. Ibid.
2. The conditions of the dyers were also same. During war and even after the war years the shortage of dyes added to the high prices hit the dyeing industry so hard, that manufacturing ceased to exist. The shortage of 'alizarine' and synthetic dyes was added with defective distributive system prevailed in Andhra. All the firms manufacturing Alizarine adhered to the convention of giving large contracts with a few dealers. So naturally, all the alizarine therefore, passed into the hands, under an existing contract, of the sole dealer and the results of the system were unfortunate for the dyer. This practice, however, resulted in abnormal prices of dyes. In fact, the effect of these imported dyes was of two-fold. Firstly the native industry was ruined, unable to compete with them in the market owing to their cheapness and so on. Secondly, the increase in prices and defective distribution, hit the weavers hard, since in South India the dyeing was done mainly by small men in small dye-houses. So naturally even the small increase in prices would deprive of their petty profits, in other words their means of living. "Administrative Report of the Department of Industries, Madras Presidency for the year 1917-18", op.cit., January, 1919, No. 115 - Filed and Indexed, pp. 5-13.

financial help as well as protection for their goods in the indigenous market against the onslaught of European cheap factory goods. In the case of merchants and other capitalists they could not invest their capital in a factory system in weaving, since the government policy was not able to provide safeguards for their goods against the foreign competition. So the cause for the disintegration of the weaving industry was not the lack of capital, skilled labour or market demand[1], but the violent onslaught by the British cheap cotton piece-goods actively helped through government's tariff policy.

Even the Rice Milling Industry[2] which developed in the first two decades of the 20th century was hard hit during and after the war years. This industry has been developed more rapidly after 1910. The general feature being the development of "single huller mills". Before that the paddy in the presidency was husked by hand.

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1. In fact, in spite of the failure of factory system, the use of flyshuttle looms spread with a considerable rapidity. In census taken in 1911 after enquiring into 89 towns and villages, the presidency, not less than 6,528 looms out of 15,500 survived looms were fitted with flyshuttle slays. It was estimated that in coast districts of north of Madras roughly 40% of the weavers had adopted the new method. A similar advancement in Northern circars (1914 Survey) and in Kistna district (1915) was estimated. But this modernisation hardly improved their conditions owing to the above said marketing conditions unfavourable to them. August, 1919, No. 6 - Filed, op.cit., 10-11.

2. January, 1919, No. 115, op.cit., pp. 6-7; and also see report of Labour Conditions in the Rice Mills - Report of the Labour Investigation Committee, (Government of India, 1946) pp. 10-28.

Especially after 1910, installation of small rice milling plants driven by oil engines became a general feature in the presidency. These small mills, or 'rural factories', as they may be termed, were thus started with the introduction of power machinery, and in fact cleared the way for the establishment of large scale central factories in many of the Andhra districts.[1] However, the development of these 'rural factories' in Andhra districts proceeded on somewhat different lines when compared with Tamil districts like Tanjore. In Kistna district a considerable number of large scale steam driven mills were evolved direct from the hand milling stage without the introduction of small self-contained hullers driven by oil-engines as an intermediate stage of development as happened in the case of Tanjore.[2] Even though several of the small mills were installed at Masulipatam and other places in Kistna district, the installation of large scale mills operating on the Rangoon system were the rule and not an exception in this district.[3] Another interesting feature of these 'rural factories' was their complete monopoly by the rich peasant class. The newly emerged rich peasant class, consisting of mostly castes like Kamma and Reddy, invested most of the agrarian surplus in this industry basically owing to the

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1. January 1919, No. 115, op.cit., PP 6-7.

2. Ibid. P. 6

3. Ibid. P. 7.

lack of options to invest their capital in other profitable industries. The development of these rice mills was conditioned by the need for the rich peasants to invest their agrarian capital and was not an outcome of the government's policy of encouragement. In fact, the provincial government did not help either by providing financial help, or by providing machinery. The mills were not thus equipped with machinary made by any of the recognized European manufacturers, neither had they been constructed under the supervision of competent engineers but by local 'Maistris' who worked without any standered design or plan".[1] But still in certain respects it had to depend upon European firms and imports. Consequently, even though this industry developed on its own, conditioned by native needs, it was hard-hit in 1917 by the shortage of rolling stock.[2] Inspite of the difficulties and anxiety caused during the war period this industry later continued to develop on its own. No doubt, during the war time and to some extent immediately after the war, a great majority of the mills which in normal times produced boiled rice for export to the Malbar Coast, Coimbatore, Colombo and Mauritius and raw rice for export to the Bombay Presidency, were either closed down or were working with short time.[3] But they soon recovered from the slackness of the business and developed into one of the major industrial sector after 1920s.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; For the later history of this industory see Report of the Labour Investigation Committee, op.cit., pp 10-24

Thus an interesting feature of this period was the development of an potential Andhra capitalist class. Of course not in a pure form since it was hardly united or rather crystallised into a single class. Moreover it was confined to small industries like Tile factories, Rice mills, Printing Presses, Tanneries, Cotton Pressing and so on. The biggest industries like Railway workshops and coffee plantations were dominated or rather monopolised by the English capitalist class.[1] In any case, from the point of factory industries,

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1. C.H. Philips (et.al.), The Evolution of India and Pakistan 1858 to 1947, Select Documents, (London, 1962), pp 683-692.

The Ownership and Management of the More Important Industrial Concerns, 1911 (in Madras Province).

Nature of factory, etc.	Number of factories.	Number owned by companies of which the Directors are				Number privately owned by		Number managed by	
		Govt	Europeans & Anglo-Indians	Indians	Of both races	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians
1. Coffee plantations	104	-	30	6	1	56	11	86	18
2. Tile Factories	40	-	7	9	-	2	23	10	30
3. Rice Mills	81	-	2	23	-	-	57	3	78
4. Railway Workshops	23	-	23	-	-	-	-	23	-
5. Printing presses	51	3	11	16	1	1	19	15	36
6. Tanneries.	66	-	3	26	-	1	36	3	64

Source: Census of India, 1911, Part I, p. 446

the Andhra districts perhaps constituted a most backward region. And hence Andhra continued its service to British as a strong exporter of raw materials at the cost of its internal economic development.

Thus Andhra was turned into one of the chief markets and sources of raw materials for British capitalism. In otherwards Andhra was fully integrated into the system of British Imperialism, in a colonial position. And this was against the interests of the native masses, be it artisan classes, or agricultural labourers or working class. The crisis in Andhra manufacturing industries caused an acute distress for the artisan classes. The survey of the conditions in 19th and first two decades of the 20th centuries clearly demonstrated the fact that there was very little economic improvement in the conditions of the artisan classes in Andhra. Infact, there was marked deterioration of certain classes like weavers blacksmiths and tanners. It may be that one or two individuals of a particular artisan class appeared to be earning a fair income, but this did not in any way connote an improvement of the class as a whole. While the increase in the number of the artisan classes enhanced the supply side, the more emphatic break up of the self-sufficient economy of the village checked the expansion on the demand side. The result was a great pressure on the artisan classes either driving them out completely or making them cling to his caste - calling by sheer inertia or helplessness and forcing them to follow it only as a subsidiary

occupation - a kind of last refuge.

Large number of artisan classes thus were forced to seek their livelihood either in agriculture or emigrate as coolies to Ceylon, Burma and even Bourbon and Mouritious or to Urban areas to work as wage labourers.[1] It was observed that, "misery and dissolution prevailed everywhere and that thousands of weavers were dyeing of hunger in the different districts of the presidency."[2] Now they were even volunteering to work for a trader in reduced hire, but often blessed with disappointment, since the merchant/trader ceased to invest capital in a sinking trade. On the other hand the merchants were very hesitant to offer any advances to weavers for

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1. PERSONS EMPLOYED IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES

Name of industry	1911		1921	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Cotton	515	374	6787	5075
Cotton & other mills	16658	2966	23439	6167
Oil Mills	1585	503	2114	414
Flour & Rice Mills	3209	1457	7364	3442
Sugar Factories	1462	216	1007	195

Source: Census of India, 1911, pp 247-259 and 1921; pp 291-300.

2. J.A. Dubois, op.cit., p. 95.

cloth-making as the demand was uncertain and diminishing in the face of fierce competition by cheap English mill-made goods. These economic conditions perhaps explain the support by the artisan and merchant classes to the Congress-led movement against colonial rule in Andhra.

VIII

THE EMERGENCE OF EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In the end, let us examine in brief the development of English 'educated class'[1]. This social stratum from which came the modern intelligentsia acted as the 'vanguard' of the nationalist movement in Andhra. This class we know, was no way a "revolutionary intelligentsia" that 'declasses' itself. It was in many ways very much self-seeking, opportunistic and uprooted from the colonised society. Yet, at this specific point of time and stage of the struggle, it gained the confidence of the masses, i.e., the agricultural labourers, peasants and artisans, as well as the capitalist and rich peasant classes, to lead them into anti-imperialist action. However, we are not arguing here that without English education and the consequent emergence of a new class there would not have been any kind of nationalism in Andhra. In fact, nationalism in India or in Andhra was an outcome of the colonial impact -

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1. The term 'educated' class is used here not to emphasize that the English educated formed an absolute homogenous groups, but to signify the emergence of new groups of persons who received higher education in English medium and engaged in the various professions. And they did have a certain commonality of interests which basically emerged out of a common educational background. This uniformity in education broke down to a certain extent provincial jealousies, caste feelings and religious dogmatisms. Moreover, as they became painfully aware of their own deprivations and degradation, they began to form into a group with common feelings and even interests.

social, economic and political. Hence the activities of this relatively small class can hardly be exaggerated, nor can it be seen separately from the totality of the colonial rule.

In the Madras Presidency the English education was first introduced by John Sullivan towards the end of the eighteenth century, which was later furthered by the Christian missionaries.[1] But the development of English education as a whole in this presidency was rather slow. This perhaps was due to official vacillations in introducing the initial educational scheme in the presidency.[2] The marked tendency of development can be seen only after 1910, especially in the Andhra districts. It was argued that the object of the English education in India was "to promote the extension, not the monopoly of learning, to rouse the mind and elevate the character of the whole people..."[3] The real objective, however, was to create a native officialdom, to serve the interests of the colonial administrative infrastructure and to secure economic exploitation. In

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1. For details see,
   Manual of The Administration of The Madras Presidency (Madras, 1885), Vol. I, Footnote No. 2, pp. 565-74; H. Sharp, Selections from Educational Records, Part-I, 1781-1879, pp. 3-4, 45 and 194-5; S. Sathianadhan, History of Education in the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1894); Bruce T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (Gloucester, Mass. Peter Smith, 1966) pp. 55-58 and 124-129.
2. Manual of Madras Administration (1885), Ibid; Bruce T. McCully, op.cit., pp. 33-37 and 118-124.
3. C.E. Trevelyan, On the Education of the People of India (London, 1838), pp. 135-36.

other words, "to make Indian officers of government intellectually and morally fit to perform their duties with efficiency and probity, especially in the judicial and revenue branches of the public service where their responsibilities and powers were rapidly growing."[1]

Thus, due to the economic and political considerations, the colonial rulers evolved an educational policy, which resulted in the emergence of a powerful 'educated middle class'. This education was of course, limited to the upper and middle classes.[2]

In 1901 nearly 6% of the Hindus, 7% of the Muslims and 14% of the Christians were literate.[3] Among the Hindus, the Brahmin caste had the highest literacy, i.e., over 300 men for every thousand could read and write.[4] The progress of English education was, however, rather slow in the Madras presidency, especially in Andhra districts.[5]

TABLE -
Literacy in English per 10,000 males (all ages) in some Andhra districts.

Districts	1901	1911	1921
1. Godavari	94	137	201
2. Kistna	69	114	151
3. Guntur	47	71	111

Source: Census of India, 1901, Madras, Part I Vol. XIII, p. 126

1. B.B. Mishra, The Indian Middle Classes, Their Growth in Modern Times, (Delhi, Reprint, 1978), p. 149.
2. Sharp, op.cit., Part-I, p. 92, B.B. Mishra, op.cit., pp. 147-210 and 282-301; Aparna Basu, The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920, (Oxford University Press, 1974).
3. Census of India, 1901, Madras, Part I, Vol. XV, P. 74.
4. Ibid., P. 78.
5. Report of Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for

(contd..Next page)

The growth of education was more rapid after 1911. However, it was still slower than at the All India level.

TABLE - [1]

Growth of English Education in the Madras Presidency, 1901-02 to 1916-17.

Number	1901-02	1906-07	1911-12	1916-17
Secondary schools	648	464	375	377
Pupils	74,514	89,390	102,886	139,796
Art Colleges	40	36	32	34
Pupils	3,779	4,687	4,939	7,724

In this situation the monopoly of education by high castes, especially by Brahmins, was strengthened. The absence of unaided schools, with low fees also developed this trend.[2] Consequently the English education was continued as a monopoly of the Brahmin caste. In Bellary there were 23 schools exclusively for Brahmins, whereas

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1901-02 and for the quinquennium 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol.I P. 18., for 1921-22 and for the quinquennium 1916-17 to 1921-22, Vol. II, pp. 2-3.

1. All India figures are: English Secondary schools and Arts colleges in 1901-02 were 3,099 and 140 respectively; pupils in the same year in schools and colleges were 4,22,187 and 17,148 respectively. Whereas these figures increased to 4,465 schools with 8,72,945 pupils and 125 colleges with 46,437 pupils in 1916-17.
Based on, 6th Quinquennial Review of Education in India 1907-12, Vol. II, p. 231; 7th Quin. Review... 1912-17, Vol.II and 8th Quin. Review..., 1917-22, Vol.I,pp 67 & 96.

2. Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for the Year 1891-02, (Madras, 1892) p. 39.

almost all colleges were dominated by this caste pupils.[1] This monopoly was, however, not a new phenomenon. It was observed that in 1820s in certain districts reading and writing were almost entirely confined to Brahmins and the mercantile class. This domination of education by Brahmins was even more striking if examined in terms of the Brahmins proportion in the total population. The Brahmins formed only 3.9% of the total Hindu population in 1881; yet in 1896-97, out of 16 Hindu students in colleges nearly 15 were Brahmins, and of every 197 Hindu students in high schools, 167 were Brahmins.[2] The total number of graduates belonging to Brahmin caste was 7,013 or 71% of the total graduates between 1886 and 1910.[3] This Brahminical monopoly of modern education, however, began to decline in the face of the stiff competition from the newly emerging rich peasant class, mostly constituted of high or middle castes like Kammas and Reddys especially in 1920s.

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1. Sharp, op.cit., Part I, p. 65.

2. 3rd Quin. Review of Education in India, 1892-97, Vol. I.

3. Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services, 1914, Vol. I and Vol. II. Between 1903 and 1913, 3,676 Brahmins were B.A. degree holders and the number of non-Brahmins was only 1,151.

TABLE -

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AMONG BRAHMINS AND NON-BRAHMINS

Years	Number of Brahmins		Number of non-Brahmins.	
	Arts Colleges	Law Colleges	Arts Colleges	Law Colleges
1901-02	2,708	290	666	78
1906-07	3,275	302	890	69
1911-12	3,334	383	1,014	53
1917-18	5,163	429	1,518	105
1921-22	4,789	N.A.	2,119	N.A.

Source: Based on Report on Public Instruction in Madras for years 1901-02 to 1921-22.

Thus the English education was spreading rather fast among non-Brahmin castes especially after 1918. However, this growth was not uniform for all non-Brahmin castes. Between 1906-07 and 1911-12 when the non-Brahmin students increased by 31%, the Brahmin pupils increased only by 19%.[1] Whereas between 1912 and 1917, when the 'Panchamas' increased by 67%, growth of Brahmins and non-Brahmins students was only 20% and 30% respectively.[2] Proportionate decrease of Brahmin caste pupils was more striking between 1917 and 1922. In this period when the

1. Report on Public Instruction for Madras Presidency for 1911-12 and for the quinquennium 1906-07 to 1911-12, p. 4.
2. Ibid., for 1916-17 and for the quin. 1912-17, Vol.I, p. 5.

number of 'Adi-Dravidas' and 'Adi-Andhras' students increased by 30% and that of non-Brahmins, caste Hindu students by 8%, the increase was only 3% in the case of Brahmin students.[1] By 1920-22, the English education was thus spreading rapidly among the non-Brahmin castes also. The spread of education among 'Adi-Dravidas' and 'Adi-Andhras', who were generally described as 'Panchamas' in Andhra districts, in turn, had political and social repercussion. As early as 1905-06, it was observed that, "The landholding class... supplied the largest number of pupils, the percentage for the year (1905-06) being 42 against 41.3 in 1904-1905. The cooly class (mostly Panchamas) came next with 23.1% while traders, officials and artisans supplied 13.1%, 11.9% and 7.6% respectively."[2] The only area where the development of education was far below was the Agency division.

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1. Ibid., for 1921-22 and for the quin. 1916-17 to 1921-22, Vol. I, p. 6.

2. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency During the year 1905-1906 (Madras, 1906), p. 91.

   "Even the number of pupils receiving instruction in the Telugu Vernacular has been increased nearly by 2.7%." (Ibid.).

TABLE - [1]

Number of literate for 10,000.

Years	East Coast North		Deccan		Agency	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1891	1118	49	1220	35	254	8
1901	1112	74	1070	51	244	13
1911	1305	127	1235	71	311	20
1921	1444	216	1417	127	330	40

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XIII, Madras, Part I, Report, (Madras, 1922), p. 116.

As Table above brings out, the development of education thus was concentrated in East coast North Division, possessing the two large irrigated areas in the deltas of the Godavari and Kistna. These, in fact, were the centres of the militant non-tax campaigns in 1920-22. As we have already explained in our earlier sections, this precisely was the division which emerged as a richly irrigated area with expanding commodity production by 1910. In other words, in this division one would see the emergence of a rich peasant class, constituted by high cultivating castes like Kammas, Kapus, Velamas and so on. These castes with their

1. For more details on the development of literacy and English education among different castes and as well as in the different Andhra districts, see Appendix.

TABLE -

LITERACY BY CASTE IN ANDHRA DISTRICTS

1911					1921					
Caste population	Literate	% in caste population	English Literate	% in caste population	Caste Population	Literate	% in caste population	English Literate	% in caste population.	Name of the Caste
460819	179305	38.91	34303	7.44	531830	199306	37.47	47900	9.01	Brahmin (Telugu)
1126095	72873	6.47	1172	0.10	1160984	88226	7.6	2783	0.24	Kamma
2678925	125178	4.67	2986	0.11	2631479	141835	5.39	5468	0.21	Kapu
498295	136684	27.41	3802	0.76	393772	114445	29.06	5917	5.17	Komati
487297	9920	2.04	1008	0.21	516424	20593	3.99	1742	0.34	Velama
807,986	3617	0.45	42	0.01	737427	3736	0.51	205	0.28	Madiga
1511312	10856	0.72	254	0.02	1493129	13128	0.88	515	0.04	Mala

Source: Compiled from Census of India, 1911. Madras, pp. 80-82 and 1921, pp. 118-123.

secure economic conditions began to monopolise education in order to avail the benefits of new opportunities which opened up in the urban centres due to the introduction of new colonial administrative infra-structure, which hitherto was monopolised by the Brahmin caste.

Brahmins' dominance in the educational arena was paralled by their dominance in the public services and urban professions.[1]

TABLE -

Public Services held by Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

Name of the service			Percentage of total male population Census of 1911	Percentage of appointments held. 1896	1913
Executive Branch Deputy Collectors		Brahmins	3.2	53	55
		Non-Brahmins	85.6	25	21.5
Judicial Branch	Sub-Judges	Brahmins	3.2	71.4	83.3
		Non-Brahmins (Hindus)	85.6	21.4	16.7
	District Muncif	Brahmins	3.2	66.4	72.6
		Non-Brahmins (Hindus)	85.6	21.2	19.5

Source: Report of the Royal Commission on Public Services, 1916, Vol. II, pp. 103-4.

In the process of urbanisation, Brahmins migrated to the urban centres and monopolised both administrative jobs and the newly created urban professions.

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1. History of The Freedom Movement Unit, Region VIII, File No. 16/2 (private papers, NAI) (hereafter HFMU), pp. 44-45.

As long as Brahmins retained their monopoly on education, their lead in the professions, such as the Bar, and the bureaucracy was not challenged. But once the English education began to spread among the non-Brahmins, especially in Kistna, Guntur and Godavari districts (in fact the non-Brahmins got an edge over the Brahmins by 1920), they began to challenge their monopoly in the bureaucracy. The consequences of English education were moreover even more complex and had other social and political consequences.

On the social level it had one serious consequence. The South Indian society had formed into a multi-caste society with one dominant caste - the Brahmins - prior to the 20th century. Still there were inter-caste relations and co-operation on social level and they together shared the local control.[1] As early as in the 14th century, there were alliances and close co-operation between Brahmins and the "respectable cultivating groups."[2] Stein reports that the most important land owning castes - the Vellalas, Reddiars, and Kammas -

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1. M.R. Barnett, The Politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India, (New Jersey, 1976) p. 16.
   He argued that these relations between Brahmins and dominant non-Brahmin castes, "involved competition, conflict, and cooperation between or among jatis (endogamus caste units) in localized village or district areas." (Ibid).

2. Burton Stein, 'Brahmin and peasant in Early South Indian History', (Dr. V. Raghavan, Felicitation Volume of the Adyar Library Bulletin 31-32 (1967-68), p. 244, Quoted in Barnett, op.cit., p. 16.

sought to remain above and apart from other non-Brahmin groups, and they "required a special relationship with Brahmins based upon ritual opportunities not shared by other non-Brahmins."[1] But the advent of British and the consequent change of relations in land, brought strain into these tradional relations. Brahmins' hold upon the village administration was continued, even though they lost economic hold especially in the 19th and 20th centuries.[2] Thus there emerged a contradiction, which was forcibly brought to surface in the urban centres. In fact, urbanisation and Brahmin dominance were inter-related features of the 19th century social changes, resulting in the "dichotomization" of socio-economic elites into Brahmin and non-Brahmin segments.[3] At the village level in Andhra caste relationships were of primary significance. By virtue of the high economic status in the rural side, the caste Hindu non-Brahmins were respected by poor Brahmins. The Brahmins showed even "concomitant respect and deference."[4]

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1. Barnett, op.cit., p. 16.
2. J.B.W. Dykes, Salem, an Indian Collectorate, (Madras, 1853), p. 324; Robert Eric Frykenberg, Guntur District, 1788-1848: A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India, (Oxford, 1965) pp. 13-14; HFMU, Region VIII, File No. 16/2.
3. Barnett, op.cit., p.17; and also see Kathelene Gough, 'The social Structure of a Tanjore Village', in McKim Marriot (ed), Village India: Studies in the Little Community, (Chicago, 1955).
4. Barnett, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

But in the ritualistic aspect they were mostly looked down upon by the Brahmins.[1] This non-Brahmin dominance was challenged in the urban centres, where value began to be attached to education and other occupational skills, which were monopolised by Brahmins. Moreover, in the urban areas all non-Brahmins were treated as part of the undifferentiated low category of the 'Sudras'. Traditionally, the term 'Sudra' had got different connotations. But in this context the negative connotation i.e. social degradation, was popularised.[2] So, far, non-Brahmin high-caste elite groups

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1. In Andhra the class relations were peculiar. The Kisan (ryot) class of 'Kammas, Reddis, Telagas, Yadavas' and others were looked down upon by these socially ascendant Brahmin class but they in their turn looked down upon the Harijan kisan class of 'Malas and Madigas'. The Merchant class 'Vaisya' used to be treated as second only to the Brahmins although the locally ascendant kisan class would get on with them, more or less as equals. The artisan classes were treated with consideration but their position was below the high caste kisan groups. See N.G. Ranga, Fight for Freedom, (Autobiography) (Delhi, 1968) p. 3.

2. Consequently the English educated caste Hindu non-Brahmins started a movement first against the social degradation. They interestingly called a conference in Kollur (Guntur district) to decide the meaning of the term 'Sudra' in 1916. They even went to such an extent that the symbols of Rama, Krishna and other epic heroes were seriously questioned. In the process of defining 'Sudra' category as a socially highest category than the Brahmins, they re-interpreted the epics with emphasizing social and ritual injustice done by Aryans to the Dravidians. Consequently for them 'Ravana' and 'Duryodhana' became heroes. See Suryadevara Raghavayya Chowdary, Brahmanetara Vijayamu (Telugu, Kollur, 1925), especially Introduction; Tripuraneni Ramaswami Chowdary's all works in Telugu.

(educated), rural-to-urban movement meant not only a transition from a secure transactional system to a system in flux, but also to a system where deference patterns below Brahmin and above untouchables were being looked down upon, in spite of their economic secure position.[1] Hence in spite of their newly acquired English education, urbanisation was necessarily a social strain to the wealthy educated members of the non-Brahmin caste Hindus, since the non-Brahmins position, unlike Brahmins, was dependent upon very specific localized transactional relationships and deference patterns. Thus the contrast with Brahmins can be neatly stated: for Brahmins their position and status was independent of their residence in any given area; for non-Brahmins higher rank, was directly dependent on village economic dominance or relations in land, and ritual dominance, transactionally corroborated.

The development of education thus brought not only new opportunities, but also social conflict. There emerged a tussel between Brahmins and non-Brahmins on caste lines.

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1. For a general analysis of Transition in the Indian village, see Milton Singer and Bernard Colin (ed) Structure and Change in Indian Society (Chicago, 1969), pp. 423-52; Barnett, op.cit., Giri Raj Gupta (ed) Main Currents in Indian Sociology VIII, Cohesion and Conflict in Modern India (Vikas, 1978), James Silverberg, (ed), Social Mobility in the Caste System in India (An Interdisciplinary Symposium) (Netherlands, Paris, 1968), Andre Beteille, Studies in Agrarian Social Structure, (Oxford University Press, Second Impression 1977); For other works of various authors see Bibliography.

However, it might perhaps also be defined as a social conflict between a land-owning non-Brahmin elite groups with a history of rural dominance and their recent consolidation as a rich peasant class with its firm hold on land, on the one hand, and a nascent urban Brahmin educated elite group that had used the opportunities presented by the new educational system, on the other. In other words this conflict was the direct manifestation of the changes in the agrarian social structure in the colonial context, which was reflected in this caste conflict. As we have seen earlier, the newly emerging rich peasant class after its economic consolidation by 1915 began to strive for social and political hegemony. But the rigid hold of 'Varnashrama dharma' hardly allowed these non-Brahmin castes' social hegemony. So the traditional hegemony structure had to be rejected or rather replaced by the non-Brahmin caste elite groups. This conflict became more sharp in the light of the fact that Brahmins not only dominated the educational, administrative and social field but extended their hold on politics also. After the formation of Home Rule league by Mrs. Besant in 1916, the fears of non-Brahmins resulted in the creation of Justice party.[1] This conflict was further

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1. The Non-Brahmin Manifesto' December 1916, in GHRM, 1916, pp. 1101-1103; C.F. Irschik, Politics and Social Conflict in South India (California, 1969); Justice Party: Golden Jubilee Souvenier (Madras, 1968) pp. 29-41; HFMU, Region VIII, File No. 16/2(NAI).

developed with the politicisation of caste politics by the Government.

The root of the concept of non-Brahmin were intrinsically tied to the idea of a cultural unity and integrity of South India based on a Dravidian past. Paradoxically this Dravidianness was first postulated by Europeans to divide the emerging social and political forces on the basis of casteism.[1] In particular the imperialists were keen to split the nationalist political forces[2] which had acquired to some extent a mass base, because of the increased miseries of the people and the consequent antagonism towards colonial administration. To split the muslims and Hindus in Andhra had become difficult not only because of the demonstrated communal harmony during the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement, but also owing to the fact that the number of Muslims was very small. So the only alternative was division among the Hindus themselves on caste lines. Thus originated government support to politicization of caste in the Madras Presidency.

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1. Barnett, op.cit., p. 17; HFNU, Region VIII, File No. 16/2.

2. Andhra Patrika, January 15, 1920, p. 5; Feb. 4, 1920, see the article 'Panchamulu-Panchameeterulu' (Panchmas and non-Panchmas), p. 1, October 25, 1920, 'Editorial' p. 7, RNLPN - R.No. 24, p. 1200. Reports from: 'The Venkatesa Patrika' (Chittor) of the 2nd Oct., and 'The Godaveri Patrika' (Rajahmundry) of the 21st September, 1920; the file No. 16/2 of HFNU - Region VIII, give further information regarding this matter.

At the same time as this was going on, political awakening among the non-Brahmin educated groups, especially of middle class, was taking place.[1] As we have seen earlier, with the imposition of the colonial rule by British, social stratification was effected. In the process of urbanization, education had become the central point and even the sole criterion of status determination. This completely changed the attitude of the non-Brahmin castes, owing to the fact that only an educated class could possibly play a dominant role in political, social and economic fields in the colonial context.[2] This resulted in a non-Brahmin movement which aimed to uplift themselves educationally. Earlier this movement was started as a part of the 'Library Movement.' As early as 1910, there were widespread libraries containing books in Telugu and Sanskrit; and these had also organised Sanskrit colleges to teach Sanskrit to non-Brahmins, who hitherto had been considered as unfit to learn Sanskrit.[3] This movement was further encouraged by the new ideas

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1. I have showed this clear difference between Justice Party's social base and the non-Brahmin movement in Andhra led by Suryadevara Raghavayya Chowdary and Tripuraneni Ramaswami Chowdari, in my paper which was published in Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings, 1976, under the heading 'Brahmanetarodyamum - Oka Parisheelana' (in Telugu) (Non-Brahmin Movement - A Critical view).

2. See 'Kaviraju Darpanamu' (Telugu), (Kaviraja Sahiti Samiti, Vijayawada-2, 1964); Suryadevara Raghavayya Chowdary, 'Brahmanetara Vijayamu' (Telugu, Kolluru, 1925) Jaggaiah Kanneganti, 'Aryula Rahasyamulanu Velladinchina Dhirulu' (The Heroes who Revealed the Secrets of Aryans) (Telugu) (1973); Gopichand, 'Chikati Gadulu' (Telugu).

3. Ranga, N.G., 'Autobiography', op.cit., p. 13.

originating in that extraordinary period of intellectual growth and social reform movements. The great writers and social reformers, especially Kandukuri Veeresalingam and their missionary teachings were wielding much influence over the youth of Andhradesa.[1] They began to search for new education to uplift themselves from the backwardness.[2] Thus the next decade became the era of the awakening of many hitherto socially depressed castes into political and social self-realisation. Caste conferences were then serving a progressive purpose in Andhra, purely by trying to reform and uplift the masses by making education popular among them.[3] However, this also took the form of a fight against Brahminism at the social level. Some high caste non-Brahmin groups - feudal elements and rich landlords - were encouraged by the British to establish a separate political party to fight against the Congress and the Justice party was originated, which attacked the nationalists.[4] The leaders of the party believed that Home Rule or the

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1. Ibid., p. 25-26.

2. Ibid., pp. 16 f.

3. Ibid., And also see Raghavayya Chowdary, S. op.cit. in 'Vignapti' (Foreword).

4. For a brief history see article by N. Innayya, 'Justice Party' (Telugu), in Prasarita (Quarterly), April-June, 1975, pp. 61-65.

non-cooperation demand of self-government would degenerate into Brahmin rule and thus the interests of the non-Brahmins would be adversely affected under the nationalist rule.[1] The Justice Party even tried to influence the Muslims. The Gaumi Report of the 6th February, 1917 reported about a new movement which had been started in Madras by the non-Brahmins, who were endeavouring to convince Mussalmans that the latter also were non-Brahmins and should, therefore, join the party to fight against the 'Brahmin-dominated' nationalist politics.[2] This attempt, however, was not successful.[3] Even though the Justice Party succeeded in winning over some sections of the non-Brahmin groups on caste lines to fight against the nationalist movement, it was limited in its strength and influence and virtually failed against the militant no-tax campaign in Andhra.

On the other side, the non-Brahmin movement in Andhra, which was started by the Suryadevara Raghavayya Chowdary of Kollur, in Guntur District (in Kollur village), with the help of some prominent non-Brahmin middle class elite groups, one year before the establishment of the

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1. NFMU-Region VIII, 16/2 (F.N.); pp. 4; 72-79; 81-82.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., pp. 82-87; 91-96; 108.

Justice Party[1], made headway[2] by uplifting the non-Brahmin middle class. For the leaders of this movement, the social uplift was more important than economic uplift.[3] They said that the immediate need for the non-Brahmin castes was educational upliftment through which they would be able to get proper share in political, economic and social fields.[4] They were against Brahminism, but not against the Brahmin caste.[5] Nor were they anti-nationalists.[6] In fact, Tripuraneni Ramaswami Chowdary, the leader of this movement, was a well known nationalist.[7] Thus the non-cooperation movement in Andhra secured a strong social base among

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1. S. Raghavayya Chowdary, op.cit., see 'Foreword'.
2. Ranga, N.G., 'Autobiography', op.cit., pp. 25-38.
3. Ibid.,
4. Ibid., Andhra Patrika, January 20, 1920, pp. 2-3; HFMU-Region VIII-16/2 (File No), p. 25.
5. Gopichand, op.cit., ; S. Raghavayya Chowdary, op.cit., and also see other works of Tripuraneni Ramaswami Chowdary, who clearly indicated that he was not interested in attacking the Brahmin caste, but the Brahmin ideology. See also N.G. Ranga, op.cit., p. 28.
6. In fact, Tripuraneni played a dominant role in Krishna and Guntur districts after 1920s. He was famous for his role in developing inter-caste and widow marriages, inter-caste (non-Brahmin) dinners and so on. See S. Regani, op.cit., p. 118.
7. Ibid.,

middle class non-Brahmin elites, which in turn contributed positively to the nationalist movement.

Educational advance was also an important factor in contributing to the rise of the critical social thinking, which broke the intellectual traditional monopoly of the Brahmins. By opening doors to all classes or castes it (the new education) also created a particular 'class' which had its ideological roots in Western liberalism. On the other hand it also set in motion occupational mobility which in turn cut across caste and regional loyalties. No doubt in an attempt at breaking up the Brahmin's social hegemony, there emerged caste politics and the growth of non-Brahmin political awareness. However, one should not overlook the fact that in spite of the politicisation of caste by the colonial rulers and others, the bulk of the non-Brahmins elite groups supported the national movement and the political conflict represented by Justice Party took place within a limited area and was limited in its social base, being confined to feudal and big landlord social classes. Lastly there was a close connection between the growth of education and political activity. In Andhra the educationally advanced castes and districts pioneered the 1920-22 movement. Castes like Kammas, Brahmins and Reddis, who had a lead in English education, were politically more advanced and provided the new style political leadership. Thus,

western education not only supplied the ideological principle of liberalism, but also created a new social group in the educated middle class which championed that principle. Thus in 1920-22, they were not in armed rebellion, but in passive political agitations within the obvious framework of liberal nationalism; the surest method of advancing the class interests of the national bourgeoisie.

CHAPTER - III

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA, 1920-22.

In the years between the two world wars South India witnessed two political movements that radically changed its policies and style of politics; firstly, there was the politicization of caste differences and, secondly, the growth of nationalist organisation to a dominant position in provincial affairs. As we have seen earlier the changes in agrarian economy brought a rich peasant class to surface, which in turn wrought changes in social class relations. On the other side, the growth of English education created a particular class, which now become a dominant force in the national movement. Through this class interests of different social classes were expressed. No doubt at a deeper level one would find that though the National Congress was acting as a platform of different social classes, but with a particular ideology. The study of this movement in Andhra is in a way aimed at understanding of this particular ideology, in terms of the concrete programme and agitation.

It is very interesting to ask the question why there were sporadic campaigns against various taxes, revenue payments, forest regulations, abkari (excise) taxes and so on during 1920-22 in Andhra? Why were militant 'revolts' confined only to Agency areas and not to plains as such? How the sporadic movements with different programmes, initially

started outside the Congress fold, were completely drawn into the hold of Congress ideology, in spite of its passive programme.

It is said that with the surrender of his decorations and title by Mahatma Gandhi on August 1, 1920, the non-cooperation movement was formally inaugurated.[1] And in the AICC meeting of 5th November, Swaraj was promised by Mahatma Gandhi within "one year" of non-violent non-cooperation.[2] Officially, it was at the Nagpur session held on 26th December, 1920, that the object of the Congress was declared to be "the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."[3] In response to the Nagpur resolution of the Congress the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met at Vijayawada in January, 1921, and decided to organise district, taluq and village Congress committees to carry on propaganda in favour of the boycott and constructive programme.[4]

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1. "Letter to Viceroy from Mahatma Gandhi" dated August 1, 1920, pp. 104-106, The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. XVIII, (July-November, 1920) (The Publications Division, Government of India, 1965).
"I venture to return these medals in pursuance of the scheme of non-cooperation, inaugurated today in connection with the Khilafat movement. Valuable as these honours have been to me, I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Mussulman countrymen have to labour under a wrong done to their religious sentiments..." p. 104.
2. "If I am arrested", Young India, 10 Nov., 1920 in Ibid., pp. 458-460; L.F. Rushbrook Williams (prepared), India in 1920 (Calcutta, 1921), p. 61.
3. Ibid., Vol. XIX (November 1920-April, 1921) (1966) pp. 159-162.
4. Janmabhumi, (Weekly, Masulipatam, devoted to problems of National Reconstruction, edited by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

(Contd...next page)

This non-cooperation struggle was to have two stages - the first stage being the non-cooperation[1] and the second militant civil disobedience including non-payment of all taxes. However, before discussing the civil disobedience in Andhra, which is, in fact, more important than the first stage of the general non-cooperation movement, it is necessary to sketch in brief the political experiments conducted by the Andhra congress between 1900 and 1920.

(cont...(4) from last page)... 6th & 13th January 1921; M Venkatarangaiya, (ed) The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra), vol. III (1921-1932) (The Andhra Pradesh State committee Appointed for the compilation of a History of the Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh, 1965), p.7.

1. In pursuance of the programme of non-violent non-cooperation the Congress leadership advised: surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation of nominated posts in local bodies, refusal to attend Government Durbars and other official and semi-official functions, withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and boycott of foreign goods. The congress also called on people to establish popular and panchayat courts, national schools and colleges, to use swadeshi goods, encourage hand spinning and weaving, promote temperance and Hindu-Muslim unity and work for the abolition of untouchability and this was considered as the constructive programme. "Telegram on third Khilafat Day from Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali", and 'our duty' in The collected works of Gandhi, op. cit., vol. XVIII, pp. 98-99 and 99-100; Tanguturi Prakasam, Naa Jeevita yatra, (Autobiography in Telugu), (Secundarabad, 1972) Vol. II, P 184; India in 1920, op. cit. p. 57; Desabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah Pantulu, Swayacharitra (Autobiography Telugu) (Hyderabad, 1966), pp. 222-223; Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao Naajeevita Katha Andhramu, (Autobiggraphy in Telugu), (vijayawada, 1959), p. 286; Madala Veerabhadra Rao, Deshabhakta Jeevita Charitramu (Biography of Sri Konda Venkatappaiah Pantulu), (Masulipatam, 1966) p. 64.

With the establishment of the Congress Party in 1885 the anti-Imperialist struggle took a definite political turn at the national level.[1] The period between 1885 and 1905 witnessed the rise of a new educated class in Andhra and this gave the lead in taking up the declared objectives of the Indian National congress at the regional level.[2] In this period P. Ananda charlu took an active interest and initiative in starting District associations on the model of the Indian National Congress.[3] However, throughout this period the social base of the congress in Andhra was confined to a few sections of the new intelligentsia who in practice expressed their grievances through the medium of memoranda and petitions.[4] The confrontation with Imperialism was also not widely propagated through demonstrations, since they hardly took in up any agitation directly representing the then social and economic grievances of the different social classes. It was, however, with the influence of 'Swadeshi Movement' in Bengal,[5] that they began do take active interest in propagating 'Swadeshi'.

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1. Bipan Chandra (et.al.), Freedom Struggle, op. cit., pp. 56-58.
2. M. Venkatarangaiya (ed), op.cit., Vol.I, (1800-1905), (1965), Document No. 86, pp. 235-245. This is a short summary in English of the book 'Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu', written in Tamil by late Sri K. Sundararaghavan.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Document Nos. 89-91, pp. 245-246; For more information see, The Hindu, June 15, and 26, 1900; May 3-8 and June 10-15, 1901; March 29, 1902; June 6-8, 1903; May 24-25, and September 14,1905. Some of the extracts on this subject are also available in ANNPM, years 1900 to 1906, (NAI).
5. Sumit Sarkar, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908 (P.P.H., 1973.)

Even then propogande or activities were mostly confined to district, taluq and other urban centres,[1] since the social base of the Andhra Congress had yet to be extended to rural social classes. It was only in 1910, when 'Andhra Movement' became a major political issue that the congress began to organise large district level conferences, where they were able to mobilize large sections of the people.[2] This movement took a definite momentum after 1912 and continued to dominate the political arena some times directly and some times indirectly.[3]

The change in the tone of the politics however, became sharper with the establishment of the Home Rule League by Mrs. Annie Besant, the then President of the 'Theosophical Society'.[4] The League was started in 1916. Later many of

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1. M. Venkatarangaiya (op.cit., Vol. I, Document Nos. 142-147 and Vol. II (1906-1920) (1969) Document Nos. 179,289,328. Desabhakta Kanda Venkatappaiah Pantulu, op.cit., pp. 141-146;
2. K.V. Narayana Rao, The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh (Bombay, 1973); Ibid., Vol.II, Document Nos. 1-78, contained a detailed information on the Nationalist movement in Andhra between 1906 and 1910. For details on the 'Andhra Movement' see Ibid., Document Nos. 85,87-91, 96-104,109-110, 112-113, 119-122,134, 139, 145, 159, 163 and 173; Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, op.cit., pp. 215-277; Desabhakta Kanda Venkatappaiah Pantulu, op.cit., pp. 147-149 & 170-193.
3. K.V. Narayana Rao, op.cit., (For the history of whole movement).
4. Theodore Besterman, Mrs. Annie Besant: A Modern Prophet (London, 1934), pp. 198-203. "The definite campaign for Home Rule", wrote Annie Besant, "began in the spring of 1914, on January 2, when my fellow-workers and myself started a weekly Review, The Commonweal. .... we stood for Religious liberty, regarding all religions as ways to God; for National Education 'with an open path from primary schools to the universities'; for social Reform, including foreign travel, uplift of the submerged classes, abolition of child - marriage, seclusion of women color bar and the caste system." (pp. 199-200).

the branches were established in Andhra districts, with prominent members as leaders. In all important towns like cocanada, Bezwada, Masulipatam, Guntur and so on, the 'Home Rule Movement' was supported by the educated classes.[1] They held many public meetings and propagated the ideal of Swaraj/ Home Rule.

Whatever the limitations of the ideology and position of the Home Rule League of Annie Besant might be, it did pull the Madras Presidency into the forefront of all India Politics. The propaganda for 'Home Rule' did effect the whole educated class, if not the masses directly. In fact, the direct bearing of the colonial rule on different social classes, which we have seen in the earlier chapter, created material conditions for the anti-Imperialist struggle in Andhra. What Mrs. Besant did was to break up the lull in the political field, by organising district, taluq and other urban based political, meetings. On the other hand the 'Home Rule' movement also helped the Congress to recover from its prolonged disorganisation and inactivity.[2] This breaking up of the lull was of course, evident in the first congress-led boycott of elections for the legislature in 1920,

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1. Native News Papers Reports - Madras, 1915 p. 1895; M. Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., Vol. II, Document Nos. 111,114, 123-124, 127-129, 134, 136 and 141; Desabhakta Kanda Venkatappaiah Pantulu, op.cit., pp. 204-206; Tangutūri Prakasam, op.cit., pp. 147-156.

2. C.J. Baker, op.cit., p. 1; For a detailed history of the Movement in Andhra see, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, op.cit., pp. 83-134.

which brought Congress directly into close touch with the urban as well as rural based 'elite groups', and indirectly with peasants.

In response to the A.I.C.C., the Andhra P.C.C. asked the candidates - who were competing for the seats in the Council of State, in the Legislative Council or in the Legislative Assembly - to withdraw their candidature and cease to put forth any efforts in that direction.[1] It also asked the people to boycott the elections.[2] Consequently, in almost all districts of Andhra, the people had boycotted the Councils.[3] Masulipatam had the largest number of voters in Andhra i.e., about 2,500.[4] Of these, not more than 300 voted.[5] In other districts also the percentage of voting was low. In Guntur 11%, in Kistna 13.9% and in Nellore 16.7% votes were polled.[6] Even in the towns of Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Bezwada, Guntur and Nellor, the percentage of voting was considerably low.[7] Godavari Agency

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1. M. Venkatapp~~ay~~aiya, op.cit., Vol. II, Document No. 175; Tenguturi Prakasam, op.cit., p. 157; Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, op.cit., pp. 289-296.
2. Janmabhumi, December 2,9 and 16, 1920; and Ibid.
3. For a detailed statistics in connection with the boycott of the Councils and elections see, Janmabhumi, December 9 & 16, 1920.
4. Ibid., December 2, 1920.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., December 9, 1920. " In India only Madura (rural) with its 15% makes the nearest approach to this low water mark from south". (Ibid).
7. Ibid.

taluq's voting figures were the real example of the intensity of the non-cooperation movement in Andhra. Despite Agency taluq's backwardness and illiteracy and their not being subject much to the Congress boycott propaganda, the boycott movement was carried on by the people more vigourously than in plains. For example, the voting in Purushottapatnam was 5 out of 85, in Kandepuram 21 out of 223, in Guntala 94 out of 303, and in Polavaram 63 out of 397, thus clearly demonstrating the intensity of the movement even in hilly areas.[1] Same was the case with other areas in Andhra.[2] Another interesting feature of this movement was the unity between Hindus and Muslims. In almost all the districts, more Muslims then even Hindus refused to exercise their franchise.[3] Commenting on the effects of this movement, Janmabhumi observed that "The English -educated folks whose vested interest in the British Government and its symbols of authority ... have sinned beyond measure (since these people participated in the elections by exercising their franchise) --- The battles of the future are clearly between these and the rural population. The latter will no longer

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1. Andhra Patrika, November 24, 1920, p.10.
2. Ibid., 'Editorial', December 2, 1920, p.6.

Polling in the Elections in the Madras Presidency

Total Number of voters For Each Council			Total Number of Votes polled in contested Elections in Madras Province.		
Provincial Council	Legislative Assembly	Council of State	Provincial Council	Legislative Assembly	Council of State
1,248,158	260,486	2,290	303,558	60,615	1,694

Source: India in 1920, Appendix II, p. 248.

3. Ibid.

suffer the leadership of the former. They are only waiting for the elimination of that artificial barrier - the English language, between their untaught capacity ....."[1] So, on the one hand the boycott of the councils brought Congress into direct contact with the rural as well as urban 'elite' classes, who were the means through which the non-co-operation movement in 1920-22 was successfully carried on in Andhra. On the other side, some sections of the non-Brahmin castes, who formed into Justice Party, joined the councils. In other words the politicisation of caste politics came into forefront, of course actively supported by the colonial rulers.[2] So the obvious war would be between Congress-led masses and British Imperialism with its 'weapon', Justice Party, in the Government.

When the political stirrings were at its height, the Congress decided to launch the non-violent non-co-operation (and later the 'Civil Disobedience') Movement on more radical lines. In fact, the non-cooperation movement in Andhra can be better divided into two levels. One being the initial passive

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1. Janmabhumi, December 9, 1920, p.1

2. Janmabhumi, December 16, 1920, p. 10; Lot of references on the history of Justice Party and the confrontation with the Congress especially after 1920, see, RNNPM, Reel Nos. 24 (1920), 25 (1921), 26(1922); For the politicization of caste by British see History of the Freedom Movement Unit - Region - VIII, File Nos. [redacted] 14/2 & 16/2(N.A.I.)

resistance movement concentrated mostly on programmes like boycott of schools, colleges, courts, surrendering of titles and honorary offices and lastly but not least the boycott of foreign goods. Throughout the period this movement had been confined to the urban centres. The second level was the radical mass 'civil Disobedience' movements, which are more important to understand the ideology and class character of the general non-cooperation movement in Andhra. So the concentration in this paper would be on the second level of the movement and the consequent results.

II

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS IN ANDHRA

On November 5, 1921 the A.I.C.C. authorised every Province to undertake civil disobedience if the concerned Provincial Congress Committee was satisfied that the conditions laid down were fulfilled. The first experiment in no-tax campaign was planned by Gandhi in Bardoli taking of his own Province of Gujrat.[1] But activities in Andhra were in such a stage that the mass of the ryot population began to pressurise the local leadership as well as the A.P.C.C. to start the no-tax campaign, before Gandhi's experiment and even without Gandhiji's approval of the movement.[2] Despite the constant pressure from the ryots, the A.P.C.C. did not approve the starting of the movement, for there were differences of opinion on the controversial point "whether the Andhras were sufficiently fit for taking to mass Civil Disobedience in the matter of the payment of taxes."[3] But the ryots were enthusiastic.

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1. RNNPM - Reel No. 25, op.cit., p. 1352; T. Prakasam, op.cit., pp. 180-182 and 206; The Hindu, January 24 & 25, 1922; Swarajya, January 22, 1922; Janmabhumi, January 12, 1922; Andhra Patrika, January 10, 1922.

2. T. Prakasam, op.cit., pp. 204-207; D.K, Venkatappaiah Pantulu, op.cit., p. 288; A. Kaleswara Rao, op.cit. p. 343; The Hindu, January 23, 1922; Swarajya, January 20 to 24, 1922; Andhra Patrika, January 10, 1922.

3. Andhra Patrika, November 21, 1921; January 20, 1922; The Hindu, January 24, 1922; Kistnapatrika January 26, 1922.

The no-tax campaign in Andhra was started before the A.P.C.C. had permitted its four Districts namely Guntur, Kistna, Godavari and Cuddapah to start the movement.[1] In this aspect, Guntur district took the lead by declaring a no-tax campaign, which took the shape of refusing the payment of revenue in the plains and of grazing fees in the forest areas.[2] The whole movement was, however, concentrated in Padanandipad firka, Chirala-Perala and Palanad areas.[3] Even though the objectives of the movement were basically anti-imperialist in nature, the problem, of course, varied among these three regions.

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1. Andhra Patrika, January 17, 19, 25 & 28, 1922; Kistnapatrika, January 21, 1922; RNNPM - Reel No. 26 (Year 1922) pp. 87 to 91 and 109-110; Government of India, Home Department, Political-Deposit, Oct., 1921, File No. 18, p. 5 (hereafter Hom.Pol).

2. Ibid.; Madala, op.cit., p. 64; RNNPM, Reel No. 26 (Year 1922), pp. 56, 117-18; Hom.Pol. Ibid.

3. "Asahayodhyamamu", (Non-cooperation Movement), (Telugu) in Andhra Patrika, Ugadi Issue, 1922-23, pp. 25-34; Palnati Duranthamulu (Enquiry Committee Report, appointed by A.P.C.C.) (Telugu) (Madras, 1923); Sanagapalli Ramaswami Gupta, Presidential Speech at Guntur District Conference, Ponnur, 1921 (Telugu), M.D. Mhoro, Samana Nirakarayu (Telugu), (Chennapuri, 1921); Sahaya Nirakarodhyamatatvamu, Questions and Answers, (Nature of the Non-Cooperation Movement) (Telugu) (1921).

NO-TAX CAMPAIGN IN GUNTUR

In Guntur district, the no-tax campaign conducted by the local Congress leaders was a 'saga' in the history of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Andhra, or perhaps even in India in 1922.[1] Pedanandipad firka was the centre of the activity, which was 18 miles from Guntur town.[2] Here the resignations by the village officials like Munsiffs, Karnams and menial servants from their jobs, due to their own grievances, added impetus to the no-tax movement in Guntur.[3] Each village had a Congress Sabha of its own. And the volunteers number over 3,000 had done an admirable work in preserving peace on the one hand and on the other hand propagation of the movement to every nook and corner of the Pedanandipad firka.[4] In the beginning, 20 villages comprising the firka and 30 other surrounded villages led the no-tax campaign. Nearly '80 villages', however,

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1. ANNPM, Reel No. 26, op.cit., pp. 40, 52, 56, 87, 89-91, 109-110, 117-121 and 145; Andhra Patrika Nov., 21, 1921; Jan. 10, 12, 15 to 17, 21, 25 to 27, 31; Feb. 4, 11, 14 to 15, March 3-4, 6 and April 21, 1922.

2. Ibid.; Prakasam, op.cit, pp. 206-210; Madala, op.cit., pp. 76-100; Venkatarangaiya, Vol. III, op.cit., Document Nos. 57-58, 61-62, 73 and 76.

3. ANNPM, Reel No. 26, op.cit., pp. 40, 91, 269-70; Andhra Patrika, Jan. 26, Feb. 4, and 10, 1922.

4. The Hindu, January 25, 1922; and Ibid.; especially see Andhra Patrika, February 11, 1922. In this paper Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Guntur District Congress Committee was published (pp. 7-8).

became centres of activity at the height of the movement.[1] The payment of the 'Kist', which fell due in the first week of January 1922, practically nil.[2] It was observed that, "none have paid the kist in about 80 villages in the Guntur district, that the taluq treasury is empty in Bapatla, that all big pattadars have vowed not to pay the kist, whatever hardships may result therefrom and that the properties of five pattadars are already under attachment..."[3]

In fact, the mass resignations of the village officials intensified the no-tax campaign[4] in Padanandipad firka, for the collection of land revenue and other taxes depended entirely on the village Karnam and other lower officials. Especially without Karnam and headman the land revenue collection could not be done because the karnam maintained the accounts and the headman made the collections. Thus their mass resignations brought the collection work of land revenue, which still continued to

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1. Andhra Patrika, January 12, 1922, p.8.
   It was observed that in "padanandipad, Perachuru, and Chinaganjam, firkas the total 80 villages and the peasants in those villages were showing readyness and eager to follow congress orders and not to pay tax, even if they have to suffer utmost repression from the government." (Ibid)
2. Ibid.; ANNPM- Reel No. 26, op.cit., p. 56; Hom. Pol., January, 1922, File No. 18, p. 48; Feb., 1922 File No. 18, pp. 2-3 and 44.
3. Observed by the Tamil Nadu, (published from Salem) January 15, 1922, in Ibid.
4. Hom. Pol. November, 1921, File No. 18, pp.2 and 41-2; Jan., 1922, pp. 2-3 and 48.

be the major source of revenue for the Government, to a standstill; as it was not possible for the Government to substitute an equally effective collection agency within a short period of time.[1] These officials jointed the movement also because of their 'class' grievances, against the colonial administration.[2] As early as October, 1921, 'The Third Andhra Village Officers' Conference' had decided to resort to a strike. It was observed in the Conference that, "As the railway servants, mill workers and postal employees gained their end by resorting to strikes, we must also adopt the same method. Otherwise, the Government will not yield. If they should still persist, we must take to the spinning-wheel. If they should get our work performed by some others, we must refuse to hand them over our dufters and records and tell them that they did not give us these appointments but they have been held us for a long time and handed down to us from our fore-fathers..."[3]

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1. RNNPM, Reel No. 25, op.cit., pp. 1323, 1328-9, 1415 & 1439. "The first militant action by the village officers association after 1910 was called in Guntur in 1919. And consequently in August, 1920, the officers of forty villages went on strike." Andhra Patrika, Feb. 4, 1919; August 17 and 23, September 7, 1920.
2. Ibid; RNNPM, Reel No. 24, op.cit., pp. 115 and 190; Home.Pol., November, 1921, File No. 18. It was observed that "There is a good deal of unrest and discontent among village officers but in many cases the reasons alleged are dissatisfaction with their pay and general conditions..." Ibid., pp. 41-42.
3. Report published in the 'Nyaya Deepika' (Madras), October 27, 1921, Ibid, Reel No. 25, p. 1323.

In the same meeting the speakers referred to the utter inadequacy of the pay of Rs 15/- fixed for the village officers and objected to the conversion of the service "Inam" lands granted to village officers and servants, into "Jirayati" lands and commended the question for the consideration of the concerned authorities.[1] It was observed as early as 1920 that "The existing scale of pay for these officers was fixed in the past century, and twenty years have passed by in the present century. On an average the pay of the village officers should be fixed at about Rs 30/- in the least and they should be granted the travelling allowances, etc., which they claim..."[2] However, the British Government failed to respond to these demands; and at the 'Kaikalur' taluq, village officers conference, they decided finally "to resign their offices, and join the non-cooperation movement on the ground that the Government failed to give them increments in response to their memorials..."[3] Thus, since their job security was at stake, with the increased British intrusion into their

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1. Ibid., November 1, 1921.

2. Desabhaktan, February 6, 1920 in Ibid., Reel No. 24, op.cit., pp. 190-91. However, it was observed by 'Andhra Patrika' that "The village accountant and the munsif must each be paid at least Rs 25/- for a month and the Vettis, Talayaris and the like village menials Rs 12/-. May this suggestion be approved of by the Government."

3. Kistnapatrika, October 29, 1921.

age-old rights, the lack of proper wages, and the taking away of their age old economic previleges like inams and so on, the village officials identified their interests with those of the no-tax campaigners. In other words, as the new colonial administative infrastructure not only effected the peasants, artisans, new intelligentsia and other social classes and also changed the property relations in land, village officials as a part of the society were also effected by these changes. For example their inam lands were confiscated and the payment for their services was mostly made in cash rather than in the shape of grants and other privileges which were more beneficial for them. They also suffered from 'high prices'[1] burden of new taxes and other repressive aspects of the colonial administration. As an integral part of the society, they were also caught up by the strong currents of nationalism as such.[2] How

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1. One zamindari ryot Cheruvuru Kutumba Rao observed in his letter that "The zamindari village officials' salaries should also be increased. Due to the frequent visit of 'famines, the salries sanctioned in the old scheme were not suffice to carry on the ordinary daily life." Andhra Patrika, August 23, 1920; Even generally speaking monsoon failed in 1921. This coupled with the decline in prices for cash-crops caused a large shrinkage in cropped area and in crop-yields in the deltaic area. Season and crop Report of the Madras Presidency for 1920-21, (Madras, 1921) pp. 1-3; Village Officials on theother hand had links with land and thus suffered. (N.G. Ranga, Economic Organisation of Indian Villages, Bezwada, 1926), Vol. I, pp. 35-37.

2. Hom.Pol., Nov., 1921, File No. 18, pp. 41-42. Here it was observed that the village officers "are, however, undoubtedly being influenced by political agitators and also probably ready to throw in their lot with them..."

long could a building stand when its foundations were shaken?[1] In Guntur alone twenty-nine village officers had resigned by 16th January and by 18th February, this total rose to one hundred and four.[2] This movement no doubt, helped the spread and success of the no-tax campaign in Guntur, but the bulk of the activity came from the village ryots themselves due to their own glass grievances.

Because of mass participation and unity, the Pedanandipad and its neighbouring villages numbering nearly 80, had so organised themselves that they were able to withhold the payment of taxes successfully until the movement was called off in February, 1922.[3] The fact that the Government had been compelled to change the

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1. 'Hitakarini', November 21, 1921, in RNRPH, Reel No. 25, op.cit., p. 145.

2. M. Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., Vol. III, Document Nos. 57 and 73. At the end of the year 22 officers had resigned in Kistna by 16th January. This number rose to 60. There were also 40 resignations in Godavari(Ibid.)

3. Andhra Patrika, January 16, 1922.

   In fact, the no-tax campaign was carried on in the whole district. In Bapatla taluq, when 2 lakhs amount of revenue was collected last year, it was only Rs 1400 in January 14, 1922. The collections in other parts were: in Narasarav Peta taluq 1½ lakhs against Rs 1100 in 1922; in Sathenapalle taluq 1½ lakhs against Rs 1500; in Repalle taluq 2 lakhs against Rs 2000/-; in Tenali taluq 2 lakhs against Rs 6000 and the conditions were almost same in other taluqs." (Ibid.).

scope of the Revenue Recovery Act and to invoke the assistance of all its repressive weapons,[1] was perhaps proof positive that the peasants of these villages had determined to fight to the end. The Government also tried to split the movement in different ways, i.e., by using caste idiom, suspending water for irrigation purposes, confiscation of leading 'Kamma' ryots' lands and alloting them to 'Panchamas' freely, show of police force, imposition of punitive fines and so on.[2] As a part of this plan, the Government selected a 'Kamma caste' official and deputed him as a collector specially to the Pedanandipad firka to try his luck among his own caste men, for most of the people were Kammas.[3] He tried to induce his friend and the local leader Mr. Veeraiah to call off the movement but in vain. A Mohammedan sub-Inspector of Police was also transferred to Pedanandipad to carry on Propaganda simultaneously among Muslims against the movement.[4] All these moves were, of course, doomed.

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1. Kistna Patrika, February 24, 1922; G.O.No.130 Revenue, dated 19th January 1922, quoted in Janmabhumi, January 26, 1922, p. 7; M. Venkatarangaiya, Vol. III, op.cit., especially Document Nos. 56-58,62 and also see Nos. 48 &54.
2. Ibid.; Andhra Patrika, January 19,21, 1922; Janmabhumi, January 26, 1922. The policy which the Madras Government followed in the areas where taxes were withheld was that, "They notify that in case lands are not purchased in auction and Govt., buy them, they will distribute these lands amongst the depressed classes ---" (Ibid).
3. Ibid., Document No. 41.
4. Ibid.

not because there were no caste differences and so on, but due to the subordination of all inner-contradictions and conflicts of interests to the basic contradiction and conflict, i.e., anti-Imperialist struggle. Here the fight was between different social classes led by rich peasant class and new intelligentsia and the colonial administration. This movement was not between Government and a few interested agitators' as has often been explained by some combridge historians.[1] In fact, the grievances of the peasants in this area were deep rooted, as has been pointed out in Chapter-II. contemporaries also noted that on the part of colonial government, "It has been the practice to raise the land assessment at every fresh settlement. This has been a great hardship to the ryot. In addition to this land assessment the road-cess and railway-cess are sucking the blood of the ryots. The public works Department subordinates are exacting bribes in the name of 'mamuls' and supplies. Under the British Government

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1. For example Christopher Baker, "Non-corperation in South India" in South India: Political Institutions and Political change 1880-1940, op.cit., pp. 98-149; C.J. Baker The Politics of South India 1920-1937,(vikas,1976). He interpreted the whole "No-tax campaign' in Pedanandipad firka, nothing except "The bulk of the activity came from the village officers themselves". He laboured to show that there were no political reasons except the petty personal gains. In other words he tried to show that there was no nationalism as such in this movement and in the process he deliberately neglected or perhaps overlooked the role of other social classes in this movement which would result in crumbling of the hypothesis.

the ryot is gradually declining and not flourishing."[1] This perhaps explains the broad framework or background of peasants' grievances and the consequent participation in the no-tax campaign. The immediate problem for them at that time was the burden of water-cess![2] As early as 1895 this problem of water-cess had taken the form of agitation. In 1895 when the water-cess was enhanced by 25 percent, which in turn resulted in the increase of cess from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per acre, the peasants of Kistna and Godavari districts rose in protest against the colonial government. They not only suspended the payment of taxes, but also refrained from cultivating their land, since they did not want to use the government water supplied through the irrigation system.[3] The result was that the water-cess was consolidated and included in the land revenue.[4] Thus the problem of water-cess remained.[5] The consolidation of irrigation cess with

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1. Remarked by 'Ryot Patrika', December 18, 1921, in ANNPM, Reel No. 25, op.cit., p. 40.
2. For a brief history of this problem see The Hindu, January 25, 1922.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. The Kistna Patrika, March 12, 1921 stated that the 'Nazarana' of Rs. 25 per acre was imposed to be paid on 'ayacut' and criticised the move of Justice Party in imposing this burden on the Peasants. In Andhra Patrika April 8, 1921, an open letter was published which condemned Justice Party for imposing 'nazarana' payable on 'ayacut' lands; for a brief sketch of the grievances of Andhra Delta ryots see Ibid April 12,1922.

land revenue in the irrigated coastal Andhra districts and making it obligatory on all farmers in irrigable areas whether they actually used irrigation water or not enhanced the revenue burden in turn on all sections of the peasantry. Thus this excessive water-cess added to the burdens of the small proprietors already weighed down by the burden of inelastic and excessive land revenue and rent demands and the burden of indebtedness.(Chapter-II, Section-2) On the other hand the emergence of a rich peasant class (Chapter-II) did mark a tendency towards a capitalist intrusion in agriculture, since this class gradually acquired wealth by expanding production. Thus when the State began to appropriate more and more agricultural surplus in terms of these consolidated-cesses,[1] the rich peasant class was also hit hard; since this class was forced to alienate much of its agricultural surplus which would be the material base for their consolidation as a future 'capitalist class'. This would be clear if examined in the light of their programme. The provincial Congress Committee themselves had declared a limited programme during the no-tax campaign. The movement was limited in practice to the withholding of land tax, watercess and

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1. The Andhra Patrika, March 9, 1921 referred to the imposition of a new tax on certain lands in the 'delta villages', It was said that at that time the ryots were already highly paying the water-rate and the cist on the lands, they increased to Rs. 25 or Rs. 12-8-0 for each acre.

quit - rent payable to the British Government."[1] It was observed that "they have shrewdly and wisely eliminated the Zamindari tenant. All taxes due, to the Zaminder are duly payable to him. Thus we eliminate civil war in the country."[2] Thus the inner-contradiction which was more important to an ordinary peasant, was subordinated to the basic anti-codonial exploitation. Eventhough different classes were having their own class grievances, the rich peasant class in this context was able to subordinate all of them to the basic contradiction in such a 'shrewdway' that the whole movement was fought within the limited framework of bourgeoise ideology.

Inspite of the militancy and the agitational potentiality of the peasantry, the movement was called off in February 11, 1922. In fact this compromise was inherent in the Congress ideology. This we will be discussing in the later section on class character of the movement. Before calling off of the movement, a sub - committee was appointed by the APCC to enquire into the preparedness of Guntur for the continuation of the 'no-tax' campaign.[3] The committee thought that though most of the 'Delhi conditions' were satisfactorily fulfilled, it was desirable to suspend the movement at that time, i.e. on February 11, 1922.[4] Mr. Prakasam has observed that "the morale began to be ruined

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1. Janmabhumi, January 12,1922, p. 2.
2. Ibid.
3. Andhra Patrika, February 11,1922; The Hindu, February 11,1922.
4. Ibid.

with the increased repression from the Government Military which spread the terror among the populace.... And people failed to stand against that repression." And "By observing all these conditions we have advised the withdrawal of movement. Basing on our committee's Report PCC called off the no-tax campaign, and ordered the people to pay the taxes. Within a week lakhs of rupees were deposited in the treasury."[1] However, the cause lies not with the so-called demoralisation but with the Congress policy on the national level.[2] In fact, on the active advice of Mahatma Gandhi, the militant movement was suddenly called off.[3]

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1. Prakasam, op.cit., pp. 207-9 (translated from Telugu); also see Vadala, op.cit., pp. 99-101; Desabhakta op.cit., pp. 297-302.

2. The militancy and the readyness on the part of the Peasants was unanimously accepted by almost all the contemporary newspapers. For example see, Andhra Patrika, January 17, 19-20 & 23, 1922.

3. Desabhakta, op.cit. p. 297; Janmabhumi, January 26,1922 Andhra Patrika, January 28, 1922; AAAPN - Reel No. 26, op. cit., pp. 145,182.
Kistnapatrika, January 21, Feb., 4,18, March 11, 1922.

111

The militancy of the Civil Disobedience Movement was perhaps more evident in the 'Chirala-Perala' struggle, which started as early as January, 1921.[1] As in Chirala there were some sporadic no-tax campaigns in Andhra districts, which demonstrated the grievances of different social classes and the basic anti-imperialist content in them.[2] In Palnad the decision to disobey forest laws was

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1. The Hindu, May 27, July 28, August 11, 1921; RNNPM Reel Nos. 23 to 26 (years 1919 to 1922); Andhra Patrika, August 24, 1920; January 29, May 6, 19, July 28, August 4, October 8, November 18, 19, December 17 to 29, 1921; January 4 & 6, March 18, 1922; Janmabhumi May 5, 1921; Kistnapatrika, April 23, July 9 & 16, August 6, November 19, 1921; Prakasam, op.cit., pp. 231-235; Nadala op.cit., pp. 70-74, 81-83 and a complete report of 'Kistinapatrika' on this movement was also available in this book; G.V. Subba Rao, Sree Gopalakrishnayya, (Amalapuram, 1935) pp. 44-46 and 63-74; Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 30-40; Nagenti Rapinadu (ed), Andhra Sarvasvamu, (Telugu), (Madras, 1943) pp. 441-51; Achyutuni Balakrishna Murthy, Chirala Charitra (History of Chirala), (Telugu), (Chirala, 1970), pp. 12-19, 30-35, 37-45, 66-67, 69-71 and 78; Desabhakta op.cit., p. 262-264.

2. For a detailed history of other movements which we have mentioned see, Andhra Patrika, Jan., 29, March 14 and 18, May 19 & 21, December 13 & 16, Jan 10, February 7, & 27, March 10, April 12 & 27, 1922; Kistnapatrika May 14, October 16, 1921; RNNPM, Reel No. 25, op.cit., pp. 350, 598, 605, 656, 710, 723, 754 and 911-12, 1095, 1128, 1298, 1314 and 1439; Reel No. 26, op.cit., pp. 90-91, 145, 181, 511 and 525 and 662; Venkatarangaiya, Vol. III, op.cit., Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, op.cit., pp. 350-354.

taken only a few months after the starting of the Chirala struggle. On the other side, the movement of non-payment of municipal taxes was growing in Bezwada and Repalle. In Bezwada the delay in the election to the new Council was taken advantage of and strenuous efforts were made to discredit and obstruct the administration. In Godavari also the movement for the non-payment of taxes was openly advocated and the District Magistrate was forced to take action against five of the main leaders of the movement. In August, 1921, the General body of the Godavari District Congress Committee unanimously passed a resolution requesting APCC to inaugurate the Civil Disobedience Movement in Godavari district also. In the Government fortnightly report of October 6, 1921, it was stated that the movement to disobey forest regulations was spreading and that it had made its appearance in several new districts like Nellore and Cuddapah. Then in the middle of December, 1921, the decision came from the APCC to withhold the payment of taxes. Thus, conditions escorted for a militant anti-Imperialist struggle,[1] but the fermentation was not complete.

Chirala-Perala Struggle:

Apart from Pedanandipad Compaign, Chirala-Perala and Palnad struggles witnessed mass participation.

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1. Ibid.

Chirala and Perala were two neighbouring villages in the Bapatla taluq of the Guntur district with a population of about 15,000.[1] From 1915 onwards there were proposals to constitute them into a municipality. The inhabitants protested against such move on the ground that it would result in increasing the burden of local taxation from Rs. 4,000, which they were paying till then to their Panchayat Union, to Rs. 40,000 without bringing any corresponding benefits.[2] Here most of the people were petty ryots, weavers and merchants. The petty ryots were burdened with rising prices, unequal land revenue distribution and problem of water-cess.[3] There were weavers and other artisan classes whose economic position became miserable, owing to the gradual distruction of their trades. These weavers and other artisan classes were forced to work for low wages like the other labouring classes either under the weaving merchants or in the agricultural sector. In fact, their thatched houses were symbols of their poverty and the negative impact of colonial rule.[4] It was observed that "The affairs of Chirala and Perala served as an example of the uncommon discharge of duty to the modern civilized world.... The people (in Chirala-Perala) have no employment

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1. The Hindu, May 27, 1921; Prakasam, op.cit., p. 232 Nadella, op.cit., pp. 70-72; Andhra Patrika May 6,1921; ANNPM, Real No. 25, p. 598; A.Balakrishna Murthy, op.cit., p. 12 (he has given the figure as 18,000); Hon. Pol., Feb., 1921, No. 77, p. 6.

2. Ibid.; Prakasam, op.cit., p. 233; Balakrishna Murthy, op.cit. p. 13.

3. Ibid., also see Kistnapatrika, July 9,1921.

4. Ibid.

enabling them to pay taxes to the amount of nearly Rs. 33,000. To those that are engaged in the dying industry a municipality is a source of misery, not of happiness ----"[1] Especially, after the First World War, the final blow was given to the weaving and dyeing industry in Chirala - Perala due to the competition from the cheap cotton piece-goods imported into this place from Japan, China, England and other European countries.[2] Even though, the weaving trade was continued, mostly financed by the merchant class, it was not able to prosper, for the people preferred the cheap mill cloth, against the rough weaving - cloth.[3] On the other hand the Government's encouragement to the export of native raw materials resulted in the export of cotton. The weavers or the merchants were not in a position to pay more for the cotton and thus compete with the export prices.[4] Even the cropping pattern was shifted from cotton to other commercial crops like tobacco, for profits from those crops were higher than from cotton.[5] So the scarcity of raw cotton also contributed to their economic misery. In addition the failure of monsoon and widespread plague resulted in wretched living conditions and loss of lives.[6]

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1. The Hindu, Ibid.
2. A. Balakrishna Murthy, op.cit., p. 37.
3. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 12 and 37-38.

For that reason almost all classes in Chirala - Perala took militant action, when municipality was imposed upon them in 1919. The Chirala episode, however, took really a new turn in 1921 under the leadership of Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya who later became the hero of the Chirala - Perala struggle.

In March 1921, with the refusal of the payment of municipal taxes, the no-tax campaign was started in that village without the permission of the Congress and Gandhiji.[1] It was only in the month of April that Gandhiji advised the leadership to adopt either of the two ways, i.e. either to continue the no-tax campaign in a non-violent manner and face all the consequences, or to undertake a mass exodus from the town which would automatically result in the disappearance of the municipality.[2] The people chose the second alternative. Before the starting of this movement, D. Gopalakrishnayya brought into existence a volunteer army - the "Rama Dandu". More than a thousand men were recruited during the earlier months of 1921. With its red dress and perfect discipline it emerged as a real powerful peace army with the help of which he led the movement.[3]

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1. Janmabhumi, May 5, 1921, p. 2; Venkatarangaiya, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 32-33; The Hindu, May 27,1921; RNNK, Reel No. 25. p. 723.
2. Venkatarangaiya, Ibid, p. 32; A.B. Murthy, op.cit.,p. 15; and Ibid; Hom. Pol., June 1921, No. 13, P. 25.
3. Prakasam, op.cit., p. 233.

It was summer when the exodus began. At that time it was a sight for every nationalist to see. Almost 15,000 people -- men and women carrying their belongings on their heads and shoulders, pregnant ladies and women with babies in arms, the aged and the crippled, rich and poor, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, without minding their differences -- marched across the scorching sands to fields outside the town and tried to take shelter in hastily improvised huts.[1] Everyone passed through the ordeal with grim determination and with no regret. Chirala was completely deserted demonstrating to the British imperialists what would happen if the popular force unfolded itself. The following 11 months history of the new town 'Ramnagar' of Chirala-Perala people exposed the naked despotism of the British rule and of the non-Brahmin casteism of the Justice Party at the expense of the non-Brahmin masses.[2] The people of Chirala -Perala

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1. Ibid., p. 234 (translated from Telugu); Venkatarangaiya, Ibid.

> " .... It was a sad sight to watch them and their furniture moved from their old homes to their new (Ramnagar'. Street after street of Chirala was deserted and hardly a voice was heard along the lonely thoroughfares. The creek of the heavy laden carts, the din of the hammer strokes, the odour of the sub-dried palmyra leaves and the ..... sight of the patient men, women and children trudging and dusty paths totheir new homes (build of the bamboo and palmyra),sweating under the weight of their belongings, were an overwhelming phenomenon - they were indeed an inspiration." (The Hindu, May 27, 19

2. RNNPN-Reel No. 25,op.cit., pp. 1371-72.

exposed themselves to one of the severest summers in May- June of 1921, the temperature in shade rising to 113°F. and to heavy rains in July and August (nearly 10½ inches falling in a few weeks).[1] Adding to this misery, the Government intensified its harassment of the people. On some huts which were raised on 'Poramboke' lands which were Government property, they strictly enforced heavy penalties and evictions; penalties payable amounting to some hundreds of rupees per hut, while the cost of the huts raised was only about Rs. 25 per hut.[2] Yet the people yielded neither to the extremes of the weather nor the harassment of the Government officialdom.

It was only with the arrest of the Duggirala and, later, some other prominent Congressmen[3] that the movement began to crumble. Moreover the keeping up of the morale of the populace was becoming more difficult day by day, as no prominent Congress man came forward to take up the place of Duggirala.

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1. Ibid., pp. 942-3.... "The sight of thousands of people living with young children, exposed to heat and rain and suffering all sorts of troubles and diseases ought to have grieved very much even the hearts of enemies ...."; also see, Venkatarangaiya, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

2. Ibid., The Deshabhimani(Guntur) of the 17th July says in its leader: "It is well known that the people of Chirala and Perala have evacuated their villages ...(and) The authorities subjected the people to great troubles.... certain men were charged with the offence of not paying the municipal taxes....They refused to pay the fines imposed on them, ...that a tax of Rs. 30/- was imposed upon each shed in which the people then dwelt and that the people refused to pay it and were ready to sacrifice their lives on the spot..." pp. 911-12; Venkatarangaiya, Ibid. The Hindu, August 11, 1921.

3. Ibid., p. 34, (Venkatarangaiya);

To add to this, many people were forced to submission and some of the huts were set on fire by hired hooligans.[1] Thus demoralisation slowly crept in, particularly after the calling-off of the general non-cooperation movement in February, 1922 by the Congress Party. It was not just because of the lack of the potentiality[2] to wage a prolonged struggle against the British that the people of Chirala and Perala had withdrawn their movement, but owing to the lack of the militant leadership from the side of the local politicians and from the main Congress Party, which was dominated by the non-violent Gandhian ideology. Thus a leaderless people returned to their houses in Chirala and reconciled themselves helplessly to the continuance of the municipality against which they had protested for so many years and the ensuing repression by the colonial administration.

VIJAYAWADA NO-TAX CAMPAIGN :

When the people of Chirala-Perala were struggling to survive in Ramnagar, the people of Vijayawada adopted no-tax campaign against the colonial administration in January 1922.[3] They started the no-tax campaign against the arbitrariness of the Government's action in putting off municipal elections which were supposed to be held in November, 1920. This

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1. Ibid.

2. ANNPM-Reel No. 26, op-cit., p. 511. Durbar(Guntur) of May 1, 1922 observed: "The people of Chirala went back to the village not because of the endeavours or the influence of the paid Chairman but because their houses had taken fire and the conditions have changes....". (Ibid.)

3. A. Kaleswara Rao, op.cit., pp. 350-354; ANNPM, Reel No. 26, p. 181; Andhra Patrika, February 7, 1922.

campaign was adopted under the leadership of Kaleswara Rao and Ramaseshayya Sreshti.[1] A parallel council was set up consisting of popular representatives and the people were called to pay the taxes directly to it.[2] Thereupon the two leaders were arrested and sentenced to a one year' imprisonment. Even then, the no-tax campaign did not come to an end. It was only after the realization of the popular mood that the Minister Raja Ramarayaniyar opened negotiations with the peoples' representatives and accepted their demands.[3] Thus the movement was called off, crowning the people with victory.

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1. Ibid.,; Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., p. 35; ANNPM-Reel No.26., p. 181. A report in the Andhra Patrika of the 7th Feb.,1922, given the whole history of these happenings in Bezwada.; Hom. Pol., June 1921, No. 13, p. 25.

2. Ibid.,

3. Ibid.,

IV

PALNAD SIYAGRAHA

When the no-tax campaign was making its headway in the plains, forest grievances were forcing the Palnad area to follow the no-tax campaign[1]. Palnad, in Guntur district was the only important area where the experiment of the Civil disobedience was tried even before Gandhi.[2] Here the movement was more militant because the exploitation which was let loose by the colonial administrationwas more intensive and unbearable than that in the plains.[3] This exploitation was furthered by the intrusion of the money lenders and forest contractors[4], who with the power of money virtually enslaved the tribal society in these hilly areas. To understand this movement, one must go through the general forest grievances in the Andhra districts in brief.

Forests supplied some important needs of the rural population. They provided wood for fuel, leaf-mould for manure, and grass and leaves for grazing animals.

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1. Madala, op.cit., p. 80; Hom.Pol., October, 1921, File No. 18, p. 5.

2. Ibid.; ANRFM - Reel No. 25, op.cit., p. 1030.

3. Ibid.

4. For a detailed analysis see V. Raghavayya, Tribes in India, Vol. I (Delhi, 1968); Tribal Revolts, (Nellore, 1971); A. Aiyappan, Report On The Socio-Economic Conditions Of The Aboriginal Tribes Of The Province of Madras, (Madras, 1948), especially pp. 15-29 and 40-52; Annual Administration Report of The Forest Department Of The Madras Presidency, for years 1902-03 to 1922-23, especially see Chapter "Exploitation of Forests" in each report. (hereafter Reports Forest Administration).

The Government thought the unscientific conservation would result in the destruction of the forests and it, therefore, tried to restrict the rural population's use of the forests, which were hitherto enjoyed uninterruptedly by them.[1] Moreover, the gradual growth of towns and industries (which at that time were mainly based on the use of wood as fuel), rise in population and extensive cultivation had brought about the destruction of many forests.[2] Cattle grazing was also another problem in Andhra since most of irrigation was based on cattle. With the establishment of the Madras Forest Department in 1856, and particularly after 1890s, the government began to extend its control even over the smaller forests. In fact, since ages these were serving as the village forests and grazing lands. These small forests were an integral part of the village life in these areas, without which the village life would have stagnated.[3] Hence the clash became inevitable when the Forest Department tried to tighten its control

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1. In the words of the Chief Conservator, the Govt. was "compelled to face the almost universal feeling, due to centuries of uninterrupted enjoyment, that the forests belong to and should be freely used by the people." Article by S. Cox, in S. Playne, 'Southern India', (Madras, 1914), p. 718.

2. For details see Report of the Forest Committee-Madras, (Madras, 1913) Vol. I, pp. 3-12; Report Forest Administration, Years 1902-03 to 1922-23. In each report it was clearly recorded that there was constant pressure from people on this aspect upon the government.

3. Ibid., S. Playne, Southern India, op.cit., pp. 717-20; Rama Rao, A.V., Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh 1766-1957 (Bombay 1958) pp. 333-334 and 341.

especially in areas like the Rayachoti taluq of Cuddapah district, spilling over into parts of the uplands of Kistna.

The colonial system bore harshly on the tribal and peasant communities who with a sensitivity born out of "isolation"[1] and with a relatively traditional social mechanism of control revolted more often and far more violently than any other community in Andhra. So in the specific context of the non-cooperation movement in Andhra and the connected tribal militant mass Civil Disobedience, the question which we will be dealing at length would be under what specific socio-economic conditions the tribal society revolted against the British Imperialism. Moreover, to understand the social roots of this movement in 1920-22, we must first identify the basic contradictions in the colonial context.

The Agency division, comprised of what were formerly "the agency tracts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari, a primitive country consisting almost entirely of jungle and low hills, deficient in communications, devastated by fever, sparsely populated by uncivilised tribes who speak languages of their own, are reluctant

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1. It was observed by Aiyappan that, "The Harijans have been degraded as untouchables, but constant contacts with more advanced castes have made them 'worldly wise' and capable of self-defence, with growing leadership. In the case of the tribes, the isolation in which they have existed has ensured them a 'pure' status in the eyes of the orthodox Hindu, but has left them still unprepared for competition with the plains people." op.cit., pp. 5-6.

TABLE - 3-1

Statement showing the General Agrarian Structure in 1913

Pastoral and Agricultural class		Actual Workers		Dependents	
		Number	% of districts population	Number	% of district population
Land owners and Tenants	Cultivating landowners	96,891	5.9	149,279	9.0
	Non-Cultivating landowners	19,465	1.2	35,764	2.2
	Cultivating Tenants	135,456	8.2	175,277	10.6
	Non-cultivating Tenants	794	0.1	1,758	0.1
Agents, Managers of landed estate etc.		1,238	0.1	2,261	0.1
Farm servants and field labourers		316,992	19.2	194,290	11.8
Growth of special products		376	0.0	301	0.0
Forestry		1,117	0.1	1,457	0.1
Raising of farm stock and small animals		16,683	1.0	7,070	0.4
TOTAL:		589,012	35.7	567,457	34.3

Source: A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1913, p. 105.

to leave their own country, and depend on their livelihood almost entirely on sporadic cultivation."[1] When considered as a whole, in the Agency Division pasture and agriculture formed the chief occupation of the people and supported nearly 70% of the total population. Industrial population came next to agriculture. There was an increase in the percentage of population engaged in commerce especially in the first two decades of the 20th century. The percentage of farm and field labourers was very high.[2]

The tribal agrarian structure in Andhra had a peculiar kind of history when compared to that of the plains. The traditional structure of agricultural society in tribal Andhra was based on the principle of village ownership of land. Even though in the colonial context the importance of Muttedars with their hold on the lands, under mutts or estates was evident, in principle, they had no property right on the land, in the tribal region. A muttedar was only entitled to collect taxes or to levy new taxes.[3] It was

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1. G.T. Boag, Report on Census of India, Vol. XIII, Part-I, Madras pp. 7-8; also see Statistical Atlas, Madras op.cit., 1920-21. p.2.

2. For a detailed information on these aspects which is available district wise see, Statistical Atlas Madras op.cit., 1910-11 and 1920-21.

3. Muttedar collected land revenue and had a fixed 'Kattubadi' (revenue) to the Government. For his services he retained the land-revenue collected in excess of the 'Kattubadi' amount and enjoyed free lands. Ibid; see for the effects of this System Aiyappan, op.cit., pp. 25-26.

observed that "one distinguishing feature of the tribals of East Godavari, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam tribal areas is the existence of the 'Muttadari System' which is a relic of the British feudal system in which a hereditary 'Muttadar' is the head of group villages."[1] In course of time these 'Muttadars' assumed all pervasive powers and became supreme authorities in all walks of tribal life. "The prevalence of 'Muttadari System' almost reduced the tribals to serfdom".[2] Another negative aspect associated with this system was the customary payments. It was observed that " The Muttadars ill-treat the ryots. Vetti labour is being extracted. They do not issue receipts for the Kist collected. They collect Rs. 2 for every plough. At the time of marriage of the people of the village the Muttadars take some Katnam (fee) from them. It varies from Rs. 5 to 50 according to the status of the party. Kaialanchanams are given in the shape of vegetables. The Muttadars compel the ryots to plough their lands free. They also extract Jetti work, i.e. carrying loads without wages. Each ryot has to work for the Muttadar for about a week to ten days in a year, both men and women. Sometimes only meals are given. Wages

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1. Suresh Singh (ed), Tribal Situation in India. pp. 231-232.

2. Ibid.

ete never given."[1] Thus the Muttadars who were petty Zamindars appointed by the British to control the tribal people and act as intermediaries between them and the money-lenders as well as rich ryots from the plains, in turn quietly appropriated the produce and, where possible, even the lands. Hence the popular movement against the Muttadars was directed directly against the colonial administration. Since Muttadars were the part of the colonial infrastructure. The grievances against the Muttadars came to be subordinated or rather viewed in the overall colonial exploitation.

The traditional economy of the tribals under went a radical change with the establishment of colonial rule in Andhra. "The tribes of the Agency depend for livelihood on (1) shifting or Podu cultivation, (2) to a lesser extent, on permanent cultivation, (3) on the collection for contractors of minor forest produce and (4) coolie work under agriculturists, contractors, and the forest department."[2] Before the Government took over the management of forests from private hands, the tribesmen enjoyed considerable freedom to Podu in any part of the jungle but this freedom

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1. The evidence of Sri Amarayya Setty of Chodavaram in Madugula given in Aiyappan, op.cit., p. 25.

2- Aiyappan, op.cit., p. 15

was considerably restricted under the colonial forest administration.[1] Burning down a part of the forest and then hoeing and broadcasting the seeds in the soil fertilized by the ashes, required very little capital and fairly good crops were ensured.[2] They were also obliged to take to Podu cultivation owing to a number of circumstances. Briefly they are "(1) the best lands which they cleared, levelled and improved for permanent cultivation have all passed into the hands of the sowcars and other plainsmen who manage to get a strangle-hold over them...,(2) where the sowcars are somewhat less oppressive, the tribesmen do not have the capital with which to begin the seasonal work on the farm. The plough, cattle and seed have to be borrowed at exorbitant rates, and any borrowing in the Agency means economic suicide; and (3) the only agency which advances small sums to meet the expenses being the sowcars, the hillmen invariably are heavily indebted. A sense of obligation is deeply ingrained in them and this is most ruthlessly exploited by the sowcars. To pay off old and new debts, the sowcars goad the tribesmen to Podu

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1. Ibid.; Report of the Forest Committee, Madras, (Madras, 1913), Vol. I, pp. 3-12; Article by S. Cox in S. Playne, op.cit., p. 716-18; also see Report Forest Administration for years 1902-03 to 1912-13 and 1915-16 to 1922-23; B.S. Baliga, Studies in Madras Administration, Vol. I, op.cit.

2. Aiyappan, op.cit., p. 15.

far more extensively than they need under normal circumstances. The 'Kova', as a rule, will not do Podu beyond the minimum for his personal needs."[1] Thus the sudden declaration of Podu and other economic activities like grazing and so on as illegal by the Forest Administration, brought bulk of the tribesmen face to face with the immediate prospect of starvation, since the area under permanent wet cultivation available for them was very small.[2]

Another means of livelihood for tribesmen was the collection of minor forest produce. Throughout the forest region, whether Government or private, tribesmen were employed to collect minor forest produce. In many of the localities, the right of collecting minor forest was leased out to contractors, while, in others, the "seigniorage" system was in vogue. The hillmen generally under contract collected the produce and received in turn very low payment at rates often arbitrarily fixed by the contractor or government agent. In other words,

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1. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

2. Ibid., pp. 16-17; Brandis, Memorandum On The Demarcation of the Forests in the Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1878), p. 6; Report of The Forest Committee, (Madras), Vol. I, pp. 3-30; S. Playne, op.cit., pp. 717-20; Administrative Report of The Madras Presidency, 1925, (Madras, 1926), p. 2; W. Francis, Gazetteer of Bellary (1904, Madras) pp. 99-101, C.F. Brackenbury, Cuddapah Gazetteer, pp. 102, 104, 105, 107; C. Benson, An Account of the Kurnool District, (1889; Madras), p.6; H. Mackenzie, Manual of Kistna District, (Madras, 1833).

the monopoly of the minor products which hitherto was enjoyed by the tribesmen passed into the hands of either government or private contractors, who in turn paid very low wages at piece-rates.[1] When they found that all their traditional activities had taken an unfavourable turn, many of them turned to coolie labour. Even this became another exploiting system.

The forest department was the biggest employer of the hill tribe labour. They were employed for various forest operations including road work. While it was said that they were paid at local rates for their labour, complaints were made to the Committee that the hillmen were not paid at all for certain type of forest work. "Some of the forest officials themselves said that the Government rates were often below the current market rates."[2] Forest contractors were also big employers of tribal labour and the officers of the forest Department were expected to see that tribesmen got fair wages.[3] But this traditional link with merchant - moneylending

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1. Many of the references on this aspect are available from; Ibid.; and also see Raman Rao, op.cit., pp. 333-344; F.W. Hemmingway, Godavari Gazetteer (1907) pp. 6, 95 to 102; C.F. Brackenbury, Godavari Gazetteer (1914).; Guntur District Gazetteer Statistics 1906 and 1915 (Madras).

2. Aiyappan, op.cit., p.20.

3. Ibid.

agencies who usually monopolised the private business in the forest tracts, belied their expectation. It was observed that "the rapacity of forest contractors and their agents was so great in the Parentapalli area a few years ago that some of the 'Konda Reddis' had to flee to their places."[1]

The most important problem, however, was the prevalence of forced labour in the agencies. 'Forced labour' in the agency areas of the Madras Province fell under two distinct heads, one 'vetti' and the second gothi'. In cases of Vetti, the labourer was paid a meagre wage by the contractors or other business people to whome he was under some obligation. The muttadars, as a matter of right, were entitled to Vetti from the village folk in their jurisdiction at the rate of one person for each hut. The number of villages under a muttadar ranged from 10 to 20. The labourer had to work for the muttadar whenever he needed assistance but the number of days for which he had to work for him in a year did not appear to have been fixed. The muttadar, in return gave the labourer some food, but no wages.[2] The tribesmen were also forced to work under Vetti for the forest and Revenue departments and sometimes for the police.[3]

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1. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

2. Ibid., p. 21

3. Ibid.

The 'Palaruthanam' system of labour in the agency was identified with 'gothi'. In 'Palaru' a man was bound to work under the creditor as agricultural labourer in lieu of the loan taken. Due to this obligation they were paid only about six bags of paddy per annum, which was quite inadequate. As a rule, in Madras Province, the bondage of a person under Palaruthanam extended to his heirs; the debtor or his heirs were bound to work the debt out.[1]

In fact, all these miseries of the tribesmen were directly or indirectly connected with the sowcar's economic enslavement of the tribesmen. Here the sowcar was more interested in the produce than in the land, consequently he use to entrap the hillmen by giving credit on standing crops. The crops were invariably pledged in advance to the sowcar, and, at the time of harvest, the sowcar used to fix the price at arbitrarily low rates and the hillmen were not in a position to bargain. So the crying need for credit and marketing facilities on the part of tribesmen enabled the sowcar to easily impose enslavement on the

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1. Ibid.

tribesmen.[1] In addition to the money - lenders from the districts, 'Kabuls - Wallahs' also invaded the Agency. They generally indulged in both business and money - lending. Rate of interest was half anna per rupee, but since the tribesmen were poor at accounts, they were easily duped and often, under threat, they paid interest at unbelievable rates.[2] On the otherhand they often alienated their land for the arrears of rent to the money-lenders or bigger ryots from plains. Collusive relinquishments and assignments were also a matter of common knowledge in the agency areas. Even "The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act of 1917 was not able to stop the alienation of land from tribesmen into the hands of non-tribals, due to the several loop-holes in the Act.[3]

Thus the problems such as the loss of their lands to plains sowcars and traders, chronic indebtedness to usserious money - lenders, the tyranny of petty officials, who forced free labour and free "Supplies" on them, lack of facilities for cheap credit on fair terms, lack of organised help to sell their produce to their best advantage - all these handicaps were the daily experience of the hillmen in the Agency as well as aboriginals in the non-Agency areas. However, by the end of the first two decades of the

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1. Ibid., p. 24.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., P. 22.

TABLE – 3.2

EXPLOITATION OF FOREST RESOURCES BY THE GOVERNMENT (in rupees)

DISTRICT	1910-11				1911 – 12				1920-21				1921-22			
	Receipts	Charges	Net Receipts	% of Col.4 in Col.2	Receipts	Charges	Net Receipts	% of Col.8 in Col.6	Receipts	Charges	Net Receipts	% of Col.12 in Col.10	Receipts	Charges	Net Receipts	% of Col. 16 in Col.14
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Ganjam	61833	115314	-53481	-86.49	69726	120145	-50419	-72.31	82185	239860	-157675	-191.85	89085	521270	-432185	-485.14
Vizagapatam	47766	60689	-12923	-27.05	48968	65655	-16687	-34.08	36257	51430	-15173	- 41.85	49385	60173	-10788	- 21.84
Godavari Upper	33886	61456	-27570	-81.36	44858	76530	-31672	-70.61	44300	85756	-41456	- 93.58	45976	97667	-51691	-112.43
Godavari Lower	161583	87431	74152	45.89	184419	105528	+78891	+42.78	207480	94502	112978	54.45	196264	134623	61641	31.41
Kistna	116371	106920	9451	8.12	118082	107677	10405	8.81	55333	51284	4049	7.32	64572	57306	7266	11.25
Bellary	145809	165852	-20043	-13.75	171276	143732	27544	16.08	129040	56182	72858	56.46	97016	78633	18383	18.95
Anantapur	135388	102660	32728	24.17	190550	107111	83439	43.79	225424	64525	160899	71.38	169882	91596	78286	46.08
Karnool, East	20818	49662	-28844	-138.55	72801	96174	-23373	-32.11	65279	69551	-4276	-6.55	65342	106749	41407	- 63.37
Karnool,South	101634	158093	-56459	-55.55	95797	160446	-64649	-67.49	94038	76381	17657	18.78	82626	114510	-31884	- 38.59
Karnool,West	171336	216771	-45435	-26.52	195782	234975	-39193	-20.02	120527	112316	8211	6.81	109640	159052	-49412	- 45.07
Cuddapah,North	105954	84074	21880	20.65	108443	84183	24260	22.37	35225	58683	-23458	-66.59	41545	91541	-49996	-120.34
Cuddapah,East	108835	89067	19768	18.16	122889	93503	29387	23.91	30513*	85407*	-54894	-179.90	35322*	119284*	-83962	-237.70
Cuddapah,West	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65805	68487	- 2682	- 4.08	70823	90101	-19278	- 27.22
Nellore	247850	170291	77559	31.29	243864	151076	92788	38.05	178156	93968	84188	47.26	239023	136649	+102374	42.83
Chittoor	65872	34719	31153	47.29	126283	79823	46460	36.99	130770	106796	23974	18.33	136062	158693	-22631	- 16.63
Guntur	181176	91454	89722	49.52	193155	117328	75827	39.26	130436	66180	64256	43.26	107086	97682	9404	8.78
TOTAL :	1706111	1594453	111658	6.54	1986893	1743885	243008	12.23	1630764	1381308	249456	15.30	1599649	2115559	-515910	-32.25

* Related to Cuddapah South.

[redacted] Forest Department of the Madras Presidency, 1910-11 to 1911-12 and

20th century the colonial administration intensified its exploitation so much (Table-3.2) that with its tightened control over forests it became the chief exploiter gradually effecting all walks of peoples' lives. In the face of the government's control and exploitation all other contradictions and problems became secondary.

As we have seen earlier, 'forest' supplied wood for fuel, leaf-mould for manure, and grass and leaves for grazing animals. At a time when the pressure was growing on forest resources both from public and government sides, the Madras government through its 'Forest administration department' began to apply its strict conservation policy; of course in favour of government needs.[1] This in turn created a'fragile'situation. In order to put an end to the problem of forest depredation, the forest department extended its hold even to the small forests also. In fact, as pointed out earlier, these small forests were the village forests, and the only source of grazing lands. In other words by encroaching on these small forests, the government stripped off the many agriculturists grazing possessions and facilities.[2] Moreover,"the gradual rise in population and greater intensity of cultivation had brought about the destruction of many forests. There was thus great[3] demand for the fuel, manure and grazing facilities.

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1. Reports Forest Administration, years 1915-16 to 1919-20.
2. Report of the Forest Committee, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 5-12; Brandis, op.cit., p. 6; C. Benson, op.cit., p. 6; F.N. Hemmingway, op.cit., pp. 95-102; C.F. Brackenbury, Op.cit. pp. 104-107;
3. Baker, 'Non-cooperation in South India' in op.cit., p. 99.

In Andhra districts the forests used for grazing were "more intermingled with, or adjacent to, the crop - bearing areas".[1] However, with the development of major irrigation systems on Kistna and Godavari rivers in the 1860's, most of the land including small forests which used to be grazing lands was gradually converted into a rich 'rice - Bowl'.[2] The development of cash-crops furthered the conversion of grazing lands into 'wet' lands. Naturally, the lack of grazing lands developed a system of periodic migrations of cattle into the upland forests in the hinterland i.e., the Palnad, Cuddapah, and the eastern Nallamalais of Kurnool. Every year, especially in the crop season, herds migrated from the eastern taluks of Nellore to the Western forests and went to 'Kanchi' which their owners used to take on an yearly payment. Others grazed on a permit system with a fee per head. From Deltas of Guntur and Kistna there was a similar migration to the eastern Nallamalais of Kurnool for six months of the year. Similarly, cattle from the eastern districts used

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1. Report of the forest Committee, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.9-12; Raman Rao, op.cit., pp. 333-34 and 340-42; S. Playne, op.cit. pp 718-20.

2. For further details see,
Report on the direct and indirect effects of the Godavari and Krishna anicuts in Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Guntur. (1858).

to go as far as the Lankamalai and Palkonda lines in Cuddapah. In almost all these districts the cattle had to be sent in the care of Lambadies or Professional graziers, and they kept the cattle in the forests in pens against a fixed payment mostly paid yearly once in kind.[1] As an official committee noted, "In the delta tract of the Guntur district, the cattle are sent to the forests for several months while the crops are on the ground, for the simple reason that there is no place intthe village for them to stand, much less for them to graze."[2]

Thus when the pressure increased for more grazing lands they obviously came to clash with the rigid governments policy of controlling grazing lands.[3] The forest administration also indulged in making profits from the business of Fodder extract with the help of the forest subordinate officers. "In Bapatla range, Guntur man grove leaves were extensively used for fodder. These were both cut and stored as well as bowsed, with the connivance of Forest-subordinates."[4] 'Hay-making' became another important government business in Guntur. In Guntur two presses were brought and used for pressing 60 tons of hay.[5] Inspite of the failure of monsoons the monsoons the monopoly of government

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1. Report of the Forest Committee, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 3-30.
2. Ibid., p. 5.
3. Report Forest Administration, year 1912-13 op.cit., pp 13-14.
4. Ibid., year 1904-05, p. 26. For yearly prospects of this business see Reports for years 1902-03 to 1922-23.
5. Ibid., pp. 26-27; year 1905-06, p. 30.

on grazing fields, fodder extracts, hay - making and so on continued. Other pasture lands, outside government's exploitation directly were leased out to the private contractors.[1] Added to these troubles, the government increased the rates charges for grazing in almost all districts. The enhancement was, in Kurnool, for ordinary cattle from As 3 to As.8 per cow and it was increased from As.4 to As.8 per cow in Vizagapatam.[2] It was observed officially that "Although the raising of the grazing fees in 1915-16 has had the effect of reducing the grazing encidence by about one-half the reserves of Guntur uplands are still overgrazed by Jotai and delta cattle. To remedy this (it was) ... proposed in... recent inspection note to further enhance the grazing fees and to give local cattle preference over those from a distance by charging higher rates for the latter..."[3] To decrease the heavy grazing incidence in the Chittoor reserve, higher grazing feeses were charged from July1, 1920.[4] The corrupt officers of the forest administration further made the lives of ryots. or Lambadies, who took the cattle up into the forest, worse with their endless demands in bribes or "what they consider their due."[5] If the ryots or lambadies

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1. Ibid., 1905-06, p. 29.
2. Ibid., year 1919-20, p. 4.
3. Ibid., p.17.
4. Ibid.
5. Report of the Forest Committee, Vol. I, op.cit., p. 7.; also see Baker op.cit., pp. 100-102.

had by any chance failed to strike a bargain with forest officers to get grazing permission, their cattle would be impounded on the pretext of some offence.[1] It was recorded by the Forest committee, that " hundreds of ryots, travelled over distances of upto fifty or sixty miles and waited for days in the hopes of obtaining a hearing" to express their grievances against the forest Administrative Department.[2] Due to these clash of interests the forest officers and the administration looked on the tribal villages which harboured the graziers as "robbers and dens".[3] On the other side, the ryots considered the government administration and its officialdom as "peculiarly corrupt."[4] Consequently the problem of impounded animals'[5] continued inspite of the strict supervison by the staff. There was an increase in the cases of unauthrised grazing and grass, and other forest produce "were notorious".[6] Unauthorised filling was largest head of crimes mostly in Guntur, Nellore, Chittoor and Anantapur.[7] In 1919-20 as many as 8,900 cases of forest 'crimes' were reported. "Out of" which "2,434" cases"relate to Guntur and this district probably

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1. Report of the Forest Committee, vol. I, p.7; Vol.II, P. 174; Report forest Administration, years 1902-03 to 1922-23, I each years report the subject of increasing corruption in the forest officialdom was throughly discussed under the heading "conduct of Establishment".
2. Report of the forest Committee, Vol.I, pp. 3.10.
3. Report Forest Administration, 1919-20 p. 29.
4. Report of the forest Committee Vol. I p. 8.
5. See Table- "comperative statement of Impounded Cattle." between years 1910-11 and 1922-23.
6. Report forest Administration, 1905-06, p. 37.
7. Ibid., 1915-16 to 1918-19.

tops the presidency as regards forest offences."[1] In fact protection from man and beast became the chief problem in Guntur district,"[2] this in fact, was an indication of the contradiction, which would be coming to surface sooner or later with its anti-imperialist colour.

Lastly, the grievances piled up against the forest officers who were examples of corruption in those areas. For a long time past, the people had been undergoing hardships in the matter of forest administration.[3] Even though, they were paying prohibitively high fees for grazing their cattle, for cutting wood for fuel and for gathering leaf manure, they had suffered at the hands of the corrupt forest officials. In practice, with the high bribes demanded by the officials, their economic burden doubled and their position became unimaginable. The forest department subordinates had become notorious for their most corrupt practices in the Presidency.[4] This was mostly because there was not sufficient super-

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1. Ibid., 1919-20, p. 17.
2. Ibid.
3. RNNPM-Reel No. 26, op.cit., p. 323.
4. Report of the Forest Committee, Vol. I, pp. 7-8; Administrative Report of the Forest Department of the Madras Presidency of 1919-20 (Madras, 1920) p. 29.

vision over the contacts of the minor forest subordinates with the rural population.[1] They in practice squeezed the blood of the tribals as well as the cultivators who were dependent upon the forests.[2] This exploitation was more intense in Guntur and Cuddapah, where the civil Disobedience movement was widespread.[3] However, it was only after 1920s that the roots of the movement went deep into the hearts of the people, with the miseries added to by the widespread famines in Andhra.[4]

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1. Report of the Forest Committee, op.cit., pp. 6-8.
2. For example, "...In Kurnool and Cuddapah the colonies of tribal Chenchus made a living out of labouring and abetting the Lambadies against the forest subordinates. In 1920, the Department set about extinguishing their privileges in the forests, dispersing their colonies and driving them out of the forests altogether." Administration Report of the Forest...op.cit., 1919-20,p.29.
3. RNNPM - For year 1914 - p. 1178; A detailed report is available on the conditions of Agency people in Andhra Patrika, November 21, 1921; January 25, March 4 to 6, 1922; Janmabhumi, August 11, 1921.
4. Andhra Patrika, Sept. 8, 1920, p. 3, See the full report (in Telugu) which will give the overall picture of the sufferings of the people living in the forest areas. The report described both official exploitation of the people and the distress caused by the natural calamities in those areas. Also see, RNNPM - R.No. 25, p. 1235-6. "The Government Forest Administration" reported in the 'Navava Dipika' (Madras) of the October 4, 1921; Report Forest Administration, op.cit. 1919-20, pp. 17; 1920-21 pp. 14-15. Madala, op.cit., pp. 81-83. Quoted extracts from the 'Kistna Patrika'; RNNPM - R. No. 25, p. 943; Palnata Duranlamulu, op.cit., pp. 11-12; Anavuva, (Monthly in Telugu Kakinada), July-Aug. 1919; Andhra Patrika Jan. 21, Feb. 3, March 25, July 22, Sept. 8 and 9, 1920.

Palnad in Guntur district was an important area where the experiment of Civil Disobedience was tried, initially away from the Gandhian leadership, if not from his ideology. Because of the above discussed problems, the tribals and peasants grew restive. As the whole atmosphere was surcharged with ideas of non-cooperation, they decided to give vent to their discontent in some form. As a result, they organised a social boycott of all officials not only of the forest department but also of the revenue department.[1] The boycott had its centre in Macherla and the villages in its neighbourhood. In July 1921 on the arrest of Unnava Lakshminarayana and Vedantam Narasimhachari, who were deputed by the APCC to visit the area, the villages were infuriated and launched a no-tax campaign.[2] The nationalist papers gave a good coverage to this movement. Deshabhimani (Guntur) of the 2nd July described their grievances as: "Restrictions have grown more severe and fines have increased... If cattle stray into a neighbouring block, they will be impounded in some place and calves in another (place)... (And) our division (Palnad) sustaining

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1. Ibid.; The Hindu, August 22, 1921.

2. Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., pp. 36-37, ; Madala, op.cit., p. 84; Ayyadevara, op.cit., p. 336. Deesbhakta, op.cit., pp. 230-231;
On the imprisonment of Lakshminarayana and Narasimha Chari, the Kistna Patrika wrote that "The collector after a trial of five minutes gave them each one year simple imprisonment. The fire of Kury kindled in the people of Palnad by the imprisonment of these two patriots"... August 1, 1921.

much loss in money on account of penalties. To avoid this and save ourselves from famine, we have organised a scheme of non-violent non-cooperation by which we have entered into an agreement....(i.e.) not to render any help to any forest Official and to boycott such as violate this, not to pay fees or fines, etc., we request patriotic Andhra leaders to encourage us; and save from the trouble at the hands of this Government."[1]

Thus initially the movement was started by the local leaders because of the enthusiasm among the people. The cattle graziers and forest tribesmen, objecting to new regulation of the forests and to new taxes on forest produce, raised an agitation, which temporarily undercut the tenuous hold of law and order in the forest tracks. Since the people were sending their cattle frequently into the reserve forests without paying the usual grazing fees, the Government strengthened the number of forest guards and also stationed additional Police in the area.[2] Now the clash between the fearless masses and the colonial police force became inevitable. Fearing a

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1. Quoted from RNNPM -R. No. 25, p. 1030; Also see p. 943.
2. Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., p. 37; Report Forest Administration, op.cit. 1919-20, p. 17; 1920-21 pp. 2 & 14-15; 1922-23, pp. 13-14.

probable clash between the people and the guards, the Congress leaders asked the villagers in August to call off the no-tax campaign while continuing the social boycott.[1] But the popular mood was not willing to come into the fold of the Congress passive programme, because of the intensity of the exploitation and the consequent resentment against that exploitation and the exploiters. Hence the villagers continued the movement under a militant leader like Kannuganti Hanumantu,[2] sending their cattle into forests without paying the grazing fees. Matters came to a head in February, 1922, when the no-tax campaign of the militant type was at its height in Pedanandipad firka. As was observed by the Collector[3] in one of his reports to Government, "Swaraj

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1. Ibid., The General Body Meeting Resolutions of the District Congress Committee, Guntur, Oct. 10, 1921; The Resolution of the Executive of the Guntur D.C.C., Nov. 14, 1921 (available in Vetapetem Saraswathiniketan).
2. Ibid., Document No. 67.
3. Ibid., p. 38; That the defiance of forest laws became the chief problem in Guntur district. The forest subordinates were in a helpless position to detect cases due to their fear of the lawless situation among the people. Due to this Non-cooperation movement free grazing became an acute problem. It was further observed that "Fifty-eight cases of assault on forest officials occured in Guntur and the usual mob violence was resorted to when forest Laws were enforced by isolated subordinates. To quell this lawlessness and the organised social boycott of Forest Officers, the protective staff was concentrated into one large party for each range. "There were two sensational cases of forced rescue of cattle found illicitly grazing in reserves and of assault of subordinates. On account of this state of affirs

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was proclaimed in several villages. Clashes between the forest guard and the police who impounded the cattle and the people who were bent on rescuing them became frequent. In many villages the police were overpowered by the rescuing parties, whenever the police tried to arrest one leader or the other. Especially, Minchalapadu became famous for illicit grazing and for violent opposition even to the visits of forest officers."

However, the death of their leader Kannaganti Hanumanthu in the police firing on February 26th in Minchalapadu[1] and the arrest of other prominent members

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Punitive Police were appointed by Government. In one case 40 men were arrested, while 19 were subsequently sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying 3 to 6 months besides a total fine of Rs 4,000; in another, after repeated warnings against the violence of rioters, the police had no alternative but to open fire. Two of the rioters and the Syce of the Sub-Inspector who had got mixed up in the crowd was killed. 37 arrested and under trial. The effect was on the whole salutory resulting in the payment of grazing fees. A special Magistrate was appointed in this district, to see these cases. Punitive Police with motor transport...were posted to the Palnad to enforce obedience to forest laws." Report Forest Administration, 1921-22, pp. 14-15.

1. Ibid., D. Nos. 67-68., pp. 290-295, RNNPM-R.No. 26, p. 323, "The Palnad shooting and the Government Communique", Report published in Andhra Patrika, March 7, 1922. It reads - "Details about this are not to be found in the first Communique. It is not possible to believe, in the ordinary course of things, that women could have offered opposition to the police or the Military... It is horrible that women should have fallen victims to the rifle shots. The violence offered by the people has not been well explained in the Government Communiques. Not a single policeman seems to have received any injuries.

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of the movement, in turn, demoralized the inhabitants. Moreover, by the end of February, the tempo of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the district had also grown weak as a result of the Bardoli resolutions. By March 1, 1922, most of the villagers of Mutkur, which had been a particularly troublesome place both for non-payments of kist and pullari and for boycotting and molestation of forest officers, also fell into line. Thus, the forest Satyagraha of Palnad also came to an end.[1]

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but the people sustained injuries and three of them died... "In fact Kannuganti Hanumanthu was a legendary figure in Andhra. He was regarded as the leader who rebelled against the colonial administration, when its exploitation reached its height. Even today he is a well known legendary figure to whom the people pay their respects as to Alluri Sitarama Raju, who was the leader of the famous Rampa Rebellion of 1922-24. Both these persons were believed to have enjoyed undaunted loyalty from all sections of the society in their war against the British.

1. After the movement led by Hanumanthu, another leader Andhra political arena with an armed rebellion upon the colonial administration. This is known as Rampa Rebellion of 1922-24. The leader Alluri Sitarama Raju not only showed some practical understanding of the colonial exploitation at the outset but also maintained links with the plains. However, because of his limited armed strength and the lack of support from other militant groups of the other areas, especially the plains, his rebellion was crushed by the British army. His rebellion was an example of the traditional tribal reaction to British expansion, as well as to the native money lenders, commercial agencies' and forest contractors' intrusion directly or indirectly supported by the British into the tribal society. It failed because of the failure of their understanding of the well-established British rule

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Another area, where the protests were conducted against the arbitrary forest regulations, was the Rayachoti taluq of Cuddapah.[1] Here the non-cooperation lecturers went about the villages inciting the people to break the forest laws.[2] The outcome of this campaign was that the boundary stones were removed in many places and people began to trespass into the forests defiantly removing whatever they required.[3] The forest subordinates were completely terrorised and felt helpless.[4] Cattle and goats were driven into the forests to graze without permits.[5] The situation became so serious that to restore normalcy the collector got

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geographical limitations of the spread of movement (since plains have not supported it was limited to hills) and also because of the very nature of the rebellion i.e., traditional in nature. This violent tribal rebellion as in other provinces, resulted in the butchery of the tribal people. For a detailed history of this movement see, V. Raghavaiah (ed), Tribal Revolts, (Nellore, 1971); Venkatrangaiya, op.cit., Vol. III, Documents Nos. 101 to 119; RNNP (1923), Reel No. 27, pp. 82, 670-71, 752, 1098-99, 1350 & 1443-46; Andhra Patrika, May 8-11, 1924; Kistna Patrika, Oct. 25, 1924; Janmabhumi, May 15, 1924; Sullivan, Report On the Rampa Outbreak, (Madras, 1948); Yerramilli Narasimha Rao, Sri Alluri Seetharamaraju Charitra, (1922-24, Raju Vipleyam) (Telugu).

1. Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., D. No. 68.
2. Ibid.; Hom. Pol., Dec., 1921, File No. 18, p. 27.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

punitive police force stationed in the most troublesome villages.[1] This had its effect and the movement came to an end in the taluq. There were some further sporadic no-tax campaigns in Kistna and Godavari districts.[2] But these campaigns were not widespread and were limited in nature and militancy. Consequently, in Kistna and Godavari districts, the movement for the non-payment of taxes collapsed within a short span of time and revenue began to pour in normally. However, by April 1, 1922, the no-tax campaign had come to a complete end in almost all the Andhra districts.[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 39.

2. Ibid., p. 40; Document Nos. 47 to 48, 51, 57 & 66. Andhra Patrika, Feb. 6, 1922; And also see Feb. 11, 1922; The Hindu, Jan 24, 1922; ANNPM, Reel No. 24, pp. 657, 781, 1087 & 1119; Reel No. 25, pp. 448, 1058, 1095, 1096, 1245-6, 1468 and 1519; Reel No. 26, pp. 90-91, 110, 117-8, 181, 233, 328 & 329-30.

3. Ibid., p. 50.

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Thus both 'Chirala-Perala and Palnad' mass civil Disobedience movements were the direct products of colonial economic exploitation. The basic awareness of this specific character of colonialism, especially by artisan, peasants and merchant classes, resulted in the manifestation of this militant civil Disobedience Movement. This contradiction with Imperialism brought out more clearly by the new intelligentsia. But it was not able to formulate a radical political programme of action.

In a situation where there was no alternate radical political leadership to lead in more direct militant action or confrontation, there was no other way except to follow the Congress Path of political action, whatever the 'passiveness' of the Programme might be. However, one should not overlook the fact that the Congress did take up the demands which had their direct bearing on the economic conditions of the masses. In this case they fought against the imposition of a municipality which in turn would have led to the increased tax burden of nearly Rs 40,000. In practice the immediate demands remained within the broad anti-imperialist struggle. Even though the Chirala - Perala movement was called off without getting its immediate demand of the abolition of municipality fulfilled, after 11 months self-suffering, still the Congress retained its mass social base. Since that was not viewed as a defeat but as a compromise to prepare for a future longer struggle.

In the case of Palnad 'Styagraha' it was the product of, on the one hand, of various long-term developments, notably the increasing exploitation of the tribals, more often by the State and its agencies; and on the other, of various short-term factors i.e., the increasing violent exploitative intrusion of the forest officials into the tribal society in the region. Here the whole course of the militant agitation brought to light one essential drawback or lack of ingredient namely some "coordinating agency to concentrating the diffused energy of general discontent into a powerful and concentrated thrust" against Imperialism.[1] This was perhaps due to the nature of the Congress ideology. No doubt in the case of Palnad the outsiders indoctrinated tribals or peasants with an ideology but limited its scope and militancy of political action. But it does not mean that the widely shared beliefs in certain forms of social justice in tribal life and the radical spontanity in action were also completely transformed and brought the peasants and tribals completely into the fold of the Congress ideology. In fact, this radical spontanity resulted in many individual and group assaults on the forest officials. The cases of the mob attacks to rescue their impounded cattle were a good example. There

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1. Philip Longworth, "Peasant Leadership and the Pugachev Revolts", in Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 2, 1974-75.

were even directly organised confrontations with forest guards and punitive police, in one of which their Kannegunti Hanumantu was killed by the Police. So when such incidents began to take the movement to a higher level of direct confrontation with Imperialism, Congress called off the movement. They even actively helped to identify the so-called 'criminals' and put them behind bars. Thus the limits of the Congress political programme and actions were exposed.

To sum up, the civil Disobedience Movement in Andhra brought two facts into limelight; one was the limitations of the Congress political ideology in terms of its passive political action, of course, explicitly acting within the basic framework of anti-Imperialist struggle and second was the obvious extension of its social base deep into masses.

The widespread non-cooperation movement had pushed the Madras Presidency politics into the fore-front of national politics. It was only in the second phase of the movement, called the Civil Disobedience, that the limitations of the Congress Ideology were exposed. The Congress leadership neither satisfied the militant rural masses, who had demonstrated their agitational potentiality, nor was it able to push their grievances into the forefront of the movement because of the very nature of the

non-violent Gandhian ideology and the passive programme which dominated the Congress. The analysis given above of the declining socio-economic conditions of the people in the colonial context, influenced the course of the movement as well as the nature of the class participation in it. In the rural sector the movement was dominated by the middle peasants, backed by the poored classes like Mala and Madiga, who were considered as untouchables in the society. This resulted in the famous no-tax campaign in areas like Pedanandipa, Palnad and Chirala-Perala. This class participation can be well explained against the background of the social and economic miseries, which radically altered the politics of Andhra during 19th and the early years of the 20th century. The non-cooperation movement in Andhra was marked by the manifestations of peasant grievances, namely, of the peasants against the unbearable burden of land revenue and other terms of the village officials against the intrusion of the British administration into their age old rights of the poor peasants against the rising prices and increasing poverty; of the artisans and other native professional classes against the destruction of their traditional professions; of educated elite class against unemployment and the monopolization of posts in the administrative field by the Europeans; and of the tribal people and peasants against forest administration.

The movement of 1920-22 was determined in the immediate sense by the decisions of leaders and the ideological influences working upon them. But the ultimate results were conditioned, perhaps more, by the deeper socio-economic forces rather than by the individuals. The analysis of the nature of the social forces at work in the movement indicates two levels of the participation. At one level the vastly enhanced role of the bourgeois groups both in contributing heavily to the initial striking power of the non-tax campaign and ultimately in its calling off; on the other level, the demonstration of the agitational potentiality of the poor as well as the middle peasantry, and the tribal classes, who waged militant civil disobedience struggles. Later they were drawn into the fold of the bourgeois ideology and remained politically subordinate to the Congress leadership, as the bourgeoisie proved skilful enough to cash in no popular discontent retaining at the same time ultimate control over it, because of its somewhat militant class interests, and the agitational potentiality under the leadership of the new educated elite class. However, towards the end of the year 1921, i.e., at the vortex of the non-cooperation movement a contradiction was emerging; certain forms of struggle - the boycott of foreign cloths, development of Swadeshi,

boycott of courts, offices, and schools the renouncing of titles and so on and so forth[1] - which were mostly confined to the urban centres were definitely weakening, whereas the other possible forms of struggle like non-payment of revenues, grazing fees of 'pullari', tribal social boycott of the officials alongwith the violation of forest rules and the non-payment of forest fees were gaining momentum.[2] It was at this point of radical departure that the Congress leadership began to work for a compromise[3], because of the insistent and given nature of the Gandhian ideology inherent in the Congress political action. In the absence of other alternative potential militant political forces, the Congress strategy remained dominant.

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1. For example see, Venkatarangaiya, Vol. II, op.cit., D. No. 6; By June 21, 1921, there were figures which showed that the non-cooperation in Andhradesa was making some progress in the urban areas.
2. Ibid., In this vol. III he has given a number of documents which point towards the fact that the no-tax campaign dominated the non-cooperation movement in Andhra between 1921-22, and the urban based movement was hardly prominent.
3. In almost all areas the Congress pressurised the local leaders and the people to withdraw their movements, even though the people were not in a mood to step back without achieving victory. In fact, they had continued the movement, even after the call-off of the movement from the Congress side, but failed to continue it owing to the fact that the middle class elite groups stepped back leaving the masses to the repression of the British Government. Pedanandipad and Chirala-Perala were the best examples.

CHAPTER - IV

CLASS CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT

Here the characterisation of the movement would be in terms of nature of social hegemony over the whole movement, of course in the light of the character of its political and economic programme and forms of struggle. In other words the ideological and social hegemony largely determined the class character of the non-cooperation movement in Andhra.

The discussion in the foregoing pages shows the crucial importance of the emergence of a rich peasant class and of other social classes. It is corroborated by the nature of the social participation in the militant disobedience movements in Andhra between 1920-22. One must note that the basic links between the masses and congress were established beyond doubt. The basic masses of the agricultural labourers, peasants and artisans were integerated into the broad spectrum of the anti-Imperialist struggle. This is perhaps the most important aspect of the growth of the national movement in Andhra. If one considers the whole course of the civil disobedience movement (1920-22) in Andhra, the striking feature would be the widespread support from the capitalist class. Here the capitalist class

we meant those groups who had their interest in local business, cottage industries, and other manufacturing sectors and the rich peasant class which now actively investing in agricultural capital in rice-milling, cotton-pressing and other form of small industries as well as in commodity production in agriculture. In supporting this movement which was basically anti-Imperialist, they had their deep-rooted grievances and class interests at stake.

As we have seen earlier the colonial rule bore harshly on the development of Andhra capitalist class, which was of course a part of national phenomenon. Even the limited industrial development was monopolised by foreign capitalists and the policy as a whole was lopsided in nature.[1] The contradiction was apparent. Speaking in

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1. The Director of Industries, Madras, Mr. C.A.Innes pointed out in his letter to the Secretary to Government, Revenue (special) Department that, "Further there is our own narrow Madras point of views. To put it bluntly, Madras is going to pay the piper, but the Government of India is going to class the tune... that nearly one-third of the gross provincial contributions to the Government of India is to be levied from Madras. On the other hand, industrially the future lies mainly with Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, and there is a considerable danger that Bengal industries will be developed with Madras money." (P. 50). This is another side of the coin. However the real policy was to adopt centralised control on the Industrial development. In practice it took into its hold all the 'large organised industries' which were essential from military safety point of view and neglected the others. The cottage industries and the small organised industries were entirely left with the provincial governments, even though the past history proved that they failed in developing those industries. It was clearly stated by Sir Thomas Holland that "the simple cottage and village industries ... will die anyway...(since they were in

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one of the 'Native Imports Merchants' Association' Mr. Srinivas Iyangar pointed out that the merchants were in need of more militancy in action to get their demands fulfilled. He at length narrated the grievances of the merchants. That "Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India were searching secure ways only to develop the commerce in favour of native merchants, they have to pass necessary legislative protective measures, but the government was not doing so. The way out would be to fight with the Government to get such protection". He further observed, that "due to the present exchange rates we are loosing Rs. 30 to 40 for every hundred. In some conditions even hundred to hundred. All these things are basically due to Government's policy.... So at least hereafter we have to stop in cooperating with England". Taking about demands, he said that "Banks have to give long term credits' to the native merchants. If Banks' fail to do so due to their doubts about security, the Government must do so (financing)[.] And for the present stored stocks, bills should be exchanged by giving 2 shillings to worth 'one' rupee. At least hereafter do not depend upon Government, have self-confidence. Stop imports. Develop exports and manufacturing of goods for exports. This is the real meaning of 'Swadeshi'."[1] Thus by 1920, the

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(contd... from last page...) the hands of the Local Governments) (p. 66). Again in Innes' words, "In the circumstances of India, Government must abandon its laissez-faire policy and must play an active part in (industrial) development. But it cannot do so...." (p. 50) Department of Commerce & Industry, June, 1919, Nos. 7-22, Part I -A (confidential)

1. Andhra Patrika, January 27, 1921, p. 7 (translated from Telugu).

contradiction with colonialism was realised by the Andhra capitalist class. The need for them was not cooperation with British but with the nationalists. Consequently, when non-cooperation movement became a powerful mass movement, the capitalists and urban as well as rural rich merchants could not afford to neglect the opportunity, since that was the only powerful means through which they could safeguard their class interests. No wonder that the slogan of ' 'Swadeshi',[1] became a powerful slogan for the congress, rather than peasant grievances.

Under the influence of this capitalist class many 'Swadeshi Santhalu' or pairs of pure handspuns and other cottage industries articles were being organised throughout the Andhra under the Congress supervision as a part of the

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1. Andhra Patrika, November 21, 1921, A 'Vaisya' meeting in Vizagapatam, 10,11 and 12, emphasized the need for the development of Khadi; Dec. 21, A report on the progress of the Non-cooperation Movement sent by the Guntur Congress Committee Secretary praised the work done in developing Swadeshi. There were 17,8824 'Charkas' working" and he says it seems an equal number who are not given here are also working"; January 20, 1922, in one Vijayanagaram Merchants meeting, merchants of all Hindu and Muslim communities gathered together and passed a series of resolutions to implement the Congress programme main are"(1) All foreign cloths should be banned; (2) At every home 'charkas' should produce cotton sting for cloths; (3) All should only use Khaddar cloths". In order to implement these regulations they formed sub-committees of 20 members; February 11 and April 13, 1922 shows the enthusiasm of the capitalist class in propagating 'swadeshi' ideal activity helping Congress.

non-cooperation movement.[1] Propaganda of the spinning wheel through the agency of the local bodies became another powerful slogan of the Congress.[2] In fact, the development of native industries was the main programme of propaganda in the urban as well as rural sectors. Reporting on the second fair held at Machilipatnam of 'Suddha Swadeshi Articles', Janmabhumi carried a report which reads:

> Swadeshi articles -- chiefly cloth, (were sold at fair) last week was a spectacle for the bureaucrats to witness from their high pedestals. The fair was timed to suit salaried men who would have money in hand. There was a rush passage in and out proved difficult. Reactionary parents were forced to buy Khaddar by their irrepressible boys and girls. To poverty Khaddar came as a salvation.... Many that brought a pair of cloths, tore them into two and tied one on the head and wore the other on the body.... The police were not unaffected. Khaddar carries no politics to those who eschew it. It is brimming with politics to those who are steeped in it. To all it brings salvation -- political or economic. It is everything to everybody. It is nothing only to nobodies.[3]

This social hegemony was more apparent in many of the Congress statements and view expressed by the nationalist regional papers in Andhra. The Ryot Patrika, referred to the dependance of the Indians on foreigners for finished articles and concluded with the remark that "not to speak

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1. Janmabhumi, May 12, p.2; June 2,p. 2; June 16, p.2, 1921.
2. Ibid., June 16, 1921.
3. Janmabhumi, July14, 1921, p.3. (Emphasis added).

of their political dependence, their economic dependence stands in the way of their commanding respect from foreigners, and that this dependence is the root cause of the disabilities and dishonour of the Indians in the colonies".[1] It was observed by Andhravani that "It is a good thing that the conference held at Bombay has adopted with far -- sightedness, a resolution that the Government of India should impose retaliatory duties upon the goods of the colonies which impose taxes on Indian goods with a view to teach them a lesson.... It is difficult for India to have commercial and industrial freedom, so long as the central government is not made responsible. We must therefore strive incessantly to secure complete self government in order to secure economic progress".[2] Another nationalists' organ Kistnapatrika said that"... only when we can become swadeshi or national in our tastes and fashions, will political fetters slip of themselves just like sear leaves drop from the tree. To re-establish the spinning wheel in our homes is to regain our lost prosperity and learning. When we can regain them, swaraj is an easy matter...."[3] In fact that contradiction of the capitalist class with colonialism and the need for 'Swaraj' as the only remedy for the then prevailing economic backwardness

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1. A.N.N.P.M. Reel No. 24, P. 1354.
2. Ibid., p. 200.
3. Kistnapatrika, February 19, 1921.

were brought out in a lecture delivered at Guntur on Fiscal Autonomy in Telugu. The lecturer said that:

> the decline of the indigenous Indian handicrafts is one chief evil of the present Government; that owing to unequal competition with foreigners, all the people have resorted to agriculture; that, owing to the failure on the part of the Government to create facilities for its improvement famines have prevailed in the country; that the unjust tariff rates of the Government have paralised the Indian trade; and that the foreigners who have learned all arts from the Indians have proved ungrateful to them by superseding them in every respect and reducing them to a helpless condition". The lecturer "recommends protective tariffs and the imparting of industrial education to the people as the only remedy for this state of things, which can be possible only when swaraj is obtained. 1

In the actual movement the capitalist class perhaps played a more important role. When the Congress became a mass organisation, it was hard pressed by the want of financial resources. Had not the capitalist class come to its rescue in terms of financial help, the organisation of the mass non-cooperation movement would have suffered a set back. To quote one small example from Guntur, it was observed that "there were 4010 village congress committees" with a hardcore membership of 1,88,599.[2] We have been told by Sri Konda Venkatappaiah that when Gandhi visited Chirala

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1. 'Desabhimani', February 13, 1921, in NANPM, Reel No. 25, p. 289.

2. Andhra Patrika, December 21, 1921.

during 1921, the merchants contributed a large amount towards the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund'.[1] In the case of militant Civil Disobedience movement in Chirala -- Perala, few of the big merchants actively helped Sri Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya in running the militant movement against the imposition of the Municipality.[2] In the case of Pedanandipad no-tax campaign, the whole movement was led by the rich peasant class under the leadership of Sri Veerayya, who had a share in the big rice-milling business with the partnership of some merchants.[3] In Guntur and Kistna districts the rich peasant class had direct connections with the urban business and industries. This class was expanding in the rice-milling industry so rapidly after 1900 that by 1920 rice milling had become a big rural industry.[4] Here they mostly invested their agricultural surplus accumulated in commodity production through favourable marketing system. In fact with the help of rich peasant class, P. Veeraiah lead a powerful no-tax campaign in Pedanandipad, which engulfed nearly 80 villages.

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1. Desabhakta, Autobiography, op.cit., p. 262.
2. The Hindu, July 28, 1921; 'Desabhimani', October 22, 1919 in RKNPM, 1919; G.V. Subba Rao, Sree Gopalakrishnayya, (Amalapuram, 1935) pp. 45-60 and 63-73; Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 30-34.
3. N.G. Ranga, Economic Organisation of Indian Villages, (Bezwada, 1926) Vol.I, pp. 35-37; Venkatarangaiya, op.cit., Vol. III, Document Nos. 56-57.
4. Proceedings Department of Commerce and Industry, January 1919, No. 115 - Filed and Indexed (NAI),p.6.

Thus the capitalist class not only provided financial help, but gave impetus to the non-cooperation movement in Andhra. Hence, despite the wide mass social base of the movement, the social dominance of capitalist class continued throughout the movement. This social hegemony over the movement perhaps determined the forms of political tactics.

Even though, non-violent struggle for freedom was the dominant and the basic philosophy behind the Congress strategy there did occur a shift in the form of political tactics. For the first time an important role was assigned to the masses; and militant mass struggles were the dominant feature of the civil disobedience movement in Andhra. The political activities which hitherto were to be confined to the stratum of the educated or to the "educated classes" were extended to the masses, i.e. peasants, artisants and working class. The alienation between the 'educated middle class' - dominated Congress and the masses was considerably lessened. This was the real cause behind the radicalness of the civil disobedience movement, especially in Chirala-Perala, Pedanandipad and Palnad areas between 1921 and 1922. Still the basic tactics was to keep the masses at a passive level for as Professor Bipan Chandra has observed:

> the political activity of the masses was rigidly controlled from the top. The masses never became an independent political force. The question of their participation in the decision making process was never even raised. The masses were always to remain - to coin a phrase - 'passive actors' or 'extras' whose political activity

> remained under the rigid control of middle class leaders and within the confines of the needs of bourgeois social development.... 1

The political tactics and the forms of struggle led by Congress leadership in Andhra were such that the radical mass movements were conducted within the broad framework of Gandhian political hegemoney. The spontanity of the palnad tribals and peasants and the radical response of the peasants, artisans and other low middle classes in Pedanandipad and Chirala - Perala, were completely subordinated to the Congress organisational hegemony through the local leadership. This was the leadership which with its links with the National Congress created or rather shrewdly channalised and articulated the peasant grievances into an organised all-round peasant struggle.

The limitations of the Congress political tactics and the militant civil disobedience movements were apparent in Palnad, Chirala-Perala and Pedanandipad. In the case of Palnad a near-revolutionary movement came into existence due to obvious social conditions. It is clear that this militancy would naturally lead to direct confrontation with colonial authorities. But Congress was quick in calling off the social boycott movement and in saying that"... we do not countenance this social boycott...(and) the Palnad ryots owe not that inspiration of social boycott to non-cooperation

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1. Bipan Chandra, Elements of Continuity and Change in Early Nationalist Activity, (a Paper presented at the Symposium on "Congtinuity and Change in Indian National Movement", Indian History Congress, Muzaffarpur, 1972)(Memiographed),p.8.

but originated the idea themselves."[1] So their cry of "Lead, kindly masses! lead ye us on to Swaraj"[2] was their central slogan, but not for the cause of the peasants' real grievances but only to articulate their grievances into an all-round movement which would serve the interests of that anti-imperialist struggle, with the obvious limits. However, we are not arguing here that the fact of holding back the militancy of the peasants, was absolutely a negative factor in the Congress tactics. The Congress leaders argued that "For Civil Disobedience if it means action is nothing short — in the ultimate analysis — of the withholding of taxes. It is means individual acts, the step does not mean much. The Congress committee is worried only because it still doubts whether the country is sufficiently organised, disciplined and ripe for such a step...."[3] The crux of the matter however was not the lack of preparedness or the lack of agitational potentiality of the peasants or masses as such, but something else. That was the congress need to subordinate the inner contradiction of Indian Society to the basic anti-imperialist struggle within the framework of 'bourgeois' nationalist ideology. This was apparent in their hesitation in starting the

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1. Ibid.
2. Janmabhumi, August 11, 1921, p.2.
3. Janmabhumi, September 29, 1921, p.9.

no-tax campaign in zamindari areas within the Pedanandipad firka, where the militant no-tax campaign was spear-headed by the rich peasant class. The Janmabhumi observed: "There was however, some hesitancy on the part of provinces which had no Ryotwari tenures. There the intercession of the zamindar or the talukdar proves a real complication and it was apprehended that possibilities of non-violence might be disturbed as in the case of the Kisan disturbances in U.P. There is little doubt that the Ryotwari system of Gujarat and Andhra facilitates the task of the non-cooperator and the non-payment of taxes, for the level of the average ryot in these tracts is both intellectually and economically much higher than that of the tenantry in permanently settled provinces..." [1] Consequently, the Andhra provincial congress committee limited the permission to a non-tax campaign "to land tax, water cess and quit-rent payable to the British Government. They shrewdly and wisely eliminated the zamindari tenant. All taxes due to the zamindar are duly payable to him. Thus we eliminate civil war in the country."[2] No doubt the inner contradictions were more important and crucial for the peasantry in Zamindari areas, and ito such extent even in ryotwari areas, but these could be resolved only by a revolutionary movement led by the peasantry itself. Moreover the peasants were not living outside the society as a separate entity; they in fact

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1. Janmabhumi, November 17, 1921, p.5.

2. Ibid, January 22, 1922, p.2 (emphasis added).

found the basic part and hence the basic contradiction with imperialism was of crucial importance to them too. That is why they were able to fight with militancy even under the Congress leadership, and the Congress of course, subordinated the inner contradictions to the anti-Imperialist struggle.

TOTAL HOLDINGS, ASSESSMENT, REMISSIONS AND NET REVENUE DEMAND FOR REPRESENTATIVE YEARS IN ANDHRA DISTRICTS

	Holdings - Total (Acres)				Assessment - Total (in Rs.)				Remissions - Total (in Rs.)				Total Revenue Demand (in Rs.)			
	1901-02	1904-05	1907-08	1910-11	1901-02	1904-05	1907-08	1910-11	1901-02	1904-05	1907-08	1910-11	1901-02	1904-05	1907-08	1910-11
Ganjam	404290	418280	426519	435603	991931	913089	930739	1075052	23946	14037	113567	41165	1037080	1131461	1056228	1225955
		3.46	1.97	2.13						-41.14	708.98	-63.75		9.10	-6.65	16.07
Vizagapatam	173569	181652	185509	182860	459202	473693	479769	492044	73172	24214	136275	5308	537692	594890	486703	679482
		4.66	2.12	-1.43						-66.91	462.79	-96.11		10.64	-18.19	39.61
Godavari	1036513	559402	573078	599478	4338213	2247907	2284459	2366030	41029	20494	68771	6291	6055039	3238354	3312693	3418266
		-46.03	2.45	4.61						120.56	-26.22	-90.58		-46.52	2.30	3.19
Kistna	965766	978383	979773	1008136	3538937	3643966	3747797	3829078	74639	118362	67019	17310	5116548	5272594	5639760	5853603
		1.31	0.14	2.90						58.58	-43.38	-74.17		3.05	6.96	3.79
Guntur	1805504	1912219	1916001	1925239	3947625	4377515	5051371	5083231	25717	239974	66929	13369	4460419	4894429	5263053	5528312
		5.91	0.20	0.48						833.13	-72.11	-79.73		9.73	7.53	5.04
Nellore	1128977	896393	916650	955105	2394833	1882394	2234629	2308240	37239	658324	69681	35586	2473378	1358693	2342944	2487471
		-20.59	2.26	4.20						1666.89	-89.42	-48.96		-45.07	72.44	6.17
Total	5167382	4926329	4997530	5106421					275662	1145405	520222	119209	19680156	16490421	18101381	19193089
Kurnool	1367061	1414078	1420931	1470411	1447911	1446626	1542058	1629551	100265	465036	197446	11829	1684887	1297612	1685537	1991665
		3.44	0.49	3.48						364.71	-57.77	-93.69		-22.99	29.90	18.16
Bellary	1909404	1965528	1905872	1953008	1964152	1936060	1612669	1650680	121646	22035	25050	7623	1676012	1793615	1828086	1889288
		3.10	-3.16	2.47						-81.87	16.41	-70.39		7.02	1.76	3.52
Anantapur	1394369	1458478	1585710	1949594	1046481	1071699	1109982	1380320	128845	96433	105299	29641	1057490	1117252	1150265	1548162
		4.60	8.72	16.64						-23.98	9.19	-71.87		5.65	2.96	34.59
Cuddapah	849362	851611	867975	878516	1306917	1294372	1343464	1366189	276727	368223	199031	49715	1287603	1189328	1431147	1620609
		0.27	1.92	1.21						33.07	-47.07	-73.56		-7.71	20.43	13.24
Chittoor	437628	433195	444649	453255	706113	695273	721977	768132	115738	150804	114663	23002	707047	660439	713438	878970
		-1.01	2.64	1.94						30.13	-23.86	-79.94		-6.59	8.03	23.20
Total	5857824	6022390	6225137	6604784					741118	1090321	621099	121810	6413039	6057246	6805473	7928694
GRAND TOTAL	11025206	10949219	11222667	11711205					1016780	2235626	1141321	241019	26093195	22547667	24906854	27121783
% of Increase or Decrease		-0.69	2.50	4.35						119.87	-48.95	-78.88		-13.59	10.46	8.89

SOURCE: Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1910-11.

APPENDIX - Ia.

	Total Holdings-(Acres)				Assessment		Total (in Rs.)		Remissions - Total (in Rs.)				Total Revenue Demand (in Rs.)			
	1911-12	1915-16	1918-19	1920-21	1911-12	1915-16	1918-19	1920-21	1911-12	1915-16	1918-19	1920-21	1911-12	1915-16	1918-19	1920-21
Ganjam	436123*	470691	477613	483829	1074171	1138782	1124001	1129422	75850	24424	364042	33856	1277675	1305045	1199040	1289811
	0.12	7.93	1.47	1.30					84.26	-67.80	49.09	-7.0	4.22	2.14	-11.19	11.28
Vizagapatam	164168	166168	170852	174179	463762	490766	496609	562284	85101	8295	94540	130807*	566844	659622	710374	610460
	-10.22	1.22	2.82	1.95					1503.26	-90.25	1039.72	38.36	-16.58	16.37	7.69	-14.07
Godavari	464967*	467460	480477	484478	2428374	2451927	2414684	2383030	15598	12856	96710	118685	3586845	3614916	3592557	3434610
	-22.44	0.54	2.79	0.83					147.94	-17.58	652.26	22.72	4.93	0.78	-0.62	- 4.40
Kistna	1012960	1024764	1024921	1025375	3955149	4077679	4163683	4072747	33311	60669	176223	123323	6088347	6319098	6376954	6795751
	0.48	1.17	0.02	0.04					92.44	142.17	118.45	-30.02	4.01	3.79	0.92	6.57
Guntur	1845224	1878793	1889239	1895874	4948598	5005038	5032638	5073657	21692*	16154	34194	23347	5477830	5565095	5580197	5581873
	-4.16	1.82	0.56	0.35					59.86	-25.53	111.42	-31.64	-0.91	1.59	0.27	0.03
Nellore	949270*	986792	975470	978800	2288935	2369270	2422166	2349524	20505	25673	22705	15733	2464818	2559201	2722738	2580420
	-0.61	3.95	-1.15	0.34					-42.35	25.20	-11.56	-30.71	-0.91	3.83	6.39	-5.23
TOTAL	4872712	4994668	5018572	5042535					252657	168071	460736	445751	19462359	20022971	20141860	20292925
Kurnool	1481859	1575005	1548934	1528033	1625490	1683439	1667871	1684864	86152	10404	42917	95394	1910480	2043173	1990451	1970396
	0.78	6.29	-1.66	-1.35					628.31	-87.92	312.51	122.28	-4.08	6.95	-2.58	-1.01
Bellary	1958700	1991705	1994349	1990317	1649904	1652659	1640988	1641579	38648	7829	30031	45592	1854167	1900105	1855262	1842178
	0.29	1.69	0.13	-0.20					406.99	-79.74	283.59	51.82	-1.86	2.48	-2.36	-0.71
Anantapur	1791221	1929590	1788154	1901968	1261027	1315371	1277800	1284784	186566	93382	194034	249330	1235127	1435025	1265266	1201166
	-3.16	7.73	-7.33	6.37					529.42	-49.95	107.79	28.50	-20.22	16.18	-11.83	-5.07
Cuddapah	876974	920274	910791	912207	1287045	1334850	1331210	1351664	130361	43284	91708	89738	1441626	1580713	1525383	1558315
	-0.18	4.94	-1.03	0.16					162.22	-66.80	111.88	-2.15	-11.04	9.65	- 3.50	2.16
Chittoor	458624	509746	495890	512903	711043	807093	776857	798341	156180	89589	206407	161811	671063	846585	638491	759501
	1.19	11.15	-2.72	3.43					578.98	-42.64	190.67	-37.86	-23.65	26.16	-24.58	18.95
TOTAL	6567378	6926320	6738118	6845428					597907	244488	619097	641865	7112463	7805607	7274853	7331551
GRAND TOTAL:	11440090	11920988	11756690	11887963					849964	412559	1079833	1087616	26574822	27828578	27416713	27624481
% of Increase/ Decrease	-2.32	4.02	-1.38	1.12					252.65	-51.46	161.74	0.72	-2.02	4.72	-1.48	0.76

* Original Totals are wrong, hence corrected.

SOURCE: Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency, 1920-21.

APPENDIX -II

Variations in Sea-borne trade

Cocanada Port

Imports

Principal Articles	Value in Rupees (in thousands) 1922-23	1921-22	1920-21	1919-20	1901-02
Sugar unrefined and Molasses.	-	-	427	-	517
Metals	44	46	439	166	55
Oil, Kerosene	709	1,089	51	1,266	788
Cotton twist & Yarn	3	-	-	-	67
Other articles	190	155	367	433	408
Total foreign	946	1,290	1,284	1,865	1,835
Coasting Total	4,993	4,996	3,888	1,545	2,290
Grand Total	5,939	6,286	5,172	3,410	4,125

Source: Madras Resettlement Report, East and West Godavari Districts (1929), Appendix VI, p.100

APPENDIX - III

SEA-BORNE TRADE - BOTH EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

Cocanada Port

EXPORTS (Indian Produce and Manufactures)

Principal Articles	Quantities							Value in Rupees (in thousands)						
	1901-02	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1901-02	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23
Grain, pulses & flour (tons)	-	16139	2177	-	84	100	-	-	2016	237	-	14	17	-
Rice & Paddy@	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	916	-	Prohibited	-	-	-	2519
Oils (galls)	-	552349	222275	2307	15523	49578	-	-	892	506	6	31	100	-
Oil cakes (tons)	-	527	2078	1737	1593	1058	-	-	23	108	178	171	108	-
Seeds (tons)	-	2224	543	3409	260	3100	-	-	337	113	1014	59	1150	-
Sugar (tons)	-	-	-	2241	4819	812	-	-	-	-	616	1470	252	-
Dying & tanning(cwt)	-	8578	1768	5247	1770	4660	-	-	22	170	20	61	33	-
Fibre (tons)	-	290	135	3427	1111	1451	-	-	210	55	1878	573	644	-
Provisions (cwt)	-	19	37	112	548	638	-	-	1	0.03*	10	39	45	-
Hides & skins(Raw)(No.)	-	5950	-	13069	22090	-	-	-	11	-	33	31	-	-
Tobacco (lb.)	-	30329	128	3527294	339957	401246	-	-	13	0.07*	1323	200	113	-
TEXTILES:														
Raw cotton (tons)	-	482	-	137	513	944	-	-	405	-	144	507	858	-
Hump (Raw) (cwt)	-	8215	15287	10798	2361	2840	-	-	166	356	276	49	44	-
Silk (Raw) (lb.)	-	-	-	-	42700	120050	-	-	-	-	-	38	106	-
Wool	-	-	50	5652	25889	21818	-	-	-	0.03*	10	66	43	-
Jute (Raw) (tons)	-	-	-	-	100	-	25	-	-	-	45	-	7	-
Other kinds of textiles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL OF TEXTILES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	576	356	475	662	1058	-
GRAND TOTAL (exclusive of Govt. Stores)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4150	1592	5779	3674	3936	-

* Rs.28 = 0.03 and for Wool it is Rs.25; Rs.68 = 0.07.

SOURCE: Annual Statement of the Sea-Borne Trade and Navigation of the Madras Presidency and of its Chief Port and Each of the Subordinate Ports for the year 1921-22 (Madras, 1922), pp.56-57.

@ for this mark, the source is Madras Resettlement Report, East and West Godavari Districts (1929), p.100.

APPENDIX - IV

LITERACY BY CASTE

CASTE	Number per 1,000 who are literate									Number per 10,000 who are literate in English									Population in 1921	
	1921			1911			1901			1921			1911			1901				
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females
Brahman (Telugu)	375	597	150	389	682	99	359	673	46	901	1737	53	744	1475	21	538	1084	7	267692	264146
Devanga	132	248	16	101	197	6	32	63	2	55	103	7	33	45	0.5	6	12	-	144094	144742
Gamalla	26	41	4	19	35	2	10	19	0.7	11	22	0.4	7	15	0.1	3	6	0.2	126489	127388
Golla	16	29	3	14	28	1	5	10	0.8	14	26	1	8	17	0.1	5	10	0.1	454006	462781
Yadava, Idaiyan	59	112	8	55	108	5	31	63	1	46	89	3	39	88	1	3	7	0.0	367551	41032
Kapu	54	102	8	47	90	4	19	38	0.6	21	41	1	11	22	0.3	2	4	0.0	1285727	1345752
Komati, Arya Vaisya	291	521	54	262	521	25	252	495	9	150	283	9	75	149	3	32	43	0.6	199468	194304
Madiga	5	9	1	4	8	0.7	1	2	0.1	3	5	-	0.5	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	-
Mala	9	16	1	7	14	0.8	3	6	0.4	3	7	0.3	2	3	0.1	0.5	1	-	737640	755489
Mangala	46	86	5	36	68	3	18	36	1	12	21	2	7	14	0.2	4	8	-	92197	91025
Sale	87	152	22	62	113	6	25	49	1	48	94	2	16	31	1	6	12	-	169199	170732
Telaga	67	119	17	58	109	10	38	72	5	93	182	6	65	131	2	44	86	1	297560	306563
Velama	40	70	10	20	36	5	13	25	0.6	34	63	5	21	41	1	3	6	0.2	256807	259617
Kamma	76	136	15	65	122	7	25	48	2	34	65	2	10	20	0.5	2	3	-	588017	572967
Kammalan, Kamsala, Panchala, Viswa Brahman, Viswa Karma (Telugu)	150	276	25	131	251	13	83	165	5	51	100	4	27	54	0.9	12	24	-	181126	183107
Chetti (General)	204	395	22	197	391	12	154	320	4	117	234	5	49	98	2	8	15	2	36433	37848

SOURCE: Census of India, 1921, Part I, pp.128-29; Part II, pp.76-79.

APPENDIX - V

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AMONG DIFFERENT CASTES IN ANDHRA

	Year	Brahman (Telugu)	Kamma	Kapu	Komati	Velama	Madiga	Mala
Population	1911	460819	1126095	2378925	498395	487297	807986	1611312
Literate		179305	72973	125178	136604	2020	3617	10856
%		38.91	6.47	4.67	27.41	0.04	0.45	0.72
English Literate		34303	1173	2996	3802	1008	42	254
%		7.44	0.10	0.11	0.76	0.21	0.01	0.02
Population	1921	631838	1160084	2631479	393772	616424	737427	1493129
Literate		199306	88226	141935	114446	20593	3736	13128
%		37.47	7.6	5.39	29.06	3.99	0.51	0.88
English Literate		47900	3783	5468	3917	1742	205	515
%		9.01	0.34	0.21	5.17	0.34	0.28	0.04
Increase/ decrease over 1911	Literate	-1.44	1.13	0.72	1.65	1.95	0.06	0.16
	English Literate	1.57	0.14	0.10	4.41	0.13	0.27	0.02

SOURCE : Based on Census of India, 1911 and 1921.

APPENDIX -VI

Number of institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department

1921		1911		1901		
Number of		Number of		Number of		
Institutions	Schools	Institutions	Schools	Institutions	Schools	
39731	1799850	30635	1215725	26926	850224	All kinds
35804	1688673	25344	1087562	21215	731207	Public institutions
50	7840	31	3741	41	3279	Arts colleges
9	1784	5	890	6	636	Professional colleges
585	169634	446	105945	732	100126	Secondary Schools
34906	1494121	24686	969379	20305	621627	Primary schools
160	9500	83	2989	74	1612	Training schools
94	5794	93	4618	57	3927	Other special schools
3927	111177	5291	128163	5711	119017	Private institutions
368	11261	368	10141	241	5415	Advanced
2002	47718	2820	60875	4460	84467	Elementary
842	36228	984	35161	1005	29073	Teaching the koran only
715	15970	1119	21986	5	62	Other schools not conforming to the dept., standard

Source: Census of India, 1921, Part-I, p. 130

APPENDIX - VII

Progress of literacy since 1901 per 10,000

	Literature in English per 10,000 of all ages (10 and over)						Literates per 10,000 of All Ages (10 and over)					
	1901			1911			1921			1921			1911			1901		
	M	I	F	M	I	F	M	I	F	M	I	F	M	I	F	M	I	F
Agency	7		0.3	13		0.6	24		1	330		40	311		20	244		13
East Coast North	62		4	92		5	160		10	1444		216	1305		127	1112		74
Ganjam	45		2	71		2	123		2	1786		84	1554		65	1218		64
Vizagapatam	65		6	87		7	140		12	1086		158	858		76	820		52
Godavari	94		6	137		9	201		14	1660		322	1412		191	1137		96
Kistna	69		4	114		6	151		10	1503		328	1485		207	1232		101
Guntur	47		2	71		2	111		9	1510		242	1421		129	1243		71
Nellore	53		3	72		7	98		12	1215		189	1171		114	1105		70
Deccan	44		4	59		4	92		7	1417		127	1235		71	1077		51
Cuddapah	31		1	47		1	75		5	1364		119	1260		76	1124		57
Kurnool	36		1	53		2	86		4	1415		127	1251		77	1045		52
Bellary	11		9	78		9	110		12	1551		135	1317		66	1157		45
Anantapur	36		5	54		5	99		8	1350		128	1121		67	980		52
Chittoor	50		4	72		4	107		8	1504		148	1283		80	1167		58

Source: Census of India, 1921, Part-I, pp. 126-27

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