

THE AGRARIAN WORLD  
OF  
MASULIPATNAM, 1750-1850

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*By*

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**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that I. **Nerellapalli Vasanthi**, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled **The Agrarian World of Masulipatnam, 1750 - 1850** for the full period prescribed under the Ph.D ordinances of the University.

I declare that to the best of my knowledge no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of the research degree of any University.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

APHCP	Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings
BOT	Board of Trade
c	Cash
C	Cutties
CHJ	Calcutta Historical Journal
EPW	Economic and Political Weekly
f	Fanams
F	Fasli
GD	Godavari District
GoDR	Godavari District Records
GuDR	Guntur District Records
IER	Indian Economic Review
IESHR	Indian Economic and Social History Review
IHCP	Indian History Congress Proceedings
IHR	Indian Historical Review
IJAPA	Itihas, Journal of Andhra Pradesh Archives
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
JDS	Journal of Development Studies
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JIH	Journal of Indian History
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
MDR	Masulipatnam District Records
MPs	Madras Pagodas
MRs.	Madras Rupees
PBOR	Proceedings of Board of Revenue
P	Putti
PP	Past and Present
RDC	Revenue Department Consultations
Rs.	Rupees
SIH	Studies in History
SRMG	Selections from the Records of Madras Government
SR	Southern Review
SS	Social Scientist
V	Visum
v.	Volume

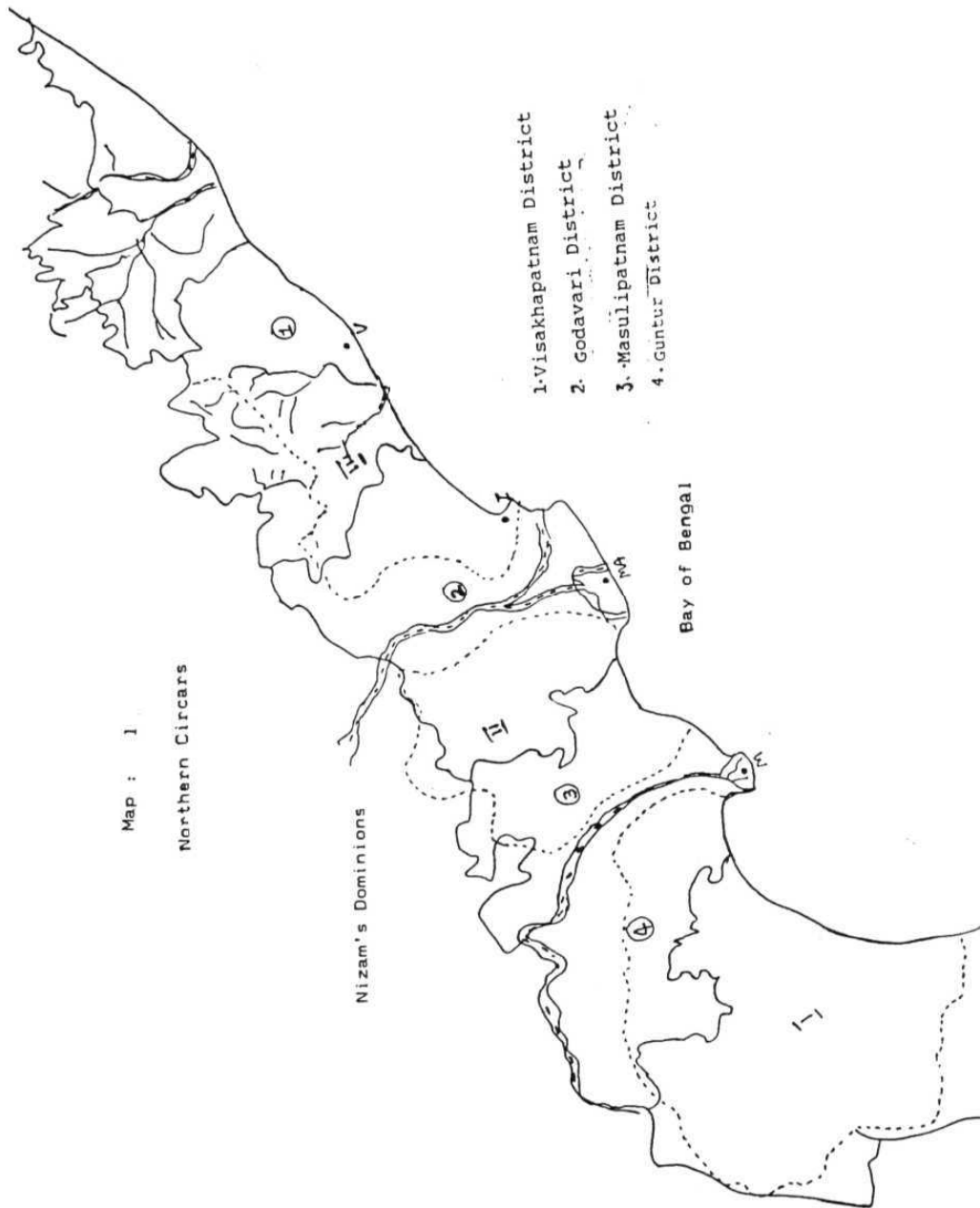
Map : I

Northern Circars

Nizam's Dominions

Bay of Bengal

1. Visakhapatnam District
2. Godavari District
3. Masulipatnam District
4. Guntur District



## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to analyze the nature and working of the agrarian world of Masulipatnam. It rests on the premise that agrarian economies are constituted by the interaction of a multitude of elements located in different spheres such as the political, the economic, the social, and the cultural. Any study of an agrarian economy which seeks to understand its historical dynamics must, of necessity, therefore, invoke the concept of the agrarian 'world', and attempt to analyze it in its totality. The study focuses on the century 1750 - 1850. This century has historical significance for two reasons. Firstly, it was during this period that the initial economic interests of the English East India Company in India were slowly converted into political conquests and finally established as political and economic hegemony in the region.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, it was the period in which the region was being incorporated into the wider commercial and economic networks through colonial power.<sup>2</sup> Colonial conquest, and the parallel process of incorporation into a wider world were historical phenomena which impinged dramatically on the colonized societies, especially on the agrarian economies which, in fact, constituted the core of these societies. A study of the agrarian world such as that of Masulipatnam would yield, therefore, insights not only into the history of the locality, but also into the history of colonialism and its effects.

The study then is an attempt to explore the various dimensions of the agricultural community in Masulipatnam in order to analyze the nature of imperial penetration into the agrarian world of Masulipatnam, its impact on different rural structures, and to examine the processes which made the agrarian world what it was. The study, in attempting to reconstruct the agrarian world of Masulipatnam, would also attempt to determine the changes and continuities and the constraints within which the people of the region operated.

Agriculture occupies the prime place in rural India. Under the pre colonial, as well as the colonial regime, it was agriculture that was the main concern and it was the main source of revenue to the state. Agriculture was common almost in all the villages and hence it was not surprising that cultivators formed the majority in the rural areas.

A study of the agrarian world of Masulipatnam would reveal several aspects of the agrarian economy and their nature and working of each group in the complicated rural structure and mainly the interaction and position of cultivator in such a situation; that is, the study would enable us to reconstruct the agrarian world of the region in totality. To do this, however, it becomes necessary to examine, albeit briefly, the nature and working of the agrarian world in the pre colonial period. This

would enable us to know exactly to what extent and in which spheres the colonial policies affected the agrarian world and what its impact was on the rural structure.

Though agriculture formed the prime occupation and an important revenue source to both the people and the state, and though the agrarian economy was at the heart of rural society, the attention of scholars has not been too sharply focussed on agrarian history. Scholars have tended to consider the rural economy as a whole, merely touching upon the agrarian dimension. There are, no doubt many studies of the agrarian economies in various regions of India. However, even these studies dealt with larger, macro regions, and there are hardly any studies which examine smaller, micro regions. There is, of course, substantial analytical value in taking a macroscopic view of larger regions. At the same time, such regional perspectives blur the distinctions between micro regions like districts.

A region like the Northern Circars has a degree of social and economic coherence. Nevertheless, there are also substantial differences between the various micro regions comprising the Northern Circars. For example, the micro regions of Northern Circars that is the Masulipatnam, Godavari, Guntur and Visakhapatnam districts, though similar in many ways, still had complex structures and differed from each other in some of the **aspects** like modes of revenue collecting, and agencies of revenue collecting.

Thus a micro region like Masulipatnam though forming a part of the larger regional economy of Northern Circars, still differed in so many ways from the other constituent micro regions that a study of the agrarian world of Masulipatnam is worth researching to know these distinctions. But at the same time, such a study cannot treat the micro region in isolation as if it were an autonomous economic island. On the contrary, the study must proceed on the assumption that every micro region is situated in a larger historical space. This is especially true of the period in which peripheral economies were being integrated into global networks.

The functioning of the agrarian world in any region is influenced by the rural structures because the way in which the different groups are structurally organized partially determined the nature of the economy.<sup>7</sup> Such groups need not be only those who were directly involved in agricultural production. Thus the cultivator was only one element in an integrated economic system in which several elements such as artisans, merchants, money lenders and others interacted with each other. It is necessary therefore, to study the cultivators and their world totally to situate them in this complex system and also to have a clear picture of their working during the period of study.

In geographical terms the space covered under this study is the district of Masulipatnam. The district of Masulipatnam lies

**between 15 45' - 16 26" North latitudes and 80 52' - 81-56" East longitudes.** The district was bounded on the south by the river Krishna, and partly on the north by the river Godavari. The sea bounded it to the east and its Western frontier was limited by the territory of the Nizam's. Its northern frontier was irregular and the lands of Masulipatnam and Rajahmundry districts were mingled in a confused fashion.

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The district of Masulipatnam underwent several changes during the span of the century under study in terms of its spatial contours. The district formed a part of the five Circars referred to as the Northern Circars. At various times, the shifting boundaries of the Masulipatnam district encompassed within its territory, parts of the other Northern Circars. For instance, segments of the Eluru and Mustafanagar Circars, particularly the Zamindaris like Nuzividu, Charmahal, Oevarakota, Nandigama, Mylavaram, Bezwada, Medurgutta, Zammulavayi, Munagala, Lingageri, besides the havelis of Kondavidu and Vallursamut. In 1788, the District of Guntur, previously called the Murtuzanagar Circar was added to Masulipatnam, although it was again detached in 1794. In 1859. out of the districts of Masulipatnam, Rajahmundry, and Guntur the districts of Krishna and Godavari were created.

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Masulipatnam was known as Masaila and Maisola in ancient times. Masulipatnam was known by different names to different



**people.** Masulipatnam was known in the ancient times also as a major commercial centre. Marcopolo the Venetian traveller also mentioned it. Later on Masulipatnam became a chief commercial centre to many of the European traders like the Portuguese, the Dutch, and finally the English who established their factories in

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the region of this important port. In the Indo Persian Chronicles of late Qutb Shahi period it was known as Bandar- i- Mubarak.<sup>12</sup> The origin of the fort of Masulipatnam seemed to date back to the fourteenth century. William Orme one of the Company officials mentions an oral tradition that Masulipatnam fort was founded in the fourteenth century by a colony of Arabs and there seemed to be some foundation for the legend as the Arabs were engaged largely in commercial ventures from the Red Sea to South India. The first mention of Masulipatnam port was recorded<sup>13</sup> around 1425 A.D, when a mosque was built in Masulipatnam.

From 1425 A.D the district was under several regimes and had varying fortunes till the Mughal sovereignty was established in 1687. It came under Nizam's rule in 1724. For a brief period from 1752-1759 the region was under the French before it came finally under the Company's regime in 1759. However, it was only in 1765 that the actual authority of the Company was confirmed.

Though the district of Masulipatnam was not clearly defined in the century under study and there is evidence of occasional shifting of the district boundaries, this study proceeds

on the assumption that the district can be treated as the region around Masulipatnam. Since the study is not a political history where precise boundaries may be more important, the use of Masulipatnam region as an equivalent to the district may not be unjustified.

The area of the study, Masulipatnam, was one of the most fertile and prosperous areas of the Northern Circars. Most part of the district being situated between the major delta systems of Godavari and Krishna, its soil with the exception of the sea coast consisted of fine black alluvial brought down and deposited by the two rivers during their freshes.<sup>14</sup> Besides, the port of Masulipatnam became a centre of activity for many of the private trading companies.

A study focussed on such an area would enable us to examine the nature and working of the agrarian economy, within which several rural structures function and also the revenue policies of the Company, how through them the Company tried to acquire economic hegemony over the region, finally the restraints and the constraints within which the Company had to function in an hierarchical system of complex rural net works.

The impact of the colonial rule on the society and economy of India has become an interesting theme in recent years. In one popular historiographic perspective, the impact of colonial rule is perceived to have been direct and deep. In this view the

colonial policies had brought about many changes and through them the Company was able to transform the structure and economic base of the rural society.<sup>15</sup>

However recent historiography has presented a different image of the results of the British rule for India. According to this line of thought, the early period of British rule in India witnessed not new directions but continuities.<sup>16</sup> Further the works of Sumit Guha, B.S. Cohn and Ratnalekha Ray apart from stressing the influence of the colonial policies on the agrarian economy, contended that several autochthonous changes were also taking place within the rural economy that ultimately affected its working.<sup>17</sup>

Thus though the impact of the British conquest on India during this century seemed to differ from one historiograph tradition to another, the basic fact was that it did have an impact on several rural structures and revenue systems.

The century 1750-1850 is of particular significance for the study of the history of the agrarian world of Masulipatnam. This was the period during which the Company had experimented with different kinds of revenue systems. Coming to terms with a **strange** political economy, the Company in order to establish its control both in political and economic spheres tried out various **revenue** systems. The frequent changes in the land revenue struc-

tures and their functioning, influenced and affected the stability of the agrarian world. In the revenue history of the region the period became a period of transition. This was the period during which the British had tried to penetrate deep into the regional economies and tried to bring out a change in the nature and working of the agrarian world by bringing it into contact with global networks. In such a context the study tries to analyze how the agrarian world functioned and in what way it resisted the change or yielded to it.

The period 1750-1850 may be called the pre anicut period in the history of Masulipatnam. The regional economy had not yet been introduced to the impact of the introduction of large scale irrigation systems such as those which resulted from the construction of the Godavari and Krishna anicuts. An investigation of the agrarian world before these large dams came up, would be useful as it enables us to understand how it coped with the irrigation needs.

Thus studying the world of agriculture during this period would enable us to analyze the impact of the policies of the colonial economy and the way in which various elements responded to it. In studying such impact, it would be possible to reconstruct the agrarian world and the way different elements of the rural structure interacted with the external world.

The territorial possessions of the Company in Masulipatnam district consisted of Zamindari and Haveli lands. The Zamindari lands were hereditary estates for which the Zamindars who were the proprietors held the estates and managed the revenue affairs. Some of the Zamindaris were of ancient origin and some were self created territorial proprietors who came into existence during the turbulent times that followed the breakup of the Bahmani Kingdom and the Mughal empire.

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The lands that were under the immediate management of the pre-colonial regimes without the intervention of the intermediaries were called Haveli lands. Under the Company they became the direct possessions of the Company. The land revenue systems and the methods of revenue collecting agencies differed significantly in both these lands.

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During this period, the most important and the profound impact of the British rule in the region as else where was on land. In order to establish and stabilize their position the Company had tried out different land revenue systems in the region. One of the aims of the study is to examine the operation and functioning of these revenue systems and their impact on the rural structures to understand the nature of the rural economy.

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Any attempt to explore the dimensions and depth of an agrarian population remains incomplete without a proper understanding of the revenue policies and revenue administration of the re-

gion. In particular, the base of the rural structure and the nature of it which was influenced by the revenue policies and also its working depended on the broad contours of revenue administration. The rural economy and the rural structure it engendered and was located in were interdependent. The regional economy, thus, influenced the rural structure, and was in turn influenced by the working of the agrarian structure. For example, it can be argued that the various revenue systems had their impact on the economy in general and on the agrarian structure in particular. Similarly, it can be argued that the elements of the economy and society conditioned the imperial policies.

In the initial stages of its rule, the Company followed a very cautious policy of recognizing the position and power of the local territorial magnates. One aim of the study is to see how the Company dealt with the Zamindars. A corollary aim would be to study the concept of the Zamindar and the Zamindari and the working of the Zamindari system in the region in all its ramifications.

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The power of rural elites like Zamindars was often reinforced by economic and extra-economic privileges which they enjoyed.

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Of the many privileges that existed in the region, in fact in South India, the most common were Inam holdings. But apart from these Inam tenures, there were certain other economic privileges enjoyed by the privileged sections of the rural socie-

ty. One of the aims of the study is to examine these privileges and to understand the Company's attitude towards these concessions. If the Company had abandoned them what were the reasons or if the Company had allowed these grants what purpose did these grants serve? Which sections of the society did they benefit?

Besides these economic factors, there are certain non economic factors also which influenced the economic behaviour of the peasants and their social world. Another aspect to be analyzed in the study is, these dimensions of the agrarian world with an emphasis on aspects like behaviour, beliefs, rituals and customs of the peasants.

Another major aim of the study will be to analyze in detail the nature of the agrarian communities. In this context, the social dimensions of the community have to be particularly high-

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lighted especially the role of caste. How different agricultural castes and their dependent castes were positioned in the complex social structure and how their relations were determined within the matrix of custom and tradition has to be analyzed. Besides these, several other social aspects concerning the cultivators like their costume, education, their settlements also need to be studied.

While the various revenue experiments that the Company conducted in the region had their effect upon the rural economy,

what has assumed special historiograph significance is the question of the impact of the so called Permanent Settlement introduced in 1802. It is, therefore, necessary to analyze the Permanent Settlement in the district of Masulipatnam examining reasons behind its implementation and the consequences of the settlement. In Bengal, it is seen that the Permanent Settlement had created certain drastic changes in the rural structures and did initiate a regular revenue system.<sup>25</sup> In this light, it would be interesting to see what the aspirations of the Company were in introducing a similar settlement in Masulipatnam. Did the Company find a rural society and economy similar to that of Bengal in the region? If not what were the regional variations?

It was believed that the Permanent Settlement had changed the village administrative setup drastically. It is one of the aims of this study to study what the changes were in village administration in the region. How did it better the revenue systems, as this was the ultimate aim of the Company in effecting any system in the region, for that matter in any region?

The Regulation of 1802, it is believed, for the first time transformed the customary relations between the Zamindars and the cultivators into contractual terms through various engagements between the two groups. What did this signify in terms of the agrarian relations in the Masulipatnam region ?



British policies, especially the land revenue policies created a land market where one had not existed before, for two reasons. Firstly, the dislocations resulting from the imposition of new revenue systems brought land on to the market. Secondly, new attitudes to land as property were created. One of the major aims of the study would be to see how the Permanent Settlement affected the land values. How did it create a market for land? Who bought the lands that were put up for sale?<sup>26</sup> This question of who the buyer was, assumes critical importance in any discussion of the social consequences of the Permanent Settlement, especially because of the traditional assumption that the Permanent Settlement initiated a revolutionary transformation of rural society.<sup>27</sup>

In the pre anicut aararian world another major aspect of interest is irrigation. One of the aims of the study is to look at the indigenous irrigation systems and their organization and the way it under went changes with the development of large scale irrigation networks later on. The irrigation systems in the Masulipatnam region like in the other Circars were controlled within a network of certain customary practices which determined the regulations regarding the distribution of water. Any slight breach in the existing arrangements led to water control disputes. These disputes certainly raise issues like why were there numerous disputes in the region? How were they settled?

Recently historians have begun to specifically explore the impact of the colonial rule on irrigation systems of the region. These scholars suggest that the Company tended in the early period of its rule to neglect the irrigation facilities and that consequently such facilities fell into disrepair. <sup>28</sup> There is an apparent paradox here, for the Company's desire to maximize the land revenue collections should have led to a concerted effort to improve irrigation. Why then did the Company neglect this important aspect of the agrarian economy?

The existence of direct relation between the prices of the agrarian products and the revenue policies and their consequent effects on different groups of the agrarian structure would necessitate a study of fluctuations in the prices of agrarian products and its immediate effect on agrarian economy as a whole. Another objective of the study would be to understand the links between the nature of the revenue systems and price fluctuations. How did the price fluctuations affect the different strata of the society and who were the main beneficiaries of such price fluctuations?

Markets and the trading groups played a crucial role in the agrarian world of the region. Not only did they link various elements in the rural structure but also connected different rural structures through their trading networks. At a higher level the markets brought the rural economies into contact with wider commercial networks. What were the major trading castes in

the region? what were the duties collected by the state on traders in the region? How were they collected? As there were no specific and regular markets on a large scale at the village level how the surplus grain was marketed by the cultivators is another question to be analyzed.

Another aim of the study is to analyze the impact of various economic crises on the agrarian community. For example, how did the famines affect various strata of the agrarian structure? What were the attitudes of these groups to famines, that is, in times of crises how did different strata of the social structure behave?<sup>2?</sup>

Another consequence of such economic crises was an increase in the crime rate. The common feature was grain robberies during such crises and Masulipatnam district also witnessed this. Were these grain robberies sporadic incidents or were they part of a more general increase of crime during the period? The economic crises affected various elements of the rural structure and more so those that were directly linked with agrarian world. The intensity of the impact and its nature on various groups of agrarian structure depended on their positions in the rural set up.

What was the attitude of the Company towards various economic crises that affected rural groups in the region? Did the gov-

ernment interfere as in the pre colonial period to alleviate the distress of the poor? Was the policy followed by the Company similar to that of the earlier times? What were the measures taken by the government to alleviate the distress of the subordinate groups?

The study also attempts to understand the colonial attitudes and the impact of colonial policies on the regional economy and society. It attempts to explore the complex patterns of socioeconomic base of the agrarian world in relationship with others. Several recent studies have suggested that colonial rule was not as powerful as it seemed to be and though the administrative policies of the Company were shaped ideologically at a higher level, the Company had to take the local reality into consideration in framing and adopting the systems.<sup>51</sup> It is important in this regard to examine how the Company and its policies and the agrarian world interacted and how in turn their nature and working was influenced from each other? For instance, one of the received notions about the impact of colonialism on the agrarian economy of the region in the first half of the nineteenth century<sup>52</sup> is that this period witnessed stagnation and decay. How far is this argument applicable to Masulipatnam ?

This study is based primarily on Archival material. This mainly consists of unpublished manuscript records of the district of Masulipatnam which are available at the Andhra Pradesh State

Archives. Other important sources of information were various kinds of records catalogued under different department heads in Tamil Nadu State Archives. Madras. The published Mackenzie collections of Masulipatnam district have also been used. An attempt has also been made to utilize non Archival material such as folk songs and tales and contemporary literary sources and travellers accounts.

The use of the place names as they occurred in the records, on which the study is based, created a problem regarding the spelling of names, of persons and of places. Though we have tried to give the current names of the places wherever possible, it was not always possible. Some of the place names could not be identified. So wherever such a problem arose, we have retained the spelling as it was given in the records. But regarding the more common names we have adopted the modernized version. For example, for some of the places, in the records they were spelt as Bezoara, Noozed, Zamulvoy, Madoorguttoo. We have used the current spellings like Bezwada, Nuzividu, Zammulavayi, Medurgutta. Even the names of the villages, district, Zamindari officials were also modernized to the extent possible. For example, the names of Curnums, Desponde, Desmook have been changed to aranams, Deshpandes and Oeshmukhs.

Another problem was with regard to currency, and years. It /Mould have been useful to have a common currency system throughout the study. Since conversion was always a problem it was seen

that in a particular table there was uniformity. Regarding the years the contemporary official sources used both Fusli years as well as the modern years. Hence, again, the original records have been followed. However, the corresponding modern year has also been given though it does not correspond exactly. The non English words were not underlined in the text as they occur too frequently.

However, the name Masulipatnam is used as it was used in the records. The name was not modernized to Machlllpatnam, though the other place names were modernized. The idea of retaining the name of Masulipatnam was arbitrary. As during the period 1750 -1850 the region was popularly known as Masulipatnam and as it was also used in the official records and contemporary accounts the name Masulipatnam instead of Machilipatnam has been used.

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## 2. RURAL STRUCTURES AND REVENUE SYSTEMS

Any attempt to explore the dimensions and depth of an agrarian population remains incomplete without a proper understanding of the revenue policies and administration of the region. Particularly since the base of the rural structure and the nature of it which was influenced by the revenue policies and also its working depended on the broad contours of revenue administration. Any regional economy thus, influenced the rural structure and was in turn influenced by the working of the agrarian structure. This was true of Masulipatnam district also.

Northern Circars as a whole and Masulipatnam which incidentally was the first commercial centre of the English East India Company in the region were the main concern of the British since 1611. Masulipatnam being a port city played a crucial role in the Company's commercial ventures and was an important trading  
1  
centre of the Company. The Company's initial commercial interests slowly shifted to establishing political hegemony over the region. The existing political anarchy and the weakness of the successive rulers of the Nizam combined with the growing powers of the regional Zamindars made the task of the Company easy.

But when the Company took possession of the Circars, they found them in an unruly situation. The Zamindars in the Circars

were mostly very turbulent and refractory and had acquired increasing powers taking advantage of the existing political anarchy at the centre in the transition period.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the Company in the initial stages of its rule was confronted with a strange political economy in the region. The Company officials were not acquainted with the customs and traditions of the region which played a significant role in almost all aspects of administration and policy making, and they also lacked sufficient economic and human resources to introduce an efficient administrative setup in their new possessions. So the Company administrators thought of continuing the old structure itself without many changes. So it can be conjectured that till 1802 when the government introduced the Permanent Settlement in the region, the old revenue systems had continued.

However it is necessary to study briefly the pre colonial mode of revenue settlement and the method of revenue collection to see whether there were any changes in the agrarian structure of the region in the initial stages of Company's administration and also after the Permanent Settlement. The view that the British policies especially the land revenue ones had altered the agrarian structure drastically in India could be well analyzed in such a study of a micro region and the impact of the colonial policies on a locality could be well perceived.<sup>5</sup>

## Revenue Systems under Pre colonial Regimes:

The prevailing notion that under the pre colonial regimes, there was generally a headman in each village to collect the revenue and an accountant to record the items was no doubt true.<sup>4</sup> But it was never so simple an organization and had a very complicated setup with a chain of functionaries for almost all aspects of revenue administration right from the Vijayanagara days. Under almost all pre colonial regimes there was a very distinct and compact revenue administrative setup and a systematic and scientific calculation of revenue assessments.

Under Vijayanagara rulers as the land tax formed the most important and substantial item of revenue assessment, distinction was made between the assessment of wet and dry lands. Taxes were not levied arbitrarily. Factors such as nature of the village, tenures under which the lands were held by the cultivators, nature of the soil and the kinds of crops raised were taken into consideration before levying a tax on the wet lands.<sup>5</sup>

Even in the case of dry lands the assessment varied between the dry crops raised on dry lands and dry crops raised on wet lands. As the revenue assessment was based on the fertility of the land and the location of the lands in the village, rates of revenue varied widely within different parts of the empire. In

the wet lands the sowing capacity of a unit of land was the basis for assessment whereas in the dry lands the number of ploughs required for tilling a unit of land was taken as the basis.<sup>6</sup>

The traditional shares of the state in the produce from a unit of land were 1/6 to the Brahmin, 1/20 to the Temple and 1/30 to others each payable in kind or in cash. Of the remaining three quarters, one was retained by the cultivator as his share. While the balance went towards the expenses of cultivation on the wet lands. The tax was collected mostly in kind on the wet lands<sup>7</sup> whereas on the dry lands it was generally done in cash.

Even in the collection of revenue different methods were adopted depending on the tenure of the land -

1. where the government appointed its own servants to collect the revenue,
2. where the government farmed out revenues to individual bidders,
3. where the government dealt with a group of persons in a village who were responsible for the revenue from that village,
4. where the government had granted Jagirs, there the payment<sup>8</sup> was a fixed tribute to the state.

Under the rulers of Golconda the collection of land tax in cash became more regular. However they did superimpose their own pattern of territorial subdivisions over the existing units. For

instance, larger administrative divisions called parganas were their introduction. In some areas the government retained its control whereas in some others the nobles had retained the ruling power. However, in both the cases, tax farming through an elaborate series of levies and sub levies was the usual practice in revenue collection.<sup>9</sup>

In the Andhra region the government sub let the land tax collection in their districts to small entrepreneurs by means of annual bidding. This seemed to have continued even in the early years of Company's administration in the region. The regional aristocracy was drawn from four major castes of Razus, Velamas, Kammas and Kapus. By their grip on land and on the surplus agricultural production, these cultivating groups wielded immense political and economic power in the countryside.<sup>10</sup> By tradition these castes also performed various kinds of military service,<sup>11</sup> and therefore could be termed warrior cultivators.

For each of the new parganas established, the Qutbshahis appointed a member of the dominant cultivating group to act as the head man or Deshmukh. The primary task of the Deshmukh was to maintain an armed body of retainers and assist in the collection of the land tax. In return, the king assured the Deshmukh a fixed percentage of the land tax collected, full control of a certain number of tax free villages and hereditary lands within the Pargana. Next to him, for each of these Parganas there was a

Deshpande who maintained records of the taxes paid and lands cultivated on a yearly basis for each village. Again within the village there was a head man who mostly belonged to the dominant agricultural caste of the village and a village accountant who was usually a Brahmin. The pay and perquisites of these village officers usually came from the treasuring and common lands of the village.<sup>12</sup>

Thus under all the pre colonial regimes there was an elaborate and extensive revenue administrative system and the literary sources of the period also have references to cultivating practices and cultivators shares in the region.<sup>13</sup>

It is evident from the literary sources that under the pre colonial rulers lands were not given to the cultivators on Pattah basis. For a term of years the lands were leased to the cultivators of a village and collectively they were responsible for the entire revenue demand of the village. From this. it can be conjectured that there was a system similar to communal land holding in this period. After the expenses of the cultivation and customary shares to different groups in the village were deducted, the produce was shared between the cultivators and the government.<sup>14</sup>

About the shares between the government and the cultivators there seems to be slight difference of opinion. Some accounts



suggest that the government collected 1/6 of the produce as their share and other evidence reveals that the produce of the country was divided equally between the government and the cultivators, the cultivators bearing the expenses of the revenue servants. However the proportion of the tax out of the gross produce was arrived at by valuation of the crops conducted in the presence of the government servants and the cultivators.

15

Under the pre colonial rule which immediately preceded the Company the revenue systems and modes of revenue collection seemed to have been based on more systematic and scientific principles. Lands were categorized into several groups based on their fertility and the revenue demand was based both on this classification and irrigation facilities. For instance, where the crops solely depended on the rainfall the state took one half of the produce as its share and where agriculture especially garden cultivation depended on well irrigation the share of the government was one fourth.

16

It clearly shows that the traditional view, that under the pre colonial rule the revenue policies were not systematic and elaborate no longer was true. The variations in taxation system, under different modes of assessment in fact must have required an elaborate administrative machinery and efficient planning.

Perhaps the lapse and decay in such a revenue structure must have occurred during the transition period between the Nizam's

authority and that of the Company. The landed elites and other revenue Collectors taking advantage of the chaotic political situation assumed authority in the region and farmed large estates for themselves depending on their military strength. <sup>17</sup> As these people did not have any interest in the administration and as their sole interest in the lands was purely monetary they came to depend more and more on the intermediaries at various levels and practically left the administration of the estates in the hands of a few chosen subordinates. This coupled with several other reasons must have led to a highly exploitative revenue structure in the early years of Company administration.

#### **Company and the Pre Permanent Revenue Settlements:**

The principal Zamindaris in Masulipatnam district were Nuzividu, Devarakota, Korukonda, Zammulavayi, Medurgutta, Nandigama, Mylavaram and Bezwada. The Zamindaris of Nuzividu, Nandigama and Mylavaram had an ancient origin when compared to others. <sup>18</sup> Besides these, there were Zamindaris who were self created territorial proprietors who came into existence during the turbulent times that followed the break up of regional kingdoms. <sup>19</sup>

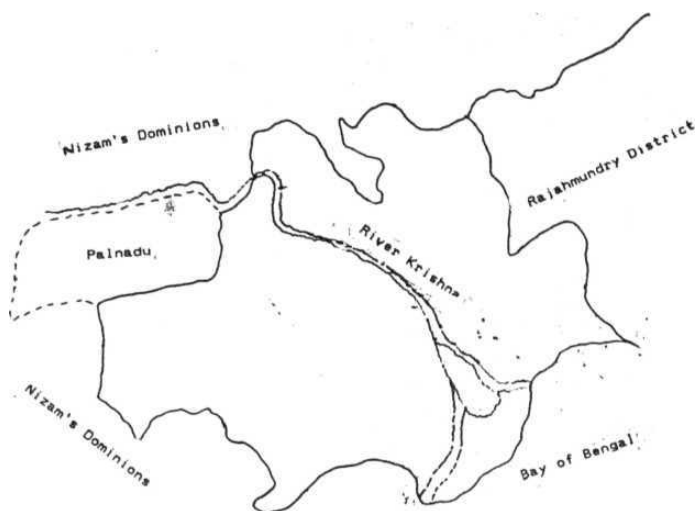
The Haveli lands in the district of Masulipatnam were under the direct management of the ruling authority under pre colonial period. <sup>20</sup> The principal Haveli estates in the district were

Eluru, Kondapalli, Vullursamut, Duvah, Tanduru, Bondara, Six Islands of Divi, Nizampatnam, Narsapur, Gudur.<sup>21</sup> The Haveli lands were very fertile and were mostly strategically well situated in places around the principal towns. They were distinct from Zamindari lands in their revenue systems and modes of revenue collection. Map.1 illustrates the spatial of distribution of Zamindaris and Haveli lands in pre Permanent Settlement period of the Masulipatnam district.

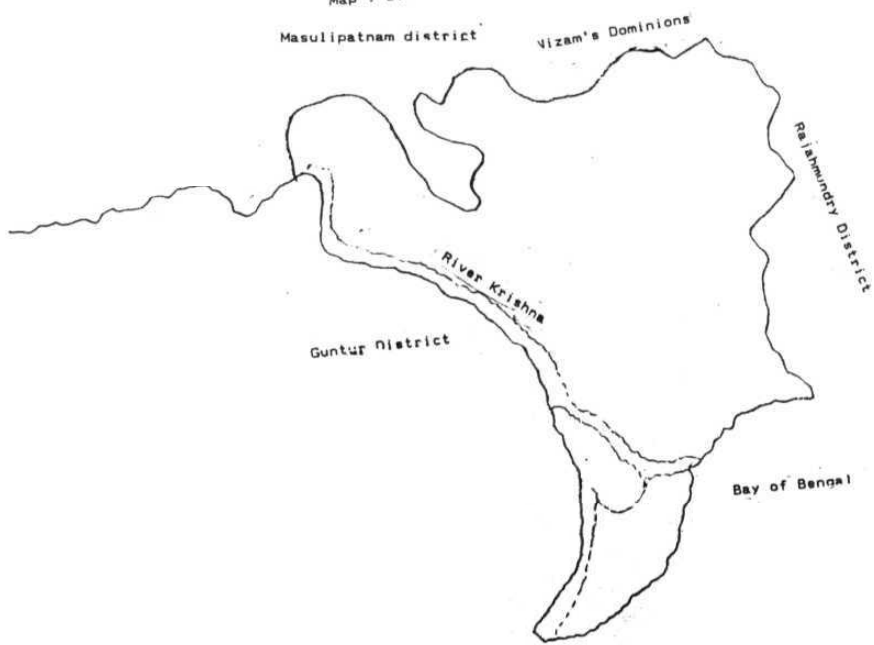
However a clear distinction could not be made between the Zamindari lands and Haveli lands throughout because in course of time many Zamindari estates also formed part of government lands, some on account of rebellion, some due to failure of revenue payments regularly and some due to lack of heirs and some were managed by the Company through the Court of Wards.<sup>22</sup>

The Company in the initial stages of its rule was busy consolidating its political power and grasping the various facets of the local economy. As it was coming to terms with a strange political economy of the region it did not in the initial years of its rule experiment with new revenue structures and the Company hardly did any thing to alter the existing agrarian arrangements.<sup>23</sup>

Map : 2.1  
Masulipatnam district 1788-1794



Map : 2.2  
Masulipatnam district



Apart from the necessity of quickly creating a class of loyal supporters to the new political structure, the Company was under stronger compulsions, it would seem, in this region to forge alliances with the Zamindars. So in the initial period the Company followed a very cautious policy of knowing the position of the Zamindars and other revenue officials. The Zamindars were so turbulent and independent, the Company first wanted to take steps towards pacifying them by minimizing their strength economically, politically, and militarily and consolidate their own position in the region.<sup>24</sup>

The first settlement made by the Company after the acquisition of the Northern Circars was for three years with Hussein Ally Khan. From 1769-1778 annual settlements were concluded with the several Zammdars by the Chief and Council.<sup>25</sup> The order of the Court of Directors in 1775 directing the Committee of Circuit at the expiration of the then existing settlement to proceed to let the lands upon permanent lease in 1778 the Zamindars were summoned to the presidency by General Rambold who formed a settlement for five years with the Zamindars of Masulipatnam adding 12 1/2 percent to their Jumma for the preceding year in consideration of the extended period of the lease, but the payment of this additional amount was not then enforced. On the contrary the Zamindars were permitted to withhold it upon granting obligations to discharge the amount in the event of the Committee of Circuit declaring after due enquiry that their Zamindaris were able to

bear it. The next settlement concluded was for three and eventually for five years commencing from 1789 and the Zamindars with a few exceptions were assessed on the principle of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of their gross collections taken chiefly from the Karanams accounts.

27

To ensure a better control Provincial Councils were formed in 1769 after the model of Bengal to supervise the revenue arrangements. Renters were employed by the Company's officers to collect the revenue of the lands not immediately under the management of the Zamindars. A whole circar being sometimes let to one renter. The persons thus employed were usually strangers to the country, hangers on of the chiefs or members of the Provincial Councils three of which were stationed at Ganjam. Visakhapatnam and Masulipatnam were vested with the superintendence of the affairs of the Circars.

28

29

Each district was divided into divisions one of which was the Huzur where the Collector of the district had his headquarters and the others were presided over by an Assistant or Deputy Collector. Each of the divisions included two to five taluks. The taluk with its Casbah or headquarters station was in the charge of a Tahsildar. In large taluks there was a Deputy Tahsildar of a section of the taluk.

At the head of the whole district was the Collector. There were Sub Collectors or Assistant Collectors and Deputy Collectors subordinate to him. The latter were usually in charge of treas-

uries or ware Deputy Collectors on general duty. These officers were all revenue officers with magisterial powers, as in other provinces. The Collectors were competent on their own authority to appoint, suspend and dismiss officials below the grade of Deputy Tahsildars.<sup>51</sup>

In the Zamindari estates the existing land revenue systems were Asara, Visabadi and renting system. These revenue systems seems to be prevalent in particular lands only. For instance, the most common system in the wet lands was Asara while Visabadi was largely followed in the dry lands.<sup>32</sup>

Under the Asara system the government claimed half of the gross produce as its share and the cultivators enjoying the other half. The share of the government was generally determined at the threshing floor itself and was mostly collected in kind. However, in all these transactions custom played an important role in determining the agrarian policies. For instance, in cases where the cultivator was a Brahmin or any elite caste person then they were allowed a little more than the usual in consideration of they being obliged to employ labourers in agricultural operations.

Under the Visabadi tenures the village lands were distributed among the chief ryots by visums or shares periodically interchanged among the cultivators. Each co sharer was responsible

for the assessment on his own portion and all for each other. Though settlement was with individual cultivators joint responsibility was also implied.<sup>54</sup> In Eluru and Nuzividu Zamindaris the Visabadi system prevailed. It was a sist upon a village, the lands of which were divided between the head ryots, each becoming responsible for his visum share, each head ryots or such arrangements as he considered most advantageous to himself.<sup>55</sup> In 1801 the Board of Revenue abolished the Visabadi system in the region and in their place Aumani settlement was introduced because of the disadvantages in the Visabadi system.<sup>56</sup>

This system to some extent seemed to answer the general question whether there was joint or communal land holding in South India. Though literary sources in the early period have certain evidences of communal land holding in the region the Visabadi system also to some extent confirms the fact that there was communal land holding in the region. Though the ryot was individually responsible for his own share the joint responsibility of the village and the revenue demand being fixed for the whole of the village together suggest this.<sup>57</sup>

The Company followed a policy of annual settlements with the Zamindars of the region in the initial stages.<sup>58</sup> The main reason being that the Company did not want to give the already powerful Zamindars too much of independence. The annual leases meant the Zamindars had to pay revenue regularly for the continuance of the Zamindari right. Not only that, this gave the Company an appar-



tunity to deal with the unruly and inefficient Zamindars directly and could take away their Zamindari right if their performance was not to the satisfaction of the Company. This gave at least in theory certain powers to the Company in controlling the Zamindars.

The general practice was that the Zamindars collected revenue on condition of paying a fixed amount to the government. But only few Zamindars paid their rents punctually on account of

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prevailing anarchy in the estates. The way the Zamindari estates were geographically and spatially distributed in the region often led to constant rivalries among the Zamindars. The boundary disputes and the burning of villages between the Zamindaris was a common and unavoidable feature during this period.<sup>40</sup> The Company could not alter the situation initially. So for the time being it acknowledged the position of the Zamindars who occupied a dominant position in the agrarian structure.

Elsewhere in the Northern Circars the British were successful in curbing the powers of the unruly Zamindars, but in Masulipatnam district the Company could not implement the same measures so effectively. The law and order problem in these estates was so bad that at the time of the harvest the Zamindar's peons used to carry away the produce of the neighbouring villages which were under the jurisdiction of other Zamindars who were weak. Because of this. the villages were usually deserted by the culti-

vators for lack of security and thus lands were left uncultivated. This was a common feature in the region. For example, we find that in the case of the Zamindars of Nuzividu the Collector constantly wrote to the higher officials complaining against the increasing power of Apparao, the Zamindar of Nuzividu and the Zamindar's unruly activities.<sup>41</sup>

The term Haveli land had a different connotation in different regions. Though the state lands or the circar lands existed in other regions also they were known by different names. For instance, in the Nizam territories the state lands were called Diwani, and the personal lands of the ruler were known as Sarfekhas.<sup>42</sup> In Bengal the personal lands of the Zamindars or the ruling authorities were known as Havelis.<sup>45</sup> As mentioned earlier the Haveli lands had different revenue systems and practices distinct from those of Zamindari estates. In the Haveli lands, the Company followed the Aumani system and farming out system by which lands were farmed out on a stipulated rent.

Under the Aumani the government received the land revenue in kind. But to grant leases and supervise the cultivation and final agricultural operations many officers like Amils, Foujdars, and Anchanadars were deputed by the Company at various points of time.<sup>44</sup>

However, this meant that the system involved an extensive establishment which increased the charges of collection. So the

Company later on thought of changing this mode of revenue system. Under this system as the government demand could be payable in kind and as the cultivators had long got accustomed to the system there was stiff resistance by the ryots for any change. This was clear from the Collector's report to the Board asking to continue the same system.

For instance, in the estates of Divi, Devarakota, Vinukota and Gudivada the cultivators were so strong that if there was any change in the system they refused to cultivate the lands. The cultivators resorted to such methods by pitching a kadi in the ground. This was a common signal in the villages of abandoning the cultivation. The cultivators who dared to defy such collective decisions had to face the wrath of others. These punishments sometimes were so severe that their produce, livestock and even the houses were burnt. Such severe punishments must have acted as a sort of barrier for any one not to violate the  
46  
decisions.

But the failure of the annual settlements compelled the Company to replace them with triennial leases with the Zamindars. The Zamindars under this contract were allowed two thirds of the gross collection from their estates. These figures were based on the estimates of the Circuit Committee appointed to enquire into the real resources and financial positions of both the Zamindars and Haveli lands. But the realization of this settlement was

greatly affected by the famines. These Cows were extended to the Zamindars on same conditions as under previous settlement at regular intervals till the Permanent Settlement was concluded in the region in 1802.

Whatever the method of collection was both in Zamindari and Haveli lands the revenues could not be collected without the aid of troops. Often revenue renters and Zamindars revolted against the Company. One such instance, was that of Apparao the Zamindar of Nuzividu.

Meka Venkayya. the first of the family came from Carnatic in 1652 and rented five to six villages. It was only in 1664 that the whole pargana of Nuzividu was leased to his successor Vijia who assumed the title of Apparao. But his successor Venkatadri Apparao was expelled under Rustum Khan, the Nizam's Foujdar and the country continued under Tahsildars for fifteen years. Under the Company the brothers Venkatadri Apparao and Narayya Apparao divided the estate between them.

Under Narasimha Apparao revenue management of the estate was **bad** and he fell into arrears to the Company. In 1775 a military force was sent from Masulipatnam to take possession of the estate. So the Zamindar borrowed money from Company's officials and met the Company's demand. As the Company officials White Hall and John Hodges had lent money to Narsimha Apparao, a bill was introduced in the Parliament in 1785 against them. Apparao also laid

his case before the government. As there were no signs of redress the Zamindar showed signs of defying the Company's authority. The Zamindar collected an armed force and placed his fort in a state of defense. After initial resistance he however escaped from the fort and crossed into Nizam's territories from where he continued to ravage Nuzividu by frequent incursions.

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In 1785 the Company expelled Narayya Apparao as a rebel and the whole estate was forfeited. But in 1784 the government conferred the estate to his son Venkata Narsimha Apparao by a Sanad.<sup>50</sup> The senior Apparao from his refuse in the jungles near Bhadrachalam raided the estate, burnt villages and plundered the produce and killed those who resisted. The Company wearied by these disturbances came to a compromise with the senior Apparao by allowing him to stay in Nuzividu.

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This arrangement did not work and the senior Apparao was creating problems in the estate as he was very influential. However later on under the management of Apparao brothers the constant family feuds resulted in the mismanagement of the estate. The disorder became so great that a military force was sent under Captain Oldham to restore order in the Zamindari. The peace which prevailed for some years was again disturbed in 1792 after the death of the senior Zamindar. His son Ramachandra Apparao in alliance with Venkatraya a dissatisfied member of the Kamadana family from Charmahal rose against the Company.

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Under the mismanagement of the estates sometimes even the substantial cultivators left their villages. For instance, in the case of Charmahal Zamindari the cultivators returned only after the Collector's assurance that he would enquire into the past management of the estate. The government advanced 6000 MPs. under taccavi loans towards temporary repairs to irrigation sources, purchase of seed grain, implements of husbandry.

53

The renters frequently made an assessment from the ryots which was called Nazar or free gift to enable them to repair pagodas, choultries and build their houses or purchase houses. Though this was actually an extortion, the ryots being too much in their power had no option but to pay.

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It was in these troubled times that the Collector emerged as a more effective instrument of Company's power. The existing Provincial Chief in Council was replaced with the three Collectorates of Rajahmundry, Masulipatnam and Guntur in Northern Circars.

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Thus the initial years of Company's rule in the Masulipatnam district was marked by inefficient and refractory rule of the Zamindars. Who were these Zamindars?. What were the powers of the Zamindars? How did the British perceive the Zamindars and the Zamindaris in the early years of its rule?

## Rural Groups and their role in the Economy :

The Zamindars were not feudal lords but only agents of the state who were allowed to possess estates at the pleasure of the government. The duty of the Zamindar was to superintend the portion of land placed under his charge, furnish necessary advances to peasants, render justice, and collect rent from them. For the discharge of these duties a Zamindar was allowed to enjoy certain amount of land as rent free Saveram and certain fee commissions called Rusums.

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Zamindar in the literal sense of the term means a land lord. The generally accepted view seems to be that the Zamindar in Mughal times meant a vassal chief and were not found in the directly administered territories of the empire. The purpose of Zamindari right was generally to provide its possessor with an income since it was a right primarily associated with land. It gave the Zamindars a share in the lands produce. Generally the Zamindars paid the government a fixed sum for the revenue of village and then made revenue collections from individual villages on cultivators at the rates usually fixed by the custom of the region. Then his income in profit was the difference between his collections and the amount he paid to the government. This was where the cultivators were left at the mercy of the Zamindars since the amount the cultivators had to pay to the Zamindar was not mentioned or fixed by the government. The Company had left it to the Zamindars to decide. There was a lot of exploitation of

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the cultivators by the chain of revenue officials employed by the Zamindars in the collection of revenue.

Thus there existed almost throughout the region a fiscal claim of the Zamindars upon land lying within his Zamindari. This claim was realized either through a separate rate on peasants or mostly through the holdings of a portion of the land revenue free or enjoying certain amount of land as rent free  
58  
Jagir.

In Masulipatnam district the Zamindaris were not necessarily contiguous estates and a Zamindar's possessions were scattered through out the district and Zamindars often held lands outside  
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their district. As some of the Zamindaris were large and scattered, the Zamindaris were not managed effectively and there were also constant inter estate rivalries.

Though the Zamindari had an important position in the rural structure. it was the village which was still an important and basic unit of production and administration and occupied a pivotal position around which the activities and interests of  
60  
rural groups revolved. Karl Marx stated that :

under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured and even desolated by war, famine and disease. The same name the same limits the same interests and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants give



themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms while the villages remain entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolved, its internal economy remains unchanged. The Patel is still the head inhabitant and still acts as the petty judge and magistrate and Collector on return of the village.

The villages varied a great deal in size and consisted of people living with varying practices. Not all the villages were predominantly agriculture based, though each village definitely had a cultivating population. For instance, in the taluks of Pedanah and Pedapatnam the number of ryots in each village varied widely. In Pedanah there were 96 ploughs having 99 cultivators. Whereas Husseinpolam in Pedanah taluk and Singarayapalem in Pedapatnam taluk had 16 ryots having 6 ploughs and 4 ploughs with 4 ryots. Perhaps the number of ryots depended on the land under cultivation in each village. In the villages where the wet cultivation was more or considerable there were more cultivators. In most of the villages like Husseinpolam, Pullalapalem, Munagapudi, Singarayapalem, Kakarlapudi wet cultivations was totally absent.<sup>61</sup> Besides them there were weavers and other artisanal groups. Some villages were famous for weaving. Some of the weaving villages in Masulipatnam were Eluru which was famous for carpets, Pedanah and IMizampatnam famous for Chay goods and Masulipatnam for Chintz production.

Perhaps in the villages where cultivation was not very attractive the inhabitants depended on other activities like

weaving, cattle breeding, and dairy farming. The villages were built by a group of people belonging to a particular group or a caste. Sometimes they were also named after the persons who built them. The Bandar Kaifyat shows that in Masulipatnam district there were many villages under the above mentioned categories. For instance, Ingireeju Palem was built in 1695 by certain English merchants. Like wise Velama gudem was built in 1718 and Chakirevupalem was built in 1718 by those castes. Villages bearing persons names were built by those after whose names they were called. For example, Rustumbad peta, Robertson peta and Fakrulabad. Bacchupeta was built in 1648 by a Brahmin Peradragada Bacchu, Ramanaidu Peta was built in 1783 by a Baliya Malapaka Ramanaidu, Desai Peta was built in 1648 by a Brahmin Konukollu Venku.<sup>62</sup>

Each village had the entire machinery of local administration in an establishment of twelve hereditary servants called bara baluta - Headman, Accountant being powerful posts there were others like money lender, Nirganti, Talari. Apart from them<sup>63</sup> there existed cultivators of different ranks.

Thus the village social structure was not a simple organization but presented a highly complex picture. In the region there were cultivators of several descriptions - Kadeem cultivators and payakari cultivators. The payakari cultivators were again divided into Ulcudi Payakaris and Paracudi Payakaris.

## Cultivators and Customary Practices:

The right similar to Mirasi seemed to have been vested in the ancient land holders called the Kadeems. They were descendants of the original settlers of the village.<sup>64</sup> The mirasi right enjoyed by Kadeems was generally expressed in three kinds of villages - Eka bhogam, Pala bhogam and Samudayam villages. In the Ekabhogam villages the land was let to one person. In the Palabhogam villages the principle of joint responsibility was expressed. In the Samudayam villages Visabadi system existed.<sup>65</sup> Under the Kadeem cultivators there existed the group of Payakaris of two descriptions - the Ulcudis or the resident cultivators and the Paracudis or the non resident cultivators.

The Ulcudi cultivators were superior to those of the Paracudis, who were tenants at will. When the same family of Ulcudis held lands in a village for a certain term of years they acquired a quasi-proprietary right in the fields and could not be dispossessed as long as they paid the land rent and the customary dues regularly. They were also supposed to be the descendants of the first settlers of the village. The village Karanams in some villages were the Kadeem ryots and sometimes the resident ryots. The share of the produce enjoyed by these tenants was always 5 percent less than that of the non resident ryots. Perhaps this was because they had a quasi proprietary right in the soil and slightly better position in the village when compared to the non resident cultivators.<sup>67</sup>

The Paracudis or the non resident cultivators were allowed to cultivate the lands that remained unoccupied or uncultivated. They received 50 percent of the produce as their share. The Paracudis could leave the village for another on their own. They usually belonged to other villages and came temporarily to cultivate the lands they leased. So they had no right in the lands and held them only on contractual terms. As an inducement they always received a higher share of the produce than the resident cultivators.<sup>68</sup> But the special commission which was appointed to execute the Permanent Settlement in the region recommended that the practice of allowing high shares to payakari strangers should be abolished. The commission felt that this practice induced the resident ryots to enter their names as temporary cultivators in the neighbouring villages.<sup>69</sup>

But the presence of non resident cultivators was not a peculiar feature of this region alone. They seemed to have existed even in other areas. For instance, in Bengal they were known by the name of Pahikasht ryots and their role was no different from those of the Paracudis of the South.<sup>70</sup> The probable reason might be that they were a specialized class of cultivators and had some special techniques and skills in producing particular crops. The higher rate they received also suggests that must have received this share as an inducement given by the dominant ryots to bring the waste land into cultivation as it involved an extra effort.<sup>71</sup>

The fact that Masulipatnam district was inhabited by Rache-wars and Velamwars suggest that the agrarian community of Ka-deems, the resident and the non resident ryots probably belonged to Rachewar and Velamwar castes.

An examination of land revenue assessment and shares allowed to different groups of cultivators and methods of collection would further help in understanding the complex and stratified structure of the agrarian society and also the distributive pattern of the village economy.

In Nuzividu estate it was not customary to grant cowls but when a Parakudi cultivator or a Pariah cultivator applied to cultivate either arable or waste land he was permitted to hold it at twelve tooms per putti and in the case of an Ulcudi ryots were interested in taking up the waste and cultivate he held the land in the first year at twelve tooms, the second year at 11 tooms and the third and fourth at ten tooms.

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However generally there was no written agreement between the Zamindars and the cultivators, though occasionally they were made. The contract between the cultivators and the Zamindars was of a verbal nature. the faith upon which they were given was not always strictly observed at the period of harvest.

73

Perhaps in this way also the cultivators were at a loss. In case the Zamindars went back on their word and in case the culti-

vators wanted to seek legal redress the absence of formal deeds between the Zamindars and the cultivators acted as a hurdle.

In the district where the land revenue was permanently settled and where the collections from the ryots were made by the Zamindars the cultivator was protected from enhanced demands by an appeal to the Collector under the provisions of Regulation 50 of 1802 and Regulation 5 of 1822. However on the Collectors decision also the Zamindars could further appeal by formal process to the Courts of Law.

Perhaps this long process also deterred the ryots from complaining and also the lengthy procedures involved were out of reach and the cultivators could not afford most of the times to attend the courts leaving their work.

#### **Company's Experiments with Revenue Systems :**

With the failure of the Permanent Settlement in the region and also according to the change of policy at the centre the Company was trying out an alternative revenue system in the region.<sup>75</sup> The Board in 1817 sent a circular to the Collectors of the districts where the Ryotwari system was not established to report what were obstacles introduced Ryotwari system. In Masulipatnam district the only Aumani lands were two villages and a resumed Jagir village rented on lease. Since there were

not many government lands in the region the Company in 1820 issued orders that in cases where the estates of disqualified proprietors might come under the charge of Court of Wards or where such estates were already under the charge of the court Ryotwari mode of assessing and collecting revenues should be tried.<sup>76</sup>

Tables A 1 and A 2 shows the village statistics of Devarakota, Viziarayi, and Gollapalli parganas which were selected for the trial of Ryotwari Revenue system. The Board also disapproved the system of farming out the lands for a term of years. However. it did make an exception to the villages which were situated in jungles and unsuitable situations. In all such cases the lands were to be farmed to the Velamvars or to such persons who qualified to hold the lands.<sup>77</sup>

But the Collectors opined that Ryotwari system could not be carried out successfully in the region because the villages were thinly populated and the non resident ryots could not be brought to cultivate the waste. The Collector opined that it would result in loss of revenue to government.<sup>78</sup> Earlier also the Company had experimented Ryotwari system in Talaprolu village in 1819. Survey was done in field assessment. In the settlement of the village of Talaprolu the Collector had regulated the assessment in such a manner as to exempt the ryots from various extra collections and other illegal vexatious demands to which they were earlier liable. The Collector fixed the

assessment with reference to the quantity of grain that had been  
79  
produced.

Average produce of past seven years preceding the settlement was taken for calculation. After the customary fee deductions the residue was divided into two equal portions. The circar share was converted into money at rates established on an average of seven years selling prices and the amount was distributed on different ryots with reference to the situation, quality, and former produce of the lands. For instance, in Talaprolu village the land assessment on dry land was Rs.1-0-9. the wet land was charged Rs.5-4-0 per acre, whereas garden land was charged at Rs.5-3-1 per

However in 1821 when the Board called for statistics in Masulipatnam region the Collectors made a detailed list of the villages in different Zamindari estates where the experiment could be tried out, though they were apprehensive about the results of the settlement. The only Aumani lands in Masulipatnam district in 1817 were the two resumed Mokasa villages of Kapavaram and Lingagudem which were annually rented out and another resumed Jagir village of Kytapalli which had been rented out on a  
80  
lease.

In the series of experiments with the revenue systems that were carried on by the Company, in 1848 the Company contemplated to introduce Joint Village Rents in Divi. The Company had



decided to leave the whole of the internal arrangements to the villagers themselves except when from any particular circumstances, all the ryots of a village might themselves desire to have their liabilities defined in pattahs, the Collector was allowed to grant them.

81

In Batavolu and Penuganchiprolu villages which were situated on the district borders the resident ryots were few in number and for the success of full cultivation they had to depend on the non resident cultivators. In the villages where a large portion of wet lands were under cultivation and where wet lands exclusively depended on periodical rains the cultivators were very apprehensive to undertake leases for the fear of loss in case of monsoon failures. In all such cases the best settlement followed was to resort into an arrangement after the cultivation had been completed.

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The government decided that the duration of rents generally should be one year but in particular cases where the resources of the villages were deduced or where there was much arable land it could be extended to two or three years.

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In 1843, in Divi the dry lands were settled under quinquennial leases. The average revenue from the dry lands for the past twenty years were ascertained. Proposals were invited from the

head inhabitants and ryots for a lease for five years and a cowl  
8A  
was issued in the names of the head inhabitants.

The existence of a different settlement of the wet and dry  
lands in the same village was not uncommon in Masulipatnam dis-  
trict. It was a usual practice for the wet lands to be held under  
85  
Ausara and the dry lands on a Mucta settlement.

In Talaprolu experiments were carried out to introduce  
Ryotwari system. As a preliminary measure in the cultivable land  
was categorized into three groups like the high land, the low  
land, and the garden land. Again the high and low lands were  
divided into four divisions based on the fertility of the soil  
and its location in the village.

As noticed in table 2.1 the assessment on the wet lands  
included the amount collected on account of tank repairs. All  
the low land under cultivation paid 1/2 a rupee and the others  
paid proportionally less. The garden lands were grouped under ten  
categories, as shown in table 2.2, based on the type of crops  
86  
produced.

Table : 2.1

Rate of Rent in High and Low Lands in 1819

Nature of Land	Rate
High land	
First Sort	Rs - A - P
Second Sort	1 - 4 - 6
Third Sort	1 - 2 - 0
Fourth Sort	0 - 2 - 0
	0 - 15 - 6
Low land	
First Sort	7 - 0 - 0
Second Sort	5 - 13 - 4
Third Sort	4 - 10 - 4
Fourth Sort	3 - 8 - 8

Source:Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 18.4.1819,  
MDR, v.821, p.3313.

Table : 2.2  
Rate of Rent in Garden Lands in 1819

Nature of Land	Rate of Rent
Garden land	
	Rs - A - P
First	12 - 12 - 0
Second	10 - 10 - 0
Third	8 - 8 - 0
Fourth	
Fifth	4 - 4 - 0
Sixth	3 - 8 - 8
Seventh	2 - 13 - 4
Eighth	2 - 2 - 0
Ninth	1 - 6 - 8
Tenth	0 - 11 - 4

Source: Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 18.4.1819, MDR, v.821, p.3313.

Both in the Zamindari and Haveli lands the rate of assessment or the share of the cultivators depended on the wet and dry crops. In the case of wet lands rate depended on the facility of irrigation. The usual practice was to divide the revenue into four kists. The first installment was paid in June, second in 87 September, third in December and the last in February.

Some times the sists were fixed at very high rates and leased to the head inhabitants. For instance, the Devarakota Zamindar fixed a high sist and made the lands over to the head Kapus who were solely responsible to the Zamindar. The head Kapus took the government share and paid the sist upon its sale 88 leaving the Kudivaram or the ryots share to the cultivators.

Generally the principal parts of revenue came from government share of the produce. In Eluru and Mustaphanagar Circars the gross produce was divided between the circar and the cultivators after the usual deductions for charity and towards village 89 expenses were made.

In the Haveli lands when the grain was measured the privileges allowed to the inhabitants and other village officials were deducted and then the residue was divided between the circar and different sections of the cultivators. The usual nominal shares allowed to the cultivators of paddy were 8, 10, and 12 tooms in 90 twenty.

The resident cultivators got	8 tooms
The strangers (non resident cultivators)	12 tooms
Brahmins and Rachewars	10 tooms

Dry grains were equally divided between the Zamindar and the ryots. But in actual practice the shares of the cultivators seldom exceeded 1/4 to 1/5 of the produce. Always Zamindari lands were better cultivated than the lands of the Company. Generally the lands producing dry grains (except Jonnalu). were generally let by Bilmucta. Under this system the land was held<sup>91</sup> at a very low rent.

If the uncultivated land was brought under plough by the cultivators, to encourage such performances and also for the extra labour they had put in, the cultivators received shares higher than in the cultivated areas. For instance, in Bezwada Zamindari if jungle land was brought under cultivation, in the first year ryots were given 13 tooms / twenty, in the second year **they** were given 12 tooms/ twenty, and in the third year they received 11 tooms / twenty. From the fourth year the cultivators<sup>92</sup> received ten tooms which was usual.

Moreover the cultivators were harassed and constantly disturbed by the **Company** servants. The cultivators generally had to **perform** the duties of coolies whenever the Company's troops **marched** through the area. This practice which was common in the

pre colonial times seemed to have continued even under the Company's regime.

When detachments of Mughal sepoys marched through the country they dragged the peasants from their fields and compelled them to carry their burdens without permanent or sometimes for small amounts cultivation suffered as the ryots were kept forcibly in confinement as long as military required their services. For instance, if one commanding officer required thirty or forty coolies to convey their baggage from Eluru to Masulipatnam the coolies had to be absent from their agricultural activities at least for six days.

93

The Company's troops had the wrong notion that according to the custom of the country it was the duty of the villages to supply them coolies without payment upon the supposition that the coolie charges were deducted from the village rents. The peasants on hearing the approach of the troops used to run away from their fields till the detachment left their villages. In 1794-95 the Board of Revenue abolished this practice and advised the troops to inform in advance to the village Kotwal who had to arrange coolies for the troops.

94

## **Agricultural Labourers:**

As to the nature of the agricultural labourers, they were at the bottom of the agrarian structure and belonged mostly to the untouchable castes like Mala and Madiga whose presence in agricultural operations was a must.

The agricultural laborers were a necessary force to the cultivation of all lands both the alienated lands and other lands. In case of alienated lands of all types. Inam lands and Maniam lands assigned to the support of large and small temples. Mosques and other institutions the agricultural labourers were paid by a share of produce or a fixed rent.

The two groups of labourers who were responsible for the cultivation were the farm servants and field labourers. The farm servants were engaged for the whole year to some land holder who had the exclusive rights to their servants and they were called the Palekapu or Paleru. They were attached hereditarily to the lands and were maintained by the cultivators during the year. As the hereditary agricultural labourers attached to fields they were in a more advantageous position than the other categories of farm labourers. They were always paid in kind and were also given a small quantity of straw and unthrashed paddy, new clothes and some tobacco, They also get advances of their wages free of  
95  
interest.



Of the shares receivable by the Palerus Yadlapalu was one. If the Palerus having their own bullocks and ploughs cultivate at the expense of the ryots they were entitled to four tooms per candy from the inhabitants share whether the land be ryots or the cultivators. If the land belonged to the Palerus then they had to defray only that portion of the Grama karchu which was apportioned to the soil, the remaining charge divisible on the produce was to be defrayed by the master.

96

Another similar allowance was chaipalu. If the Paleru possessing neither bullocks nor ploughs cultivate at the ryots expense and with his cattle in such a case he was entitled only to receive from the inhabitants share at the rate of two maunds per kyled candy. A Paleru whose contract with the land owner was only for a year was entitled to five maunds of grains and clothes. But after the expiration of three or four years, if the Palerus were desirous of placing himself and his family forever under the protection of the ryots then they were entitled to the following allowances. If the Palerus had served from generation to generation then they were entitled to one seer of jonnalu per day and a country blanket annually. If they were employed in the cultivation or in any other business of the ryots, during any special occasions like marriages in the palerus households, the Palerus were entitled to demand from his master MPs. 1 1/4 to defray cost of the Mangalasutram and other expenses. When a male child was born the Paleru was to receive one rupee from the

master for defraying the birth expenses, whereas when a female child was born only half a rupee was given. The boy eventually became the servant of the ryot. If a Paleru died while he was still attached to the owner's farm then his son received two rupees from the ryots to defray his father's funeral expenses. 97

However, both the Palerus. the one classed under Yadlapalu and the other grouped under Chaipalu were equally entitled to receive the allowances of Vinayakudu. Kallam thiru and Rasiadugu. If the ryot lent his bullocks to the Paleru for cultivation purposes then the circar tax was defrayed by the Paleru himself. In the event of a pariah Paleru deserting the master and taking refuge with another ryot then the master had a right to demand the restoration of the Paleru and his sons to him. If a Paleru was convicted of embezzling the produce, the master was rendered answerable for the payment of the circar fine provided it was ascertained that the Paleru was unable to discharge the same. 98

The palekapu who usually was given a service contract for a year was given food twice daily in the house and was furnished with a pair of panchalu, one kambali and a pair of chappals besides an annual payment of four or five rupees in cash. But the condition of the daily wage labourers depended on the type of work involved. When the grain was cheap a man was usually paid at two or one and half measures of grain per day, Whereas a woman coolie got one and half to one and a quarter measure of

grain per day. The coolies or the field labourers were **employed** seasonally especially during the harvesting and sowing **seasons** and were paid money wages of two to four annas a day. Women labourers got half of these rates.

99

The custom of giving allowances and their long standing practices had not changed but the rate of shares had changed with reference to the higher and lower prices of grain. These shares differed depending on the type of land also. In the dry lands after deducting grain allowances from the total quantity of produce a share of three or four tooms of grain per candy was paid to the husbands men besides the allowance of a toom of grain per candy under the denomination of Rasi adagu, Vinayakudu or Palakunda whereas in the wet lands five tooms per candy was paid.

100

At the time of sowing Jonna seed hire to each coolie was paid at one measure of grain per day, whereas for cotton gatherers who worked from morning to evening 1/6 of the cotton gathered was given as their share.

101

Thus at the bottom of the agrarian hierarchy was the agricultural labourers who had no right to land. In the villages among the hereditary officials or the bara baluta were included **these** labourers who belonged to untouchable castes.

## Cultivators Allowances and Customary Deductions :

In the district of Masulipatnam many grain allowances were given to the cultivators after harvesting the produce. The number of allowances varied from place to place. One of the many such allowances was Kallam thiru. There was a practice of rendering the threshing floors soft and muddy by watering. Certain quantity of seed was trodden into the ground by the threshing cattle. This was deemed to be the property of the ryot. In time this was calculated as a share of the gross produce. This allowance for instance, in the Kondapalli circar was made at twenty seers per candy. In Gundur, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru, Pedanah, Vullursamut and Kondapalli parganas under the head of Kallamthiru the palerus were entitled to receive twenty seers per candy. In Divi and Six Islands they were paid ten seers per candy.

102

Another was Kada Kallam thiru. The gleaning of the ears of grain which in threshing fell off the floor and was scattered around was taken by the cultivators. Rasi adugu was another of the kind. After the measurement of every heap of grain it was customary to leave the grain within two inches of the floor for the benefit of the ryot. Towards Rasiadugu in the Nizampatnam circar one three fourths seer per candy was given whereas in Gundur and Akulamannadu the cultivators received four seers per candy.

103

In **Vinayakudu**, the practice was, in stacking the grain in heaps a piece of clay was placed on the eastern side, consecrated to the God Vinayaka. What ever grain remained on this in measuring the grain was the ryot's prerequisite. This generally amounted to two seers per candy in the district. Under the head of Vinayakudu in Gundur, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru, and Pedanah the palerus received four seers per candy. In Vullursamut, Divi and Six Islands they got one seer per candy, whereas in Kondapalli Haveli it was two seers per candy and in Nizampatnam circar it was one seer per candy.

104

Palakadava or Palakunda was another of the grain allowances. At the commencement of the measuring of the heaps of grain the owner of each heap bathed the God Vinayaka with milk brought in an earthen pot which he was permitted to fill with grain. These allowances were so arbitrarily fixed that the cultivators bringing big earthen pots could take a larger amount of the grain perhaps. Generally this deduction also amounted to two seers per candy. **Laubham dosili** included three hands full of grain taken from each heap by the measurers at the beginning and was given to the ryot repeating a word laubham meaning profit. Another allowance was **Chupudu Salaga** which was made at the rate of four seers per candy.

105

The various allowances in a broad way reinforced the jajmani relations and also in a way practiced to emphasize the benevo-

lence of the Zamindars. By allotting a fixed share of allowance to the cultivators under various heads the cultivators were made to believe that they received extra allowances apart from their traditional shares. Though on the whole all the allowances put together did not amount to much still this reinforced the idea that the Zamindar was giving an extra share or allowance out of his portion of the produce. As the privileged sections of the rural society enjoyed various privileges in the cultivating shares, the cultivators were also made to believe through these allowances that along with the upper strata of the rural structure they were also given similar privileges. Though the Zamindars in collusion with various revenue servants appropriated much more from the cultivators that exploitation was given a legal sanction through these various customary allowances.

The very liberal allowances made by the circar were abundantly sufficient for the cultivators if justice was followed in their distribution. Unfortunately, a larger share was appropriated by the middlemen.

Besides, what the cultivators received from the circar they had to pay also certain amount towards various deductions to different groups in the village. These customary allowances varied from place to place.

The Darbari Karchulu of Mylavaram. Nandigama, Charmahal were the same in effect as the Sadarwari of Nunestalum and Kondapalli and Dora chaduvu of Bezwada. However, the method of assessment differed from place to place. The first two consist of a specific tax calculated on the net produce of the land while the later was realized by delivering the circar share of the crop to the ryot at a higher price than the selling rate.<sup>100</sup>

In Nuzividu Zamindari, after paying the Zamindar's share of the gross produce, from the remaining proportion the cultivators paid the Darbari charges which ranged from 5 to 9 1/4 percent on the jumma. Likewise the cultivators paid at the harvest three seers per putti to the Karanam. and batta of Rs. 1/4 each per diem to Gumasthas from the Mazumdar, Deshpande and Zamindars, besides batta to the circar peons with them. Nazars of two pagodas from every large village and one for each small one to each Deshpande and Mazumdar, also to the Mutadars two rupees from a large village and one from a small one. The cultivators had to pay Nazars to the Zamindar's, Brahmins and sometimes to other persons in power, pay a certain sum for the repairs of tanks. When the Zamindar was distressed for money cultivators were compelled to pay again. For instance, when Baharzalli was made over to Tirupati Rao of Mugulturu, on his becoming answerable for certain kists and arrears of Apparao that he took on his own account a nazar of about two percent above the usual payments these various exactions combined with the expenses of labourers

reduced the cultivators time proportion of the crop to barely one fifth.<sup>107</sup>

On the whole these collections took from the ryots about 16 5/4 percent of their original share of the crop. But further charges were collected from them under the head of Nazarmuctah and fee to the circar servants reduce their share to 3 percent more. The payments to Anchanadars, Mahamuldars and Kyledars absorbed a further sum of 16 percent and the surplus that remained to the cultivators after defraying all the charges of cultivation was minimum.<sup>108</sup>

#### Revenue Collecting Agency :

The cultivators were not left free even during their agricultural operations. As soon as the season started, both in the Zamindari and Haveli lands the villages were visited by a chain of revenue officers who were deputed from time to time to supervise the cultivating operations. In order to keep a watch over the ryots so that they did not remove the grain before measuring or hide it, during harvesting season the Zamindars appointed extra peons whose salaries were paid from the ryots share of the crop. This practice in course of time became very vicious. The number of these peons increased at the will and fancy of the Zamindars. As the entire establishment had to be supported by



the ryots it became a matter of oppression to the ryots and also increased the number of intermediaries between the Zamindars and the cultivators. They also acted as arbitrators in the villages to settle the disputes that may arise among the inhabitants regarding the land or right to water or to correspond directly with the Tahsildars regarding the affairs of the division under

109  
his charge. The Zamindars interference started as soon as the crops reach the harvesting stage and from there on, at every remaining stage they were superintended by the Zamindari servants.

These intermediaries were Naikwadis, Mahasuldars, Pygasties, Anchanadars, Maddatgars, Kyledars, Tahsildars, Tajabdars, and peons. The salaries of these people and also batta to them and their peons was included in the Grama Karchu accounts.

The Naikwadis were Talaris or village watchers. They received two seers of grain from each heap as their fixed allowance as village servants and an additional sum in grain and money daily during their attendance at the period of harvest. For instance, in Weyuru pargana this allowance included a batta of one dub and one and half seers of Jonnalalu for three months and fifteen days. One dub and one seer of Jonnalalu for four months and twenty days and four dubs in cash for four months and thirty days making the total allowance of each Naikwadi to 2} 1/2 rupees. In the pargana there were forty one Naikwadis and the

110  
total amounted to Rs. 1,052.

Mahsuldars were extra watchers employed during harvesting season. They were in attendance from four to six months but received pay and batta for four months only at the rate of five dubs and one seer of Jonnalalu per diem making the total allowance of the period to 15 1/4 rupees each. They were one hundred and sixty four Mahsuldars and the amount spent on them was Rs. 111 2,198.

The Pygasties were watching peons, in superintendence of the Naikwadis and Mahasuldars whose duties were confined to their particular villages to see that they were present and vigilant in their duties. Their pay and allowances were nine dubs and one and half seers of Jonnalalu each per diem for 4 months equal to Rs. 49 approximately. There were fourteen of them in Weyuru pargana. Mashatdars were the measurers of the land employed at the period of the harvest for ascertaining actual extent of land cultivated and they received ten dubs and one and a quarter seer of rice per diem while employed amounting to Rs. 112 12.

The duty of the Anchanadars was to estimate the produce of the crop when ready for cutting and they received ten dubs and one and a quarter seers of rice each day on which they might be employed. This depended upon the quantity of land measured out by the Mashatdars. The total pay per head amounted to Rs. 12. Kyledars were employed in measuring the grain when threshed and placed in heaps. The period of their engagement was uncertain but

their pay and allowances were seven annas and three dubs and **one**  
115  
and a quarter seers of rice per diem.

Kyledars were deputed to guard against any fraud in the measurement of the produce. The number of men employed for these duties was not fixed and their number varied depending on the wishes of the Zamindar. Their number was supposed to be proportionate to the extent of the crops. But the remuneration to these people was paid by the villagers and not by the Zamindars and often the establishment was larger than necessary. 114 Thus making the intermediaries between the cultivator and the Zamindars too many and also leaving scope to various illegal exactions from the peasants under various heads.

The Samutdars were the circar servants on a fixed pay employed under the Ameens of the Zamindars. They had unjustly created a demand upon the ryot for batta amounting to four rupees monthly. Tahsildars were extra peons employed by the Ameen. They received one fanam and thirty cash per diem when employed. The number was not restricted and generally depended on the wishes of the Ameen. Talabdars were extra peons also employed by the Ameen in collection of balances. They received allowances similar to  
115  
Tahsildars.

Other duties were like Colagarum or measuring duty. The measurers were allowed two seers per candy and this was included in the kyle mamools. One moiety was paid to the measurer and the

other was received by the circar. Other allowances were the ones made to Tanadar and Brahmins at the rate of one and three fourths of a seer and one seer per candy respectively. Another tax was Darbari charges. Under this head, different strata of the rural economy were charged differently. For instance. Ka-deems and old inhabitants were taxed at 12 /16 MPs per candy, Velamvars were taxed at 1 /16 MPs /candy, and Brahmins and head inhabitants were taxed at 13/16 MPs/candy.<sup>116</sup> All these suggest that the relation among different groups and the rates were determined according to the local usage and customs.

Rural Economy : Roll of Various groups in the village:

The village, as already noted was a crucial unit of production, and was also the centre of rural administrative set up. Each village had the entire machinery of local administration in an establishment of hereditary village servants. This catered to the local administrative needs and helped in the smooth running of village administration and also coordinated with higher levels of administration acting as an agent between the state and the rural structures. The local administrative set up more or less was the same through out the region, but in exceptional cases, had one or two village officials more depending on the needs of the villages. However though the village administrative system was maintained even under the Company government it did differ from those of the pre colonial regimes both in the nature and

structure of the setup. What depended on the customary traditions, in the pre colonial period were now governed by contract. The Company abolished certain offices and **strengthened some** to suit its needs.

The functioning of the rural economy in any region was influenced to a large extent by the structure of the rural society because the way in which the different groups were structurally organized partially determined the nature of the economy and accordingly the administrative setup at the level of the locality. Such groups need not be only those who were directly involved in agricultural production.

Each village generally had an establishment of village servants called Bara Baluta or twelve kinds of hereditary village servants. But the components of this Bara baluta differed in each account. It consisted of Patel, Karanam, Shroff, Talari. Thoti. Nirganti. Astrologer, Smith, Carpenter, Washerman, Barber and Silversmith.<sup>117</sup> In some accounts potters and dancing girls

were also included and in other accounts the village establishment<sup>118</sup> included eighteen officials. However the offices of the Headmen and the Karanam were the top most and of crucial importance in the villages. The office of the village functionaries was an hereditary one and their pay was made in the form of Inams **and** also in kind out of the produce of the villages and the shares **of these** groups were determined based on the customary

practices in the village. Munro in 1813 described a village as  
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A village in India does not apply to what is commonly called a village in this country, a collection of houses, a village is a certain portion of country, generally from two to four square miles, the boundary of which are unalterable. What ever cessions or transfers of country are made in the course of war from one power to another, the boundaries of the village remain permanent, the ryot considers the village as his country, he does not look to the province or to the country at large, he considers the village as the little republic in which he resides and lives are often lost in struggles among neighbouring villages for a quarter of an acre of land which never has been cultivated, nor even can be cultivated merely to include it within the boundary of one or the other village.

The relative powers of the village administrative officials and their status differed from tract to tract and perhaps from village to village. The village officers had become intermediaries between the government and the village, mediating the demands and desires of both the parties and levying some sort of  
120  
fee on both parties for his service.

There was gradation of rank and caste even in performing the village duties. While the first two offices of Patel and Karanam were held by the dominant castes in the village, the menial duties were divided between the Mala and Madiga castes usually. The other duties were also mostly caste occupations and every one received shares in the agrarian surplus according to their duties. For instance, at the apex of the village administrative

setup was the head inhabitant known in various places by various names as Maniakkar. Potail, Peddakarakar, Peddakapu, Peddaryot and Naidu.<sup>121</sup> The village head generally belonged to the dominant caste of Vellalars in the region. He was the local representative and was also the villager's medium of contact with the central administration.

The village headmen helped in collecting the revenue which was paid through his hands. He was also a petty magistrate and civil judge. As a magistrate he dealt with petty crime, assaults and also decided suits for money and petty property disputes. They received payments sometimes by inam lands and sometimes by miras or fee from revenue. As a rule, no large salary was attached to this office, for the position was one of an honour. The head inhabitants with few exceptions enjoyed no emoluments in the district of Masulipatnam either in money or in land.<sup>122</sup>

The Patel was generally a prosperous cultivator having a dominant economic and social status in the village as the names Peddaryot or Peddakapu themselves indicate. As cultivators and other inhabitants reposed their faith in them it enabled them to wield considerable influence in the village. To stress more, in the areas where successive governments and political change had done very little to dislodge the local prominence of the communities big land owners often controlled the village headship as part of a more general assertion of mirasi right.<sup>123</sup>

The system of village administration with the headman at the apex supported by the Village Panchayat ensured the smooth functioning of the socio economic organization. The Panchayat was generally held in a public place called Chavadi where the village office was housed. The village Panchayat consisted of a group of village elders headed by the Patel. The Panchayat decided all the matters in the village, and settled disputes of various kinds.<sup>124</sup> In fact, this practice was carried even in to the Company's administration. For instance, the boundary disputes and irrigation disputes which were a common feature in village politics were often settled by the Collector assembling the Panchayats of the villages under dispute.<sup>125</sup>

Thus the village headman played a dominant role even in the functioning of the agrarian world. Being a leading ryot in the village, in both Zamindari and Haveli lands the villages were let to the head inhabitants and it was they who redistributed them among the cultivators according to the long standing village practices. However this office was not uniform throughout the region. Where the office of Patel or single headman was unknown there were several headmen or head ryots known as Pettandars or Peddakapus who performed duties like land revenue collection and controlled the affairs of the village.<sup>126</sup>

The official next in importance was the Karanam or Patwari the keeper of the village accounts. In the region the Karanams



were mostly Brahmins though there were persons of other castes also who held this position.<sup>127</sup> Even among the Brahmins it was the Niyogis who dominated these offices. Because their skill in accounting and book work was exacting and because it was sacred and secret to his family the Karanam or the accountant held a position which was both durable and influential.

Tracing the origins of Karanams, R.E.Frykenberg points out that, Brahmins were brought down from Benares to be the village accountants. They under the pre colonial regimes gradually displaced Aravas and Jains as Karanams. Successive waves of other groups, such as the Hoysalas, Kanakapillais, Lingayats, Patrulu, Badagals and Nandavarikas as well as the Linga Baliyas, Gajula baliyas and Kayasthas came or were brought into the region in the chain of succeeding political regimes.<sup>128</sup>

The Karanams had formerly acted as the Ijradars that is as mediators between the Zamindars and the cultivators. The head inhabitant in some villages held the position of Karanam also. But there was no fixed rule about the number of Karanams in each village. For instance, in the Kondapalli Paragana their number varied widely. In villages there were sometimes more than one Karanam and this number sometimes extended up to 13.<sup>129</sup> In Eluru three to four Karanams were there instead of one. This practice was an oppression upon the people, because each of them demand the usual fees from the cultivators. Though the original Inam to the office remains the same they in collaboration with the head

inhabitants frequently cultivated more than their share of lands  
in the villages.<sup>130</sup> The office of the Karanams as well as the  
headman's was hereditary as long as the duties appertaining to it  
were properly performed. The Karanam was supposed to be a rapa-  
cious and untrustworthy person. This nature of the Karanam was  
clearly accounted even in the existing literature and proverbs  
'Karanamtho kantupadithe kadi kadaladu', (plough does not move if  
one goes against the Karanams). Explaining the nexus between the  
village head and the Karanam it was said "Karanalu kaapulu eka-  
maithe kakulu kuda eguravu', (even crows will not fly if Karanams  
and Kapus jointly work) and "Karanam saadhuvu kaadu. kaaki telupu  
kaadu' (neither a Karanam plain nor a crow white).<sup>131</sup>

The Karanams were required to keep complete registers of the  
extent and description of lands in each village and true accounts  
of the gross produce of the lands and to enter in their registers  
where the produce might be shared between the proprietors and the  
cultivators, also the quantity of grain so divided as well as the  
rates of division. In cases where the lands might be liable to  
pay money rents they had to record the rates and the amount of  
the money rents.<sup>132</sup>

The Karanams also entered in their registers the rates and  
amount of all fees and marahs appropriated to village servants  
and servants, specifying whether such fees and marahs were pay-

able from the gross produce of the entire lands, from the proprietors share, or from the ryots share. They were to keep registers of the quit rent and ready money payments collected in each village, monthly registers of the prices of all kinds of grain, registers of strangers, accounts exhibiting the actual revenue and charges of the village. They were to produce the registers and accounts whenever required by the proprietor, by 133the Collector or by the Adawlut of the Zillah.

The Collectors however were prohibited from demanding from Karanams their registers and accounts for any other purpose than that of asserting the public revenue upon the portions of estates which it might be necessary to subdivide or of administering the revenue of lands escheated to government or attached for arrears of revenue. Thus the Karanams were to keep the registers of rents payable by the ryots to the proprietors. The Collectors had no authority over the Karanams. They could call for information from them only for a limited purpose unconnected with the relation between the proprietors and their ryots and had no power to ensure that the Karanam duly kept the prescribed registers with correct accounts. Perhaps this detailed accounting of village settlements and also Karanams role in it led to the proverb 'kaapula jaathakalu karanaala keruka' (Karanams know the  
154  
biography of the Kapus). The strengthening of the office of the Karanam in the village under the Company and the power that was vested in its office and their independent status enabled the

Karanams to wield authority over the rural structure in the countryside.

As for the enjoyment of privileges and emoluments were concerned Karanams had an advantageous position compared to others in the villages. For the duties performed they received Rusums, Chupudu Salagalu and Badu Salagalu. However more than these it was the customary privileges they enjoyed from all sections in the society that amounted to large fees. Their collection in the villages became so vicious that under the Company the Collectors abolished the claims advanced by the Karanams to exorbitant Rusums on each choda kunta, on the jareeb produce on looms, on Bantias and other inhabitants in their marriages and also on the grain purchased by Bantias.

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The cultivators in the village were obliged to perform many services for him. Moreover at the time of marriages or some other social function in the village the Karanams received certain amount from the villagers. Apart from it some sheaves of grain was given to the Karanam by each cultivator at the time of reaping. But there was no fixed rule about these payments. It depended on different kinds of grain. After the Company took possession of the Circars it abolished certain fees which previously Karanams had collected on Betel. Tobacco, Opium and Arrack.

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In spite of all these, it was this office to the exclusion of others that was strengthened by the Company under the 1802 settlement. Under the new settlement the duties and powers of the Karanam were clearly laid down and the offices of the Karanam emerged as the only powerful setup in the village administration.

The 1802 Regulation imposed an obligation on the Zamindars to appoint and support the regular and established number of Karanams who were to obey all legal orders issued by the Zamindars but were not liable to be removed except by a court of judicature on a suit instituted by the Zamindar. The rights of the Zamindars in their dealings with Karanams were also defined and restricted while they were to be maintained by the Zamindars the latter had no power to remove them or appoint any one over-riding the hereditary line.

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But under the Permanent Settlement the Collector abolished the claims advanced by the Karanams to exorbitant rusums on each choda kunta of the jareeb produce, on looms, on Bantias and inhabitants and others, in their marriages, as well as on the grain purchased by Bantias.

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An evil practice which was prevalent and which was exercised by the village heads and Karanams in the region to the harassment of the rural communities was Grama karchu or the village charges.

under this head the cultivators had to contribute customarily and the shares received by these village servants were specified and collected without fail. Table 2.3 shows the village charges that were collected in Nizampatnam circar of Masulipatnam district:

Table : 2.5  
Grama Karchu in Nizampatnam Circar in 1778:

S.No.	Name of Villages	Fasli 1209	Disbursements
		Fusly 1208 Collections by the rent-er from vil-lages under Grama Karchu MPs-F-C	made by the inhabitants of different villages on account of Grama Karchu MPs-F-C
1	Nizampatnam	22-29-65	34-18- 0
2	Yalatapolam	50- 9- 4	46- 8-18
5	Ganapavaram	58-51-29	58- 4-74
4	Komaravolu	22-10-55	16- 8-58
5	Edupalli	52- 6-55	70-51-62
6	Chinamutlapudi	36-23-26	28- 7-25
7	Aluru	140- 8-58	55-22-62
8	Adavala Divi	65-29- 9	44-24-55
9	Kavuru	68-12-55	70- 9-67
10	Amudalapalli	47-18-22	59- 0-11
11	Etaru	41-52-15	22-16-14
12	Pragam	17-19- 0	19-22-40
15	Nagaram	21-26-58	52-52-27
14	Potumerka	49-55- 1	46-17-46
15	Pudivada	79-21-64	54-14-61
16	Rajavolu	88-20-42	57- 4-29
17	Kuchinapudi	76- 0-11	79-11- 9
18	Pullaputla	27- 2-20	50-11-20
19	Allaparru	52-28-77	99-26-55
20	Paralli	26-18-45	20-22-62
21	Kuripudi	57- 5- 5	21- 1-10
22	Pedamutlapudi	58- 2-20	55-51-29
25	Balasulapolam	41-18- 0	50-16-25
24	Mundrada	70-11-10	48-51-40
25	Gokarneswaram	16-52- 5	15-15-26
26	Amartaluru	159-55-17	164-15-62
27	Cherukumalli	81-55-57	44- 8-55
28	Chandavolu	74-25-14	154-26-55
29	Kadavakudru	45- 4-40	79-51-29
30	Parala	81- 5-52	201- 0-11
51	Anumalli	92- 4-40	40- 5-50
52	Vellapolam	79-26- 1	42-50-64
55.	Pedaganjam	45-26-12	55- 9-45
55	Peddapalli	52- 4-17	41-19-66
54	Patamangalagiri	254-15-79	196-22-40
Total MPs.		2420-20-19	2859-19-59

Source: Collector Read. Masulipatnam district to the BOR,  
10.11.1800, MDR, v.2998, MDR, v.2998, p.9.

In theory, the amounts were collected by the revenue officials to meet the expenses for religious festivals, temple maintenance, fairs, charities, gifts to dignitaries, propitiation to village deities. and office equipment. But the amount thus collected was generally shared by the village revenue officials, taluk and Huzur servants. Another tax of similar nature was Saderwari. For instance, in the district of Masulipatnam in some parganas it was as shown in the table 2.4.

**Table : 2.4**

**Saderwari in Some taluks of Masulipatnam district:**

	Dowle for 1798			Grama Karchu		
	MP	F	C	MP	F	C
1. Kondapalli	5968	- 22	40	1045	- 33	- 36
2. Vallursamut	6698	- 6	-44	1517	- 10	- 61
3. Gundur	9519	- 11	-42	694	- 3	- 15
4. Akulamannad	645	- 2	- 6 4	64	- 5	- 5 9
5. Inuguduru	1523	- 7	-63	244	- 13	- 40
6. Pedanah	3233	- 11	-29	195	- 33	- 69

**Source:**Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 11.10.1800, MDR. v.2998, p.6.

Realizing the exactions, the Company immediately after its acquisition of the region, tried to restrict the collections by framing certain rules. For instance, for a village yielding the revenue from 50 - 250 MPs./ year taffrick was fixed at 20 percent and a taffrick of 8 percent on villages yielding revenue from **thousand** and above. The Company also stated that the Payakaris



should be assessed at one half of the rates payable by the Karanams.<sup>139</sup>

However these taxes were so arbitrarily fixed that the poor classes were robbed of all their limited surpluses. For these reasons under the 1802 settlement the Company introduced a clause in the sale itself that no part of the gramakarchu would be payable to the proprietors. Such contributions being intended for the general benefit of the village would be borne by each inhabitant in proportion according to the extent and value of his cultivation in the village.<sup>140</sup>

The other important village officials were Deshpandes, Mazumdar, Serishtadars of the circar. Tanadars who were in charge of revenue collection at the taluk and district level. However they worked in coordination with the Karanams. Generally there were one or two Deshpandes in each taluk. They received the accounts of the villages from the Karanam and submitted them to the circar. The Mazumdars kept the accounts of the Jumma from the taluks. For these services they enjoyed Saverams and Rusums.<sup>141</sup> But under the 1802 Regulation the offices of Mazumdar, Deshpande, and Serishtadar were abolished while strengthening Karanams position in the village.

The Deshpandes of Tamedhi had taken to themselves the duties of the village Karanams, while those of Pedanah cultivated nearly

half the soil on their own account with exclusive advantages and in Kondapalli estate the Oeshpande and Mazumdari offices were held by one family.

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In Gudur and Akulamannadu parganas the Oeshpande was supported by an allowance of ten seers per putti from the gross produce. Mazumdars were supported by fees upon land customs without Inams or Mirasi.

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While some of the havelis had many Deshpandes and Mazumdars, some were without these offices. In some other parganas the duties of Deshpandes and Karanams were combined. Generally the Deshpandes and Karanams cultivated nearly half and the best arable land on their own account.

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Likewise the office of Mazumdar was abolished in Rudravaram village in Inuguduru pargana and Malkacherla in Pedanah pargana was conferred on the Mazumdar Ebarasi Chandra Sekhar for life at the annual quit rent of five star pagodas to be paid to the Zamindar of Inuguduru and twenty star pagodas to the proprietor of Pedanah respectively.

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But in some instances pensions were given to the former Deshpandes also. For example, to the Deshpande of Divi Boggala Rama Reddy and Buggada Veeranna an annual pensions of 44 Star pagodas and 52  $\frac{4}{5}$  Star pagodas were given respectively for life.

In Munagala the office of the Deshmukh was abolished and Munagala was conferred in Zamindari tenure on Keesara Venkata Narasimha Rao.<sup>146</sup>

In Gundur pargana the office of Deshpande was held by the Karanams who performed the duties of both the offices, though the office of Deshpande was established to be a check on the Karanams offices.<sup>147</sup> The Deshpandes and Mazumdars had Inam lands from the Circar and Rusums or fees from the cultivators for their immediate subsistence amounting to about three percent on the revenue. Likewise certain mirasi villages were allotted for payment and support of the cutcherry of Deshpandes and Mazumdars and other servants.<sup>148</sup>

At the recommendation of the Special Commission appointed to introduce Permanent Settlement the government abolished the office of Deshpande in Masulipatnam district. However in Vullur Samut, the Deshpandes Govinda Raju, Ramappa, and Govindaraju Buchchi were allowed to enjoy the rent free Inam land for life.<sup>149</sup>

The other official, Nirganti, was the one who looked after irrigation needs of the village. This office was not universal. It depended on the existence of the wet lands in the village and the numbers of servants varied with the extent of wet lands.<sup>150</sup>

The Talari was required to watch the grain heaps on the common threshing floor before the division of the produce. He was required to obtain information regarding all breaches of law in the villages and also to escort and protect persons travelling from one village to another. All these officials were remunerated by the usual inam lands called Kattubadi lands. The other regular servant was the boundary man or the thoti.

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Besides the above mentioned ones every description of the village referred also to the Priest, Astrologer, Smith, Carpenter, Barber and the Leather worker. In some villages there was the Physician, Dhobi. Musician and the Dancing girl. However not all the people were present in each village. Benedicte Hjejie opined that the core of the village establishment consisted of a Karanam, a Black smith, a Carpenter, a Barber and a Washerman.

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To sum up, a contemporary British account stated the administrative setup thus:

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When the Muhammadans took this part of the country in the sixteenth century they appear to have made little change in the existing Hindu system. They occupied certain posts with military garrisons under Muhammadan officers and sometimes a tract of country might be granted to a Muhammadan officer as a Jagir but for the most part the revenues were collected and accounted for to the central authority by Hindu officials. These Hindu officials were the district accountant or Despondi, the district Collector or the Desmukh and a third official who had charge of the Police and seems to have exercised some supervision over the two others bearing the name of Muzumdars or Mannavar. As is usual in India these offices became hereditary and when the Muhammadan power became lax the Hindu hereditary officials began to call themselves Zamindars and to act as if they were independent princes but through all these changes the villages remained unaltered.

Thus the role of these officers was not only the revenue collections and organization of agricultural production but also to supervise the over all activities in the village. In the Cows that were issued to the Zamindars the Company stated clearly that the Company had rights to appoint Anchanadars for the purpose of estimating the value of the crops and likewise to appoint Mazumdars, Deshpandes and other officers for the purpose of examining into and keeping the Zamindars should render all assistance to such officers.

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In the village economy besides the agrarian groups there were many other social groups of various castes. The strength of the agrarian economy as well as the village depended on the organization of these various elements and how well the nexus was created between the agrarian groups and various others. Some of such groups were Bantias. Weavers, Toddy drawers, Goldsmiths, Basket makers. Cow keepers, Oil mongers. Boat men. Fishermen.

A certain amount of tax was collected on each of these groups in the region. In Divi, Pariah looms were taxed under moturfa. However all pariah looms were not taxed at the same rate. For instance,

27 looms were taxed at 5/8 MPs / loom

8 looms were taxed at 1/4 MPs / loom

2 looms were taxed at 7/16 MPs / loom  
 155  
 1 loom was taxed 4 fanams and 40 cash.

Besides, seventeen Bania's houses were taxed at MPs. 7-55-60. The assessment was regulated by the number of shops the Banias had. The Fishermen in Nagayalanka paid a tax of MPs. 156  
 5-2-20, 45 Cow keepers houses paid mamool fee MPs.48-22-40.

Table 2.5 shows the quit rent or moturpha paid by different occupational groups in the village of Mandamaru in Gundur pargana :

**Table : 2.5**

Quit **rant** paid in Mandamaru Pargana.-

S.No	People	No.of Houses	Bilmucta Tax MPs-F- C
1.	Brahmins	62	57-15-60
2.	Oil makers	4	0-31-41
3.	Pallanqueen bearers	-	1-21- 0
4.	Gold smiths	3	1-21-70
5.	Soap sellers	5	0-10-40
6.	Weavers	9	2- 2-50
7.	Vadde (sellers of salt fish)	10	4-26-20
8.	Toddy drawers	27	55- 0- 0
9.	Cow keepers	-	0-21- 0
10.	Aura or cloth stainers	5	1-18-34
11.	Cow keepers	10	5- 0- 0
12.	Oubber makers	1	0-10-10
15.	Painters	20	10- 0- 0

**Source:** Collector Read, Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 10.11.1800, MDR, 2998, p.56.

Of these non agricultural groups in the village, weavers constituted the most important occupation next to agriculture. Like the agrarian setup the weaving world was complex and played an important role in the working of the agrarian economy.

#### **Weavers and the Agrarian World:**

In Masulipatnam district during the late eighteenth century, the weaving centres were spatially concentrated in the Zamindaris of the region namely in Repalli Zamindari, Rachur Zamindari, Chllakalurlpadu Zamindari and Sattenapalli Zamindari. From the weaving villages of these Zamindaris chay goods of different varieties like Gingams red and blue, Sastracandles and Romals of different assortments travelled a long distance and reached distant markets of Europe and Africa. Further in these villages, various types of cloth meant for regional as well as internal  
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consumption were also produced.

In the Haveli tracts of the Company, the weaving centres were in Eluru, Pedanah, Gundur, and Nizampatnam circar areas. Punjum cloth of different sorts. Gingham and Cambalies were main cloth varieties produced in these Haveli lands. Chay goods industry of the Northern Coromandel was mostly concentrated in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, even though a few centres from Godavari district also specialized in chay goods production.

Masulipatnam was known for its contribution to the painted and printed multihued fabrics called Chintz, locally known as Kalamkari. Chintz production was concentrated in places like Masulipatnam, Palakollu and Jagganadhapuram.<sup>158</sup>

While the traditional weaving communities predominated in the weaving world of the Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts, in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, the weavers did not necessarily belong to the traditional weaving castes. For instance, although there were Sale caste weavers, primarily Padma sales, there were also Pariah weavers, Jandra caste weavers, Togata weavers and even a few looms set up by barbers.<sup>159</sup>

A significant correlation between the caste and the production of specific varieties of cloth could also be discerned in the district. The evidence from the Guntur and Masulipatnam districts displays that the non-traditional weavers specialized in producing ordinary cloth meant for local consumption,<sup>160</sup> Even the popular forms of expressions like proverbs of the region indicate the specialization on of the weaving carried on by the pariah weavers. If the cloth was not woven perfectly, a common form of expression was "Sagamu Sale Neta, Sagam Mala Neta", meaning half the weaving was done by Sales, the other half by Malas.<sup>162</sup> Generally speaking, the finer varieties of cloth were produced by the castes higher in the social hierarchy like the Padma Sales who specialized in weaving super fine varieties.



In the district records, the term used to refer to them was **'Mala Maggalavalluoo'** that is. Mala weavers. The Malas constituted the major weaving community in the village economy of Masulipatnam district and played an equally prominent part in the weaving economy, especially in Kondapalli Haveli, Vallursamut, and Inuguduru Parganas. While they almost monopolized the work in Vullursamut, no Pariah weaver existed in Gundur Pargana, 162 Akulamannadu Parganas, and in Nizampatnam circar. It was specially mentioned that they were not employed by the Company.

One of the ways in which the weaving communities were tied to the agrarian economy and the rural structures was through a wide variety of formal and informal taxes reflected in the pattern of revenue systems. The contribution of the weavers formed a major component of the entire revenue system, next only to that of the agricultural groups. These contributions strengthened the Zamindans and other local institutions. In turn, these reinforced the Zamindars to increase their hold over the weavers. The changes brought by the Company through the Permanent Settlement affected the indigenous links and paved the way for the incorporation of the weavers, into the matrix of the colonial economy.

## **Tax Collection in the Textile Economy**

By the end of the eighteenth century there was no uniformity in the existing revenue systems relating to the weaving world of the Masulipatnam region.

In the later half of the eighteenth century, as most of the weaving centres, and the weaving looms fell within the jurisdictional limits of the landed estates called Zamindaris, the Zamindaris depended to a considerable extent on the support of the weavers.

The weavers contributed both formal and informal taxes to various landed elites of the region. Unlike in Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts, in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts, the relation between weavers and Zamindars was blurred by factors like scattering of the weaving villages over a wide area, the presence of a clearly demarcated power structure in the administrative setup, and the large scale participation of the non traditional weavers in the textile economy.

The weaver in Masulipatnam district falling under the administrative units of 4th division of Masulipatnam circar, usually paid tax which they were liable as weavers. But in case the weavers had land, they received their share of the produce  
**163**  
in common with other inhabitants. Here the relationship of the

weaver with the Zamindars and other village officials was less formal and less oppressive as the weavers' payments to them were customarily formalized, and the forcing of grain over the weavers was also a rare phenomenon in these districts.

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Having belonged to an artisanal group the weavers in Masulipatnam were subjected to a variety of taxes like professional taxes, fees or Tahareer and sayer saderwareed. These institutionalized Munnavar and Rusums to the Mirasidars, and Karanam Rusums or fees were the extra exactions from the weavers of the Masulipatnam district.

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In Masulipatnam, Zamindars were therefore, entitled mainly to the loom tax .because the local officials also had the privilege of collecting from the weavers. Such a formalized relationship between the Zamindar and weaver was affected owing to the presence of an effective revenue administrative machinery set up by the Nizam state much before the Company's political hegemony in the district.

The Company's attempts to minimize the loss at the investment and to secure a firm base in the textile economy of region led it to discount many of these existing local alliances. **Moreover,** to secure the work of the weavers to the English East Company in preference to other individuals and European companies the Company Government attempted to abolish the traditional

oppressive obligations of the weaver. First attempt in this direction was the abolition of custom of imposing Gaddem from the landed elites and other renters.<sup>166</sup>

Equally significant measure that gave way to the disappearance of the formal relationship of the weaver with the Zamindars of the region was the Company's attempts to abolish loom tax over a period of time. The weavers working for Company's investment were exempted to pay loom tax. Initially in 1793 this privilege was restricted to those weavers settled in Haveli lands. But later on extended the same privileges whenever a Zamindari was sequestered and brought under the control of the Company.<sup>167</sup> Thus by creating differences between the weavers residing in Haveli lands and those in the Zamindari lands, the colonial state could penetrate and control the weaver more directly.

By 1802, the Company through its Permanent revenue settlement introduced in the Northern Circars, by taking away Zamindars right to collect loom tax.<sup>168</sup> It ordered the Zamindaris to desist from collecting any quit rent from the Company's weavers, for which they would be compensated by the Company. The Zamindars were further requested to send these circulars to renters.<sup>169</sup>

However an anomalous situation was created when the Company balanced the removal of financial dependence by legitimizing other kinds of subordination, again with the primary objective of

protecting its investment. Thus one of the clauses attached to the Permanent Muchalika of the Zamindars was one which fixed the permanent quit rent for the land occupied by the weavers for 21 years. The weaver in turn received a Cowl from the Zamindar. By this Cowl, the weaver was entitled to receive some ground with particular measurements. The weaver in turn agreed to certain amount including Rusums for a period of 21 years. For houses situated on this ground, it was the responsibility of the weaver to get the house repaired at his own expense. In return, the weaver agreed to pay by a stipulated date (1st October) certain rent and rusums. By this Muchalika, the weavers were prohibited from leaving the village or shifting houses without the consent of the Zamindar or his official. In case of such an act, the Zamindar had the right to rent that house to some other weaver<sup>170</sup> and could receive the tax as per the rules.

The Company thus tried to ensure a firm base and stable for its investment operations, by restricting the mobility of the weavers even within the district, because on many occasions of economic depression and scarcity, weavers resorted to occasional migrations, a great concern for the Company, as it led to the fluctuations in supply conditions. Thus constraining the weaver both in time and space, the Company ultimately cornered the weaver completely.

The Permanent Settlement of 1802 also made the Zamindars responsible for providing the necessary facilities to the weav-

ers, such as constructing residential localities (Pettahs) without any cess being levied.<sup>171</sup>

What was the realignment drafted between the Zamindars and the weavers after the withdrawal of the Company from the textile economy? Did the Company restore the formal relations between Zamindars and weavers, at least as far as the formal Moturpha tax was concerned?

When the Company abolished the chay goods trade in 1814, it decided to deconstruct the new revenue structures erected by it in 1790s. As the Company's object was to maximize revenue collections from all economic sectors, it saw no exception to grant any concession to the weaver. The Company, therefore, reverted to the policy of Moturpha loom tax collections even from those weavers who worked for Company's investment. The decision for such a change was based essentially on three grounds; first, if the exemption was continued, it would destroy the ultimate spirit of private trade activities; secondly, it would reduce the price of those Company's goods as against those sold by the weavers taxed by this Moturpha tax and thirdly, the Company had to forego a lot of revenue on account of its exemption.<sup>172</sup> This would indeed explain the reason for an increasing loom tax collection in Masulipatnam district from first decade of the nineteenth century. (See Graph.3 in Chapter.9).

To what extent the loss of loom tax collection affected the Zamindaris? The decline and fall of the Zamindari system has often been attributed to mismanagement of estates, and dysfunctions of the agrarian economy.<sup>175</sup> What has not been recognized, however, is that the artisan played as crucial a role in sustaining the Zamindar as the agriculturist. Quite often, ancient Zamindars depended on the revenues they collected through Moturpha taxes to pay off their annual revenue debts to the Company. Some times, they used their remission of loom tax which they got by the Permanent Settlement of 1802 for liquidating the debt balances that resulted from their inability to meet the revenue demand.

Another important section in the village social structure was the money lending community. These traders and bankers moved goods, grain and cash between the producers and the consumers and also provided necessary financial support for the economy.<sup>174</sup> The references to these intermediate groups in the records indicate their role in the economy.

One line of thought held the view that an important class that rose out of the British colonial policies with regard to Indian agriculture was the class of the money lenders as an influential economic and political force in the countryside. No doubt even in pre British days they did play a role but under the colonial structure they acted in a different form.<sup>175</sup>

The importance of money lenders grew because of the high **revenue** rates demanded and regular and rigid manner of its collection. The cultivators were compelled to borrow money to pay the taxes. Their chronic poverty forced them to take recourse to the money lenders. In Masulipatnam district the role of the money lenders was not very different from that of his counterparts elsewhere.

Lending cash and grain to meet the needs of the local farmers had long been an essential feature of agriculture everywhere. Well to do peasants acquired an interest in their neighbours produce through the loan of a few maunds of grain or a few rupees, mahajans lent out a portion of their stocks as a regular part of their trade and maliks used loans to tighten their control over the subordinates.

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Peasants needed money to fulfill many social obligations. The timing of loans and their repayment also worked to the creditor's advantage. Cultivators borrowed grain for sowing or for house hold purposes in the thin months of the year When the stocks were lowest and prices were consequently high. At the harvest season when his creditors demanded repayment, the situation was reverse.

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Most of the cultivators had to pay their dues as soon as their grain was threshed and local markets were therefore glutted with produce which automatically affected the prices. The result was the cultivators had to pay back three or



four times the amount they had originally borrowed from the creditors.

The petty Zamindars and prosperous cultivators sometimes combined these activities. Were the peasants not given any assistance during such periods? Did the government not give any loans? Assistance was given to the cultivators to some extent by the government in the form of taccavi loans. These loans included money, seed grain or assistance in some other form.<sup>178</sup>

Elizabeth Whitcombe argued that there was no doubt a general idea that Zamindars were bound to help their tenants by liberal advances of these loans, but these advances were not popular among the cultivators. Many Zamindars made advances to the cultivators on the same terms as the money lenders. But peasants preferred money lenders to land lords because landlords had more immediate control over the peasants than the money lender.<sup>179</sup>

The money lenders in their capacity as merchants, also acted as intermediaries in the vast network that linked the rural economy of the region with long distance trade. They also played an important role in intra regional trade from one district to the other.

The renters appropriated a great part of the grain belonging to the inhabitants for liquidation of their debts to him. The

sahukars took bonds from the cultivators and advanced cash. This was a common custom in Divi.<sup>180</sup> Some of the sahukars in Masulipatnam district were Raghunath Naik, Narsanna Naik, Venkatesa Naik. Birju Das, Kistaraju Naik, Chira ud doulah, Lakshmi Narasimha, Kotta Lakshmi Das, Vasudevacharlu, Emma|ee Naik, Varadas Pratap, and Majeti Venkatrama Setti.<sup>181</sup>

Sahukars seemed to have had another specialized role of carrying forward teeps to the Zamindars and others to enable them to furnish government with security to the payment of their rents. For a teep for one lakh pagodas Zamindars paid a premium of 1000 pagodas to the Sahukars and a village was delivered to the sahuکار besides a batta of two pagodas a day was allowed to the sahuکار's gumasthas which was paid by the inhabitants.^ ^

There were no special legal restrictions on money transactions in the region other than those contained in the provisions of Regulation 34 of 180Z.<sup>185</sup> Under the Permanent Settlement the government issued a Regulation regarding the rate of interest on money. Twelve percent per annum was fixed by the government as the highest rate of interest. However where a lower rate of interest was stipulated between parties than the 12 percent per annum that rate should be paid. In case of mortgages of real property the usufruct would be allowed to the mortgage in lieu of interest agreeable to the custom of the country.<sup>184</sup>

Thus the picture that emerges from the above analysis of the rural structure of the Masulipatnam district was that it was a hierarchically organized complex rural society. In this, the Zamindars retained the dominant position followed by several group of cultivators and others. The rural power was distributed in this complex, many layered structure through several mediatory devices including the ideological systems. Of these, one of the most important, was the surplus expropriating systems. The different taxes and customary deductions which circulated in the rural economy as described in this chapter, sustained the power of the rural elites. Alterations in the revenue systems would thus be not only prerequisite for maximizing surplus extraction but also would facilitate redistribution of power. During the initial period of its rule though the Company had experimented with several revenue systems the rural structure had not undergone any serious change and the Company continued the old existing systems as they were without many changes till 1802. In fact even the Permanent Settlement and the various other measures the Company experimented with did not radically alter the status and power of the Zamindar. To understand why the Zamindar remained such a powerful element in the countryside it is necessary to look closely at the Zamindar.

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### 3. THE ZAMINDARS OF MASULIPATNAM

In the agrarian setup one dominant and powerful element was that of the Zamindars which traditionally enjoyed several powers and privileges and through these powers and privileges reinstated their authority again on the agrarian scene. The district of Masulipatnam was known for certain large Zamindaris, some small. Some were newly created Zamindaris, whereas some Zamindaris had an ancient origin.<sup>1</sup> Under the Company and in the event of changes in the land revenue systems and the Company's wish to change the rural structure to suit the needs of a newly emerging alien authority, it is interesting to study whether the Zamindar's economic status and his social world underwent any changes. It is true that the political, military and economic powers of the Zamindars were curtailed to a large extent under the new revenue contracts they entered with the Company in 1802.<sup>2</sup> But did it change their status in their estates? Did the Zamindar accordingly change his social status?

#### **Zamindar and the Zamindari :**

The Zamindar was a land holder as the word itself expresses. The Zamindars who held much of the territory of Northern Circars had been viewed as tributary Rajahs. They maintained forts and had armed people under them and possessed absolute authority in their respective Zamindaris.<sup>3</sup>



In 1771 the Chief in Council of Masulipatnam opined that Zamindaris were no other than the feudal districts for which the Rajahs were the proprietors. They paid a tribute to the government in proportion to the value of the estate and if called upon<sup>4</sup> had to attend the rulers in times of war with his troops.

This misconception seemed to have produced high notions of power. This, combined with the rebellious spirit made the Zamindars powerful and rendered the task of the Company difficult to collect the revenue and sometimes even to make any settlement with the Zamindars.

The terms Zamindar and Zamindari assume complexity, partly because of the nature of the Zamindari and the changing positions of the Zamindars themselves over a period of time and also partly because these terms came to be commonly used expressions. For instance, the Zamindars of Lingageri and Munagala were originally Deshmukhs. The title of Rajah which came to be associated with the estate owners was allowed to be used only as a complimentary<sup>5</sup> form of address under the Company. Especially during the transition period in the region between the Nizam's rule and the establishment of the Company's power any person with the backing of a few armed troops raided the villages and annexed territory and proclaimed himself a Zamindar. This practice which was followed throughout the region was misjudged by the Company and in the early years of their rule the Company had perceived the position of the Zamindars differently.

The term Zamindar was however a Mughal revenue innovation to denote the categories of existing land lords. Originally they were the revenue Collectors employed by the states which specified their functions and Sanads were issued to the Zamindars. In return, for their services the Zamindars were to enjoy Saverams

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and Rusums. The Zamindaris were common throughout the Circars, and their functioning was almost the same throughout. The life styles and functioning of Zamindars and the Zamindari establishment did not vary much from one Zamindar to another. Perhaps the only difference was that depending on the power and status of the Zamindars, the opulence and extravagance displayed differed. Some of the Company officials regarded the Zamindars and their life styles with contempt. Andrew Scott, the Collector of the District

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wrote:

The ordinary life of a Zamindar led too often to diseases both of the body and mind, for though there are no doubt exceptions, few of them were accustomed to any the smallest natural bodily exercise or able at the age of 50 or 40 years to walk a mile, while they gratify every sensual appetite from their earliest youth when age and bodily infirmities come upon them and they have no longer the same passion to gratify, they frequently indulge themselves with the too free use of opinion and fall into a gloomy superstition. This superstition which they mistake for religion does not make them more just and bright in their conduct, it only induces them to squander away the revenue on those whom they believe to be interpreters of will of the deity and to attach themselves to useless external ceremonies. I am afraid that Venkatadri Naidu is in some degree under this pitiable predicament he lately wrote that the deity appeared to him in a dream and required that he should proceed to the Ganges by which means he will be cured of the Fistulas.

The association of Zamindari right was with a group of villages comprising an estate rather than with a specified acreage. In the Cows given by the state to the Zamindars a particular jurisdiction of a Zamindari was mentioned with reference to a number of villages but not in terms of acreage. For instance, in the Cows given by the Company to the Zamindar of Mylavaram he was given the Zamindari right over Mylavaram estate as such but there was no mention of the amount of land.<sup>8</sup> Also the amount of rent was specified against each village but was never based on the quantity of land. Thus a Zamindari always signified a village or a certain part of the village but never in terms of acres.

The Company officials perceived that Zamindaris were divisions of a circar, subdivided into parganas, mootahs, and villages and were allotted by the native rulers to the management of certain individuals who **appeared** to have held them under different tenures.<sup>9</sup>

Zamindari, according to Irfan Habib was a right which belonged to a rural class other than and standing above the peasantry. It is important to note that the hold of the Zamindars did not cover the entire villages.<sup>10</sup> In each district, there were many villages where no Zamindari right existed. These lands which were called Havelis were under the direct administration of the state and were distinct from the villages of **the Zamindars** in

all aspects of its revenue administration as discussed in Chapter 2.

### **Zamindars and the Sub Renters :**

Zamindars generally sub rented their lands to other revenue servants. But sometimes one Zamindar farmed out lands in his estate to another Zamindar. For example, the Zamindar of Charmahal Kamadana Papaiah Rao farmed out the Charmahal pargana to Tirupati Raju for six years on account of Company's revenue. However this was on condition that Tirupati Raju should allow the usual gift villages and lands to the people who were enjoying them. and also other economic privileges to gumasthas. Besides the Charmahal Zamindar was to get re linquishment of four villages<sup>11</sup> and also a sum of 2,225 pagodas per year for subsistence.

The Zamindars generally sub rented their parganas to different renters for a fixed amount. For instance, Weyuru pargana was sub rented to eighteen people, whereas Meduru pargana was sub rented to twenty three people. Sometimes the renters took only one village. Table J.I and 3.2 shows the names of sub renters, number of villages they sub rented and the amount of rent in weyuru and Meduru parganas of Masulipatnam district.

Table : 3.1

## Sub Renting of Villages in Weyuru Pargana in 1788

S.No.	Name of the Sub renters	No. of villages	Amount of Rent MPs- F-C
1.	Devalaraju Venkatachalam	3	443-18-0
2.	Pulakampalli Maranna	3	2748- 9-0
3.	Pulakampalli Venku	3	514- 9-0
4.	S. Swamy	3	1647-18-0
5.	P. Chinnappa	11	3324- 9-0
6.	M. Ally	5	2886-18-0
7.	M. Suranna	1	320- 9-0
8.	Seelamraju Sivaraju and Venkatanarsu	1	176- 9-0
9.	Vellanki Venkata Bapinidu	1	170-18-0
10.	S. Venkataramudu	1	87-18-0
11.	S. Nagamma	1	67-18-0
12.	K. Sitaramudu	1	45- 0-0
13.	K. Sankara	1	45- 0-0
14.	C. Venkamma	1	157-18-0
15.	Kuchabutla Sucolu	1	78-27-0
16.	B. Joggu	1	15- 0-0
17.	S. Puntalu, Venkataramudu	1	8- 9-0
18.	K. Buchaiah	1	-27-0
Total			MPs. 13,344-18-0

**Source:** Collector Maasulipatnam district to the BOR, MDR, v.2894/d, p.1555.

Table : 3.2

Sub Renting of **Villages** in **Meduru** Pargana in 1788

S.No.	Name of the sub renters	No. of villages	Amount of Rent	
			MPST	F-C
1.	D. <b>Venkatachalam</b>	5	3 223-	0-0
2.	P. Venku	1	476-	0-0
3.	S. <b>Swamy</b>	2	831-	0-0
4.	P. Seenappa	1	686-	0-0
5.	Kazah <b>Muchutar</b>	2	501-	0-0
6.	G. Venkanna	3	154-	0-0
7.	<b>Somanna</b>	2	209-	0-0
8.	<b>Elamanchi</b> Veeranna	1	40-	0-0
9.	Elamanchi Padmanabhudu	1	452-	0-0
10.	Elamanchi Veeranna and Padmanabhudu	1	251-	9-0
11.	Angara Venkatachalam	2	347-	18-0
12.	Basavaraju Veerappa	2	896-	0-0
13.	Govindaraju Veerappa	1	70-	0-0
14.	G. Subbaiah	1	116-	0-0
15.	G. Venkanna	1	127-	0-0
16.	B. Visweswara Dikshitulu	1	50-	0-0
17.	S. <b>Somayajulu</b>	1	26-	0-0
18.	D. Subbarayudu	1	113-	0-0
19.	B. Raghavacharlu	1	158-	0-0
20.	S. Somayajulu	1	100-	0-0
21.	T. <b>Narsimhacharlu</b>	1	137-	0-0
22.	T. Anantacharlu	1	12-	0-0
23.	G. Pedayati	1	190-	0-0
24.	V. <b>Ramalingam</b>	1	25-	0-0
25.	<b>M.</b> Linganna	1	150-	0-0
26.	D. Gurranna	1	24-	0-0
27.	M. Basavappa	1	90-	0-0
28.	K. Balaraju	1	225-	0-0
29.	D. Erkulu	1	125-	0-0
30.	V. Naik	1	102-	3-30
31.	Venkatachalam Pantulu	1	24-	23-50

Source: Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, MDR, v. 2894/D, pp.1556-1557.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show that very often the same persons rented villages in the parganas. From the recurrence of the surnames it may be inferred that members of the same family rented villages in the Zamindari.

One of the reasons perhaps for the scattered nature of the estates was that the Zamindari was not granted to the owner at one stretch. Sometimes the Zamindars over a period of time acquired various parganas and this resulted in the piecemeal divisions of a Zamindari. The Zamindari of Nuzividu was one such example. When the region was under the management of the Nizam's naibs the owners of Nuzividu estate Ankappa and Rajanna got the sanads.

In the time of Hussein Ally Khan the Foujdar of the region, Viziarayi and Chatrayi and later on Gundagolanu and Pentapadu were added to the original estate. In the time of Abdul Rahman Khan's management Nunestalum and Godlapalli parganas were added. Wuyuru and Medurugutta parganas were added to the estate in the time of Mosnun Bahu. In the time of Moiddeen Khan's times rich villages in Kollurusamut were added. Ambarpetta was got from Umar Quli Khan, whereas Nidadavolu and Baharzalli parganas were added during the rule of Kaja Kabul Khan.

12

Regarding hereditary succession to Zamindari there seemed to be several views. Hereditary succession to Zamindari was a general law in the Mughal empire. Whereas under the Company the

Board perceived that the right of inheritance was never continued  
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or acknowledged in the Zamindaris. But in the region the frequent succession disputes and property divisions were very common among the Zamindars, though this right was not formally instituted over a period of time.

As the term Zamindar itself had undergone change the Zamindars seemed to have acquired even this right also, because the Zamindars of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta prove this fact. What is of interest is that the Ancient Hindu code was followed in the laws of succession which provide for the sons inheriting equal shares in the fathers property. In the Zamindaris also this right was acknowledged by the government. A Zamindari thus being divided among a family sometimes left only five or six villages to each person. For instance, the Zamindari of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta were divided among the brothers of the original Zamindars, sons and widow of the Zamindar. Thus the Zamindari was divided into several parts. Seven units of Zamindari were within the family and other three were purchased by other leading Zamindars of the region. Thus each unit consisted of only a few  
14  
villages and fetched a revenue of only a few hundred rupees.

This indicates that a Zamindari could be divided for sale just as for inheritance. The Zamindar might sell one portion of his estate while retaining the other. The possessors of Zamindari rights were not possessors of a visible article of property but



it was a title to a constant share in the land revenue of a particular area.<sup>15</sup> One great instrument by which the Zamindars established their hold on the Zamindari was the military strength they could command. The more powerful the armed forces of the Zamindar were, the more strength the particular Zamindar commanded in the region. For instance, in the transition period it was with the help of these forces that the Zamindars became so powerful and behaved as autonomous chiefs.

Another important feature of Zamindari system was absentee land lordism which was common in other presidencies of India. Absenteeism had often been described as a characteristic feature of the Zamindari system and existed in Bengal.<sup>16</sup> This description however had little validity for Masulipatnam Zamindars. Absenteeism which was common in the Zamindaris usually took the form of the Zamindars living at the district head quarters. In Masulipatnam however this was not a common feature. The estates were scattered over several taluks. Generally the estates were named after the villages where the Zamindari ancestral homes were situated.

For example, the estates of Chintalapudi of Vasireddi, and the Divi estate of the Kandregula family were named after the main Casbah towns or the ancestral homes of the Zamindars. The property of the Zamindars was scattered often throughout the

Zamindari. The Zamindars had houses mostly in the principal towns of their estates and the Zamindars usually spent time in these places, though the ancestral house had all the Zamindari paraphernalia.

In fact, absenteeism was not a matter of the Zamindar's physical absence from the vicinity of their estates. The Zamindar might never stir from his village home and yet take only casual interest in the management of his estate. This appeared to be the state of affairs in most cases. The management of the estates were usually entrusted to hired managers who had knowledge of revenue matters, and who often took advantage of the Zamindar's absence or disinterest to manage the estates for their own profit thus making the Zamindars bankrupt in the process. One example was that of the estate of Vasireddi. This estate under the two adopted sons of Vasireddi was involved in a legal battle for decades, which ruined the Zamindars but the managers of the estate became very rich.<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps absenteeism of the variety never developed in the region because they were all traditional Zamindars for whom land was a great status symbol and had a strong rural base. Even after the Permanent Settlement the same Zamindars continued without many outsiders coming and buying the estates.

## **Apparatus of Zamindari Power :**

Usually a fort symbolized the power of the Zamindar. In Masulipatnam also almost all the Zamindars built forts. One fort at least was a common feature. Some of the Zamindars even had two or three depending on their power and status. The forts in general were mud structures without a ditch with a row of pallets close to the walls, and the forts usually housed the Zamindar's residence. For example, the Zamindar of Chintalapudi had three forts in places Yadlapalli, Sivapuram, and Ragavapuram whereas the Zamindars of Bezwada, Mylavaram, Zammulavayi, Medurgutta, Munagala and Lingagery held one fort each. The Oevarakota Zamindar had two forts one in Challapalli and one in Devarakota. The Nandigama Zamindar had forts in Nandigama, Penuganchiprolu and Battavolu.

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The amount of money the Zamindars used to spend on armed forces shows the exorbitant way the Zamindars depended on the them. The armed people maintained by the Zamindars were of three descriptions :

1. The regular attendants were those who were generally paid in ready money and were occasionally employed on revenue business.
2. Those who had been given grants of land from which they paid a tax to government. They were also employed on revenue services and attended the Zamindars when required.

5. Manuvartydars were those who generally were the relations and immediate dependents of the Zamindars. They also commanded number of followers of their own caste and had to support the Zamindar when called upon.

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As the maintenance of huge armed forces was regarded as a status symbol in the rural society the Zamindars vied with one another to maintain troops. For instance, Devarakota Zamindar had 151 Mokasa peons, eight Manovartydars and 652 regular peons. Altogether the Zamindar maintained 811 armed people whose salaries amounted to Rs. 10,570. Mylavaram Zamindar had a strength of 1055 armed peons whose salaries amounted to MPs. 5342. The Zamindar of Bezwada maintained 452 people with an expense of MPs. 5044, Medurgutta with 2,000 and Munagala Zamindar had 500 whose salaries amounted to MPs. 707. A few of these people belonging to the principal Zamindars carried muskets and the rest were armed after the country weapons like match locks, swords, bows, and arrows.

20

One of the main strategies of the Company, after it took possession of the Circars, was to curtail the military powers of the Zamindars. Though the Company had intended to reduce the military strength of the Zamindars in the initial stages itself, for reasons mentioned before this was only made possible in 1802. Under the Permanent Settlement while giving the Cowl stipulating the conditions under which the Zamindars would hold

their estates the Company disbanded the entire armed strength of the Zamindars and specified the number of armed forces a Zamindar could have to assist him in the collection of revenue. For instance, in the case of Mylavaram Zamindar the Company **allowed** 46 armed sibbandi peons . as given below, and another 41 sibbandi without arms for collection of revenue.

10 armed sibbandi peons in Carga tanah village.

5 armed sibbandi peons in Ganganammappalli village.

5 armed sibbandi peons in Polluru village.

15 armed sibbandi peons in Katamakonda village.

21

11 armed sibbandi peons in Incumpudi village.

Every Zamindar thought it essential to build forts. These forts, although merely mud structures, were still regarded as the symbols of armed power of Zamindars. The strength of Zamindars they perceived was reflected in the strength of the fort and also the number of armed forces they commanded. Generally the Zamindars usually drew some of their most loyal warriors from members of their own caste and preferably from among the **relations**.

#### **Categories of Zamindars :**

However the Zamindars were not a homogeneous group. The use of the same term for **intermediaries** of different descriptions has perhaps led to some confusion in their **categorization**. The

**Zamindars were** generally divided into two groups - the ancient Zamindars and the Zamindars of more recent origin. The Company also seemed to have maintained this distinction **well**.

The ancient Zamindars were given certain privileges **which** the others lacked as explained in chapter 7. It was the Company's intention to maintain and preserve the ancient Zamindari families of distinction **in** all their previous glory. Though they failed to pay the arrears of revenue their estates were not sold but were simply attached to the government and were managed by the government. Once the amount of arrears due to the government was realized by the Company the estates were handed back to the respective Zamindars. But there seems to be some difference of opinion regarding the basis on which the **classification** was made.

According to some of the Company officials there were no ancient Zamindaris <sup>22</sup> **in** Masulipatnam district. According to some <sup>25</sup> the estates of Nuzvidu were placed **in** that category. Ordinary Zamindaris were what were called as the proprietary estates that is the estates created by the Company under the Permanent Settlement. But the **line** of difference **is** very narrow in the region **because** no outsider purchased these proprietary estates in Masulipatnam. It was mostly the local Zamindars who bought **these estates**. Apart from the ancient Zamindars and the Proprietors, **there** were other categories, that is those revenue officers and others who taking advantage of the political chaos that followed

the break up of the Mughal **empire** farmed large territories and proclaimed themselves Zamindars.

The Zamindari system in Masulipatnam region at least in one feature was different from the Circars. The hill Zamindaris which were common in Godavari and **Visakhapatnam** areas were absent in **Masulipatnam**. The inaccessibility of these estates and turbulent conditions in the estates made the Company follow different measures in these Zamindaris. This had resulted in a revenue system in the Godavari and **Visakhapatnam** districts which was different from that of **Masulipatnam**.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, like under the Mughal empire and in parts of Nizam's territories the tenancy chiefs called Jagirdars and **Samsthandars** were absent in the region.

#### **Zamindars : Custom and Tradition**

One of the recurrent themes in descriptions of the Zamindari Systems was the extravagant display of wealth by the Zamindars. A great deal of information on this aspect is available because in many cases Zamindaris came under the management of the Company government under the management of the Company government for

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one reason or the other. Each **time** a Zamindar wanted to celebrate a particular ceremony or occasion he had to first send an arzee to the Company requesting the government to grant a particular amount. For this, the Zamindars had to furnish a detailed

report of the expenses to be incurred for that particular occasion. Most of the times, an account of the previous Zamindar, how much he had spent on such occasions was given. <sup>26</sup> This enables us to compare the situation during the Company's rule with the earlier situation. For instance, for the wedding of the Zamindar of Nuzividu a list of the expenditure involved for the marriage was sent to the Collector for his approval.

**Table : 3.3**

**List of Jewels** required for the marriage of  
Nuzividu Zamindar in 1828

**Jewels** required for **the** Bridegroom:

- 1 pair of Bangles called Murugulajodu set with diamonds
- 1 set of calagy surpash set **with** diamonds
- 1 surry pattee set **with** diamonds
- 1 **bujaband** set **with** diamonds
- 1 **manikattu** set with diamonds
- 8 rings set **with** diamonds
- which would cost Rs.. 10,000.

**Jewels** for the Bride:

- 1 set of Gold **Jada**
- 1 **pair** of Gold Pauvadalalu
- 1 **pair** of Gold Panjabulu
- 1 Gold **Vaddanam**
- 10 rings set with diamonds
- 1 pair of Danda cadcajalu set with diamonds
- 1 **pair** of soodigalu set with diamonds
- which amounted to Rs.10,000.

**Source:** I.Dent, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 4.1.1828, PBOR, v.1134, p.653.



Table : 3.4

**Marriage Expenditure of Nuzividu Zamindar**

Bata expenses in the marriage:	Rs.
1. 50 candies of rice at the rate of 34 Rs. per candy	17000
2. 12 1/2 green gram or <b>pesalu</b> at the rate of 21 Rs. per candy	350
3. Dubs to be <b>paid</b> on account of Sundry expenses to men at the rate of 2 dubs for each seer of <b>rice</b> is Tankams 6000 which at 3 <b>Tankams</b> and 2 dubs per rupee	1915
4. 5 candies of rice for charitable expenses at the rate of 34 Rs. per candy	170
5. 3 candies of ghee at the rate of 70 Rs./candy	210
6. 3 candies of good rice at the rate of 34 Rs. per candy	102
7. 2 candies of Jaggery at Rs. 28 per candy	56
8. Black gram or <b>minumulu</b> , cardamoms, camphor	<b>32</b>
9. 10 candies of Turmeric at Rs. 25 per candy	250
10. 20 maunds of <b>Kumkuma</b> at Rs. 5 per maund	100
11. 25 candies of lamp oil at the rate of Rs. 40 per candy *	1400
12. 20.000 bundle of beetle at the rate of 4 Rs. per 100	800
13. 20 candies of nuts at the rate of 70 Rs. per candy	1400
14. on account of fire works	1500
15. Attar	100
16. Rose water	100
17. Present to musicians, singers and dancing girls	2000
18. 5 candies of <b>gulal</b> at the rate of Rs. 40 per candy	200

19. 10 maunds of <b>Bukka</b> at <b>Rs.</b> 3 per a maund	30
20. Charges on account of pandals	500
<b>21.</b> 20 maunds of sandal wood at the rate of 8 Rs. per maund	160
22. Perfumes for mixing in the sandal	40
23. 20 pairs of Bangles called <b>murugula jollu</b> for granting to padachulu in the <b>time</b> of marriage at the rate <b>of</b> Rs. 20 per a pair	400

**Usual ready money gifts required to be made at  
the time of marriage:**

1. Amount to be <b>paid</b> to the bride	400
2. For men slaves at the time of marriage according to the custom	200
3. For women slaves	200
4. Sundry expenses	200

**Source:** I. Dent, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 12.9.1827, PBOR.  
v.1134, pp.648-49.

For all these customary occasions the consent of the Collector was necessary. Most of the **time** Collectors used their discretion and always reduced the amounts which the Zamindar had asked for. What is interesting **in this** is that the Collectors needed to have a good knowledge of the prevailing traditions and customs **in** the Zamindaris. It is also interesting to see how far the Company allowed the Zamindars to indulge **in** such luxuries. Since it had the final say, how did the British react to such situations and what were the measures taken by the Collectors in **this** regard?

The Zamindari in the region as else where **was** only a  
pyramidal revenue collecting and tribute sharing structure. <sup>27</sup>

But this in the transition and turbulent period that followed the Nizam's rule became strong and occupied a more important and dominant portion in the rural structure. The Zamindari became a symbol of Zamindar's economic power and also a symbol of luxury and opulence. Every Zamindar tried to out do the other **in** style though sometimes it meant incurring debts. <sup>28</sup> The house hold expenditure of the Zamindars generally was very huge and it involved a huge **establishment** of servants. Table 5.5 shows some of the Zamindar's expenditure:

**Table : 3.5**

**Annual Account of Expenditure in Nuzividu Zamindari**

S.No.	Expenditure	Amount in MP.
1.	Mazumdar and Gumastha wages	1,015
2.	Pargana Tanadars and Peshkar wages	1,350
3.	Wages to 80 Velamadoralu	4,425
4.	1911 Sibbandie's Wages	18,499
5.	Charges of Elephants and Camels	14,400
6.	Repairing Tanks in the estate	2,000
7.	For repairing fort of Nuzividu	500
8.	Expenses for God's feasts in Anakapalli and Gollapalli pagodas	1,865
9.	Elephants and Houses bought	1,000
10.	Charity expenses	2,000
11.	Account of sahuakar's Interest and Presents	20,000
Total MP.		67,054.

**Source:** William Oram Secretary to William Morgan, President and Member of the Circuit Committee, SRMG, p.

**Table : 3.6**

**Annual Account of Expenditure in Charmahal Zamindari**

S.No.	Expenditure	Amount in MPs.
1.	House expenses of Papaiah, the Zamindar	5,760
2.	Mages to 120 slaves	1,650
3.	Towards cloths	3,800
4.	Wages to Gomasthas and Vakeels	2,760
5.	Wages and batta to 50 Palankeen boys	750
6.	Wages and Batta to 761 sibbandy	6,300
7.	Charity expenses	500
8.	Rusums of Circar Muzumdar	250
	MPs.	21,770

**Source:** William Oram, Secretary to Morgan Williams, President and Member of the Circuit Committee, SRMG.

The Zamindars had kept up steady demands for luxury items like jewelry, shawls of fine make, houses, camels, elephants, with fine glass wares. For instance, the Zamindar of Divi had gold jewels and silver ware worth Rs. 24,451. Silver was freely used in house decoration, in the worshipping places and also to<sup>29</sup> decorate horses, and elephants. The following table shows the property assets of the Zamindar of Divi:

Table : 5.7

**Estimated Value of Property of Divi Zamindar**

	MRs.
1. Jewels and silver materials belonging to the late Zamindar	24431 1250
2. Brass materials	
3. Shawls and valuable cloths	2750
4. Furniture and Glassware remaining in the house of the late Zamindar at Masulipatnam	21525
5. Cattle remaining at Divi	2372
6. Cattle and implements of Husbandry	1319
7. Houses, <b>palanqueens</b> , Cows . remaining in the house at Masulipatnam	4600
8. Houses and buildings belonging to the late Zamindar and situated at Masulipatnam	17500
9. Buildings and cloths situated at <b>Avanigadda</b>	4407
10. House and different other articles attached to Indigo manufacture	5687
11. Bond worth	4000
Total	Rs. 89842

**Source:** Collector, Masulipatnam to the BOR, 12.9.1827, PBOR, v.1134, pp.753-787.

According to **R.E.Frykenberg**, no picture of affluence was more striking than that of Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu. The Zamin-  
dar kept a retinue of several thousand men, 300 horses and eighty  
elephants, fifty camels and uncounted bullock carts. Vasireddi  
**built** temples and rebuilt lofty gopuram at Mangalagiri. Over a

hundred richly gilt brass pillars, thirty feet high were erected at various shrines, hundreds of vaidiki purohits were fed daily. **shawls**, gold and jewels were distributed among learned sadhus, **holymen** were employed to pray for him day and night and legendary sums were spent on festivals, sacrifices, **fire** offerings and marriages. His weight in silver and gold was bestowed upon Brahmins several times. At great feasts and on auspicious occasions, he handed out clothing and jewelry to village leaders and their wives. On his return from **Rameswaram** he gave a propitiatory nazr of one lakh of pagodas to the Nizam in return for the title  
30  
'Manur Sultan'.

Generally the **Zamindars** had a house in every important Casbah town in their Zamindari. The **Divi Zamindar** had houses at **Chilkalapudi**, several godowns and also houses in Avanigadda which were well furnished. Luxurious glass ware were imported from Madras and Bengal and some exclusive pieces were even brought  
31  
from China and Manila. They kept a retinue of military, horses, elephants, camels and bullock carts.

The Zamindars built temples, renovated old ones and made continuous **contributions** to temples. Rich presents were given to Purohits and Brahmins were fed on almost all important  
32  
occasions. Every small occasion was celebrated in the Zamindari with great pomp and show. The Zamindars during these feasts invited several people. his own clansmen, his **loyal village**

heads, Karanams and they along with their wives **were** given gifts. In fact as Frykenberg has **mentioned**, an efficient Zamindar skillfully employed rewards and sanctions. Head ryots. **Ijaradars** and Karanams in his favour benefited. They were invited to **feasts**, Petty darbars and **melas**. They and their wives were recognized and flattered with clothing and jewelry.

The Zamindars frequently under took pilgrimages not only to nearly but to far off places also. What is important to note was that along with the Zamindar a small contingent of army and other followers proceeded. The Zamindars sometimes deposited money **in** the treasury of the Collectors on their route to be given to them in need as **it** was not safe to carry such huge amounts. For example, the **Vasireddy** Zamindar in 1806 went to **Rameswaram**. He deposited an amount of **20,000** Arcot Rupees at Guntur, 5,000 Arcot Rupees at **Tiruchirapalli** and 15,000 Arcot Rupees at Rameswaram amounting altogether to 50,000 Arcot Rupees. **This** amount had to be furnished to him on his route. Besides, he had asked a contingent of armed Company's sepoys for **his** security, though he had his own men. The Zamindar had also requested that the different Zamindars and proprietors attached to the Company should provide him with supplies of foods and other provisions for the individuals who would be accompanying **him** and they should also be given passports and should be allowed to pass free of Janapassed, (a receipt given to the travellers from one place to another) at the Company's chowkies. **34** .151

Table : 3.8

**Sibbandi of Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu  
during his pilgrimage to Rameswaram in 1806**

1. Rajah Bhandus armed with swords and butchers	-	50
2. Pike men of <b>Kamma</b> caste	-	100
3. Of other castes with silver armaments	-	50
4. Mo. of Peons armed with spears and silver armaments	-	50

**No of peons armed with muskets**

5. Of the company of Durga singh	-	100
6. Of the company of Gunda Narh Bahadur	-	100
7. Of <b>Mirza</b> Ibrahim Baig Subedar	-	50
8. Of the Arab, Abdul Ahmed <b>Jamedar</b>	-	50
9. <b>Wajir</b> Kahn	-	1

**No. of peons armed**

10. Orderly peons	-	42
11. Baur gheers	-	5
12. <b>Baunadaries</b>	-	25
13. Gosangies	-	15
14. Poorbeyars	-	75

**Peons armed with Talinga match locks** - 50

1. Palanqueen bearers	
2. <b>Masaljes</b> Ghadevans	
3. Gadeyalchies	
4. Cabaudies	
5. Mahavaties	
6. Mercarabs	
7. Nuckarchies	
8. <b>Pellemgore</b> men	
9. Devadasi women	
10. Mazdoors or common	
11. Coolies armed with	
12. Daggers Baucks weapons	- 6000



## Animals

1. Elephants with Ambaries	-	5
2. Elephant without Ambaries	-	10
3. Camels		8
4. Horses	-	30
5. Tutos	-	100
6. Bullocks	-	100
7. Palanquin carriages	-	50
8. Gaudies	-	5
9. Checkdar	-	5

Source: Arzee from Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu, the Zamindar of Chintapalli to Smith the Collector Guntur district, 28.1.1806. RDC, v.148, pp.756-765.

The Zamindars gave free gifts to the temples and in some cases gave Inam grants to the temples for charitable purposes. Towards charity to various temples under the late Zamindar of Divi an amount of 2,834 rupees were spent for charity on holy days and also for performing feasts during the year. The guardian had asked the Company only to sanction Rs. 865 towards these expenses. The Collector also approved of the amount as he considered it moderate in consideration of the rank and dignity of the family.

The Collector had also sanctioned money to different temples like Pillai Swamy and Mahishasuramardani, an amount of Rs. 300 and 60 respectively. The Collector approved of this amount as it was for certain ceremonies and the amount had to be paid in two phases one in September and the other in the month of April each year.

Any occasion in Zamindari households was celebrated on a grand scale. People were fed generously and gifts were given to Brahmins and Pandits. For example, when the Zamindar of Divi died funeral ceremony was performed for thirteen days. An amount of **Rs.6458** was spent on the occasion. On the final day more number <sup>57</sup> of people were fed and on that day alone **Rs.5,696** was spent.

Every occasion in the family of the Zamindars was celebrated pompously and **with** much fan fare. Though the Zamindaris were under the management of the government the Zamindars did not hesitate to spend as lavishly as they had always done. But in such cases the Zamindars or if the Zamindar was a minor their guardians made a detailed report of expenses to be incurred and sent for the approval of the Collector. The Collectors approved these arzees sometimes and sometimes reduced the amount for various reasons. For example, the Nuzividu Zamindar who was a minor and whose estate was under the Court of Wards management, petitioned to government to sanction one lakh and twenty thousand <sup>38</sup> rupees for his marriage.

It was estimated that one lakh rupees was necessary for the performance of the marriage and another twenty thousand rupees for the purchase of jewels for both the bride and bridegroom. As there were **jewels in** the Zamindari Tosha khana the amount for jewels was cancelled. But an ornament called Jada was not there in the Zamindari treasury; as it was a must in the wedding, an amount for making that item was sanctioned. Generally in sanc-

tioning the amount comparisons were made to see how much amount  
<sup>39</sup>  
 was sanctioned in other such cases. The Collectors also had to  
 know the customs followed in the region. So that they could  
 assess the situation well and accordingly act not influenced by  
 the claims of the people. For example, the Zamindar of Nuzividu  
 had asked for Rs. 8,850 towards santarpana during the marriage  
 ceremonies. The Collector objected to the sanction as according  
 to the custom that amount had to be borne by the bride's side.  
 Similarly amounts towards women's clothes Rs 14,550 and for  
 distribution among Brahmins of Rs. 50,000 was also considered  
<sup>40</sup>  
 excessive. Table 3.9 shows the proposed expenditure towards  
 cloths during the marriage of Nuzividu Zamindar.

Table : 3.9

Expenses towards cloths in the Marriage of Nuzividu Zamindar

For the Bridegroom :	Rs.
1. 10 pairs under cloths bordered with gold lace at Rs. 50 per each pair.	500
2. 10 pairs of upper cloths bordered with gold lace at Rs. 50 per each pair.	500
3. 5 Rumals or Kerchiefs at Rs. 50 each	250
For the bride:	
1. 5 women's cloths bordered with gold lace at the rate of Rs. 100 each	500
2. 5 women's cloths at Rs. 50 each	250
3. 2 keenkaboo at 100 Rs. each	200
4. Value of Gold lace ribbon	50
For Zamindar's relatives (Rajabanduvulu):	
1. 40 pairs of upper cloths bordered with lace at the rate of Rs. 15 each	600
2. 40 pairs of upper cloths bordered with	1000

	lace at 25 Rs. each	
3.	20 <b>Rumals</b> or kerchiefs at Rs. 2 each	400
4.	40 women cloths of bordered <b>with</b> lace at <b>25</b> Rs. each	1000

To **Velama** Doralu:

1.	50 pairs at the rate of 8 <b>Rs.</b> per each pair	400
2.	100 pairs of each ward cloths at 4 <b>Rs.</b> each pair	400
3.	250 pairs of country cloths	1000
4.	100 pairs at <b>Rs.</b> 5 each pair	500
5.	100 pairs at 6 <b>Rs.</b> each	600
6.	50 pairs at Rs. 3 each	150
7.	50 pairs at Rs. 2 each	100
8.	100 pairs of upper cloths at the rate of Rs. 4 each	400
9.	50 pairs at <b>Rs.</b> 3 each	150
10.	50 pairs at Rs. 2 each	100

To Karanams in the taluk:

1.	50 Tarbands at the rate of Rs. 4 each	20
2.	50 Tarbands at 3 <b>Rs.</b> each	150
3.	400 Tarbands at 2 <b>Rs.</b> each	800
4.	400 Tarbands at 1 1/2 <b>Rs.</b> each	600

Value of **Muslins**:

1.	100 Muslins at <b>Rs.</b> 3 each	300
2.	100 Muslins at <b>Rs.</b> 2 each	200

Value of woman's cloths:

1.	50 cloths at the rate of 8 <b>Rs.</b> each	400
2.	50 cloths at <b>Rs.</b> 6 each	<b>300</b>
3.	100 cloths at Rs. 4 each	400
4.	50 cloths at <b>Rs.</b> 3 each	150
5.	50 cloths at <b>Rs.</b> 2 each	100
6.	1000 country cloths at 1 1/4 Rs. each	1250
7.	10 fine cloths at <b>Rs.</b> 40 each	400
8.	50 chintz for petticoats at <b>Rs.</b> 5 each	250

**Source:** I. Dent, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 4.1.1828. PBOR, v.1134, pp.650-652.

In the marriage of the Zamindar of Nuzividu Brahmins were fed for four days as marriages were generally celebrated for four or five days. For four days 66,000 Brahmins were fed. At the rate of Rs.12 for hundred people it required an amount of Rs.7,920. 1,300 Brahmin cooks were hired to cook. At the rate of half a rupee each, it required Six hundred rupees. During the marriage Rajabanduvulu, the relations of the Zamindars were fed for twenty six days. There were 18,000 persons. At the rate of Rs.10 per hundred, the amount required was Rs.1800. Besides, 28,000 Bhatrajulu were fed at the rate of ten rupees for hundred. This amounted to Rs.2,800. At the rate of eight rupees for hundred 25,000 Sudras were fed for four days at the expense of Rs.2000. On the whole during the marriage, altogether 1,70,000 people were fed costing the Zamindari a sum of 41 Rs.15,180.

Brahmins were fed freely and in very large numbers. They were also given sambhavana that is some amount of money on all auspicious occasions. So during the marriages also they were freely given gifts. The number fed again depended on the status of the Zamindar. For instance, on the occasion of the marriage of the Zamindar of Nuzividu 28,000 Brahmins were given money gifts varying from 1/2 rupee to 2 rupees depending on the knowledge and age of the Brahmin Pandits.

4,000 Brahmins called **Vidvamsulu** were given **Rs. 2** each which amounted to Rs. **48,000**

**20,000** aged Brahmins were given 1 rupee each which amounted to Rs. 20,000

4,000 young Brahmins were given half a rupee each amounting to Rs. **2,000**

Besides, Bhatrajulu were another group of people who occupied an important place in any Zamindari. Bhatrajulu generally praised the glory of the Zamindars.<sup>42</sup> They were in sizable number in each Zamindari and on all occasions they were given free gifts. Even during the marriage of Nuzividu Zamindar 10,000 Bhatrajulu were given money gifts at the rate of **Rs. 2** each which amounted to Rs. 20,000. Every day and almost on all occasions their presence was necessary in the Zamindari durbars and their palaces.

#### **Debts of Zamindars :**

For all these, the Zamindars needed a lot of money. Thus most of them were very deeply in debt. For example, the Divi Zamindar was indebted to various people to the tune of about one lakh and thirty five thousand rupees. In fact, some of the creditors even lived in the estates of the Zamindars and made a<sup>43</sup> lucrative business out of money lending. The following statement shows the debts incurred by the Zamindar of **Divi** by 1827.

Table : 3.10

## Dtbts of the Zamindar of Divi

S.No.	Names of Creditors	Amount of Debt	Interest Rate
1.	Amount due to Venkanna Naik	- Rs. 28,733.	
2.	Amount due to Subnavis Kesava Rao	- Rs. 2,000	12%
3.	Amount due to G. Seetaiah	- Rs. 5,000	9%
4.	Amount due to Zulfikar ud doulah I Mustafa Baksh Bahadur through I Meeran Saheb I	- Rs. 3,000	
5.	Amount due to Vinukota Paruntallu - on the part of Manchala Venkataswami Naidu	- Rs. 5,000	
6.	Amount due to Pasumarti Narasimha Somayajulu on account of his son Yeggeswara Sastrulu	- Rs. 4,000	9%
7.	Amount due to Savitramma mother and guardian to Subnavis Krishna Rao	- Rs. 5,000	9%
8.	Amount due to Autumuri Seetaiah and Gopala Krishnamma	- Rs. 8,000	12%
9.	Amount due to Kamarajiguda Buchaiah	- Rs. 5,000	9%
10.	Amount due to Brijmohan Das	- Rs. 2,500	
11.	Amount due to Annam Sureshalingam	- Rs. 10,000	
12.	Amount due to Kokanada Buchaiah	- Rs. 300	
15.	Subscription due to the Superintendent of government Gazette	Rs. 200	
14.	Estimated Amount of interest on the above debts	Rs. 6,267	
15.	Balance due to the estate of the minor Zamindar of Nuzividu after deducting Rs. 20,000 from the principal debt of Rs. 50,000 - 30,000.	Rs. 20,000	
16.	Oue to the family of the late Tadekonda Seshaiah	Rs. 50,000	
		Rs. 1,35,000	

Source: Collector to the BOR, 12.9.1827, PBOR, v. 1134, p. 786.

The **Zamindars** borrowed these amounts at very exorbitant rates and signed **sahukar** teeps sometimes even pledging part of their estates.<sup>44</sup> It **was** for this reason that the Company later on issued a regulation stating that Zamindari is a public property and thus in no way responsible for the **Zamindar's** personal debts.<sup>45</sup> For instance, Seth **Birjee** Mohan Das, who was one of the creditors to the **Zamindar** held possession of four estates in Masulipatnam district. Table 3.11 gives the details of the estates :

Table : **3.11**

Estates under Seth Birjee Mohan Oas

S.No.	Names of Estates	No.of Villages	Jumma fixed on the Estate		
			Rs	A	P
1.	<b>Crutivennu</b>	9	2940	-	0 - 0
2.	<b>Doddapudi</b>	1	<b>380</b>	-	<b>10 - 3</b>
5.	<b>Narayanapuram</b>	7	2984	-	9 - 1
4.	<b>Malkacherla</b>	7	<b>1503</b>	-	6 - 1

Source: **R.J.Porter,Collector** Masulipatnam to the **BOR,18.12.1844, PBOR, v.1951,p.86.**

It is interesting to note that the estate of Crutivennu consisting of nine villages was held by Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu in 1840. But by 1844 the estate had passed into the hands of the creditor.<sup>46</sup>



Sometimes the Zamindars borrowed from the neighboring Zamindars also. The extravagant expenditures the Zamindars incurred and their lavish **life** styles did make them borrow at several places at **high** rates of interests. These principal amounts when not **paid** on time got accumulated with rates of interest that exceeded far above the borrowed amounts. For instance, the Zamindar of Vinukota Pargana, Sobhanadri Rao had borrowed **Rs. 2,72 1 1/1** from the Zamindar of Divi, Kandregula **Jagganada** Rao Venkata Rao. As the Zamindar died without paying the amount the Divi Zamindar made a demand through the Collector on Sobanadri Rao's son **Kamadana** Papaiah Rao for the same amount. The **principle** amounted to Rs. 2,721-8-0. The interest on this under **Ohanadwigunam** system (where the interest is equated to the principal), amounted to **Rs. 2721-8-0**. But according to the regulation or **understanding** previously reached between the two Zamindars, **Rs. 1278-8-0** was deducted from the interest. So the total amounted to **Rs. 4,000**.

The Zamindar had agreed to pay this amount with an interest at the rate of 6 percent in five instalments, each year paying an amount of **Rs. 1000**, thus executed again a bond to the Zamindar of Divi. This was only one instance. The Zamindars borrowed from various sources and some families only relied on performing the role of creditors to the Zamindars and also from their **relations**.

It is interesting to note that **all** the amounts **were** not **borrowed** at the same rates. For **instance**, the Divi Zamindar, as shown in table **3.8**, had borrowed money at different rates of interest. Some amounts were borrowed at the rate of 12 percent interest and some at 9 percent.<sup>50</sup> These debts were incurred by the Zamindar within a year. That speaks of the extravagant expenditure of the Zamindars. Obviously even at the cost of **indebtedness**, Zamindars vied with one another to compete in the splendour and styles of living.

It is interesting to note that the Zamindars borrowed money from Company servants also. For instance, the Zamindar of Muzividu was indebted to some of the Company officials. The debt of Apparao, the Zamindar of Nuzividu to **Capt. Towns** appeared to have been money lent in 1776 to the ryots of Weyuru and Meduru parganas to be 12,000 to 15,000 Madras Pagodas. The Collector unable to recover the amount complained to Apparao who took the **debt** upon himself and gave a bond for **16,023** Madras Pagodas. Major Lysaught lent 5000 pagodas to Apparao the Zamindar of Nuzividu to discharge a tip to the Company. Gardiner lent 1500 pagodas to discharge a teep for Appa **rao's** villages in Guntur **circa**.

**Jaggapah** was another creditor to the Zamindar. The Zamindar of Nuzividu borrowed this amount in consequence of transferred bonds and money borrowed for the Company's payment. The Zamindar borrowed money from **Sitaramaraju** to defray his expenses

at Madras. Appa Rao admitted the debt to the Sahukars but objected to the interest charged upon the bonds amounting to **MPs.1,47,968** asserting that the produce of four villages had been given by a verbal agreement in lieu of interest. Kesavadas<sup>51</sup> and Rayappa were the main creditors of Appa Rao.

#### **Zamindari Establishment :**

Another major drain on the resources of the Zamindars was the large retinue of servants they maintained. There were several categories of officials in the Zamindaris estate office though some times their functions were not very clearly defined. In the head quarters there was a Subnaviss, Sherishtadar, Aumeen, Peishkar, a Shroff, a Maddadgar, a Duffadar, and a Havildar.<sup>52</sup> The number of these people varied and depended on the work and also on the Zamindar's economic strength. Apart from these there was again a similar setup at a lesser level in principal towns in the estate. There was a Subnaviss, a number of Naikwadais<sup>55</sup> were present and sometimes they were employed even in the villages.

These main functionaries at the chief estate office were assisted by a number of Samutdars. Dallayets were peons collecting revenue. All the main functionaries enjoyed high wages. But the petty functionaries were paid low salaries. Perhaps some of them had enjoyed maniams for their services or commission on the collections.

Some were employed for the household duties of the **Zamin-**  
54 dar. Apart from them again there were many others to supervise  
the cultivators and their agricultural operations. From time to  
**time** several people were deputed by the Zamindars to see that the  
cultivators do not deceive the Zamindar of his share of  
55 revenue. It is interesting to note that the Collector used his  
authority **in** removing some of the officers whom he considered  
unnecessary. For example, the posts of **Javobnaviss**, Sherishtadar  
in the Tanah were abolished by the Collector. The pay scales of  
other officers in the district and other places were almost  
remained the same and some were reduced depending on the **impor-**  
56 tance of the work and the post.

The functioning of the Zamindar's Cutcherry was not touched  
by the **British administration** as long as the Zamindar's **paid**  
their revenues regularly. But this was not the case with regard  
to attached estates and also **in** the estates where they were under  
Court of Wards. For example, **in** the case of **Divi** estate the  
Company reduced the size of the office and abolished many offi-  
cers in Zamindars cutcherry which the Company felt were unneces-  
sary. The Company had almost taken the right to decide what the  
Zamindar's needs were and in what way **it** should be spent.

Informality and flexibility were the main features of Zamin-  
dar's **administrative** setup. Decisions were always arbitrary and  
there were no fixed guide lines. Thus the efficiency of **the**

estate was determined almost entirely by the ability of the man at the top. If he were to be weak or inefficient the revenue agents of the Zamindars controlled the estate and manipulated the finances to their advantage.

Table : 3.12

Servants employed in tha Oivi Zamindari

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List of district servants:

Servants in the district head quarters		Amount paid during the time of late <b>Zamindar</b> MRS	Amount proposed by the Collector MRS
1.	1 <b>Javobnaviss</b>	80	
2.	1 <b>Serishtadar</b>	8	
3.	1 Javobnaviss in the the Tanah	8	
4.	1 <b>Amin T. Rama Rao</b>	60	80
5.	1 Peishkar T. Seetarama Rao	12	14
6.	1 Maddadgar G. Bucchanna	-	10
7.	<b>Samutdar</b> at 7 <b>Rs.</b> each	28	21
8.	1 Shroff D. Krishnaiah	12	7
9.	1 <b>Duffadar</b> C. Subbarayudu	6	6
10.	1 <b>Havildar</b>	4 1/2	4 1/2
11.	28 <b>Dallayets</b>	97	97
12.	<del>30</del> peons for collecting revenues	87	32
13.	10 <b>Naikwadies</b> attending in the Tanah	26	15
14.	11 in the <b>Villages</b>	19	15
Total		Rs. 462 1/2	Rs. 211 1/2

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**Source:** Collector to the BOR. 12.1.1828, PBOR, v.1134, p.761.

Table : 3.13

## Annual Pensions to different people in Divi Zamindari

List of Names	Amount paid during the lifetime of Zamindar Rs.	Amount pro- posed by the mother and guar- dian of the minor Zamindar Rs.	Amount proposed by Collector Rs.
1. Lakshmiddevamma, mother of the late Zamindar	400	400	400
2. Narsubayamma, widow of the grand uncle of the late Zamindar	20	20	20
3. Rajah Lakshamma, uncle's widow of the late Zamindar	360	360	360
4. Mudderalu Venkat Rao	20	20	20
5. Chinta Appaiah, clothing money	12	12	12
6. K. Kandregula Gopala Krishnamma	30	30	30
7. To a Brahmin bringing water from the Krishna river	5	5	5
8. 1 Manager G. Reddy Pantulu	-	-	100
9. 1 Serishtadar, Y. Appaiah	8	8	8
10. 1 Muddadgar D. Kondalrao	4	4	4
11. 1 Cash keeper, V. Lingaiah	12	12	12
12. 1 Vakeel C. Appaiah	8	8	8
13. 1 Bootadnadevi G. Chinnappa	4	4	4
14. 1 Doctor. P. Seetanna	8	8	8
15. 1 School master William Murray	40	40	40
16. 1 Telugu Teacher C Lakshmi Nair	4	4	4
17. 1 Gumasta on gardens A. Parange	1		1
18. 13 Brahmin servants at different rates	26	25	25
19. 2 Jemadars	8	8	8
20. Family of Tullam Ramaswami Naik	135		
21. Doctor Konetirao	10	-	-

Total

Rs. 992

Rs. 847

Rs. 847

Source: I. Dent, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 12.9.1827,  
PBOR, v.1134, pp.

Table ; 3.14

## Monthly subsistence given to the minor Zamindar of Divi

S. No.	Various heads of Expenditure	charges incurred by the late Zamindar MRs.	Amount proposed by the guardian of the Zamindar MRs.	Amount proposed by the Collector or MRs.
1.	Value of Paddy and other articles required for house expenses	512	441	441
2.	Batta to bearers	34	<b>34</b>	34
3.	Postage	15	12	12
4.	Cloths	50	40	40
5.	Feeding cattle	22	22	22
6.	Expenses for cash ages and houses	38	38	38
7.	Repairs of Houses	75	75	
8.	Subscription to news papers	6	6	6
9.	Feeding elephants and cattle in the Divi pargana	160	<b>130</b>	130
10.	Average charges incurred by the late Zamindar and his mother when they go to Divi pargana	50		
11.	Establishment of Indigo manufacture	31	17	17
12.	Sabnoviss	-	80	
13.	Part of Serishtadar's pay	-	8	8
14.	Shroff's pay	-	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
Monthly Total Rs.		994	910	755
Annual Total		<b>Rs.11,930</b>	<b>Rs.10,923</b>	Rs.9.063

Source: Compiled from the Report on the Zamindari of Divi, 12.9.1827, PBOR, v.1134, p.7

Table 3.15

**Proposed pensions to Zamindar's relatives and dependents of the minor Zamindar of Divi in comparison with pensions granted by the late Zamindar of Divi :**

Pensions payable monthly to different persons	Amount paid during the life time of the late Zamindar MRs.	Amount proposed by the mother and guardian of the minor Zamindar MRs.	Amount proposed by the Collector MRs.
1. Lakshmiddevamma, mother of the late Zamindar	11	11	11
2. Narsubayamma, widow of the late Zamindar's grand uncle	9	9	9
3. Ramanamma, widow of late Gopalrao the brother of the late Zamindar	33	33	33
4. Chinnammi, sister of the late Zamindar	8	8	8
5. Calabarega Pullamma	2	2	2
6. Murari Venku	1	1	1
7. Bontu Kamanna Pantulu	4	4	4
8. Bontu Ramaiah	4	4	4
9. Bontu Venkatarao	4	4	4
10. Kalabarega Rajeswararao	8	8	8
11. Danawada Ramachandra pantulu	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2
12. Vempati Ramaswami Sastri	4	4	4
13. Papuri Sitaramaiah	2	2	2
14. Pasupulati Purushottam	2	2	2
15. Dantu Narasavadhanulu	4	4	4
Total Monthly	Rs. 97	Rs. 97	Rs. 97
Total annually	Rs. 1,173	Rs. 1,170	Rs. 1,170

**Source:** Collector, Masulipatnam to the BOR, 12.9.1827, PBOR, v.1134,p.



Thus, the Zamindaris of Masulipatnam during this period, like elsewhere were a picture of pomp and show. The working of the Zamindari had not undergone any change under the Company and in fact this was what had resulted in many of the estates in ruin. The lavish life styles of the Zamindars and their incompetence in managing the Zamindari affairs and also the failure to perceive the changing times of the region ultimately led to decay thus making it easier for the Company to change the revenue systems to suit its needs. At the same time the Company in its attempts to extend its hegemony could not entirely obliterate the traditional powers and privileges of the rural elites. As, we have seen, even in the case of the Zamindars the Company did not seek to intervene too radically. This was equally true of all the other elites in the rural society. Indeed, the evidence suggests that the Company reinforced the existing structures of Privilege in power by confirming them.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1>. For an elaborate account of the ancient **Zamindaris** and the **newly** created estates under the Company and the **size** of the estates see P. Grant, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR. 20.11.1840, PBOR, v. 1733, pp. 17262-17265; For a **list** of ancient Zamindaris, created estates and owners of the estates **see,table A19** .
  
- (2). The Company before granting the Sanads that **is** before issuing a pattah of **proprietorship** to each of the **Zamindars** in their estates clearly specified the **disbandment** of the **military** force of the Zamindars and allowed limited number of armed persons to help them in revenue matters. For further reference see, '**A Cowl granted by the Governor General in Council to Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu, Zamindar of Chin-tapalli**', Revenue Department Cowl Books. 1799, v.51, pp 5-16.
  
- (3>. Collector, Masulipatnam district to the Governor **in Council,Madras**, 25.9.1786, MDR,v.2897, p.152.
  
- (4). **Ibid**,p.156.
  
- (5). Hugh **Maxwell**,Secretary, Circuit Committee to the BOR, '**General** Abstract of Zamindars and **Mirasi** Collections of Revenue **in the Rajahmundry Circar**',SRMG, pp.18-3>.
  
- (6). The Zamindars were **paid** either by a commission on the revenues collected by them or by the assignment of a portion of land exempted from the payment of rent and known by the name of Nankar lands **in Bengal** and **Saveram in Northern Circars**, besides certain fee called **Rusums**.For further reference **see,Russell**,Collector to the BOR, **29.4.1819**, PBOR, v.852. p.3046.
  
- (7). Andrew Scott, Collector Guntur district to the BOR, 20.9.1800, MDR. v.3069. **pp.35-36**.
  
- (8). A Cowl granted by George Harris President Governor General **in Council** to **Suraneni Latchma Rao**, Zamindar of **Mylavaram**, Revenue Department Cowl Books. 1798, v.50. **pp.111-113**.
  
- <9>. William **Oram**, President, Committee of Circuit to **Campbell**, BOR. PBOR. v.3, **pp.1175-76**.
  
- <10>.**Irfan Habib**, Agrarian System of Mughal India. **Bombay**, 1962, p.141.
  
- (11).Representation of **Kamadana** Papaiah Rao, Zamindar of **Charmahal** to Morgan Williams. SRMG. p.27.

- (12).Kamadana Papaiah Rao , the Zamindar of Vinukota and Charnahal to Morgan William, President, Circuit Committee, SRMG, P.26.[Tamil Nadu State Archives,Madras].
- (13).Minute of Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, 19.9.1820, RDC, v.262, p.3788.
- (14).For the details of the Vallanki Zamindari family, the divisions of the estate, their size and the Owner's of the estate particulars see, table A1 'i' .
- (15).Irfan Habib,Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1962, p.159.
- (16).For a detailed discussion of this view see, Tapan Ray Chaudhuri, 'Permanent Settlement in Operation : Bakargan) district, East Bengal', in R.E.Frykenberg (ed.), Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, Madison, (1979), pp.163-174.
- (17).R.E.Frykenberg,Guntur District 1788-1848 : A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India. Oxford, 1965, p.64.
- (18).Edward Saunders to the President, Committee of Circuit to the BOR, 'Report of the Circuit Committee on the Zamindaris dependent on Masulipatnam', SRMG, p.11.
- (19).Ibid.
- (20).Ibid,pp.12-13.
- (21).A Cowl granted by the Governor General in Council to Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu Zamindar of Chintapalli', Revenue Department Cowl Books, 1799, v.51, p.108.
- (22).Gordon Mackenzie. A Manual of the Kistna district of the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1885, p.349.
- (23).Board's Proceedings on the Introduction of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of Bengal, 2.9.1799, Miscellaneous Records, v.190, pp.68-89.
- (24).For the details of the Zamindari System in Godavari district, see F.R.Hemingway, Madras District Gazetteer- Godavari, Madras, 1907; For a similar account of the Visakhapatnam district see,D.F.Carmichael, Manual of the district of Vizagpatnam in the presidency of Madras, Madras, 1869.
- (25). Most of the Zamindars of Masulipatnam at one time or the other were under the management of the Company. They were either under the Court of Wards or were attached for revenue arrears. For the list of estates under Court of Wards and the estates attached for arrears of revenue see F.W. Morris,

Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement, Krishna district to H. Newill, Director of Revenue Settlement, 23.2.1861, Madras Report on the Assessment of the Masulipatnam Portion of the Kistna district, 1861-1865, pp. 2-7: P.Grant, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 20.11.1840, PBOR, v. 1733, p.17264.

- (26).I. Dent, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR. 4.1.1828, PBOR. v. 1134, pp. 642-643
- (27).For a detailed discussion of the Zamindars and the Zamindaris see Ratna lekha Ray, 'The Bengal Zamindars: Local Mag-nets and the State before the Permanent Settlement', IESHR, 12. 3. (1975), pp. 263-291.
- (28).For further details of Zamindar's life style and how they competed to out do each other see R.E. Frykenberg, Guntur district 1788-1848: A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India, Oxford, 1965, pp. 38-49.
- (29).For the details of the gold and the silver items under the possession of the Zamindars see list submitted by Venkanna Naik, guardian to the Zamindar to I. Oent Collector, Masulipatnam district 12.1.1828, 'Statement No.1, E. showing the estimated value of the Jewels and silver utensils belonging to the Zamindar of Divi', PBOR. v. 1134, pp. 763-765.
- (30).R.E.Frykenberg,Guntur District 1788-1848 : A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India, Oxford, 1965, p.43.
- (31).For a list of valuable articles in the possession of the Zamindar of Divi and also for the articles imported from various countries see 'Statement No.4, showing glass ware, furniture list', in the letter from Venkanna Naik to the Collector, I.Dent,10.10.1827, PBOR, v.1134, pp.770-772.
- (32).Gifts to Brahmins was a must on any social occasion. But in the Zamindaris it costed the treasury heavy amounts because on each occasion Zamindars fed thousands of Brahmins and the ceremonies sometimes took place for several days also. For further details see I. Dent Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR. PBOR. 1134, p.640.
- (33).R.E. Frykenberg, Guntur district 1788-1848: A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India, Oxford, 1965, p.48.
- (34).Arzee from Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu to the Collector Smith Guntur district, 28.1.1806. RDC, v.148, pp.756-765.
- (35).Collector I.Dent to the BOR. 12.1.1828. PBOR. v.1134. p.761.
- (36).Ibid.

- (37). Ibid.
- (38). I. Dent, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 4.1.1828, PBOR, v.1134, p.645.
- (39). Ibid.
- (40). Ibid. p.652.
- (41). Ibid. pp.650-652.
- (42). I. Dent, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 4.1.1828, PBOR, v.1134, p.651.
- (43). For instance, the Divi Zamindar borrowed heavily from Venkanna Naik, a relative of the Zamindar. The debt amounted to Rs. 28,755. When the Zamindar died Venkanna Naik assumed the management of the Zamindari as the guardian.
- (44). An example was that of Seth Brij Mohan Das. Perhaps as a creditor, he amassed wealth and Brij Mohan Das also became owner of some of the estates. For the names of the estates in his possession in the district see table.
- (45). For a detailed account of the regulation and how the Company interfered in stopping the estates being pledged for the private arrears of Zamindar see chapter 7.
- (46). P. Grant, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 20.11.1840, PBOR, v.1733, p.17263.
- (47). For further details see, bond executed by Raja Kamadana Papaiah Rao to Kandregula Jagannatha Rao, 29.8.1827, PBOR, v. 1154, pp. 784-785.
- (48). Ibid.
- (49). William Oram, President of the Circuit Committee reported that in Masulipatnam there were many families who performed the role of creditors to the Zamindars as it was a very attractive business. For further details see, William Oram to BOR, 51.10.1786, Circuit Committee Report, v.16/a, p.76.
- (50). Statement F. Showing the debts due to individuals by the Zamindars of Divi up to 12.9.1827. from the report submitted by I. Dent Collector. Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 12.9.1827, PBOR, v. 1154, p. 786.
- (51). Report from Williams to Alexander Davidson, Ft. St. George, 9.2.1786. Circuit Committee Report on the Zamindars of Nuzividu and Charmahal' SRMG. p.7.
- (52). Collector to the BOR. 12.1.1828, PBOR. v.1134, p.761.

(53). Ibid.

(54). For the list of servants at the Zamindars cutcherry and also at district head quarters and their pay see statement 0 in the letter from Collector I. Dent, to the BOR. 12.1.1828, PBOR, v. 1134, pp. 760-761.

<55). For the detailed account of a chain of officials deputed by the Zamindars in their estates to supervise cultivating operations and also the revenue matters see chapter 2.

(56). Collector I. Dent to the BOR. 12.1.1828, PBOR, v. 1134, p. 761.

#### 4. PRIVILEGES FOR THE PRIVILEGED

Inequalities in social and economic spheres were maintained and reinforced in traditional India in many ways. The agrarian world was no exception to this. The economic privileges enjoyed by the privileged sections of the society in the form of Inam tenures, also perpetuated these inequalities and were in turn reinforced by the privileged in many ways. These privileges, although ostensibly mere economic concessions, also reinforced the social inequalities that were in existence. These practices which were common under the pre colonial regimes seemed to have continued uninterruptedly even under British rule.

Privilege in land holding pertains to advantages, that is the rights and immunities enjoyed by some, usually a minority. Though these usually originated from a grant from those in<sup>1</sup> authority, they need not always necessarily be so. These advantages in the rural society were enjoyed by certain elite groups over others, making use of their power and status in the society.

Of the many privileges that existed in the region, the most common were the Inam holdings. These privileged tenures were of many kinds.<sup>2</sup> They were given by the pre colonial ruling regimes to various groups for different purposes, and were mostly hereditary tenures. Whatever be the ostensible reason for granting these privileges they served the important socio political pur-

pose of incorporating rural elites into the State structure. The British by continuing these privileges and concessions were seeking also to create substantial bases of power beneath the authority of the new imperial system, by accommodating hereditary landed privilege with important tax free concessions to those individuals and institutions having highest claims to social and ritual status and influence.

4

In South India the term Inam was applied to the grants by the state of the permanent right in one case, to occupy land without paying rent to the state and in another case, to collect government assessment on land. The tenure though originally rent free came in many cases to be qualified by the reservation of a portion of the assessable revenue or by exaction of all proceeds exceeding the intended value of the original assignment.

R.D.Lushington, one of the Company officials in the Madras Presidency believed that the alienation of extensive tracts of land as Inam benefits was nothing more than an established mode of tax evasion, rather than a vital component of the pre colonial political process. Further he opined that a great amount of potentially taxable land was exempted unnecessarily. But though Inam tenures continued to exist under the Company, it was believed that a great amount of potentially taxable land was unnecessarily, though unavoidably, exempt.



The Inam tenures of the Madras Presidency were many and were classified in many ways. R.E Frykenberg has classified them under social, economic, political, and religious categories.^ There were certain features which distinguished the tax free tenures of the Madras Presidency from those of the other Presidencies. They were, the small size of the individual holdings; the general absence of grants from former Sovereigns of the country; and the close connection between the tax free and tax paying lands under the Ryotwari system. The Inams in the official records were divided into nine categories :<sup>7</sup>

1. Those held for the support of religious institutions and for services connected there with.
2. Those held for purposes of public utility.
3. Those held for the support of works of irrigation yielding public revenue, locally known as Dasabhandam Inams.
4. Those held by Brahmins and other religious classes for their personal benefit known under various names like Agraharams and Shrotriums.
5. Those held by the families of poligars and those who filled hereditary offices of trust under former governments.
6. Those held by the Kinsmen, dependents and followers of former poligars and Zamindars.
7. Those connected with the former general police of the country.
8. Those held for ordinary village revenue and police services.
9. Those held by various descriptions of artisans for services due to village communities.

Under the above mentioned categories there were again several kinds of Inams listed, thus making the Inams numerous and a valuable way of giving a gift or buying favour. In the words of Nicholas Dirks, alienations of land were made to attain religious merit, to establish political alliances, to reward services, and to pay off debts. Alienations were made because, in spite of the changing nature of the political system, the traffic of the political process continued to be in gifts of land. While many of the reasons behind these new gifts were shifted in the changed and demilitarized nineteenth century, the "cultural logic" of the gift continued.

8

Before the term Inam was used to describe lands under all privileged holdings the term Manyam was commonly used. The term manyam referred to the lands held either at a low assessment or altogether free in consideration of services done to the state or the community as in the case of village servants.

9

The distinction between a Jagir grant and an Inam grant was that the former was a larger political grant with no condition of service. The word Inam was a generic term applicable to all government grants as a whole but in course of time when that word alone came to be used without any sort of qualification or restriction it came to denote a grant in perpetuity which could not be resumed. The grant of Inams was thus an alienation of the

sovereign right whether it be to the soil itself or merely to land revenue under the pre colonial governments. Such a right<sup>10</sup> was exercised by the king or by officers authorized by him.

As long as the ruler was powerful, no alienation of this right was possible without his consent. But during the periods of anarchy which followed the end of the pre colonial regimes and the beginning of British rule, the power of granting beneficial tenures was assumed by many like the Petty Chiefs, Zamindars, Foudjars, Poligars and even by the Renters. Sometimes they were obtained by the beneficiaries through collusion of revenue officers.

Inams to the Religious Institutions :

A considerable portion of the Inam tenures in the Madras Presidency belonged to the religious institutions of the country, both Muslim and Hindu. They were held either directly for the support of the institutions or for various services to be rendered therein. The Inams of this description were by far the most numerous though the value of the each taken by itself was in most cases inconsiderable.

The valuable endowments attached to different 'mattams' or spiritual head ships of the three leading sects of Brahmana were also included under this head and these were found almost in

every district. The other minor religious institutions not presided over by Brahmins but which enjoyed Inams, belonged to Bairagis and Pandarams or religious mendicants and Jangams or  
11  
priests of the Lingayat sect.

In the Pedanah Pargana, like elsewhere in the Northern Circars certain Inams were given to places of worship. In Pedanah five candies of grain was given to the temples for various temple activities. The dancing girls who were generally attached to the temples, an Inam of seven maunds and twenty seers of grain was given. In Nandigama and Bulliparru the temples received two candies and 10 maunds of grain and Oevarawada and Mangenapudi received twelve maunds and twenty seers and four  
12  
maunds of grain respectively.

In contrast to these Hindu Institutions the Muslim Institutions were of a less varied character. They consisted chiefly of mosques or places of public worship, takiyas or residences of fakirs, and dargahs. However the Qazis enjoyed certain Inam grants in the district of Masulipatnam and evidence from the records suggests that they even bought Inam lands that were  
13  
brought for sale.

Agraharams :

The gift of land was enjoined by the Hindu Shastras as the most meritorious of charities. So every king was therefore

ambitious of **distinguishing** his reign by the extent and value of the lands he alienated in Inam to the various religious groups. Under the pre colonial regimes these Inam grants were engraved on copper plates or slabs of stones and were declared to be **irrevocable**.

Agrahara generally meant a tax free village granted by the kings or their subordinates to Brahmins in pursuit of their knowledge. **Etymologically** the term agrahara was derived from the word agara or akara that **is**, tax and hara that **is**, a piece of land. The donees of the Agraharas were called **Agraharikas**. The **Agraharas** were granted either to a single person or several persons.<sup>14</sup>

The Agraharas were self sufficient units. The endowments **made** to them were perpetual and could not be confiscated by the kings. They enjoyed the right to collect taxes that would meet the expenditure of the matthas and schools that were **in** agraharas.

**Table : 4.1**

**Government Revenue Collections in Agraharam villages**

S.No.	Names of Zamindari Estates	Amount MP's.
1.	Kaldindi	842
2.	Chintalapudi	239
5.	Devarakota	170
4.	Mylavaram	64

**Source:** Report from Edward Saunders to the President, Committee of Circuit, SRMG, p.20, 32, 33.

**Table : 4.2**

**Inam Statistics in Nuzividu Zamindari:**

S.No.	Parganas	No. of villages	No. of inhabitants.	Amount of land in cutties		Average nf Agraharam payments MP's.
				Agraharam	Inams	
1.	Gollapalli	62	11131	268	210	236
2.	Nunestalam	83	11314	113	322	972
3.	Chatrayi	14	2635		107	
1.	Vijiarayi	24	3723	-	96	13
5.	Wuyyuru	44	8831	44	146	142
6.	Meduru	46	7723	180	356	554
7.	Amberpeta	43	8333	91	345	148
3.	Gundagolanu	37	11016	47	336	13
9.	Pentapadu	56	11895	-	1033	557
10.	Nidadavolu	58	18535	-	377	667
11.	Baharjalli	54	5233	251	-	598

**Source:** Report from Williams to Alexander Davidson, President Ft.St. George, Circuit Committee Report on the Zamindaris of Nuzividu and Charmahal, SRMG, p.12.

**Table : 4.3**

**Revenue Collections in Inam villages of Charmahal Zamindari**

S.No.	Parganas	No. of villages	No. of inhabitants	Amount of land alienated under		Agraharam payments to circar MPs.
				Agraharam	Inams	
1.	Gudiwada	59	1062	142	217	1083
2.	Vinukota	66	10153	219	159	10293
3.	Kaldindi	31	4147	141	54	170
4.	Bittarzalli	12	2640	41	396	115

Source: Report from Williams to Alexander Davidson President, Ft. St. George, Circuit Committee Report on the Zamindars of Nuzividu and Charmahal, SRMG, p.13.

The Agraharam villages in Eluru circar were few, but there were numerous Inam lands. These Inams were of two kinds - Kattubadi Inams, who pay a tax and Dumbala Inams which were rent free.  
15

Inams held for Public Utility Purposes :

Inam lands were held for the support of choultries (called locally Chattrams). Inams were also held for the maintenance of various irrigation works which were major components for the sustenance of the agricultural economy. Inams held for the support of works of irrigation were generally termed as Oasabandham Inams.

Dasabandham Inams

Dasabandham Inams were granted as a recompense to private individuals who constructed tanks, wells and river channels by means of which the revenue of the state was augmented. The extent and value of Inams were in proportion to the capital expended on the works of Irrigation. These grants were of two descriptions Khanda Dasabhandam or Inams given in specific localities and Shamit at Dasabhandams or the allowance as Inam of a certain proportion of each year's cultivation under the work in question. In all ordinary cases Oasabhandamdars were under the obligation of maintaining works of irrigation in due repair.



During late eighteenth century Dasabandam Inams were not ubiquitous in the Northern Circars, as these Inams were confined to western portions such as Guntur and Nellore districts. In Masulipatnam district instead of the Dasabhandham grants the Dasabthagam allowances which were given for the maintenance or construction of Irrigation works were more common.

16

### **Mukhasa Inams**

Mukhasa Inams were those held by the kinsmen, dependents and followers of former poligars and Zamindars. Similarly Deshpandes and Deshmukhs were permitted to enjoy certain lands free of all conditions of service to government. These Inams were considerable in number and played a distinct role in pre colonial land holding structure of the Northern Circars. For instance, the Bissoys and Dorathanams in the hill tracts of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam, the Mukhasas of Masulipatnam district, the Amarams of Northern Circars fall under this category.

17

By later half of the eighteenth century there were two hundred and eight Mukhasa villages in Masulipatnam district and there were in the hands of Zamindars relations, dependents or caste men and peons. The nature of duties and obligations which these three groups had to perform to a Zamindar in turn for the enjoyment of these land grants did reflect variations. While the

caste men attended the Zamindars on state occasions or accompanied them with their followers to the field, Zamindars relations held the villages for their subsistence. Moreover the services of the clansmen was occasional and honorary, while those of peons<sup>18</sup> were more constantly in requisition.

In the Nuzividu estate the Mokasaders who were the dependents on the Zamindars were absolute masters over the labourers whom they often left with barely a subsistence. But the Agraharams of the Nuzividu Zamindari were very poor and Brahmin's proportion of payment of rent was equally heavy with the Mokasaders.<sup>19</sup>

The lands given by the Zamindars to the Mokasa peons continued even when the Zamindars were out of power. For instance, though the Zamindars of Charmahal were out of power, the Mokasa<sup>20</sup> villages to their peons and dependents still continued.

Table t 4.4

Average Revenue Collections in Mokasa villages of Zamindari

Estates :

Estates	Amount in MPs.
Kaldindi Estate	11,582
Chintalapudi estate	659
Bezwada	389
Mylavaram	2,863
Medurgutta	254
Jammulavayi	65

Source: Report from Edward Saunders to the President, Committee of Circuit, SRMG, p.20.

Table : 4.5

Mokasa Revenue Collections in Nuzividu Zamindari:

S.No.	Taluk	Amount MPs.
1.	Gollapalli	3057
2.	Nunestalum	3857
3.	Chatrayi	1145
4.	Vijiarayi	912
5.	Wuyuru	537
6.	Meduru	1228
7.	Amberpeta	2902
8.	Gundagolanu	1022
9.	Pentapadu	2987
10.	Nidadavolu	5441
11.	Baharzalli	5656

Source: Report from Williams to Alexander Davidson President Ft. St. George. Circuit Committee Report on the Zamindars of Nuzividu and Charmahal, SRMG, p.12.

Under colonial **hegemony**, though the institution of **Mukhasa Inams** continued as it was, it underwent minor **ramifications**. Under the Permanent Settlement the **Zamindars** having stripped off their military powers largely, used these Mukhasa peons essentially for the revenue collections.

Turrabadi Sanads and **Dumbala maniams** were two other important Inams that were discerned in Masulipatnam district during **this** period. Turrabadi lands were certain portions of arable lands of a **village** being held by certain groups of **village** community who were entitled to a portion of public tax collected from these lands. Dumbala lands were arable lands the public tax on which had been alienated to individuals either connected or unconnected **with** the village and held under special grants from  
21  
the ruling power.

#### **Kattubadi Inams :**

This category comprised the Inams held by the **Kattubadis**, a group of peons who discharged police, **military**, and revenue duties. Generally in the Masulipatnam district a tax of one Madras Pagoda per candy was received on the Kattubadi Inams. However, the tax which these Kattubadi peons were entitled from various landholdings groups varied greatly depending on the crop that was cultivated as indicated below:

**For Patcha Jonna:**

Telagala Peons were taxed at 1/4 MP/cutty  
Natives were taxed at 7/16 MP /Cutty  
Payakari ryots were taxed at 1/16 MP /Cutty  
Payakaris were taxed at 5/16 MP /Cutty  
Karanams were taxed at 1/4 MP /Cutty

**For Mokka Jonna:**

Inhabitants were taxed at 5/8 MP /Cutty  
Karanams were taxed at 5/16 MP /Cutty

**For Konda Jonna:**

Karanams were taxed at 1/4 MP /Cutty  
Payakaris were taxed at 5/16 MP /Cutty  
Payakaris were taxed at 6/16 MP /Cutty  
Muslims were taxed at 5/16 MP /Cutty  
New payakaris were taxed at 1/8 MP /Cutty

**For Tobacco:**

Karanams were taxed at 1 MP /Cuntah  
Kadims were taxed at 1/2 MP /Cuntah  
Payakaris were taxed at 1/4 MP /Cuntah  
Muslims were taxed at 5/4 MP /Cuntah

**For Chillies:**

Muslims pyrah kamatalu were taxed at 5/4 MP /Cur.tah  
Kadims jerayati kamatalu were taxed at 1/4 MP /Cuntah

**For Nutcheny:**

Karanams were taxed at 1/4 MP /Cuntah  
Kadims were taxed at 5/16 MP /Cuntah  
Muslims were taxed at 5/16 MP /Cuntah

**For Cotton:**

Kadims new Cuntahs were taxed at 5/16 MP /Cuntah  
Karanams were taxed at 1/4 MP /Cuntah  
Muslims were taxed at 1/4 MP /Cuntah  
Payakaris new kuntahs were taxed at 1/8 MP /Cuntah  
22  
Kadims old Cuntas were taxed at 1/8 MP /Cuntah.

During the initial stages of the rule of the East India Company the government for several practical purposes continued

these tenures. While there was no formal policy at all towards the Inams, the Collectors were given powers to take adhoc decisions as and when problems arose regarding the Inams in the region. For this reason, the policy of the Company towards the Inam tenures was termed as Silent Settlements. Through the accumulation of a series of such adhoc decisions the confirmation of Inams became what has been termed the "Silent Settlements". It was silent both because no formal policy on this was enunciated and also because it was essentially a secret settlement.

23

What was the role and responsibility of the government in Inam villages? Did the policies of government have any influence over Inam villages? Were the same rules and restrictions also applied to the Inamdars? In the absence of any formal settlement with the Inamdar and any official policy regarding Inams what was the role of the government and its views? Could the ryots in an alienated village claim to participate in all those benefits of reduced assessment which the ruling authority might extend as a general measure over the district in which the Inam villages were situated? Was the Inamdar compelled to regulate his assignment according to the rates established in the government lands of the district in which his Inam lands were situated? Was the Inamdar entitled to any concessions or compensations by the government?

The Inam lands under early Colonial rule were further classified into three categories-

1. Lands cultivated by the **Inamdars** themselves,
2. Lands cultivated by ryots paying rent to the Inamdars, but possessing no proprietary interest **in the soil**,
3. Lands cultivated by **mirasidars** and others possessing a proprietary interest **in the soil**, but paying revenue to the **Inam-**  
24  
dars.

In the lands cultivated by the ryots who pay rent to the Inamdars, but who had no proprietary right **in the soil**, the government believed that **if** the demands of the Inamdars were exorbitant, the cultivators having no **tie** to any particular village would **quit** the village and migrate to another place where the assessment was more moderate. So **in this** way the Inamdars were compelled by their own interests to keep their demands within  
25  
moderate bounds.

But **in** those Inam lands where the mirasidars as cultivators had a proprietary right **in the soil** but **paid** revenue to the Inamdars, the right of the government consisted in its title to receive from the mirasidars a share of the produce of the land or more strictly a share of the surplus produce after payment of the expenses of cultivation. The practice of receiving revenue in kind, had been abolished **in** all government **villages** and **rents**  
26  
**were** collected in money.

The Board opined that any interference of the government between the **Inamdars** and the cultivators should be entrusted solely to the Collectors within whose charge the lands might be situated. In case of any dispute arising between the Inamdar and the ryot as to the amount of such equivalent **in** money the ryot was at liberty to discharge his revenue in kind.

By Regulation 4 of 1851. later on extended by **31** of **1836** and **23** of **1838** all claims to personal hereditary grants, and by Regulations 6 of 1831 all claims to service **Inams** were removed from the jurisdiction of the Courts to that of the Collectors and Board of **Revenue**, with a final appeal to the government. In **1845** the continuance of Inams to the **heirs** of the deceased incumbents was prohibited without the authority of government. **All** Inams held on grant at the date of the Company's assumption of power **in** the region and held by the same family at the **time** of the passing of regulation 31 of 1802 were continued to the next **heir** on the same terms. As regards Inams held without grants, **it** was left to the judgment of the Collector whether the length of possession was sufficient to entitle the **heir** to succeed to the <sup>27</sup>  
**Inam.**



## Minor Economic Privileges

But apart from these Inam tenures there were certain other economic privileges enjoyed by the privileged sections of the rural society. Customary shares allowed to certain groups from the gross produce in the agrarian structure and allowances in the payment of land revenue demand to certain privileged groups were some of these economic privileges prevailing in the region. Other notable ones were those enjoyed by the village officials like the Karanams from the people. Though these privileges were not as important as the Inam grants, they still played a definite role in the rural society and reinforced the existing social inequalities. How did these economic privileges uphold the rural inequalities? What were the changes undergone by these concessions over a period of time ? What were the Company's perceptions on these privileges and also the attitudes of the Company administration in this region ?

The customary shares enjoyed by different cultivating groups  
28  
were not uniform throughout the region. These customary shares enjoyed by cultivators like the Kadims, Ulcudis and the Paracudis  
29  
show certain inequalities in the allotment of the shares. For instance, in Masulipatnam district the customary shares allowed to the resident, non resident. Brahmin. and other Rachewar cultivating groups were eight, twelve, and ten tooms per putty  
30  
respectively. But in Guntur district the shares allotted to the

**Kadim** cultivators were more than the non resident groups. The three groups of the cultivators , belonged to the same caste of Vellalars. However, the privileges seemed to be not equal to  
32

all. In this particular instance, their rural power and position was perhaps more instrumental in determining their shares than their **caste**. These customary shares were determined generally depending on the local practices and were usually deducted from the gross produce before **it** was divided between the cultivators and the government.  
33

There were certain other concessions which were given in the payment of land revenue demand. One such allowance which was in ancient usage and which was enjoyed by certain privileged sections of the society was the vundra allowance.

Vundra **allowance** was common in the Presidency of Madras and was known by different names in different regions. In the ceded districts **it** was known by the name of Tyasgary. This allowance was given by the state both in terms of money and land. In terms of land a certain quantity of cultivable land of the beneficiary yielding a specific amount of revenue was exempted from land revenue payment as a concession. But generally of the total land revenue demand one fourth of the amount was given as Vundra  
35  
**allowance.**

The higher caste<sup>3</sup> considered physical labour as **degrading** and some agricultural operations as forbidden and constantly sought to avoid personal **participation** in the production processes. This was a common practice in many parts of India.<sup>56</sup> In this region too land owners belonging to the Brahmin castes making use of the traditional ritual sanctions against the use of plough benefited from the vundra allowance. They were given **this** concession as they had to employ extra labour in their **agricul-**  
37  
tural operations.

Strangely, however, several groups other than Brahmins were also getting **this** allowance under the Company **administration** in Guntur district. The district Collector in his report stated that vundra allowance in the district of Guntur was enjoyed by nearly all the Brahmins, as well as most of the Razus, Velamas, few Kara-  
58  
nams and occasionally also by the Komatis and Goldsmiths. The inclusion of several groups clearly indicates the changes that had taken place in the allotment of **this** allowance. Because, if it was started as a **kind** of remission to those who could not participate directly in agricultural operations, the allowances to several groups under the Company seemed to suggest that the allowance had assumed a class character from the caste dimensions, or was it a later day phenomenon under the Company government? However, the privilege clearly highlights the underlying **idea** of inequality. Vundra allowance though enjoyed by several groups was not without **restrictions**. The allowance could not be claimed by certain groups of **Inamdars** and those who were **culti-**

vating in partnership with others. This was certainly to **prevent** the economically weaker sections from getting this privilege though they belonged to the same caste.

Probably taking advantage of the chaotic political situation that preceded the Company's rule and also of the government's ignorance of the local situation, the politically and economically powerful groups manipulated to get the allowance as the concession was certainly economically handsome. Apart from **this**, it was **also** a matter of prestige as **it heightened** the social status of those who were getting the privilege in the rural structure. Generally large land owners could afford to abstain from manual labour but in many areas conceptions of status prevented even quite small land owners from engaging **in** the actual work of <sup>40</sup>**tillage**.

The Company's own **view substantiates** this. In one of the minutes of consultation the Company's higher officials expressed the opinion that the advantages granted to certain privileged classes under the denomination of Vundra seemed to have extended <sup>41</sup>much beyond its original bounds.

Another group which benefited from these economic concessions was that of the **Karanams**. **This** group was actively involved in the rural structure and played a key role **in** the village **administration**. In both **Masulipatnam** and Guntur districts the

**Karanams** were predominantly Brahmins. The office of the **Karanams** was hereditary and the main duties of **Karanams** were to write and keep the village accounts. The **Karanams** usually enjoyed various emoluments like **Karanams mirasi**, **Karanams salegalu** and **Karanams badulu** as shown in table 4.6 and A 15.

Table : 4.6

**Karanams and their Rusums in Akulamannadu Pargana :**

S. no.	Names of village	Names of Samprattis	No. of Samprattis	Allowances payable per each attis candy	
				Chupudu salagalu	Badu salagalu
				seers	seers
1.	<b>Akulamannadu</b> Casbah	Kanakolanu Venkiah	1	4	10
2.	<b>Arsepalli</b>	Kanakolanu Venkataramudu	1	4	10
3.	<b>Eddapalli</b>	Kanakolanu Venkiah	1	-	
4.	<b>Polavaram</b> village	Kanakolanu Narsamma Kanakolanu Narasimhulul	1 2	4	10
5.	<b>Singarayapolam</b>	<b>Idnapudi Gavaraju</b>	1	4	10
6.	<b>Mulaparru</b>	<b>Nandigama Viyanna</b> <b>Lakkapragada Ramanna</b> <b>Lakkapragada Agastappa</b> <b>Chodavarapu Paparaju</b> <b>Macheria Sivaramudu</b>	6	4	10

**Source :** Read, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 10.11.1800, MOR. V.2998, p.67.

It is interesting to note that sometimes one family held the office of Karanam in three or four villages. In some villages the office of Karanam was shared by two or more people. For instance, in Malparru village there were six Karanams. But irrespective of the number the customary fees they enjoyed was the same. That is in the village where there was only one Karanam the customary fee was 14 seers of grain per candy and where there were six Karanams, there also the amount was same. However though the shares were fixed the Karanams exploited the villagers in extracting as much as possible.

Apart from these, because of his position as an account officer at the village level the residents were obliged to perform several services for him. Besides, the ritual status which they had as they belonged to Brahmin caste added more power to the already powerful Karanams in the village. Apart from the government privileges the residents were made to pay several kinds of fees to the Karanams.

At the time of marriage or any other social function in the village, Karanams received money payments from the villagers as a token of respect. For instance, the Banias paid Rs. 2 to the

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Karanams whereas the other classes paid Rs. 3/4. In the agricultural operations also the cultivators were required to pay certain amount to Karanams. In Masulipatnam district especially in the Nuzividu Zamindari after the harvesting cultivators paid

three seers per putty each to the **Karanams**. Like **wise** even the artisans were to pay. Weavers had to pay **Rs. 2 1/2** on account of <sup>45</sup> **their looms**, Toddy drawers **Rs. 4** and **Banias Rs.1/2**.

However these fees were extremely fluctuating and there was no fixed rule about the payments. **This** depended much on the **size** of the village and the economic background of the parties involved. It was customary **mamool** in some villages to give a handful of grain to the **Karanams** from each heap after measuring it and in others a handful of straw when **it** was stacked. It was also usual to give half a pagoda to the **Karanams** when any new <sup>46</sup> inhabitants established themselves **in** a village.

There seems to have been no centralized or official policy regarding these customary **practices**. **Even** the Company seemed to have followed the same policy. So **in** case of a dispute relating to these rights and privileges, the higher orders of those particular castes under the dispute or mostly the **Brahmins** were <sup>47</sup> consulted. The Board left **it** to the **Collectors** to take ad hoc decisions in these matters viewing both the local situation and <sup>48</sup> also the parties involved.

**Another** important privilege enjoyed by the dominant elements of the agrarian world was the special tributes they were allowed to receive. As mentioned earlier, **Zamindaris** were entitled to certain fees called **Rusums** on almost all the produce. For in-

stance, on each **nutchenny cunta** 1/16 of Madras **Pagoda** was  
**Zamindar's rusum**, 1/8 MP. per cunta on Chay root, Chillies,  
 Tobacco, Onions, **Betel gardens**. The Zamindars received 1/32 MP.  
 per cunta on Hemp, Cotton and **Potato**, one MP per Chay root bed  
 and 1/4 MP per Nutchenny bed. On grain the Zamindari **rusums**  
 formed 5% of the value of **Ambaram** grain delivered by the **Kadeem**  
 inhabitants. Besides these, on the Moturpha collected also the  
 Zamindars received rusums at 1/4 MP.<sup>49</sup> **Nazzers** or **Nazarana** was  
 another fee collected by the **Zamindars**. **Nazarana** was a fee or a  
 gift **paid** to the superiors on succession to estates or offices.  
 The custom of levying **Nazaranas** did not exist in the district  
 But under this head 2 3/4 MP. per village was collected by the  
**Zamindars**.

Another fee enjoyed by the Zamindars for their duties was  
**Saverams** which consisted of certain lands in each or in some of  
 the villages rent free. The following table shows the **saveram**  
 lands enjoyed by the Zamindar of **Bezwada** .



Table : 4.7

## Saveram Lands in Bezawada Zamindari:

S.No.	Names of villages	No. of villages	Extent of Saveram lands in 1195F In cutties	Extent of Saveram lands in 1204F In cutties	Extent of Saveram lands in 1203F In cutties
1.	Bezawada	1	4	3	6
2.	Ponanki	1			5
3.	Kanuru	1	4	4	
4.	Kolaventoar	1		4	8
5.	padamata	1		4	4
6.	yedupugollu	1			4
7.	Chunduru	1			4
8.	Mogalpajapuram	1			2
9.	Gundala	1			4
10.	Gungoor	1	2		2
11.	Kankipadu	1			4
12.	Gosaniabz	1	2	2	
13.	Yanikapadu	1	2	2	2
14.	Nidamanuru	1			
15.	Wuppaluru	1		2	1
16.	Velpuru	1			
17.	Pasadampadu	1		2	2
18.	Maradumahal	1	2	2	2
19.	Proddatur	1		2	2
20.	Grundalampadu	1	2		4
21.	Mutyalapadu	1	2	1/2	2
22.	Tennuru	1	2		4
23.	Konetipadu	1			4

**Source:** R.J. Porter Collector Masulipatnam district to the BQR, 2.10.1843, MDR, v. 6334, p.355-56.

It is interesting to note that the Saveram lands of the Zamindars were not in a compact block, but scattered over the villages in his estate. In each village the Zamindars had certain cutties of land. Perhaps this scattered nature of the privileged land gave the Zamindar certain control over the villages in his Zamindari and also a close watch over the villages as their lands existed.

Thus customary practices and economic privileges still formed an important part in maintaining the rural power structures intact in the region. These privileges which served many purposes also maintained the social inequalities and were reinforced by the privileged sections from time to time. The Company for several strong reasons had to maintain these structures intact at least in the early days of its rule. In attempting to restructure its administration in the locality or to impose its authority upon it, the Company was compelled to adopt policies which would not depart too much from those of the pre colonial times and also which did not directly impinge on the powers and privileges of the rural structure..

The concepts mirasi and mirasidar seems to have different connotations. This led to lot of controversy as different scholars assumed these rights differently. Though the term miras was Persian, the original term used for such a right was known as<sup>51</sup> Kaniyatchi. In the beginning Kaniyatchi was an exclusive right

pertaining only to the Tamil villages and in course of time it became a more wide spread term. so in order to have a clear idea as to what was a mirasi and who was a mirasidar it is necessary to know the origin of the right.

Though there is difference of opinion regarding its origin and scope of the rights involved. the popular account of the origin of the system was that when the ruler Tondaiman settled certain areas in Chingleput and Arcot in order to encourage<sup>52</sup> settlers he gave them land on a favourable tenure. However some British officials like Munro held the view that the system originated in local circumstances, from the need to construct tanks<sup>53</sup> and water works at public expense.

In Tamil villages the exclusive right to the hereditary possession of several descriptions of land situated within its boundaries was originally vested in the Vellalars and seemed to<sup>54</sup> be a communal type of land holding.

Though originally this was an exclusive right of the Vellalar community in course of time it became more widespread both community wise and geographically also. For instance in many villages Brahmins also found to have possessed this right by the term Swastium.

However in course of time the original **Kaniyatchi** was replaced by the term **mirasi** under the immediate pro colonial rulers and with it the nature of the right also underwent certain transformation. some early British officials viewed that the mirasi right was not common throughout the Madras presidency and was found only in certain districts.<sup>56</sup> However this **idea** was later proved wrong by other scholars. The existence of the term **miras** and **mirasidars** in the revenue records of Northern Circars and other scholars view seemed to put the earlier view in doubt.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from the hereditary rights in the **soil**, the mirasidars had rights to buy and sell the land and had right over the common waste lands of the village. The mirasidars were supposed to pay for the communal services in the villages and charities also.<sup>58</sup> There were certain restrictions on the **mirasidars**. All the lands had to be cultivated either by the mirasidars themselves or by their tenants and **if** for any reason proprietors neglected to utilize the arable land the government had the right to substitute cultivators from outside and realize the revenue.<sup>59</sup> Even in such cases the mirasidars had the right to claim the landlord's share or **Swamibhogam** from the cultivators. **This** practice seemed to be under criticism by some of the British revenue officials.<sup>60</sup> But the nature of the mirasi right seemed to differ from place to place. For instance, in the Deccan, the mirasidars had to pay the stipulated amount of revenue irrespective of the amount of land cultivated.<sup>61</sup>

An important question was. whether the mirasidar was the actual cultivator or was he the land lord? According to Dharma Kumar this depended on the size of the holding of the mirasidars  
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and also their caste. In case of large holdings, the cultivation was carried on by the Payakari cultivators also along with the mirasidars. But if the mirasidars were Brahmins then cultivation was carried on exclusively by the Payakaris.

The Inams or the silent settlement as Frykenberg had mentioned was like a lynch pin holding a many spoked wheel onto the axle of Company powers. The East India Company came to its position of supreme authority by using local traditional and indigenously acceptable implements and ingredients and by adapting to the internal customs and socio political conditions necessary for the accumulation of power. Eventually and ultimately such working within the structures of power required coming to grips with various forms of Inam holdings. Various piece meal encounters with such institutions without adequate or thorough knowledge of the profound intricacies and ramifications of the cultural context from where they sprang, might conceivably, have  
65  
produced hopeless blundering and failure.

The Company in the early stages of stabilizing its rule was coming to terms with a political economy which was strange and complex. It needed a strong base and support of the rural power to stabilize its hegemony over the rural structures. Thus the Company was compelled, it would seem, to continue the existing practices without much change.

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- (33). For a detailed account of these customary shares of different cultivating groups in **Masulipatnam** district see **Collector** to BOR. 10.11.1800 **MDR**, v.2991, **pp.83-101**.
- (34). **Vundra** was a gratuitous deduction of ~~sist~~ to the cultivators by the **Zamindars**, **Collector** to BOR, **GUOR 3982**, **p.242**. It also means land granted at an easy rate of assessment to privileged castes or families of a **village**, for reference see, **R.E.Frykenberg**, Guntur District 1788-1845: A History of Local influence and Central authority in South India Oxford, 1965, **p.277**
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## 9. CUSTOMS. TRADITIONS. AND CULTIVATING TECHNOLOGIES

South Indian agricultural production developed mainly on the **basis** of utilizing the natural features of the land and by **way** of adaptation to them. According to L.B.Alaev the tropical climate **allowed** some kind of agriculture **all** through the year, more even distribution of rains, made it possible to vary dates of sowing and harvesting of some crops.<sup>1</sup>

Agriculture in the region depended to a large extent on the two **main** monsoons, the North East and the North West. In the absence of large scale irrigation works with no proper network to distribute existing artificial irrigation systems, periodical rains came to be depended on heavily. The monsoon rains were erratic and **inconsistent**. To depended on them for agricultural operations entirely made **it** difficult to conduct agricultural operations on **time**. Speaking of the **inconsistency** of rains in the region, one of the Telugu proverb says '**Vana Rakada Pranam Pokada Evariki Teliyadu**'('no one can predict coming of rains and death').<sup>2</sup> Though the region **Masulipatnam**, was situated near the two delta systems of Krishna and Godavari, **in** the pre anicut period their potential could not be fully exploited.

**Besides**, as the South Indian rivers were rain fed, their water level fluctuated considerably during the year. Therefore the canal system of irrigation did not develop much in South

India. In the absence of canal irrigation, storing rain and high flood **water** in special reservoirs or with the help of dams became the **main** method of irrigation.

The region had a variety of soils and based on the soil variety and irrigation facilities the cropping patterns differed from place to place in the region. So it **is** interesting to study the **intra** regional variations in the soils and what were the soil varieties in different taluks of **Masulipatnam**.

Though the two major river systems of Krishna and Godavari which enveloped the **Masuliptanam** region were not of great importance to the region **in** the pre **anicut** period in matters of irrigation, they **did** provide fertile **soil** **in** certain tracts of the district. The river systems combined **with** the existing artificial irrigation sources **like** tanks and canals played an important role **in** the agricultural needs of the economy.

### **Soil Varieties :**

There was a wide variety of soils in Masulipatnam region ranging from the most fertile to the Sandy ones near the coast **line**. The three taluks of Bandar, **Pedanah**, and Divi bordering on the sea and there was a broad strip of Sandy villages situated in these taluks **all** along the coast. The greater portion of the district consisted of Red or Black Cotton **soil**. On the northern

side it stretched out to the North East through the **Kolleru** lake and **Eluru** taluks and as it gradually approached the **hills** was mixed **with** Sandy Red **soil** produced **from** their degradation.<sup>4</sup>

On the North West, the **Nuzvidu** Zamindari and especially Bezwada and Jaggiahpet taluks had Red Sandy soil as these taluks bordered on the neighbouring hills. But **in** the extreme South that is in **Divi** sand was largely mixed **with** the alluvial deposits of the Krishna river which not only improved the soil but changed its character making the stiff clay of lighter consistency and more easy for the plough.

But the large expanse of Regada was not equally fertile throughout. The best Regada for dry crops existed **in** parts of Gudivada. It was of a dark colour and consequently had the valuable property of absorbing and retaining moisture. A dark **soil** radiated the heat much quicker than a light coloured one. The clay soils would absorb the dew a long **time** before the Sandy soils and thus would sustain vegetation while the crops in a Sandy soil might be languishing for want of moisture.<sup>6</sup>

But the best Regada for wet crops was of a lighter colour and consistency and was mostly to be found **in** the lower parts of Bezwada and Eluru. As the Regada approached the Sand on one side and the Red soil on the other it deteriorated and the inferior Regada was found through out Bandar, Pedanah lower parts of Gudivada, **Kaikalur**, **Gundagolanu**, north of Eluru and the western

portion of **Bezwada near** the Krishna river, **Nandigama** and the lower part of Jaggiahpet.<sup>7</sup>

However the best and the most productive soils were the alluvial series which were widened in breadth towards the mouth of the river. For example, the Divi delta was favourably situated by nature to receive the deposit from the water. The next in line for their riches and fertility were the garden lands which were commonly found in and around the villages.

The other varieties like the Red Series were found on the northern part of the district consisting of a loose Sandy consistency. Sandy soils bordering the sea coast were the last ones in the point of fertility.

Thus the soils and climate of the region favoured the cultivation of great variety of crops. As mentioned above, the cropping pattern was mainly based on the **soil** variety. For instance, **the** Black soils were generally cropped **with Cholum** and Cotton. **The** Red soils were chosen for the cereal crops mainly, though other crops were also produced. The Gray soils were regarded as the inferior variety in terms of soil fertility. Hence they were usually cropped with Varagu, Korra, and inferior Kambu, and **Cholum**.<sup>8</sup>

## AGRICULTURAL METHODS AND TECHNOLOGY

The soil was mainly categorized into three groups depending mainly on the requirement of irrigation facilities. They were dry lands, wet lands, and garden lands, which corresponded to Telugu terms of Metta, Pallamu, and Thota.<sup>9</sup> Some times there were wells which gave limited but reasonably guaranteed quantity of water. Lands with well irrigation were used mainly for fruit trees and vegetables and were called garden lands.

The main crop on the wet lands was Paddy. In Masulipatnam several varieties of Paddy were grown like Rajanalu, Chittimutyalu, Akkullu, Ramasagaralu, Kusumalu, Krishnaneelalu, Sivani-lalu. The dry crops were various pulses, Ragi, Cholum, Kambu, Cotton, and Indigo. The garden crops included Betelnut, Betel leaf, Tobacco, Vegetables, Fruits, and Chillies.<sup>10</sup>

Sometimes the lands were generally grouped under five categories - Pallapu lands that is those which produced mainly Paddy; Metta lands, which were exclusively cropped with Jonna; Meraka lands which produced other dry grains; Jareeb lands producing garden crops like Tobacco, Chillies, Turmeric, Garlic, Onion, and Sun hemp. The last one was lands having Phala vrukshalu or<sup>11</sup>

fruit trees. However the classification was not strictly followed. Often dry grains were cultivated with the aid of artificial irrigation, while wet crops depended solely on rainfall.

The land revenue assessment varied in wet, dry and garden lands. For instance, tables 5.1. 5.2. 5.3, 5.4. show the amount of land under cultivation in wet, dry, and garden lands and rate per acre in three villages in Nunestalam pargana and also the revenue assessment in Devarakota and Gollapalli parganas. They were assessed differently, one at a highest rate, the other at a medium rate and another at lowest rate. For example the villages of Vaduru and Pavuluru were assessed at the highest rate.

**Table ; 5.1**  
**Village Statistics of Vaduru and Pavuru**

Dry land	Extent of land in acres	Amount of Revenue MRs.	Rate per Acre MRS.
1. Waraput	1,234-32	2,569-15-8	1-14-8
2. Tirwaput	114-52	552-12-5	1-14-4
wet land	1-52	18-6-0	10-5-4
Garden land			
Tobacco	29 3/4	19-14-0	26-10-8
Chillies	4-9 1/4	71-15-0	17- 0-5
Chilagadam	2 1/4	0 -2-0	2- 5-6

**Source** : Compiled from Collector E. Roberts letter Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 18.4.1826. PBOR, v. 1061, p. 5824.



Table : 5.2

Revenue Assessment in **Kanumolu** village

Nature of Land	Extent of Land in Acres	Amount of Revenue Rs.	Rate per Acre Rs.
<b>Tirwaput</b>	157- 16 5/4	252- 8-0	1-11- 1
Wet lands	<b>261-</b> 0	1,122-14-8	4- 4-10
Garden land			
Tobacco	5- 55	85- 1-5	22- 5-10
Nutcheny and <b>Mokka</b> Jonna	5- 1/2	10- 0	5- 5- 9

Source : Compiled from Collector E.Roberts letter Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 18.4.1826, PBOR, v. 1061, p. 5824.

Table : 5.3

Revenue Assessment in Teryer Nyanavaram in **Nunestalum** Pargana

Dry land	Extent of land in acres	Amount of Revenue MRs .	Rate per Acre MRs.
<b>1. Waraput</b>	144-56	224- 6- 6	1- 8- 9
<b>2. Tirwaput</b>	64-14	71- 7- 0	1- 1- 9
wet land	9-56	32- 9- 0	5- 4- 7
Garden land			
Tobacco	<b>-38</b>	16- 14- 0	17-12- 5
<b>Chillies</b>	1- 21 3/4	18- 7- 9	11-14- 9

Source : Compiled from Collector E.**Roberts** letter **Masulipatnam** district to the BOR, 18.4.1826, PBOR. v. 1061. p. 3824.

Table &gt; 5.4

## Revenue Assessment in Devarakota and Gollapalli Parganas

Dry land	Extent of land in acres	Amount of Revenue MRs.	Rate per Acre MRs.
1. Waraput	1.665-27	7,936- 2- 6	4-12- 5
2. Tirwaput	60-21	478- 8- 9	7-14- 6
wet land	73-23	191- 6- 7	2 - 9 - 7
Garden land			
Tobacco	10-25 1/4	557- 7- 0	51- 6- 1 1/2
Chillies	- 11 5/4	5- 7- 0	11-11- 5
Sown Hemp	- 6 1/2	0- 7- 6	2-12- 4
Nutcheny and Mokka Jonna	5-59	33- 7- 0	5- 8-11

**Source :** Compiled from Collector E.Roberts letter Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 18.4.1826, PBOR, v. 1061, p. 5824.

A particular village raised a variety of crops and depending on the soil variety one particular crop was produced more and some less. For instance in the Kondapalli Haveli in the village of Kowloor crops like Paddy, Jonna, Senagalu, Amudalu, Cotton, Pesalu, Ulavalu, Kandulu, Valavadam, Minumu, Mokka Jonna and 12 certain garden crops were raised. But among them it was Jonna that was produced extensively. Table 5.5 shows the crop varieties and quantity of land cultivated under each crop in Cowloor village in 1800.

**Table : 5.5**

**Extant of Cultivated land under each Crop**

S.No.	Crops	Quantity of Land under cultivation
		C- V- P
1.	Paddy	38- 13-0
2.	Jonnalu	258- 0-0
5.	Senagalu	2- 2-0
4.	Amudalu	3 - 0-0
5.	Cotton	7 - 4 - 0
6.	Pesalu	6 -10-0
7.	Ulavavalu	4 -12-0
8.	Kandulu	6 -14-0
9.	Valavadum	0 - 8-0
10.	Minumulu	1 - 6 - 0
11.	Mokkajonna	4 -1 - 0
12.	Garden Produce	10- 0 -0

Source : Compiled from the village officials account of Cowloor village, 10.11.1800, MDR, v. 2998, p. 21

**Dry** grain cultivation: The principal dry grains were **Ragi**, **Cholam**, and **Varagu**. They consisted the chief ingredients in the food of the poor classes in the region and were cultivated commonly. The cultivation of the crops was **comparatively** easy and inexpensive, for they occupied the ground for barely a few months and did not require much water. The monsoon rains were **sufficient** to bring them to maturity.

15

Jonna, as mentioned earlier, was the staple crop in the region. It was five months crop and was grown at different seasons throughout the year in various districts. But the major crop was

sown in October and November and was reaped in March. It was sometimes raised as a second crop on dry lands after the Castor or Varagu. The Jonna crop did not need much ploughing and hence the fields which had been well ploughed the previous year were selected and after a slight preparation the seed was sown. The seasonal rains were mostly sufficient for its cultivations as **it** required little water.

14

#### Wat grains - Paddy

Of the most important cereals cultivated in the region Paddy was one. Among the different varieties the superior sorts of Paddy took a longer **time** to ripen and were cultivated only in the best soils. But the coarser varieties which could be harvested in three to five months were the ones which were commonly grown. The crop **is** adjudged as the superior or inferior variety based on the timing of **its** sowing. for example the best varieties of Paddy were transplanted from 15th August to 8th September **while** the grains transplanted between September and October were termed as late crop or second sort.

15

The same was the case **with** other varieties of grain also. If Jonna. **Tamedy** and **Nalla** Pesara were sown from 9th September to 4th December the produce was called the early crop and also the good crop. But if these grains were sown after 4th till 17th October then only inferior varieties were sown as they were raised as second crops.

16

Generally three modes of **raising** paddy were **distinguishable**: the dry seed, the sprouted, and the transplanted. In the first **method** the seed was sown in the Paddy fields straight away and the expenses were low. But **correspondingly** the produce was also less.<sup>17</sup>

In the sprouting system, the seeds were steeped in water **till** they germinated and were then transplanted to the field. In the third method, the seeds were sown in **well** prepared nursery beds and after the seedlings were several days old they were transplanted **in** the field. Under this system the nursery beds were ploughed several times and richly manured. Water was let **in** at regular intervals and weeding was frequently done. After a month Paddy was transplanted to the field.<sup>18</sup> Thus wet cultivation was very labour consuming and incurred heavy expenditure also when compared **with** dry grains. But the third system of Paddy cultivation seemed to be absent **in** Masulipatnam region and Paddy was largely cultivated by the **transplantation** methods.<sup>19</sup>

**Cotton Cultivation** : The Company took great interest in the cultivation of Cotton. Several experiments were carried on to introduce new Cotton varieties like Bourbon, **Tinnevelly**, and American suitable to the region. Farms were set up and the Company employed officials from time to time to experiment. But Cotton was not extensively cultivated **in** the region.<sup>20</sup>

The cultivation of Cotton involved great labour and expense. Seed **was** not sown in the monsoon months as the shoots perished from over moisture. April and May were also not suitable for the cultivation of Cotton due to excessive heat. So excluding these four months the culture of Cotton was done in any of the remaining eight months of the year. The Cotton cultivation was carried on in both nunjah and punja lands either by means of artificial  
21  
irrigation or assisted by monsoons.

The sowing of seeds in cultivation of Cotton was also an expensive process. Generally in each hole **five** seeds were sown, and when they had shooted fourth, two or three shoots only were  
22  
allowed to remain and the rest were plucked off. Perhaps the expenses involved **in** the cultivation must have dissuaded the not so substantial ryots with little land to take up cultivation of Cotton. **However**, the government provided certain incentives and  
23  
encouraged Cotton cultivation **in** the region.

When the shoots had grown one or two spans high the space left between them was ploughed and all the plants out of the **line** or growing too close from each other were cut off. The second or third year after the growth of the plant around fifteenth December and fifteenth January, **all** tender branches were lopped off leaving the more **ripe** boughs and the trunk to remain and the  
24  
ground was **properly** turned up and ploughed.

Cotton cultivated in both wet and dry lands, was required to be watered during the height of the hot season, and in the period when strong winds blowed. But at the same time the ground had to be allowed to dry well between the interval of each watering for if repeatedly watered when the ground was still moist, the berries would rot.

25

Generally in Cotton cultivated lands mixed cropping was practiced. The ground selected for the cultivation of the Cotton was divided into four portions. One was planted with Cotton, two with dry grains and the other portion was generally left fallow. After the first or the second year one half of the portion was left fallow. In the fourth year the remaining moiety of the portion left fallow was cultivated. Thus the cultivation every year should be one portion Cotton, two portions dry grains, and one portion fallow.

26

In the principle of crop rotation the land cultivated with Cotton was always cultivated with dry grains and the land in which dry grains were cultivated were divided into two portions, one to be cultivated with Cotton and the other to be left fallow, thus causing every year a regular succession of cultivated and fallow land.

27

## Costa of cultivation

Table 5.6 shows costs of cultivation in both wet and dry crops in the district of Northern Circars.

**Table : 5.6**

### Cultivation Expenses in Northern Circars

Districts	Crop	Cost of cultivation			Assessment			Value of produce			profit		
		R	A	P	R	A	P	R	A	P	R	A	P
<b>Vizag</b>	Paddy	9-14-	0		14-	0-	9	30-	9-	9	6-2-	0	
Masulipatnam	Paddy												
	Black	4-15-	0		4-	6-	9	10-14-	10		1-	9-	1
	White	4-9-	8		7-13-	8		19-5-	11		6-14-	7	

Source : **Compiled** from A Sarada Raju, Economic conditions in the Madras presidency 1800-1850, Madras. 1941, p. 73

The costs of cultivation included the hire for the ploughs and bullocks if they were hired, the value of seed grain, irrigation expenses, cost of manure, and some times labour charges, that is labour hired for ploughing, sowing, weeding, and transplanting. The costs of cultivation generally differed from district to district due to variations in costs and also due to differences in methods followed. It is evident from table 5.6 that the cultivation of white Paddy in Masulipatnam was by far the most profitable, the net return being about 50% of the total charges. The costs of cultivation were not very high and hence the large yield must be due to the superiority of the soil.



## Rotation of crops

Crop rotation was followed and the principle of not overstraining the resources of the soil also seem to have been understood by the cultivators in the region. The cultivators were also well aware of the crop combinations. Generally a crop requiring little nourishment succeeded an exhausting crop. Leaving the soil fallow was another common method in the case of inferior soils.

28

Tab la : 5.7

### Rotation of Crops in Practice

Lands	First crop	Crop cultivated in rotation
Wet lands	Kusuma	
Dry lands	Sajja	Minumu
	Korra	Bobbarlu
	Gingeli oil seeds	Tamedy
	Jilama Paddy	Senaga
	Budama Paddy	Senaga
	Nutcheny	Janumu

**Source :** G.N.Rao, 'Changing Conditions and Growth of Agricultural Economy in the Krishna and Godavari districts 1800-1890', Ph.D thesis, Andhra University, (1977). Appendix-10, p.26.

In the rotation of crops certain crops were known **as** recuperative and others as exhaustive. Tobacco was usually followed by dry grains or gram and Cotton was hardly ever raised on the same land <sup>29</sup> **consecutively**. Mixed cropping was really a variation of the principle and **it** was a practice which further secured the cultivation against possible loss due to inclemency of season for even if one crop was lost the other would remain. These principles were so common that they almost formed part of traditional **prognostications** like Goddu **pairu** veyaradu (a single crop should not be sown >, and aithe **arika** kakunte **Kandi**, **dunni** **challithe** senaga (if harvested arike or Kandi and if ploughed and sown <sup>30</sup> Senaga). Frequently a cereal crop and a leguminous one were sown together and the latter crop continued on the ground after the former was reaped.

Under the pedda crop or great crop, along **with** Jonna which was sown **in** August and September, generally **Kandulu**, **Pesalu** or **Alasandalu**, were sown. The three kinds of crops sown **did** not interfere with one another as they were reaped at different times and were different in their nature. The Jonna crop was reaped in January when the Kandi was about a yard **high**. Each crop was sown **in** separate rows, so that one crop could be cut from between <sup>31</sup> **other**.

Black Paddy, the **Jilama** and **Budama** varieties which were usually sown in July were often sown with **Kandulu**. Black Paddy was reaped in November whereas the other two crops were harvested in October.

32

The other crop **Mokkajonna** was sown both as **Punasa** and **Paira** crop. Tsode was sown as **punasa**, **pedda** and **paira** crops in July, September and April. The tsode crop under **punasa** and **pedda** was sown in dry land and under **paira** the same crop was sown in garden lands.

The crops were sown under three heads. In an agricultural year three crops were raised. The first was **punasa**, that is the early crop. Under this, in **Masulipatnam**, generally **Mokka Jonna**, **Korra**, **Nuvvulu**, **Sajja** and **Ragi** were grown. The second was the **pedda** crop that is the great or the main crop. The crops grown were **Van**, **Kandi**, **Pratti**, **Cholum**, **Pesalu**, **Alasandulu**, **Indigo**, and **Black Paddy**. The third one was **pyra** or the late crop. A great variety of pulses like **Mokka Jonna**, **Ragi**, **Senagalu**, **Ulavalu**, **Minumulu**, **Anumulu**, **Bobbarlu**, **Amudalu**, **Mirapa**, **Pogaku**, and **Avalu** were grown.

33

From the seasons of sowing and harvesting it was observed that the **pedda** crop stood alone, but lands cultivated with a **punasa** crop were ready to receive a **paira** crop afterwards. But the **pedda** crop yielded the largest produce but it was inferior to

the joint out turn of the punasa and paira crop. The punasa and paira crops generally needed richer grounds than the pedda crops.  
54

The punasa crops were sown with the first rains in June. The great crop generally commenced before the end of September and the pyra crops mainly dependent on the moisture in the soil were commonly sown in November and December after the North East monsoon rains.  
55

In Masulipatnam also as else where in the Northern Circars, the cultivating operations generally commenced with mrigasira pravesam that is the beginning of monsoon around 5th or 6th of June. The traditional practice in the region was that the cultivators started their agricultural operations for the year with Yeruvaka, an invocation ceremony. The cultivators generally performed puja to the agricultural implements and gods before commencing cultivation. For this the head ryot usually led the bullocks to the fields followed by other9. The various agricultural operations which commenced with the North West monsoons generally continued till December.  
56

Tillage occupied an important role in the cultivation. Before sowing seeds for any crop the land was ploughed in various directions and the number of times a particular type of land was to be ploughed differed from place to place and also from crop to

crop. For instance, in Gundur pargana, in the low lands, for Paddy varieties land **was** ploughed four times, whereas **in** the **high** lands for Ulavalu, **Senagalu**, the ground was ploughed five times whereas for Chayroot **it** was done fifteen times. For Tobacco and **Chollu** land was ploughed eight times. In the case of other garden crops like Onions, Garlic, and dry crops **like Amudalu**, **it** was ploughed six times. The less number of times ground was ploughed only for Ulavalu, Kusumalu, that **is** two times followed by Pesalu and Jonnalalu in which case **it** was ploughed at least thrice.

57

The plough that was **in** use in **Masulipatnam** was a very simple wooden instrument with only a little **iron** at the tip. This plough only stirred the soil and **it** seldom penetrated deep **into** the soil.

38

Several contemporary accounts opined that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the agricultural methods used in India were extremely defective and were based largely on custom and **superstition**. The implements of cultivation were considered to be last word **in** crudeness and **inefficiency**. The application of manure was defective and irrigation was inefficient. As far as the rotation of crops was concerned the principle was little known and imperfectly practiced while seed selection **was** **seldom** or never attempted.

59

But these features of agriculture **traditionally** looked upon as the general parameters for its backwardness were linked to the entire production as a **whole**, so could not be assessed individually. The agricultural implements were sufficiently diversified and generally they catered to the needs of cultivators in the region. There were special implements for every agricultural operations and for various kinds of soils. For instance, **in** the Ceded districts the Black Cotton **soil** was cultivated with heavy plough drawn sometimes by **five** to **six** bullocks. But **this** was unknown **in** Masulipatnam and Guntur regions. On the wet lands the commonly used plough was the smallest. Besides these, there were several other varieties of agricultural implements like **Nagali**, **Gorru**, **Moieties**, **Goddali**, **Gandra goddali**, and Iron hoops which were commonly used **in** the region.

40

The actual operation of seed sowing was performed either by broadcasting the seed by hand or by using the drill. Where land was either too wet or was not cultivated commonly before, the seed was sown **with** hand. But sowing by gorru was more economical than sowing by hand, because **in** the former method little grain was needed. For instance, **in** Masulipatnam district **in** the taluk of **Six** Islands there was difference **in** the quantity of seed needed for each cutty of land. Table 5.8 shows quantity of seed needed for different crops sown with gorru and with hand **in** a **cutti** of good land.

41

**Table : 5.8**

Quantity of **Seed** required for one cutty of good land for Various Crops

Name of the Crops	Quantity of seed to be sown in one cutty of good land			
	Sown with hand		Sown with gorru	
	M	S	M	S
1. Valavadam	6	- 0	4	- 0
2. Jonnalalu	3	- 0	2	- 20
3. Varagulu	3	-20	3	- 0
4. Arragalu	3	-20	3	- 0
5. Korralu	3	- 0	2	- 20
6. Mentulu	5	- 0	4	- 20
7. Danialu	3	- 0	2	- 20

**Source** : Read Collector, Masulipatnam district to **William Petrie**, **BOR**, 10.11.1800, **MOR**, v. 2998, p.112

It had frequently been asserted that certain production decisions of **farmers** in India were governed chiefly by the custom of the country on certain traditional **prognostications** about the weather. Several scholars seem to have attributed backwardness of Indian agriculture to traditional beliefs. According to **Misra**, prevalence of custom, tradition and sometimes superstitions narrowed down **individualism** and subordinated personal initiative and competitive spirit.<sup>42</sup> **Bhattacharjee** characterized **Indian** agriculture as a world of **relationships** and behaviour<sup>43</sup> fashioned by traditions and environmental uncertainty.

But even many of these traditional prognostications about weather and sowing operations were well judged forecast rules. They corresponded roughly to the timing of monsoon and specific soil varieties which suited specific crops. So these traditional sayings had some relevance scientifically. But the cultivators who followed these rules might not have been aware of the principle behind them. The cultivators generally followed them as the age old sayings and believed that any digression from them resulted in a disaster or a crop failure.

It was believed rain fall during some of the nakshatras was good for certain crops. The rainfall during each of the nakshatra periods affected crops differently. Paddy sowing operations in kanya and rohini kartes were regarded as inauspicious. The proverbs 'kanyalo challithe kanuguntalok<sup>1</sup> ravu', (if sown in Kanya it is not even enough to be a mote in the eye) and 'rohini<sup>44</sup> vittuta Rotilo vitthute' (sowing in Rohini is like sowing in the grinding stone) indicate these.

Generally certain kartes were not suitable for sowing. 'Mala punanama mundu Madiga vadaina challadu', (even a Madiga will not sow before Mala Punnama), 'pubbalo challina budida lo challina okate', (sowing in Pubba is like sowing in the ashes), Hastene karte lo challithe akshinthala kaina ravu', (if sown in Hastina even a handful of grain will not be produced). These proverbs generally served as indicators to the ryots regarding the suitable



bility of the season to different crops. These rules were generally observed by the cultivators.

Certain kartes moreover were regarded as inauspicious to certain crops. The Proverb kruthikalo vithuthe kuthukalu nindavu (if sown in Kruttika even a morsel of food would not be produced), indicates that krithika karte was bad period for sowing of Jonna, But there were certain other traditional sayings which indicate favourability of a particular karte to a particular crop like 'uttara padunu ulavaku adunu' (Uttara karte is good for Uluva crop).<sup>46</sup>

In the same manner it was believed that each caste had a favourable karte. For instance, utara was regarded as that of the Vellalars. This perhaps coincided with the peak of the agricultural seasons, whereas Bharani was for the Madigas.<sup>47</sup>

There were several sayings for each of the agricultural operations indicating to the ryots that a particular agricultural operations had to be done at a particular time. Speaking of the commencement of the rains in June and starting of the agricultural operations the traditional saying, goes if there be drizzle in mrigasiram it will make even an old bull bellow' Pushyami aslesha and Makha were commonly regarded as hectic seasons for agriculture.<sup>48</sup>

Normally it was expected that cultivators based their cultivating decisions on the actual availability of effective rainfall during the sowing period, and again the amount of rain water available during the growth period of the crops.<sup>49</sup> Indicating the good rains and hence a good season the customary sayings indicate that if there be lightning and thunders **in magham it** was taken as a certain **sign** of an oncoming good season. Another proverb suggests that if **magham** thunders even the dry stalk on the **wall** coping would yield fruit. But if there were no rains during kartes of **makha** and **pubba** it was an indication to the ryots of a coming famine. One of the proverbs suggests that failure of **rain** in **Magham** and **pubba** forebodes a famine but **it did** not rain even then **it** was best to emigrate **with** your basket.<sup>50</sup>

It is interesting to note that these traditional prognostications more or less coincided **with** the general rules of the agricultural seasons.<sup>51</sup> These rules which were framed with conventional wisdom of the cultivators were however framed with great experience and in the rural setup in the absence of scientific and modern decision making **rules**, these acted as a sort of yardstick to the ryots in their day to day agricultural operations.

In the rural **structure**, various groups of cultivators interacted with each other closely and certain amount of interdependence among the cultivating groups in their day to day agricul-

tural operations was an essential feature in any agrarian economy. For instance, the cultivators who possessed only one plough definitely had to take the assistance of others in the agricultural operations as he could not hire labour or extra ploughs.

The process of fallowing required that the soil should be frequently turned up and the more quickly it was done the better would be the produce. The unassisted exertions of the single cultivator protracted the work so long that the first furrows were obliterated before the completion of the entire field. and the part first ploughed was again covered with weeds. Not only for this but for several other reasons as well the assistance was required. Throughout all the remaining stages of the work, help was needed because as the plough which turns up the earth must be followed by the drill as that again must be immediately succeeded by the harrow to cover the seed with mould. For all these not only technical assistance but even individual labour was also needed for the reaping, threshing, and removal of the harvest. In Masulipatnam region what was the common practice existing in the region? How was the poor ryot supported? Was there a sort of exchange of labour?

Generally the poor cultivator with a single yoke assisted in the cultivation of another and in return received the aid of his neighbours ploughs and servants for the cultivation of his own lands. As the obligations were reciprocal each one's crop re-

mained their own property and no further recompense was expected by either party.<sup>55</sup> The communal labour or its organizations seemed to be in existence at least among the poor cultivators. Though communal land holding was not common, practices like exchange of labour were common. As these agricultural operations were so elaborate and labour intensive they could not be done alone. Even a tiny bit of land needed all the trouble and may be it was one of the reasons why the cultivation of small holdings was unprofitable and hence joint holdings were still in existence.

Rather than the brotherhood feeling it was their economic necessity that bound the cultivators together and use one another's services in agricultural operations as the hiring of labour was expensive.

In Masulipatnam region maximum number of ploughs belonging to an individual might be reckoned at ten and the minimum at three. But generally most of the ryots possessed two. A double plough was altogether unknown in this region. The cultivation was usually carried on by a single yoke. If the cultivator had a second pair, then a fresh pair was used in the noon to avoid<sup>54</sup> exertion and pressure.

For instance, a ryot who had two ploughs would cultivate one cutti of dry land and this in a favourable year produced 4

puttis and <b>10</b> tooms of Jonnalu or other grain. Value of 4 puttis	
and <b>10</b> tooms of Jonnalu at 22 MPs. per putty was	99- 0- 0
Deduct <b>circar's</b> share (which was half	
<b>usually)</b>	49- 8- 0
	<hr/>
Ryot's share	49- 8- 0
Deduct <b>darbari</b> charges or 4 puttis of Jonnalu	
at 2 <b>MPs.</b> per putty	9- 0- 0
Deduct Nazar at 5 MPs. per cent	1- 8- 0
Batta to Mahasuldars and Anchanadars	8- 0- 0
	<hr/>
	18- 8- 0
	<hr/>
What remains to the Ryots	<b>31-</b> 0- 0
Deduct charges of cultivation	
Value of 2 1/2 <b>tooms</b> of Seed grain	3- 0- 0
Subsistence to 2 labourers for 6 <b>months</b> at	
1 seer of Jonnalu per diem	10-12- 0
<b>2 Kambalis</b>	0- 8- 0
Charges incidental to the replacing of Cattle	
one year with another wear and tear of ploughs	21- 4- 0
Balance in favour of the Ryots	9-12- 0
In Paddy lands	
<b>8 puttis</b> grain value at 28 <b>MPs/Putti</b>	160- 0- 0
Deduct Circars shares	80- 0- 0
	<hr/>

Ryot's share	80- 0- 0
Deduct <b>Darbari</b> charges at <b>Rs. 1 1/2/putti</b>	12- 0- 0
Nazrana at <b>3%</b>	2- 6- 6
<b>Mahsuldars</b> charges at <b>16%</b>	12-12- 6
	<hr/>
	27- 3- 0
	<hr/>
Remaining with the Ryot	52-13- 0
Deduct charges of cultivation	Rs - A- P
4 <b>tooms</b> of seed grain at 20 <b>MPs./Putty</b>	4- 0- 0
Substance of 2 slaves for 6 months at 2 seers of paddy each per diem	18- 0- 0
Seed value at 20 <b>MPs./putti</b>	0-18- 0
2 <b>Kambalis</b>	1- 0- 0
127 planters at the average rate of 30 men for every <b>toom</b> sown	10- 8- 0
charges incidental to the replacing of buffalo one year with another (wear & tare of	8- 0- 0
<b>ploughs</b>	1- 0- 0
	<hr/>
	42- 8- 0
	<hr/>
what remained with the Ryot	10- 5- 0

**Source** : Russell Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, **20.3.1820**,  
**PBOR**, v.852, pp.3050-3052.

Thus not much was left to the cultivator's share. This amount in the context of his family maintenance was very meager. The following family expenditure of an average peasant family would show how much was needed for the bare minimum existence, without any expenses towards social occasions in the event of which the cultivators were left in the grip of the money lenders.

For **instance**, an average peasant family consisted of five persons the **ryot**, his wife, two children and a female relation the daily consumption of grain could not be estimated at less than 4 seers. Considering that the usual staple food of the average peasant **families** was **Jonna** they needed at least 1 **putti** and a half for a year's consumption. The price of that (jonnalalu) **being 33 MPs**. Thus the required amount of grain alone costed <sup>55</sup> more than the surplus which remained with the ryot.

According to the account of the Collector of Masulipatnam **the** plough itself afforded little towards his support and without **the** right to graze his cattle in common pasture grounds and cultivate pumpkins in backgrounds he could not subsist. A single she buffalo alone would yield him **Rs. 8** per annum in ghee and the profit he derived from this source added to the labours of his women enabled him to procure the necessaries of life. But even these aids would not always afford him the means of subsistence and for 2 or **3** months of the year the fruit from his Pumpkin

garden mixed up **with** butter **milk** on a very small proportion of  
56  
**meal was the daily** diet of the cultivator's family.

During the period **1750-1850**, in Masulipatnam region customs and traditions were at work in the agrarian practices and agricultural production **like in** other spheres. They played a major role and influenced the decision **making** of the cultivators and sometimes also wrapped the peasants **in** a web of **superstitions**. The cultivating technologies of the region **in** the pre anicut period did show a great variation in terms of its nature.



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## 6.SOCIAL WORLD OF THE CULTIVATORS

The Social structure of the agrarian community of the region as else where in the Circars was heterogeneous and complex. It consisted of several layers with several castes playing an important role in maintaining and preserving it intact with their own customs and traditions. These customs in turn determined or maintained the differences between various castes. The presence of cultivating groups was common every where unlike the artisanal groups who were mostly clustered in specific geographical locations. This omnipresence of the cultivators is not surprising, given the predominance of agriculture as a prime rural occupation and it found expression even in the popular proverbs like 'Rajuleni Rajyam Kapu Leni Gramam'(Kingdom without a King, Village without a Peasant).<sup>1</sup>

### Agrarian Castes and the Rural Structure :

In the Madras Presidency, the cultivators generally belonged to the Vellalar community.<sup>2</sup> The word Vellalan was derived from Vellanmai, vellam meaning water, annai is management, that is, cultivation or tillage. According to a legendary account, when a severe drought fell upon the land and when people prayed to Bhudevi for aid she had produced from her body a man carrying a plough who showed them how to till the soil and his offsprings were the Vellalars.<sup>5</sup> The term Vellalar was commonly used in the

records for the cultivators of Telugu districts or Northern Circars, though it did not represent the Telugu cultivating castes.

The Telugu counter parts of the Vellalars of Tamil origin were **Kammas, Kapus, Velamas, and Razus. Velamas** were often referred to as **Velamvars** and the Razus as Rachewars. Though all these were agricultural castes, not all castes were dominant in a particular region. For instance, Reddis who formed a division of the Kapus were the dominant agrarian caste of the ceded districts, whereas Razus were most commonly found in Visakhapatnam. Velamas were more common as **Zamindars** and as large estate owners in both Masulipatnam and Godavari districts. Generally claiming themselves as belonging to the military class and having a dominant position in the agrarian setup they never cultivated their lands on their own. Another caste which in spite of enjoying large Inam grants, never cultivated lands on their own was that of the Brahmins. Thus the region had cultivating castes like Kammas, Kapus, Rachewars, **Velamvars**, Brahmins, and to a small extent Muslims who were limited to only specific localities, in and around **Masulipatnam**.

4

As seen in the second chapter, the cultivating groups in the region were not homogeneous. They had several hierarchical gradations based not only on the economic strength of the group but on the prevailing local customs and traditions. For instance, in Masulipatnam as else where in the Northern Circars, as already noted, the cultivators were divided into two groups

Kadeem ryots and Payakarı ryots. The Kadeem ryots belonged to the Kamma caste as also the Ulcudi ryots. The Paracudis, the non resident cultivators who had come to the village to cultivate lands for a stipulated term of years might have belonged to various caste groups.

Besides these main cultivating groups, there were other castes whose presence was necessary in agricultural operations and who occupied the lowest rungs in the rural social structure. They were the Malas and Madigas. They were mostly the landless agricultural labouring groups and generally were employed on the fields of the dominant ryots as farm servants and seasonal labourers. But though both the groups were the lowest castes they still had their own gradations and even had different social customs which maintained their separate identity. Between the two groups also, Malas were mostly employed in agriculture and Madigas were attached to the cultivating groups for making agricultural implements though they were also employed as agricultural labourers.

#### **Kammas :**

Kammas, the main cultivating caste was divided into many sub sects. The sub sects were divided mainly based on the social practices and these differed from region to region. This in turn implied that the sub sects were not common through out the region

and each sect had its own strong holds. For example, in the Godavari region the Kavati sub division of the Kamma seemed to be predominant, whereas in Masulipatnam the Illuvellani and Pedda  
10  
Kamma sects were dominant.

The word Kamma in Telugu literally meant the ear ornament.  
11  
Many legendary accounts seemed to be in vogue regarding their origin. According to one account the rishis being troubled by Rakshasas applied to Vishnu for protection who in turn directed them to Lakshmi. The goddess gave them a casket containing one of her ear ornaments and enjoined them to worship it for a hundred years. At the expiry of the period, a group of five hundred armed warriors sprang up from the casket. They, at the request of the rishis, attacked and destroyed the demons. After this  
12  
they were directed to engage themselves in agriculture. Interestingly the story is common to both Kamma and Vellalar castes though the reasons for which the casket was worshiped differed in the two cases. Another story revolved around the Kakatiya king Pratapa Rudra, indicating that originally all the cultivating castes were one family and later on were divided into different castes. According to this account the ear ornament of the king Pratapa Rudra fell into the hands of an enemy whom a section of the Kapus boldly attacked and recovered the jewel and hence were given a title Kamma. Those who ran away became Vela-  
13  
mas.



According to another Oral tradition, originally, the Vellalar castes kept women confined to the domestic space, under the so called gosha. But as they got more involved in cultivation, the Vellalars needed the extra help that women could provide in agricultural operations. It was therefore determined to abandon the gosha custom so as to meet these needs. An agreement was drawn up on a palm leaf scroll and all the members were required to sign on it. But some abstained from signing. Those who signed were said to have become Kammas and those who declined to do so were Velamas or outsiders.

14

The Kamma caste was not a homogeneous one and was divided into several sub sects. Though they were not very prominent divisions they were mostly divided based on the existing practices of the region. Those who were Zamindars became Zamindari Kammas. In status and economic position, next to the Zamindari Kammas were Pedda Kammas. This group though economically not as powerful as Zamindars followed the same social customs as the Zamindars. Those who cultivated and lived as agriculturists were known as Chinna Kammas. These divisions were mainly based on the economic position of the groups.

15

There were certain divisions which were mainly based on the marriage customs and other social traditions. Those who brought the brides in the basket during the marriage were called Gampa Kammas. Those who did not allow their women to go out and work

in the fields were known as **Illuvellani Kmmas**. There were others like **Gampa chatu**, **Godachatu**, **Kuchi Kamma**, **Macha Kamma**, **Yedamapaita Kamma**, **Kudipaita Kmmas**.<sup>16</sup> But not all the sects were common in the region and these divisions also were again differed from district to district. For example in the Godavari district the sub sects in the Kamma caste were mainly derived from curious house hold customs deriving generally from traditional methods of carrying water. They were **Kavidi**, **Eredis**, **Gudas**, **Uggams** and **Rachas**. The **Kavitis** generally carried water pots on a **Kavidi**, the **Eredis** always on a pack bullock, **Uggams** in pots held in the hand and not on the hip or head. The **Racha** <sup>17</sup> **Kmmas** always carry water in a pot carried by two persons.

But generally the **Kmmas** inter dined with all the **Satsudra** castes. Originally among the sub sects marriages were not allowed as they were related closely. The minor differences between the sects were generally maintained on important occasions.<sup>18</sup> For instance, the **thalibottu** of the **Gampa Kmmas** was a concave **disc** of gold whereas that of the **Godas** was a large flat **disc**. In the marriages the bride price also seemed to have varied depending on the sect to which they belonged. It seemed <sup>19</sup> to have been the **highest** in the **Gampa** section of the **Kmmas**.

The **Kmmas** generally worshipped hero stones. Women commonly performed pujas like **Chata vayanamu** and **Pustedanamulu**. Some during the marriages go to worship the village deities walking on the wet clothes spread on their way.<sup>20</sup> **Kmmas** also had gotras

and house names. But these sometimes coincided with those of the Velamas also. Some of the common household names and gotras of the caste were - Addagada, Arekapudi, Yalamanchili, Katta, Kandi-bedala, Singamaneni, Viramachaneni, Velanki. Vallabhaneni, Vasireddi and gotras were like Kundutla, Vallutla, Vipparla, Thalluri, Sarijala, Kulukunalla, Dynolla, Puvvada.<sup>21</sup>

Kammas were both Vaishnavites and Shaivites. Most of the Shaivites were disciples of Aradhya Brahmanas and the Vaishnavites had gurus of Vaishnava Brahmanas and beside worship village deities like Draupadi, Manarsami, Gangamma, Ankamma, Peddavetiamma, were worshiped by Gampa chatu Kammas, whereas Godachatu Kammas worship Poleramma, Veikandlathalli and Padavetiamma.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps this was the reason why we do not have much evidence of right and left hand caste disputes involving Kammas as they belonged both to the Shaivite and Vaishnavite groups. Although there were these divisions, and some of them fell across the Right hand and the Left hand divide, we have little evidence of conflicts between these subdivisions, suggesting that the Kamma caste as such provided a cohesive link.

Thus Kammas formed one of the dominant and major agricultural caste of Masulipatnam. Their success as good cultivators and hard labouring groups was generally expressed through proverbs like 'Kamma vaani chetulu kattina nilavadu' (though you tie a Kamma's hands he will not sit quiet), 'Kamma vaallu koodite

kadama jaathulu vellunu' (if Kmmas come together other castes go out), 'Kamma vaariki bhoomi bhayapaduthundi' (the earth fears the Kmmas), 'Kammavarintlo Panditi Gunjalaku kuda Pani Chebutharu' (In the Kamma house holds even the pillar posts will also be given work).  
25

#### Razus :

Another cultivating caste was that of the Razus. Though they were predominant in Visakhapatnam and Godavari regions as dominant agriculturists and Zamindars of big estates like Peddapuram, Vijayanagaram, they were also common in the Masulipatnam region. The Razus had two prominent divisions among them. One was Konda Razus and another Bhu Razus. The Konda Razus were further divided into the following sections to which various Zamindars belonged like Kodu, Gaita, Muka, and Yenati sections. The Konda Razus were believed to be the hill chiefs who in course of time adopted the title Razu.  
24

They were regarded as the descendants of the military section of the Kapu, Kamma and Velamas. They always tried to maintain this distinction and be different from other cultivating castes in their social practices. At their weddings they worshipped a sword which usually denoted a soldier caste. They also use a string made of cotton and wool the combination peculiar to Kshatriyas during the weddings. They had endogamous subdivisions like Murikinati, Nandimandalam, and Suryavamsam.  
25

The Razus were mostly Vaishnavites and their priests were Brahmins. They wore the sacred thread and mostly followed, the customs of the Brahmins thus maintaining a distance from the other group of agriculturists and had Brahmanical gotras. They did not inter dine with other non Brahmin groups.<sup>26</sup> In the well to do families the females generally observed pardah to the extent that even during the marriage ceremonies they were not allowed to sit in the Pandal. During ceremonies special respect was shown to the families of Pusapati and Gottimukkala<sup>27</sup> generally.

#### Kapus :

Another important agricultural caste was that of the Kapus. Rather confusingly the term Kapu was commonly used also for the ryot or the cultivator and in some areas the term Pedda Kapu also meant the head of the village, because mostly the head ryots acted as village headmen.<sup>28</sup> This term was used, however to refer to Reddi and Baliya cultivators also. These were distinct from the Kapu caste, also a caste of Cultivators.

Kapus were again divided into several sub sects like Aka-nati, Palle, Panta, and Velanati. The Panta Kapus were said to be divided into Pedda Reddis and Katama Reddis. Reddy was the title of the Kapus and also the title by which the Village Munsif was called in the Telugu districts.<sup>29</sup> May be because of their

numerous sects the proverb came 'Redlaki vadiaki perlu cheppale-  
mu'(we cannot name the **reddis** and varieties of paddy). 58

**Kapus** like the **Kammas** were both **Vaishnavites** and **Shaivites**. Besides, they also worshipped a variety of deities like **Thallamma**, **Nagaramamma**, **Putlamma**, **Ankamma**, **Muneeswara**, **Poleramma** and **Oesamma**. 31

**Baliyas** though generally known as trading castes were also known to be cultivators. In their customs there was very little difference between the **Kapus** and **Baliyas**. The general name or title among the **Baliyas** was **Naidu**. The name **Baliya** was said to be derived from the Sanskrit **Bali** (sacrifice) and **ja** (born) signifying that the **Baliyas** owe their origin to the performance of a **Yagam**. The **Baliyas** also employed Brahmins and **Satanis** as their priests and **Gown** was their main caste deity. **Baliyas** had sub sects like **Gajula Baliya**, **Telagas**, **Musa Kammas**, **Jakkulas**, and **Adapapa**. In both these groups of **Jakkulas** and **Adapapas** it was customary for each family to give up one girl for prostitution. 32  
One particular ceremony performed by this caste before every auspicious occasion was **Parvati Puja** that is, the worship of their female ancestors. 33

**Velamas :**

**Velamas** were another cultivating caste of the **Masulipatnam** district. Most of the **Zamindari** estates in the region were held

by Velamas. The **Zamindars** of Nuzividu , **Charmahal** and **Mylavaram**  
54  
belonged to the Velama caste. There is a lot of controversy  
over who the Velamas were. According to one account, they were  
stated to belong to a **subdivision** of the **Baliyas**. Other accounts  
claim that they belonged to **Kammas** but were divided from them in  
consequence of the difference of opinion on the subject of the  
55  
gosha system among women of their castes.

Even among the Velamas there was division on the question of  
gosha, into **Adi** Velamas and **Padma** Velamas. The Velamas style  
themselves Telugu Vellalars not because of any connection between  
the two castes, but because they were at the top of the Telugu  
castes as the Vellalars were of the **Tamil** castes. Other impor-  
tant sub division of the castes were **Kapu**, Koppala, Padma, Ponne-  
**ti**, and Yanadi. The ancient Zamindari families of **Bobbili**, **Venka-**  
**tagiri**, **Pithapuram**, and Nuzividu belonged to the Racha Velama  
sect. Among women the practice of sat1 was prevalent. The social  
position among the chief cultivating castes in the region seemed  
to be as follows: Velamas were called Velama Doras and were fol-  
lowed by Kammas called as Karma varu and were followed by Kapus  
56  
who called simply Kapus without any title.

Though the above described groups formed the dominant sec-  
tion of the agrarian population there were two other castes who  
occupied the lowest social strata but whose presence was a must  
in agricultural operations, was that of the **Malas** and **Madigas**.  
Mostly these two castes were the landless agricultural labouring

groups. They were either employed on the farms of rich cultivator as farm servants or worked as daily wage labourers. They were the Pariahs of the Telugu districts. It had been suggested that the word Mala was derived from Maila or dirt. The Malas were almost equally inferior in position to the Madigas. They ate beef and were debarred entrance to the temples and were not allowed to use the general village wells. They served as their own Barbers and Washermen. In Masulipatnam there were pariah weavers in sizable number who wove coarse cloth mainly for local consumption. This was the case only with the Masulipatnam and Guntur regions and their presence was not noticed in other circles like Godavari and Visakhapatnam.

## Malas

Though both Mala and Madiga castes were inferior, they had gradations between them. Malas did not draw water from the same well used by Madigas and looked down upon them for they eat pork. Malas belonged to the right hand section. Malas did not eat food prepared or touched by the Kamsali, Medaras, Beri chettis, Boyas, Bhatraju or Madigas though these castes were much higher than the Malas in the social scale. Perhaps this was because they belonged to the left hand castes.

Malas had their own dancing girls, priests and also attached or dependent caste beggar. Usually in the village festivals



especially those of the village deities both the castes played a prominent role. The **Malas** did not wear leather shoes. If they were seen with them a fine was inflicted on them and the money was spent on drinks.<sup>42</sup>

Originally the **Malas** belonged, it was believed, to the **kudi-paita** section of the community that is their women wore the sari over the right shoulder but in course of time there were both **Kudi** and **Yedama paita** section among them. This custom was taken as the basis for the division among the **Malas**. The **Kudipaita** section was again divided into **Reddy Bhumalavaru** and the **Pokanativaru**. The **Yedamapaita** section was divided into **Arava**, **Kanta**, and **Murikinativaru**. But again in them there were divisions according to the religious faiths that is followers of **Shaivite** faith and **Vaishnavite** faiths.<sup>43</sup> Mostly it was these castes who were converted into **Shaivite** and **Vaishnavite** religions as those religions did not have caste barriers. Besides, **Malas** worshiped a variety of deities like **Gurappa**, **Subbarayudu**, **Gunnatadu**, **Sunkalamma**, **Poleramma**, **Gangamma**, and **Gontiyalamma**.<sup>44</sup>

#### **Madigas :**

**Madigas** were the leather working caste of the region and they corresponded to the **Chakkiliyans** of the **Tamil** origin. The **Madigas** belonged to the left hand caste and often quarrelled with the **Malas** regarding these rules. **Madigas** also had their own dancing girls dedicated to temples and she was called **Matangi**.<sup>45</sup>

According to one legend the head of Renuka the wife of sage Bhrigu was beheaded by her son in accordance with the sages order. The head which fell into the house of a Madiga grew up  
46  
into a Madiga woman.

The Madigas like Malas did not take food or water from pariahs. The main duty of the Madigas was cleaning and tanning of hides and the manufacture of crude leather articles, though they also worked as agricultural labourers. But they were not as common as Malas. This was revealed through proverbs like 'under the magali system of cultivation even a Madiga will grow good crops' and 'not even a Madiga will sow before Malapunnama'.  
47  
This also reveals Madigas hatred towards Mala community.

Generally the Madigas in the villages were attached to one or more families of cultivators. They made leather articles like sandal trappings for bullocks, large well buckets used for irrigation and were entitled to receive the dead animals from the cultivators. Usually they were paid in kind.  
48

The Madigas had the Panchayat or the tribal council system for the adjustment of disputes and settlement of various questions at issue among members of the community. The head man was called Pedda Madiga. The office of the Pedda Madiga was hereditary and generally he was assisted by two elected officers called Dharmakarta and Kulam bontrothu. The Madiga also like Malas

participated actively in the festivals of village deities in the village and also had dependent caste beggars like all other castes. The Madigas were Vaishnavites, Shaivites, and Sakteyas<sup>49</sup> and worshipped a variety of local deities beside these.

#### Muslims :

Another cultivating group was that of the Muslims. Though in a minority when compared with other cultivating castes they were found in some pockets in the region. Muslims of higher class held huge jagir lands and ruled the Circars as renters in the initial period of the Company rule. Certain other categories of Muslims like the Qazis also held Inam lands though in small quantities, and were a sizable number in Masulipatnam.<sup>50</sup>

The first Muslims in the district might possibly have been Arab traders at Masulipatnam. But in the fifteenth century Muslim soldiers were in the employment of Reddy Kings of Kondavidu<sup>51</sup> and of the kings of Vijayanagar. Muslims also had two sections among them called Shias and Sunnis. The great majority of the Muslims in the Masulipatnam district were orthodox Sunnis<sup>52</sup> and only few Shias were found at Masulipatnam.

The Muslims chiefly engaged themselves in trade, in cloth, indigo hides or cotton. But though they did not work on others' fields they cultivated their own fields. In Masulipatnam there<sup>55</sup> were many Muslims who held lands on Inam tenures as Qazis.

Perhaps as they did not have any caste restrictions like Brahmins to cultivate their own lands, they settled as cultivators. But this section formed a minority among other cultivating castes.

### **Castes and the Customs :**

Though the caste distinctions were very wide and distinct, still each caste in their social customs especially on ceremonial occasions had to depend on or interacted with several other castes. These castes always were inferior in the social hierarchy but still played a dominant role in the marriage or death ceremonies of the dominant groups. The agrarian castes of Masulipatnam were no exception to this. In the marriage and death ceremonies of Kammas, Kapus, Razus, Madigas and several others had a prominent role. Though several reasons were given for this as to whether the inferior groups helped the agrarian castes in earlier times or were told to depend on them, still it stresses the interdependence of several castes in the village system and also the caste ties among these groups.

Generally in almost all the Kamma, Kapu, Velama and Razu marriages Barbers pared the nails of the bridegroom and touch the nails of the bride. Like wise Chakali or washerman in the marriages of these castes tied a small wooden frame work called dhornam with cotton threads wound round it to the marriage pan-

dal. The Kapus proceed to the house of washermen with some food and gingely oil and bring the dhornam which was tied by him to the pandal. For this service the washermen were given certain quantity of Paddy. Like wise the Kapus visited the house of goldsmith for the bottu and the potter's house for marriage pots. Madigas gave a new pair of chappals to the bridegroom for which food was given to the Madigas placed in a basket on eleven leaves. In the Kapu families the Bhatraju tied the basingam on the forehead of the bridegroom and remained with him throughout the ceremony, whereas for the bride a Bhogam woman generally waited on the bride. Not only that, even on the marriage dais both the Bhatrajus and Bhogam woman accompanied the bride and the groom.

However these customs differ slightly with the sectarian differences among them. For instance, in the marriage of Panta Kapus the washerman dressed up as a woman heads the procession and kept on dancing and singing till the destination was  
56  
reached.

In the Kapu community generally women played an important role except in matters connected with agriculture. This was accounted for by a story to the effect that when they came from Ayodhya the Kapus brought no women with them. They were told to marry women who were the illegitimate issue of Pandavas and the women consented on the understanding that they were to be given

the upper hand and that menial service should be done for them for which they employed Gollas and Gamallas. Malas and Madigas  
57  
freely enter Kapus houses except the Kitchen.

In some sections of the castes Chakkiliyan played a prominent part in the marriages. He was deputed to ascertain the status of the other party before the match was arranged and his  
58  
dreams were considered as omens of its desirability. He was also honoured at the marriage by being given the first betel and nuts.

In the Velama marriages they always arranged for a Mala couple to marry before they had a marriage in their own house and they provided the necessary funds for the Mala marriage. They accounted the custom by a story to the effect that a Mala once allowed a Velama to sacrifice him in order to obtain a hidden treasure and this custom was observed out of gratitude for the discovery of the treasure.

Even during the death ceremonies the presence of some of the castes was a must. In the death ceremonies of the Kammas the food that was offered to the dead in the burial ground was first taken by the Pariahs followed by Barber, Washerman and other mendicant groups.  
60  
In the case of Kapus the news of a death in the community was conveyed by a Pariah and it was the Barber and  
61  
not the son who carried the water pot in the burial ground.

## The Dependent Caste Beggars:

The major cultivating castes in Masulipatnam who were prosperous and economically dominant in the village hierarchy and enjoyed high social status had various groups attached to them as dependent castes. These dependent castes or the caste beggars lived on the alms provided by the particular castes to which they were attached and their dependent status was continuously underlined by a variety of rituals which they performed in the houses of the respective caste groups. However, this feature was not conspicuous of only the cultivating castes. Each caste had supported a beggar caste and sometimes the beggars had two or three supporting castes. For instance, the Picchaguntalu were supported by Kammas, Kapus, and Gollas. Again legendary accounts were prevalent for their dependent status and also why each caste supported these groups. It is interesting to note that not only the dominant castes even lower castes like Malas and Madigas also had certain mendicant groups dependent on them. The practice which was common had reference in the literature speaking of their obnoxious presence under each caste.

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Jangala palu Devangula Vittambu

Kapu vittamu Pambakani palu

Baliija vittambu Pattedasari palu

Golla vittamu Pichagunta palu

Vyapari vittambu Varakantala palu

Kaliju vittamu Runjakani palu

Parajala pal Sistu karanala sommu

Gur jarula vittambu Taskarulu palu

It is interesting to observe that other agricultural castes like Razus and Velamas did not have any attached mendicant groups. The Kmmas and Kapus had caste beggars called Pichiguntalu. Baliyas patronized Patte Dasaris, whereas Madigas had Dakkali and Malas also patronized Mastiga besides Pambalas.

Apart from these groups there were several others like Sarada kandru, Viramushtis, Bhagavatars, Pusabaliyas, Birannalavaru, Suddulagollalu, Gangireddulavaru, Balasantavaru, Budabukkalavaru, Chindumadigas, Jogulavaru, Bavanilu, Jakkulavaru, Hakaru-<sup>63</sup> lu, Kommuvaru, Viravidyavantulu, Mastilu, Dakkalivaru.

But it is important to note that most of the names of these castes were derived from either the instruments they used or from the sounds the instruments produced. Almost all the caste beggars prepared the genealogies of their superior castes and sang the songs or the viragathas, the songs of the valiant in their castes and recited caste gotras and genealogies. They played an important role in the death ceremonies and also on other occasions. Perhaps these groups were maintained by the superior castes to sing their caste puranas and also to maintain minor sectarian differences or caste differences among the castes in their social customs and rituals. It was reported that some of



these caste beggars enjoyed land grants in the villages. The fact that these depended castes maintained and articulated caste genealogies and also constantly reiterated the differences between the different gotras, helped to reinforce the separate identities of the different sub sects.

### **Picchikuntlas :**

Picchikuntla or pitchukakuntla or bikshakuntla were the caste beggars of Kapu and Kamma cultivating castes. Reference was made to this group even in the literary text of Palkuriki Somanatha. From the statement "maaku veevanga chetulu levayya nadichi povanga kaallu levayya andhakulamayya pichhukaguntulamayya " it is evident that they were handicapped and the proverb "pichukaguntu pa1 brahmastramu" revealed their weakness and their handicap.<sup>64</sup> They mainly received alms from the above mentioned castes. They recited the genealogies and caste gotras of the Kapus. Among their popular songs were stories of Lakshamma, Kamamma, Balanagamma, Somanadri, Sadasiva Reddy, Parvalata Mallareddi.

Again among them there were sub sects like Golla, Telaga, Ganta, Turaka, Togaru, Manda, Thitthi. They generally did not inter marry among the sub sects. Their common gotras were Gante-duvaru, Bandaruvaru, Singamavaru, Pidamuvaru, Antugalavaru. They mostly follow Shaivite faith and Mallikarjuna was their main

deity. They also worshipped village deities like **Pochamma, Yellamma, Mallamma, Edamma.** Jangamas acted as their priests and  
65  
**gurus.**

The name **Pichigunta** literally meant an assembly of beggars. They were called **in** Telugu speaking districts as a class of mendicants who acted as herbalists and medicine men. Some of the **Pichaguntas** served the Vellalars **in** their fields and others lived  
66  
by begging.

#### **Pambalas :**

Another mendicant group was that of the **Pambalas** or drum people. They acted as musicians and caste **pujaris** at Mala marriages and festivals **in** honor of their deities. They also took part **in** the recitation of the story of Ankamma and put **muggu** at the death ceremonies of the **Gamallas.** This group was also known by the name of **Bavanilu** or **Baindla.** These names indicate the instruments of music they use. Their music instruments were called **Bavanika, Javanika** or **Pambas.** During the village festi-  
67  
**vals** they took part actively beating the drums and dance.

#### **Mastigas :**

Another group of mendicants were **Dakkalas** or **Mastigas.** **Dakkalas** generally beg from **Madigas** only. The **Dakkala** meant the

one who was brought to **life** from a vertebral column. Though they beg from **Madiga**s, they do not enter their households and females in the Madiga caste were not allowed to serve them food. **This** practice was followed to the extent that Madiga women **did** not tread on the foot steps of the **Dakkalas**.<sup>68</sup>

Mastigas was a caste dependent on the **Malas**. They were supposed to be the illegitimate descendants of the Malas. They also begged from Madigas and **Gollas** and were commonly known as Mala Masti**gas**.<sup>69</sup>

#### **Dasaris :**

**Dasaris** were another religious mendicant group. Generally there was a **Dasari** for every three or four villages. A few Dasaris had Inam lands but the majority lived on the charity of the people. They sang hymns in honor of Chennudu or **Peddamuni** and officiated as priests. Their services were mostly required at ceremonial occasions like marriages, deaths and the initiation of Basavis **into** profession.<sup>70</sup>

Thus each caste maintained a dependent caste. These dependent castes did special services to the castes to which they were attached **like** singing caste gotras and preparing their genealogies. Though the caste beggars played an important role in the ceremonial occasions they were inferior and this status was always distinctly maintained by the dominant castes.

## Cultivating **Castes** : Right **Left Divide** :

Another important social distinction very clearly **maintained** by several castes was the right and left hand division. A peculiar feature only applicable to South Indian society, this **division** seems to be **in** existence right from eleventh century and ceased to exist after nineteenth century except **in mild** forms.<sup>71</sup> The society was vertically divided into two sections engulfing **most** of the castes on each **side**. The number included **in** each division seemed to differ from one account to **another**. But **this** division was clearly not for the first two higher castes like Brahmins and **Kshatriyas**. It included **Vaishyas** and involved **mainly** the Sat Sudra groups. There were certain neutral groups who did not participate or were above **this** division. But the castes **which** belonged to **this** category **differed** from region to region. For instance, the Vellalars who formed a dominant caste **in** right hand division **in** Tamil areas were not included **in** the Telugu speaking areas.<sup>72</sup>

As the name itself indicates the left hand division **in** South India had connotations of impurity whereas the right hand had powerful and positive normative **associations**.<sup>73</sup> Thus the left hand castes were looked down upon by the right hand castes and each division had certain religious symbols and **insignias** that **distinguished** them from one another. These should not be encroached upon by other divisions. Any **small** breach in this prac-

tice led to serious conflicts involving all the castes in each division. This, at the lowest level became one caste against the other like Malas who belonged to the right hand caste against Madigas who belonged to the left hand caste.

However in the form of the conflict between the artisans and the dominant agricultural castes, the disputes seem to have been most common in the Tamil country and to some extent in the Canarese country. It is interesting to note that the most important Telugu agricultural castes such as Reddis and the Kammas seem to have avoided this classification and Velamas and Razus were not mentioned in any of the lists. This must have been due to their claim that they belonged to Kshatriyas. However this right and left hand conflict sometimes found its expression in the religious sectarian conflicts of the times, in the region the two dominant sectarian faiths being Shaivite and Vaishnavite. Though the Brahmins were not supposed to be involved in these schisms as it became a matter of faith among the castes sometimes the higher castes seemed to have indirectly supported one or the other of these divisions.

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In this manner also the cultivating castes of the region seemed not to have participated in any of the conflicts as they belonged to both Shaivite and Vaishnavite groups. It was not that this divisions of right and left hand caste was totally absent in the region. We do have references to schisms and

consequential participation of artisanal groups in these schisms in the region.

The right and left hand division which was absent among the higher agrarian castes seemed to have involved the lower agrarian castes like Malas and Madigas. It is necessary in this connection to know who generally formed the right hand caste and who formed the left hand division though the number did vary regionally. Vellalars though supporting indirectly the right hand faction were above the classification. The following list shows the castes included in each of the divisions.

75

Occupations	Right Hand Division	Left Hand Division
Traders	Ballja Komati	Berichetti Vaniyans
Weavers	Jandra Saliyan	Devanga Kaikolan
Artisans	Chakali Kammari	Kammalan Kamsali
Leather workers	Madiga Females	Madiga Males
Field labourers	Mala	Bedar
Agriculturists	Vellalar. Reddy Kamma, Golla	Bedar Palli

It **is** interesting to note that **sometimes these** divisions were followed within the family. In some castes males **in** a family represented a particular division and females another. According to Burton **Stein** the right hand and left hand divisions seemed to have forged significant social links among a group of dependent people of diverse localities.

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When the society was so sharply divided **into** these divisions and when there were so many schisms between different castes over their rights **it is** important to know what were these distinctive customs followed by the two divisions and different emblems and religious symbols peculiar to each caste and each division on these **lines**.

Right hand castes exclusively had the privilege of erecting a marriage pandal **with** twelve poles, only they could mount the horse during the marriages. There were disputes whenever one division of the society tried to follow the rules or the customs of the other.<sup>77</sup> For instance, **in** the lower castes of **Malas** and **Madigas** during the marriage procession of **Madigas**, **Malas** closely followed them to see whether the bridegroom would mount the horse. These differences were carried to the extent that each caste did not allow the other marriage party to go in a procession in their street. **Malas** especially always objected to the dance done **in** group by **Madigas** **in** processions popularly known as **Madiga Chindu**.

78

Each caste had their own religious emblems and flags with different signs. Vaduga Vellalars had the swan as their caste emblem; for Reddis it was the plough; Kammas had the bull; Komattis had the sloth as their insignia; Gollas had the wheel as their symbol; a five coloured tent was the symbol of Kannada Gollas; for Telugu Gollas it was the Conch; Padma Sales had Tiger; whereas Pattu Sales had two headed bird; Jandra caste weavers had crocodile as their emblem; and the Berichettis had the eagle. Though earlier they might have used these symbols in the war times representing each caste but later on they formed a part of all ceremonial occasions like marriages. The lower castes led the procession holding the symbol perhaps to specify that they belonged to a particular caste. <sup>79</sup> But it is important to note that this division which was so explicit in Tamil and Kannada speaking regions was absent among the agrarian castes in the region.

The inferior status of the artisan groups to the Vellalars was given even in the legendary account regarding the origin of the Vellalars. The architect of the Gods Viswakarma intruded on the privacy of Shiva and Parvathi. Annoyed by this, they said they would cause an enemy of Viswakarma to be born on the earth who should punish him for his temerity. Having found all the details he waited for the birth of the enemy to annihilate him with a single blow. He failed to do and knocked only the crown. As peace was concluded between the two on the condition that the



panchajati who were the sons of Viswakarma should be subservient  
80  
to the earth born person whose offsprings were Vellalars.

In almost all the higher agrarian castes there were both Shaivite and Vaishnavite followers and we do not have any references to the schisms involving any of these castes in this region though they had serious Vaishnavite and Shaivite sectarian conflicts. This perhaps must have been due to their claim that they belonged to the military caste, that is, Kshatriyas and as mentioned above the first two sections of the society were above this division.

Caste divisions in the rural structure played a dominant role both in social interaction and maintaining respective traditions and customs intact. Each caste has its own rules in social conduct, and religious practices. Different castes were expected to follow these rules strictly so that they could maintain the differences among their traditional values and customs intact and thus maintain the rigidity in the social customs and traditions.

Birth in a particular caste fixed one's ritual status and  
81  
along with that one's economic and social position. These caste distinctions which were already there, were maintained and reinforced through many factors. One such factor according to  
82  
Andre Beteille was physical appearance. This to some extent was true but this factor could not be the main distinguishing mark. Perhaps because of these beliefs there came into existence

proverbs like 'nalla brahmanuni, yerra komatini nammakoodadu" meaning Brahmins were generally had a fair complexion and Komatis had a dark complexion. So if they were found in opposite ways  
85  
one cannot trust them.

Costume was another medium through which inequalities were maintained and various castes had different customs in their dress patterns. Economic inequalities at one level were reinforced through costume. For instance, the Zamindars generally wore cloths embroidered with gold laces and also cloths of finest texture. It was given that each pair of dress in some cases  
84  
costed several hundreds of rupees. But in contrast a locally woven coarse dhoti and a kambali was the daily attire of the farm servants. This inequality was reinforced by the rich cultivating sections who employed lower castes as their field laborers and farm servants. The attached field labourers locally called palerus were given two dhotis and a kambali annually  
85  
which costed not more than three rupees all together.

Another factor that reinforced disparities among the castes was settlement patterns in the villages. The upper castes had their settlements in the heart of the village, whereas the Malas and Madigas being out castes lived outside the village especially in settlements like Malapalle or Madigageru respectively as they  
86  
were called. Further among the higher castes generally Brah-

mins were distinguished from non Brahmin caste<sup>87</sup> and Brahmin settlements were known as Agraharams. It was seen that in the region there were pettahs named after each caste as a group of people belonging to a particular caste built a pettah. They were Velamagudem Kammavaripalem, Chakirevupalem, Kannereddivaripalem, Kapupalem, Kummarapalem, Kimmarapadu, Chinagollapalem, Gollagudem,<sup>88</sup> Peragolla palem. These names indicate either they were built by persons belonging to a particular caste or indicate the castes which resided in them.

The distinctions between different religious faiths were also indicated by the caste marks. Shatvites wore horizontal caste marks whereas Vaishnavites wore vertical. These practices which were carried to extremes were criticized by Vemana in<sup>89</sup> several of his poems.

During this period the caste distinctions and social distinctions as seen above were too many. Always it was the lower rungs of society in whatever profession they were in which suffered most. These conditions made the life of the lower castes full of exploitation and misery. It was only through the missionary activity in the region that the lower rungs of the society were relieved and their social position bettered. The missionaries whose main aim was to spread Christianity as an alternative choice to the many sections who obviously did not have any chance to improve their lot socially under the rigid caste system. The

missionaries through various means like preaching Gospel and starting schools to educate masses on Christianity succeeded in their attempts to convert many depressed classes. It was through the efforts of the missionaries that the social position of the deprived classes began to change.

There were several missionaries in Andhra as early as 1700.<sup>90</sup> However it was the British missionaries in the 1850s that really started serious work. By 1700 the Portuguese Jesuits were already in Nellore and had been successful in converting<sup>91</sup>

many of the inhabitants to Roman Catholicism. One way of quickly making the conversions was to take advantage of the economic crises in the region and by minimum monetary offers the poor were attracted. Thus in 1736 taking advantage of the famine conditions several concessions were made. But subsequently following a change of policy by the Pope the mission was closed and the converts<sup>92</sup> reverted to their religion.

However in the initial stages as the East India Company was mainly a private organization it did not show much interest in missionary activity as it was engaged in consolidating its own position in a alien political economy. It was only in 1813 with the act of British parliament that the East India Company which by then had firmly established itself granted permission to even non British missionary societies to work in India.<sup>95</sup> Several missionaries chose different centres in Andhra for their activity.

The American Baptist mission functioned with Nellore as its Centre. The Lutheran mission had Guntur as its head quarters. The Church Missionary Society chose Visakhapatnam and the Society for the Propagation of Gospel functioned from Rayalaseema and Kakinada was the centre for the Canadian Baptist mission.

94

Thus though there was much activity in Andhra, Masulipatnam was left out. When Goldingham was made the Collector of Masulipatnam in 1854, not finding any Christian missionary in the area he wrote to the Church Missionary Society for the propagation of the Gospel to come and work in the region. They sent two English men Robert Nobel and Henry Fox to do missionary work and spread Christianity in Masulipatnam.

95

The missionary activity was however started only in 1843 and Nobel opened a school with a limited number of boys and tried to do the work through education. In the school lessons were taught in New Testament, Gita, and Koran. Against the other two faiths the merits of Christianity were highlighted. Though the schools were popular and educationally successful even in 1852 the response of the students to his proselytizing appeals was not much and the first converts were a Brahmin and a Velama. This raised a great agitation and the angry Velama caste people even attacked Nobel's house. For this reason, for sometime Nobel's school was almost deserted and the number of pupils fell sharply from 90 to 15. Thus education was one measure actively started

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by the missionaries to spread Christianity and in the process it ameliorated the conditions of the depressed castes.

But indigenous education had been prevalent in the region before the missionaries came and there were many schools in almost every taluk and even some colleges imparting instructions to the higher castes of the society. Students were taught Telugu and Sanskrit in all places; in some locations Persian, Astronomy, and Science of Law were also taught. Of all the people there were more Brahmin students and among the girls whose number was almost negligent, those who attended the schools were<sup>97</sup> mainly the dancing girls. The main text books were like Bala<sup>98</sup> Ramayanam, Amaram and students had to write on sand.

The charges to a native scholar averaged 6 annas per month. This was collected for paper, cadjans, books besides food as well as the pay of their school master. Both of these charges of course depended upon the rank and circumstances of the relations of the scholars. The wages to the school master was commonly<sup>99</sup>

from 1/4 to Rs 2 for each boy. Perhaps the expenses it involved in education and their futility to the cultivating castes was reflected in the proverb 'Bapani Sedyam Battem Chetu, Kapula Chaduvulu Kasula Chetu' (Cultivation by Brahmins was waste of wages and education to Kapus was waste of money).<sup>100</sup>

Another important factor was the perceptions of the cultivators towards the Company and the law. The cultivators were not ignorant of the changes that were taking place in the region under the Company. The cultivators were aware of the existence of a government or an authority which was above that of their immediate rulers like Zamindars, Renters, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes. Though petitioning was not a new feature introduced by the Company, in the Company period the evidence from the records suggest that whenever there was a problem the cultivators petitioned to the Company. In fact, the petitions were sometimes against the village administrative officials, Zamindars and sometimes against the Collectors.

Generally the cultivators were averse to any changes in the existing revenue systems or modes of a revenue management. Though a common practice which was generally followed was desertion of villages in the case of oppression they did represent their grievances to the Board. For instance, in the estate of Divi, when the Collector proposed a change in the existing system in the wet lands from Ausara, the cultivators sent a petition to the Board and refused to take up the lands under the  
101  
new contract.

Whenever the terms of contract were not to their advantage the cultivators combined with the head inhabitants petitioned the government. For instance. some of the Brahmin inhabitants

of Viswanadhapalli in Divi taluk combined with Dastakdar of the village compelled the other ryots not to under take the dry lands under Visabadi tenure. Having sent the petitions to the Collector and also to the Board, they proceeded to Madras to present their case.

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The Zamindar of Devarakota levied extra cesses on the cultivators which were not customary in the region. The cultivators who were aware of the traditional practices in the region filed a petition through a vakeel Chilkalapati Bapiraju against the Zamindars in the Court. The cultivators resorted to the Court because they felt that the Collector was colluding with the Zamindar and his staff to suppress the issue.

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What is interesting in all these cases was the awareness of the cultivating groups of the administrative structure of the Company. Though in most of the cases these representations were turned down or the Court rulings went in favour of the economically dominant and politically influential groups. Still the people were aware of the legal redress that could be got from the courts. The Company in strengthening the position of the cultivators and protecting their rights, under the Permanent Settlement defined the powers of the Zamindars and left the cultivators at the mercy of the Zamindars though the Company made provisions for legal proceedings against the Zamindars in case of oppression and frauds against the ryots, in many ways they were not in the



reach of the ryots and even if they were the cultivators could not afford such measures.

Thus the Agrarian Social structure of the region presented a complex and hierarchically organized multi layered structure where the caste and the customs interacted in many ways. In fact, it was through caste and social customs that the dominant cultivating groups reinforced their social status in the society.

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## 7. THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

The Zamindar, as has been shown, was a crucial intermediary between the state and the Peasant economy in Masulipatnam as elsewhere. He was, in **fact**, the most powerful rural element, enjoying various kinds of economic, military and social power. The advent of the Company **circari** into the district and the consequent attempts to restructure the revenue system had a profound impact on the Zamindari. This impact was rendered all the more significant with the introduction of the Permanent Settlement in the district. It is necessary to examine the Permanent Settlement at work in **Masulipatnam**, to understand not only the local implications of the settlement, but also to seek answers to larger questions regarding the impact of the Permanent Settlement on the agrarian economy.

In 1765, when the British acquired control of the region, they found the **circars** in the possession of powerful men who had been appointed by the pre colonial government to administer the revenues on their **account**, and as the country was already in the hands of powerful **intermediaries** the situation rendered it necessary for the Company to continue them in their offices. <sup>1</sup> Though **they** were originally the revenue Collectors employed by the state **with** specific powers and functions, taking advantage of the political situation during the transition period between the **Nizam's** authority and that of the Company. they entrenched their

position politically, economically, and militarily. This increased power and position made the colonial administrators<sup>2</sup> view Zamindaris as feudal districts and the Zamindars as Rajahs. Thus the actual situation made the Company align with the Zamindars. The desire to pacify them with minimum military force also reflected the Company's weak position in the initial stages. By 1795 the Court of Directors was able to order the disbandment of military followers of the Zamindars who were then left with only their traditional economic privileges.

The Company in the beginning thought that all the military men in the Circars should be under their immediate orders. But as some of the estates were located among hills and jungles the unhealthiness of the climate was a great obstacle to employing regular troops in repelling the depredations of the people in the neighbouring Zamindans. For this task, as the country peons were well equipped and were supported at much less expense than could be done by the Company, the Company thought of allowing a<sup>4</sup> small contingent of armed force to each Zamindar.

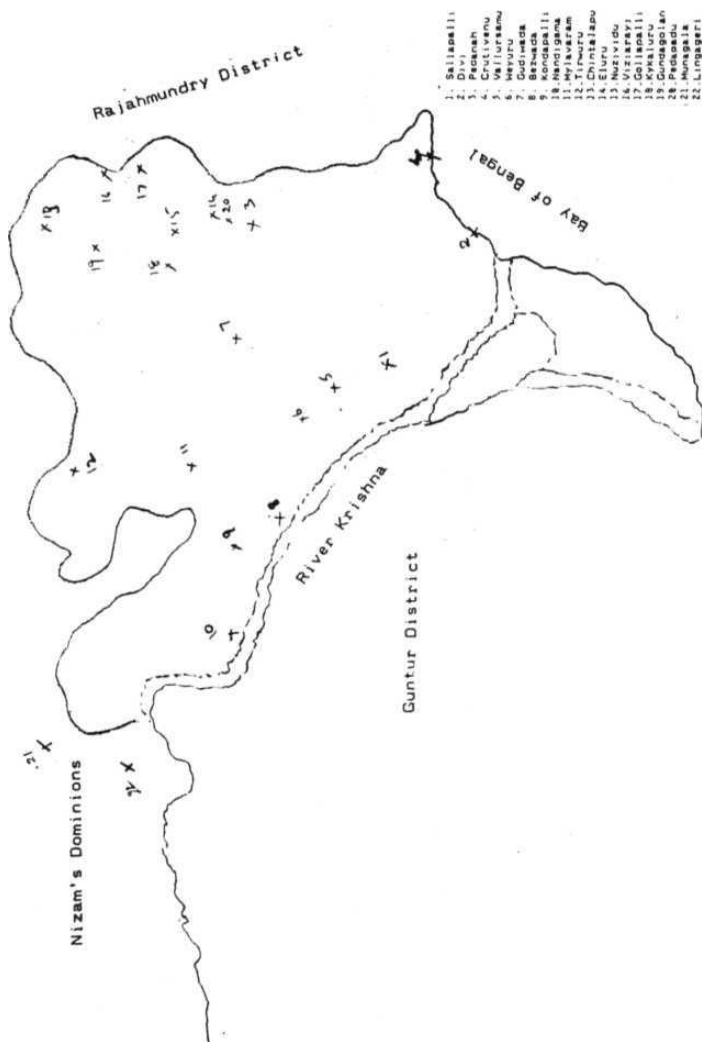
The Regulation of 1802 which introduced Permanent Zamindari settlement in Masulipatnam district merely formalized and introduced in a more permanent form a revenue system which had been evolved from 1765, when the region came under the Company's

control. It confirmed proprietary right in the Zamindari estates on the existing Zamindars under a new contract. It also created proprietary estates in Haveli lands, the intended aim being the creation of a new group of Zamindars in these Haveli lands. The evidence clearly indicates that all the Zamindari estates were retained by the existing Zamindari families only. Map 7.1 shows the spatial distribution of Zamindari and Haveli estates in Masulipatnam district. For instance, under the Permanent Settlement, the estates of Devarakota, part of Charmahal, Chintalapudi, Zammulavayi, and Medurgutta were given to the original Zamindars only. The estates of Bezwada, Mylavaram, Munagala, Nuzividu and Zammulavayi estates were conferred on the sons of the existing Zamindars.<sup>5</sup>

As the Permanent Zamindari system in the region was modeled on lines similar to that of the Bengal Settlement, it is necessary to briefly review the objectives of Permanent Settlement in Bengal. The Permanent Settlement was introduced in Bengal in 1795 with certain objectives. The Permanent Settlement which was essentially a whig notion introduced a rule of property for Bengal which led to the creation of landed estates.<sup>6</sup> By creating absolute property in the soil, the Permanent Settlement had brought into existence a demand and market for land.<sup>7</sup>

Map : 7.1

Spatial Location of Zamindaris and Havelis



## Notions of Private Property in Land :

According to Ainslee T.Embree, one strand of the western European way of thinking about property came from the practices and legal codes of the Roman Empire. The **characteristic** Roman idea about property that **became** rooted in the European mind was the concept of unqualified possession. **While this** was one influence, other factors also shaped both British thought about property as **well** as actual practice. One of these was the synthesis of social customs that emerged **in** England following the Norman conquest. The transfer of lands from the old owners to the followers of the conqueror made possible a legal theory that the land was the kings and that the people were not only his subjects but also **his** tenants.

In the case of India, the **idea** of the **king** granting lands to tenants who became both territorial powers and eventually the supporters of Royal power was one of the organizing concepts that the British used for understanding Indian political and social **life**. Political Philosophers like Voltaire considered inheritance as the best evidence of individual ownership. The inheritable quality of the lands proved that they were the property of **the Zamindars**, Talukdars and others to whom they had descended by a long course of inheritance. However a clear distinction was made between the Zamindari tenure and the feudal tenure.

What was the reason for the widespread acceptance of the belief that Indian rulers owned all the land and that private property was unknown in India? According to Irfan Habib, the European travellers had given a mistaken account. because the Mughal Jagirdars appeared to be the same as European landlords. Since the Jagirs were transferable at the Emperor's will, the Europeans concluded that there was no private property in India. Besides, all these European travellers as well as the Company officials were drawing upon an ancient and well articulated view of the nature of Asian society. In the pre colonial regimes in India with the Muslim conquest entirely new practices entered India. Islamic law and theory recognized private property and the rules governing it had been influenced by Roman Byzantine laws. Yet despite the long administration of Muslim rule, the Islamic concepts of property made very little difference to Indian society.

10

In introducing the Permanent Settlement in the region in 1802, the Company tried to create a system of ownership in land on the assumption that this was the basis of a prosperous state. More than the proprietary right in the soil the Zamindars were given the right to collect the revenue on the soil, and for these duties they were given certain fees in the form of **Rusums** and **Saverams**.

Under the Permanent Settlement the land holders who were holding the land as hereditary tax officials were given absolute

property rights over these lands. Since private property was considered a necessity for material progress, the makers of Permanent Settlement tried to convert the existing hereditary tax farmers who had certain proprietary rights into a full fledged propertied class.

Even the Physiocrats believed that an efficient, economical and just tax system should consist of a single direct tax on agricultural rent. Perhaps this was the reason why the Zamindars were given the right to collect only the land revenue. Previous to the Permanent Settlement the pre colonial tax systems were a conglomeration of numerous taxes without any definite pattern. Because the Zamindars not only collected land taxes but also levied many other taxes like Moturfa, Salt tax, Customs duties,<sup>11</sup> and other petty taxes.

Both supporters and opponents of the Permanent Settlement agreed that the soil of right belonged to the natives. The question was who the natives were who owned the soil. The Company administrators were convinced that the hereditary tax Collectors were the land lords. They equated these landlords with the English lord of the manor. as they felt that it would not be viable to vest these rights in cultivators who were attached by custom to the authority of their masters; this task. the Compa-<sup>12</sup>ny felt, should be left to the native masters.

The recognition of the right of the Zamindars to landed property was the main principle on which the entire principle of Permanent Settlement ran. They thought that no government could be assured of its revenue unless it was prepared to guarantee the rights of proprietorship. Elaborating the principle, Francis one  
13  
of the authors of the Permanent Settlement wrote:

Without private property there can be no public revenue. I mean that regular and permanent revenue on which alone a wise government ought to place its dependence. Agency can never supply the place of proprietorship because many, of the principle duties of a proprietor are such as an agent has no personal interest in performing. It is not the mere name of proprietor that will engage any man to perform these duties if he has no real security that is if he does not know once and for all how much he is to pay to government and be not assured that the remainder will be his own.

#### Principles of the Permanent Settlement :

However there was one main difference in the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and that introduced in Northern Circars. In Bengal nearly the whole region was in the hands of the Zamindars  
14

and Haveli lands as such did not exist at all. In Masulipatnam district on the other hand, the Haveli lands were part of Company's possessions and were under the direct management of the ruling authority. They were situated mainly around the  
15  
principal towns and military establishments. The principal Haveli lands in the district were clustered around the towns of Bandar, Eluru and Kondapalli. But these three Haveli lands were divided into many small mootahs under the Permanent Settlement.  
16



Thus the existence of **Haveli** lands in the region made the system different from that of Bengal. For instance, the existence of Haveli raised questions about the mode and form of assessment which should come into effect in these parts. The system also contributed to the evolution of a distinct agrarian structure.

Despite the natural advantage of having the most fertile and populous lands in strategical places the Company decided to parcel the **Haveli** lands into small mootahs and grant a right of property in **Haveli** lands also. The Company probably evolved the system of proprietary estates to ensure the regular collection of revenue from the **Haveli** lands without investing much on the **administrative** machinery on its own. Another idea behind it was to create a new group of land owners. The Company did not intend to confer the proprietary rights for the **Haveli** lands on the members of the traditional Zamindari families. It hoped instead, as mentioned above, to sell their rights to persons of other **categories**.

The three principal **Haveli** lands of **Bandar**, **Eluru**, and **Kondapalli** were divided into many small mootahs. **Bandar** estate was sub divided into **Kaldindi** consisting of 8 villages, **Tumidi**, **Pedanah** - 17, **Gudur** - 52, **Akulamannadu** - 6, **Inuguduru** - 14. Six Islands - 6, and **Divi**. The pargana of **Eluru** was sub-divided into small mootahs of **Eluru** consisting of 8 villages, **Kovali** - 8, **Pedapadu** - 8 **Vasantavada** - 12, **Malakacherla** with 18 villages and **Kondapalli** consisted of 14 villages.

The Company wanted to confer the proprietary rights on as many new people as possible. May be they were afraid to lease large parganas to one **Zamindar**. But this policy of the Company led to many **complications** because these estates **with** such small **jurisdictions** were scattered throughout the region and thus increased **administrative** problems. Since the people who bought these lands were traditional regional Zamindars contrary to Company's **expectations**, there were constant Zamindari rivalries and the Zamindari estates no longer remained as compact blocks. Also with the sale of proprietary estates the Company brought for the first time land to the market. <sup>18</sup> Table 7.1 shows the sale of proprietary estates and the Zamindars who bought them and the amount for which they bought.

**Table : 7.1**

**Sale of Proprietary estates in Masulipatnam district**

Names of Estates	Name of Purchasers	Amount
		MPs - F - C
<b>Kondapalli</b>	Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu	<b>8,600-0-0</b>
<b>Vallursamut</b>	<b>Bommadevarah</b> Naganna	16,000-0-0
Gundur	Bommadevarah Naganna	4,950-0-0
<b>Akulamannadu</b>	Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu	400-0-0
Inuguduru	Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu	950-0-0
Pedanah	Erlagadda Nageswar Naidu	425-0-0
Six Islands	Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu	<b>2,225-0-0</b>

**Source** : Statement of the Zamindaris and Mootahs created under Permanent Settlement, Miscellaneous Records, v.15, p.58.

Many of these estates were bought by the Zamindars at a price much above the permanent **jumma** fixed on these estates. By the Permanent Settlement of 1802 the Company recognized the

existing Zamindars of the region and even the proprietors of Haveli estates were placed on par with the former Zamindars. 19

Though the alliance with the Zamindars to pacify them was a matter of necessity and political expediency for the Company the ideological factors shaped at the higher levels were also important. However, it was mainly the economic realities which made the settlement necessary. Because of the experience prior to the Permanent Settlement the Company wanted stable revenue and by creating a proprietary right in the soil and confirming it on a single individual permanently it felt that the Company would be assured of unalterable revenue under any circumstances. The Company thought that the new settlement would improve the land revenue collections and also systematize the process. 20

The leading principles upon which the Permanent Settlement was based were the security of government with respect to its revenues and the security and protection of its subjects. Firstly, under the Permanent Settlement, the land or the estate of the Zamindars would be the security to the government. Secondly, the tax which each individual had to pay was fixed and also the time of payment, and manner of payment. 21 Another feature of the 1802 settlement was that it prevented the enhancement of rent and assessment. This centered around the fundamental principle that the rate of rent and tenure should be fixed in perpetuity and should be made unalterable under any circumstances.

Before the 1802 settlement the Company thought that the Zamindars held their estates on very precarious tenure. It felt that as the revenue assessment was arbitrarily fixed the revenue to the state fluctuated considerably. The whole Zamindari was liable to sequestration in case of even a partial failure in the payment of Kist.

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The permanent proprietary right was extended to Zamindars and other land holders and to their heirs and successors in order to end the practices of tax farming, revenue augmentation and dispossession which had been a source of uncertainty and disquietude. However, this proprietary right according to Nicholas Dirks was not to be absolute. It was dependent on the proper and punctual payment of peishkash. Default in revenue would give the Company a free hand to assume the estate. This right was not to infringe upon the established rights of under tenantry. The government reserved to itself many rights over sources of revenue.

25

So in order to rectify these faults the Board in its Regulation of 1802 fixed the jumma permanently and conferred proprietary rights in the individuals. In case of default, instead of the whole estate being sequestered only a part of the Zamindari amounting to that value would be sequestered. By this Regulation, the Company thought that it had left an option to the

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**Zamindars** to encourage cultivation and add the revenue to their profit as the **assessment was** fixed. But what actually happened in the region, in fact in the other Circars also was contrary to the Company's **expectations.**

#### **Working of the Permanent Settlement :**

At the **time** of the Permanent Settlement, Devarakota Zamindari was assessed at Rs. 1,54,036-3-2. The Zamindar's share was Rs. 51,346 -3-2 and the government's share was Rs. 1,02,690. The Permanent Assessment on the estate was fixed with the Durbari Karchulu forming part of the assessment. In the Devarakota Zamindari **Darbari** karchulu formed a huge amount. This amount seemed to have varied from Rs. 15,000 in an ordinary year to Rs. 25,000 in a good agricultural year. This amount was collected from the ryots by the **Zamindars** and was demanded from the **Zamin-**  
25  
dars by the government in all seasons alike.

The revenue of the Zamindari for the first twenty years after the Permanent Settlement that is from 1800-1821 was profitable as the **Zamindar** got a profit of Rs.. 37,046 on an average per year. The revenue decreased in the next twenty one **years,** that is from 1821 - 1842. On the whole, though the Zamindari was still getting a profit of Rs.5,387 per year, it was low when compared with figures of previous decades. But from 1830 onwards there was a deficit of Rs.10,716 to the Zamindari in its revenue collections. The Zamindari was under the management of the Court

of Wards from 1819 - 1831, as the Zamindar was a minor. In 1831 though the estate came under the management of the Zamindar the estate was again attached to the government for arrears of revenue in 1852. Between 1851-1841, the balance of peishkash amounted to Rs. 2,77,886 - 6 - 4 and with the old debt the total amounted to Rs. 3,17,688. For the liquidation of this, the  
26  
Zamindari was put up for sale.

The Board had asked the Zamindar to pay the revenue arrears and take the proprietorship of the estate. The Board proposed to make an enquiry for the purpose of ascertaining whether in consequence of the fall in the prices of grains or any local causes it was necessary to make any temporary or permanent reduction in the peishkash payable by this estate or any other estate in Northern  
27  
Circars.

The Collector opined that, the Devarakota Zamindari had lost its productiveness not by any sudden calamity but by the gradual and regular deterioration. The prices of the produce had not suffered greater diminutions in the Devarakota than in any other Zamindaris of Northern Circars. But whatever be the cause of its impoverishment, whether to be found in the negligence or incapacity of those who should have carefully watched over its interests, the fact remained that the deterioration had taken place while the estate was in the hands of the officers of  
28  
government.

This clearly shows the working of the Permanent Settlement in the region. The Zamindari passed from one hand to the other, thus making the settlement very inconsistent both in its working and the management. Of four decades of Permanent Settlement in the Zamindari of Devarakota, only for twenty years the estate was under the actual management of the Zamindar. The rest of the period for several reasons, the Company managed the estate, for some years under the Court of Wards and later under the attached estates for arrears of revenue. This shows the Zamindari system after two decades of its introduction was not as effective as the Company thought it would be.

Nicholas Dirks argued that, the authors of the Permanent Settlement thought that there would be a redirection of the interests and energies of the Zamindars whom he called the "little kings" from local warfare and intrigue to agrarian management and investment. In short, the Zamindars would become the rural gentry, sources of both local stability and a steady  
29  
flow of revenue.

But in due course of time the same principles worked contrary to the expectations of the Company. For various reasons, and because of the principles of the Settlement itself, the Zamindaris were put up for sale in parts and this resulted in Zamindaris being subdivided into many parts and passing into different hands each time the estate was in arrears to the Compa-

ny. This generally weakened and furthered the already deteriorating conditions in the estates.

Under the Permanent Settlement the Zamindari of Jammulavayi and Medurgutta were granted to Vellanki Venkata Narsimha Rao. The Zamindari consisted of six villages, all managed by the Zamindar Vellanki Venkata Narasimha Rao. In 1806 when the Zamindar died, he left a will bequeathing the Zamindari to his two brothers Vellanki Tirumalarao and Vellanki Rama Rao jointly',  
50  
with injunctions to give food and raiment to his widow.

In 1811 because of the family feuds the Zamindari was divided between the two brothers. One portion consisted of the villages of Mallavaram, Lingala, half of Kakarla and Ramanapalem village and 5/4 of Inagadapa village. Totally, the Zamindari consisted of 5-1/4 villages and was placed under the management of Tirumalarao. The other portion consisting of 1/4 of Inagadapa village, the villages of Anumulanka, Kottapalli and the other half of Kakarla and Ramanapalem, together consisting of 2-3/4  
51  
villages was placed under the management of Rama Rao.

The widow of Vellanki Venkata Narasimha Rao. Ramanamma sued the two brothers jointly for maintenance and obtained a decree for five pagodas per month payable by them jointly. But with the death of Vellanki Tirumal Rao, his portion of the Zamindari came under the management of the Collector.



## Regulations of 1802 Settlement :

The Permanent Settlement which detailed so clearly the duties and ryots of the **Zamindars** failed to protect the interests of the cultivators against the Zamindars. The supporters of the Permanent Settlement believed that the settlement **with** the ryot was strictly the business of the Zamindars and not of the government. The government could not limit the **Zamindar in his** agreements **with** his tenants. For, that would amount to an invasion of the rights of property in the first instance. Secondly, to descend to the ryots was considered a business of detail which no way belonged to government which, the **framers** of the policy felt, carried a "vexatious scrutiny and an arbitrary exertion of power upon the face of **it**". Thus on grounds of principle as well as of **administrative** convenience Francis, one of the framers of Permanent Settlement recommended the adoption of what **Firminger** called a **laissez faire** attitude towards the **Zamindar's** relation with his ryots. The policy described land as the hereditary property of the Zamindar. He held it by the law of the country on the tenure of paying a certain contribution to government. When this condition was complied with, he was master of the land to **relet** it to whom he thinks proper.

52

Pattah Regulation of 1802 specified that the proprietors should enter **into** agreements with the inhabitants and cultivators of land on the terms on which they respectively occupied such

lands and should exchange their engagements called the Pattahs<sup>33</sup> and **Muchalikas respectively**. These Pattahs included four kinds of engagements:

1. for the rent of village **in** gross sums of money specifying the rent, the payment rate;
2. for a division of the produce of the lands specifying the rate of cultivator's share;
3. for land on which the money rent **is** assessed showing the rate of assessment according to the land measure **in use**;
4. for lands charged with grain rent stating the specific<sup>34</sup> quantity of grain to be rendered.

The Regulation which so clearly defined the powers and rights of **Zamindars**, nowhere specified the position of the cultivators and under tenants **in** the actual production process of agriculture. **This** left the various groups of cultivators at the mercy of the Zamindars. However, **while** guaranteeing the Zamindari rights the government resolved that all the Talukdars and the under tenantry would be preserved **in** the enjoyment of all their just rights which no **Zamindar** would be permitted to infringe. According to the new settlement, the cultivating ryots though had no property rights **in** the soil, did have a right of occupancy **in** the lands they occupied and cultivated as long as they **paid**<sup>35</sup> their share of revenue regularly. **This** seems to indicate that the position of the different groups of cultivators remained as they were before the Permanent Settlement.

Generally by distraint, the Zamindars enforced the payment of rent from the ryots. Zamindars always had recourse to distraint of the property of the ryots without any reference to the Collector. For the Collector was not authorized by the regulations to interfere with the Zamindars. By this the ryots were left at the mercy of the Zamindars, since there was no official or legal action against the Zamindars in case of oppression on the ryots.

The Zamindars usually disposed of the property of the ryots so distrained, by selling it to the merchants either by private or public sale. The ryots were left with very little produce after the Zamindar's share and various customary deductions were made. Even supposing that it did leave little to the ryot the Zamindar's imposed new taxes whenever they required money. Under the Permanent Settlement the Company made a provision that cultivators could get redress from Courts of Law. But in practice, it was often out of reach of the cultivators.

In the estates where the proprietors were the traditional and old Zamindars the fear of personal violence deterred the ryots from complaining. If they were new Zamindars, even then ryots submitted quietly to the loss, not from fear of personal injury but from the well grounded fear of losing their cause in the court. They knew that the influence of the Zamindar would easily procure witnesses to swear falsely and also would be

supported by the fabricated accounts of the **Karanams**, who were entirely under the authority of the **Zamindars**. Even if they gained their cause it would be of no advantage to them as the **Zamindar** without **transgressing** any law would be able to harass <sup>57</sup> **them** in many ways and **make** their situation uncomfortable.

However the plan of 1776 did not rule out official intervention altogether. It was not for the **administration** to come between the Zamindar and ryot in such a manner as to influence the terms of their contract. But once **this** was decided to their mutual satisfaction the government had to undertake to enforce **it**. **This** was to be done by the issue of a uniform pattah containing the terms of the agreement which must be respected by <sup>58</sup> both the parties.

The Permanent **Settlement** has often been criticized for **its** failure to safe guard the interests of ryots. But the failure was easily explained. The word permanency was to extend to the **jumma** only and not to the details of the settlement. The security of the ryots the framers of the policy thought was a problem requiring no immediate solution and any measures that might be <sup>59</sup> necessary could be introduced occasionally as abuses occurred.

The exaction of revenue was felt as a far greater hardship by the land holders than the personal confinements or coercion to which they were subjected under the pre colonial governments when <sup>40</sup> they failed to pay any part of the public dues.

In the district where the land revenue was permanently settled and where the collections from the ryots were made by the **Zamindars** the cultivator was protected from enhanced demands by an appeal to the Collector under the provisions of Regulation 30 of 1802 and Regulation 5 of 1822. However, on the Collectors decision **also**, the Zamindars could further appeal by formal process to the Courts of Law.<sup>41</sup>

Perhaps **this** long process also deterred the ryots from complaining and also the lengthy procedures involved were out of reach and the cultivators could not afford most of the times to attend the courts leaving their work.

The Zamindars, ignoring the traditional custom, tried to introduce new rules to **suit** their need. For instance, the Zamindar of Devarakota, **Ankenaidu** stopped the cultivators from cultivating their shares. The **Zamindar** introduced new duties or rents on **Pumpkin** gardens (**gummadi thotalu**), **Brinjal** gardens (**vanga thotalu**), **goguputtalu**, uncultivated **lands**, **Bullocks** and **water channels**. The Zamindar **in collaboration** with the **Aumeen** Tadekonda Sessaiah who was a Brahmin, made the cultivators suffer. The cultivators unable to bear the violence deserted the villages and took refuge in neighbouring taluks.<sup>42</sup>

In examining the Permanent Settlement in Masulipatnam district **it** is essential to know what was the sort of permanency

that was established in the mode of assessment? and where was it established?

Under the Permanent Settlement all lands in a Zamindari both waste and arable were assessed in perpetuity with a fixed land revenue payable in all seasons. For fixing the state demand on the land permanently, the government's share out of the total produce of the land was first fixed. Revenue was assessed not on each village but on all the villages of a Zamindari collectively. The amount payable by the Zamindar to the government was unalterably determined and on the condition of payment of this defined sum each Zamindar was vested with the proprietary right of the soil in his Zamindari area. The amount to be paid by each Zamindar was calculated at two thirds of the half of the gross produce of lands. The other half being supposed to be the share paid to them by the cultivators.

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Though the division of rights between the ryots and Zamindars remained undefined, the Zamindars were given power to get the defaulters arrested through the agency of courts, to attach and manage the defaulters' holdings. When the arrears were not recovered within the current revenue year by those means, then further powers were given to the Zamindars to proceed either to sell the tenure of the defaulters if saleable, or to eject the lease holders or tenants whose right of occupancy depended on payment of certain rents.

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But the Regulation did not contain any remedy for the ryots against the misuse of these powers by the **Zamindars** except the order that the Zamindars were liable to prosecution for any undue exactions practiced on the ryots. In case of any dispute on the rates **Muchalikas** were the only specific statements with regard to the protection of ryots. But these **Muchalikas** were quite meaningless, because at the level of the locality the power of Zamindars was combined with the services of the **Karanams** who in most cases supported the Zamindars. Thus the cultivators always had to depend on the Karanams and go according to their wishes since they were a more powerful and immediate authority to the cultivators at the village level than even the **Zamindar**.

The Regulation of 1802 however strengthened the power of the local **administrative** machinery in the village. Abolishing the offices of other revenue servants like Deshmukhs, **Deshpandes**, and **Mazumdars** it greatly strengthened the **Karanam's** position. He looked after the registration of gross produce of all lands shared between the proprietors and cultivators, recorded the quantity of grain so divided, fixed the rates of division, and also recorded the extent of land cultivated, and the amount of  
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money collected, and the amount of rent due. As he was the sole revenue authority at the village level the cultivators came to depend on him heavily and also were at his mercy in discharging their economic **transactions**.

With all these provisions the settlement of 1802 transformed the customary relations that were existing between the Zamindars and different groups of cultivations till then into contractual terms. The regulating act while granting proprietary rights in the soil to the Zamindars successfully restricted most of the powers of the Zamindars and clearly specified their position and powers. Even in the economic sphere the assessment was fixed exclusive and independent of all duties, taxes and other collections which were generally known under the denomination of Sayer. In return for his services the Zamindar received certain specified amount of emoluments in the name of Rugums and Saverams.<sup>46</sup> Thus through the settlement of 1802 the Company was able to curtail the power of the Zamindars successfully over a period of time while working with them.

#### **Impact of the Permanent Settlement :**

However, though the permanent Zamindari settlement was introduced with many hopes and guarantees the system did not last long and ironically many Zamindaris were put up for sale for various reasons. Though the first lapse occurred in 1813, within a decade of the introduction of the Permanent Settlement, many other estates continued to pay the peishkash regularly. Table 7.2 shows number of the Zamindari estates, which paid their peishkash regularly.



Table : 7.2

**Zamindaris which paid the Poishkash Regularly**

Name of Zamindaris	Permanent Jumma MPs.	How many years the jumma was regu- larly paid.
1. Nandigama	30,000	16 Years
2. Devarakota	29,340	15
3. Bezwada	10,338	16
4. Mylavaram	5,200	16
5. Charmahal	34,820	13
6. Part of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta	634	16
7. - do -	634	16
8. - do -	634	16
9. - do -	925	16
10. Part of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta	375	16
11. - do -	375	16
12. - do -	376	16
13. - do -	189	15
14. Part of Zammulavayi	1,396	15
15. Part of Medurgutta	208	16
16. Munagala	1,285	16
17. Lingageri	139	16
18. Chintalapudi	3,300	15
19. Nidadavolu	6,000	16
20. Nuzividu	28,000	16

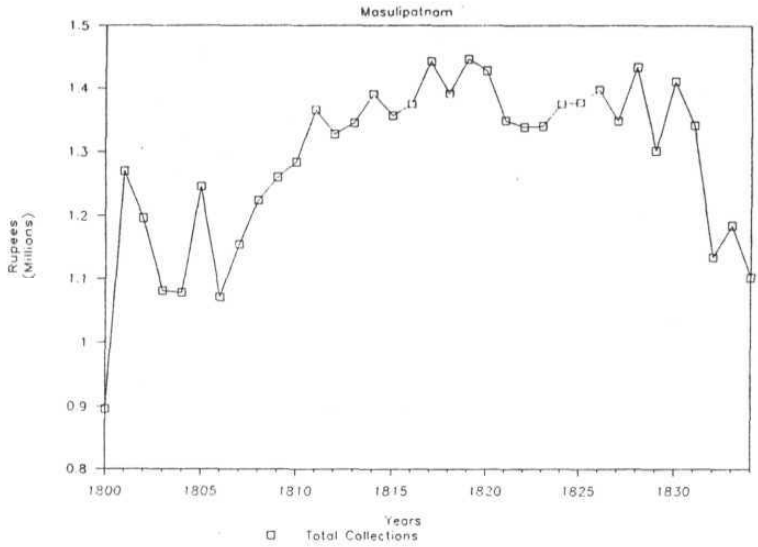
**Source:** Statement of the Zamindaris and Mootahs created under Permanent Settlement. **Miscellaneous Records, v.15, p.22.**

The **permanent jumma** sometimes was fixed very high on **some** estates and some were under assessed. For instance, under the 1802 settlement the peishkash on the **Charmahal** estate was fixed at **Rs.1,21,870**. As the peishkash was too high, the **Zamindar**, Sobanadri Rao refused to take **it** up and then the government leased the estate on account of the Zamindari.<sup>47</sup> This was the estate which for arrears of revenue was put for sale in 1812 and ultimately bought by the government for **Rs.93,000**. But the other estates continued to pay their revenues regularly for approximately sixteen years in the Zamindari estates. Graphs 7.1 and 7.2 illustrates the land revenue demand and collections of the Company in Masulipatnam district. Many of these estates though under the Zamindari System for many years, came under the management of the Company for several reasons like lack of heirs and some of the **Zamindars** being minors they were under the Court of **Wards**.

The Court of Wards intended to introduce a proposal of granting to Collectors a remuneration for their trouble and **responsibility** in managing the estates of disqualified proprietors. But granting this commission to the Collectors out of the surplus funds of minor estates the Board thought would be liable to objection. The Board opined that the equitable mode of remunerating Collectors for their trouble in managing the estates of disqualified proprietors would be to allow them to draw a **commis-**<sup>48</sup> sion of 1 1/2 on the jumma payable to government.

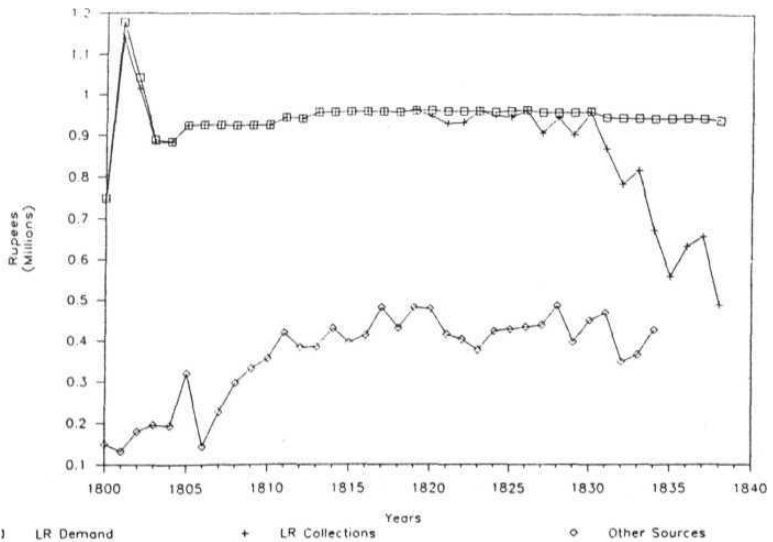
Graph : 7.1

### Total Revenue Collections



Graph : 7.2

### Revenue Demand and Collections



Apart from these factors of excessive burden of revenue on the Zamindars and the inefficient management of the estates by the Zamindars the efficient and systematic manner of its collection was also responsible for the fall of the estates. Another common feature and factor responsible for the revenue arrears was the lavish spending and extravagance made by the Zamindars. The Zamindars vied with each other to out do the other. For example, the Vasireddi Zamindar who was a dominant and leading Zamindar of the region when he went on pilgrimage had to be accompanied with a large contingent of men and material which cost the Zamindari a few lakhs of rupees.

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The family expenditures of the Zamindars, expenses incurred during their marriages and on other occasions reveal the nature and working of the Zamindari which are discussed in chapter 3. Another factor was family feuds which were taken advantage of by others and thus slowly reduced the Zamindars to paupers. The longest of such feuds was the one involving the Zamindar Vasireddi's two adopted sons which continued for three decades at the end of which the Zamindari was reduced to a state of deterioration and came under the

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management of the Company. The Zamindars showed little interest in the management of the Zamindari affairs often indulging in extravagance. The Zamindars under the new policy of the Company were happy to be mere beneficiaries of the estates and allowed the Company officials to manage them on their behalf. This was the case with the Zamindar of Charmahal. As his arrears increased, he expressed his inability to pay the revenue in a

letter to the Collector and requested the Company to take over<sup>51</sup>  
the management of the estate till the conditions improved.

When compared with the Zamindari estates the conditions in the proprietary estates were worse and these estates before finally coming under the management of the government passed through several hands. As the land was regarded as the symbol of wealth the traditional Zamindars of the region vied with one another to possess the proprietary estates. This greatly enhanced the prices of the mootahs and the estates were bought<sup>52</sup> above the jumma rates fixed on them. But in due course of time because of the heaviness of revenue burden and also due to the efficient manner of its collection, many of the estates were voluntarily surrendered, and some were sold to private individuals. For example, the Kaldindi mootah unable to pay the peish-kash was voluntarily surrendered to the government. The estate of Tumidi after the Permanent Settlement passed into the hands of two individuals before it was finally divided into two and bought on account of the government. The same was the case with the<sup>55</sup> estates of Malakacherla and Pedanah.

The Company's revenue management policies in the first decade of the nineteenth century therefore began to erode the traditional structures of power and status and many of the Zamindari and proprietary estates unable to meet the revenue demands, collapsed into economic disarray and were there upon put

on sale to recover the arrears, thus leading to the emergence of a land market in the region. The new system of the Company of selling estates or parts of estates for recovery of dues had occasioned a vast permutation of property and many ancient and opulent families had been thus reduced to a state of depression and indigence.

In 1836 when more and more estates were put up for sale the Company contemplated the principle when the estates were placed temporarily under attachment whether to allow the Zamindar or one of his relatives to manage the estate as Ameens.<sup>54</sup>

The Board decided that in cases where it was essential, a member of the Zamindar family would be selected for the temporary charge of the management. This would mainly to render attachments of estates nominal than real. The Chief advantage in such a measure would be that the estate would be in the hands of one acquainted with and one having an interest in the improvement of the resources of the estate than a stranger who would have to acquire the knowledge of the estate.<sup>55</sup>

### **Ancient Zamindaris : Company's Attitudes And Aspirations**

Many of the Zamindaris in Masulipatnam region failed to live up to the expectations and aspirations of the Company in introducing the Permanent Settlement. When the Permanent Settlement

was concluded with the Zamindars in the region the Company thought that since the Peishkash payable by the Zamindars to the Company was fixed permanently, it would be an incentive for the Zamindars to improve the cultivation and increase the revenues of their estates and efficiently handle them in order to make a huge profit for themselves.

Contrary to the expectations of the Company the very assessment became a financial burden to many of the Zamindaris and this, coupled with factors like the extravagance of the Zamindars, family disputes, inefficient handling of the estates and other external factors, finally sounded a death knell to the Permanent Settlement in the region. Over a period of time the Zamindars had accumulated huge amounts of arrears and thus became indebted to the Company. Even those who paid their Kists regularly became slowly and heavily indebted to the Sahukars or creditors. In the first case, the Company had the right to sequester that part of the estate which would satisfy the arrears amount due to the Company and put up for sale. But in the second case, the Zamindar's estates slowly passed into the hands of the creditors.

With the failure of the Permanent Settlement, the Government began to think of introducing a different land revenue settlement in the region. So it decided slowly to acquire the estates for itself through sale. But as pointed out, some of the Zamindars became largely indebted to the creditors and these Zaminda-

**ris** were passing into the hands of **the** creditors. This, **the** Company thought, would defeat its purpose. So in order to acquire the estates and also to keep its hold on the Zamindars the Company passed a Regulation in 1821. The Regulation specified the government's decision and intention of maintaining the ancient families of distinction **in** these territories in their former dignity and **affluence**, by securing to them and their families the permanent possession of their Zamindaris and their territorial rights. <sup>57</sup> This Regulation covered four major aspects concerning the Zamindars and their estates and were related to -

1. succession **in** ancient families.
2. mode of recovering the arrears of revenue and private debts from the Ancient Zamindaris.
5. relations between the creditors and the Zamindars. <sup>58</sup>
4. the management of Police **in** such Zamindaris.

Francis believed that such moderate estates as require economy and confine the proprietors to live at home were better calculated for duration. The preserving the little Zamindaris entire would certainly be attended **with** many **conveniences**. He believed that for this a new law of inheritance would be required and the rule of **primogeniture** customarily held valid for the larger estates and not the smaller ones must be applied **in** reverse so that the great Zamindaris should be divided equally among all the sons and the small ones descend to the eldest on condition of supporting the younger children. <sup>59</sup>



In the families of all Rajahs, Zamindars, Jagirdars, Poligars and Native Chiefs it had been usual not to divide the family property on the death of the head of the family. Generally the eldest son otherwise the next heir would succeed to the rank and possessions of the family except in cases where a contrary usage might have prevailed or where the head of the family with the consent of the government had made any other lawful arrangement

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for its disposal. The Company did recognize the law of succession in the Zamindaris and followed the existing custom as long as it suited the interests of the government.

But the Company did make certain exceptions and had reserved the right to choose as the Zamindaris were given under a contract. For instance, women were generally considered disqualified except in particular cases to succeed to a Zamindari. Because the government considered them weak and believed that as they had lived in seclusion, women of that rank were in general

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incapable of managing the estates efficiently. It was for this reason, that in the case of Divi, after the death of the Zamindar his son being a minor the Company appointed the father of the mother of the minor Zamindar as the guardian and manager of the estate, of course with the consent of the widow of the

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Zamindar.

The family disputes became a common feature in most of the Zamindaris over property issues. So the Company also recognized

the law that the **Zamindar** should give a reasonable share for the other members of the family in order to prevent disputes. Perhaps the Company **did** approve this measure as it would prevent law suits which continued for years and finally led to the impover-

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**ishment** of the **Zamindars**. Besides these, all the state equipments, elephants, houses, furniture, arms and all family utensils, idols, books and jewels which were considered as essential articles to maintain the **respectability** of the **Samsthan** were

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provided. Though these involved an extravagant expenditure, the Company **did** allow the practice as they were necessary for the maintenance of the status of the Zamindars.

It was the intention of the government not to allow **in** future the sale of ancient **Zamindaris** for arrears of revenue. Where the Zamindar **in** such ancient **Zamindaris** might fail to pay the Permanent **Peishkash** the Collector should sequester the **Zamindari** or such part of **it** as might be necessary, **with** reference to the amount of the balance and take **it** under **Circar** management

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until the arrears were **paid** off. In such cases Zamindar would be considered as the nominal manager of the estate and the government would manage the estate on his behalf. Besides, the government would allow a suitable allowance for the maintenance of the family chargeable to the **Zamindari**.

Though it was the intention of the government to maintain the ancient families intact in their **Zamindaris**, when an individual holding the **Zamindari** failed in his engagements or in his

duties he would be considered to have forfeited his right to the Zamindari. In such cases his restoration or that of one of the members of the family to the Zamindari or the amount for their maintenance **would** entirely depend on the favour of the government and the government also had the right **in** such cases to alter the permanent **Peishkash**.

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To prevent the **Zamindaris** or any part of the **Zamindaris** from passing **into** others hands the Company declared that all ancient Zamindaris for which no Permanent Sanads had been **given**, all **Jagirs**, service Inam lands and generally all territorial possessions attached to offices should not be saleable or transferable or in any way answerable for private debts of the **Zamindars**.

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By this the Company aimed at two objects, one of not hurting the feelings of the Zamindars and also the people generally. Because sale of a Zamindari was a question of status to the **Zamindar**. By **this** measure many of the Zamindars for example the Zamindar of Charmahal as he ran into huge debts voluntarily petitioned to the Company to take up this Zamindari under the government management **till** such time that government dues were realized.

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The Zamindars it would seem were more interested in their titles and their status and position than of the far reaching consequences **it** would have once the Zamindari passed into the government hands. The other objective of gaining control of **estates, in** this way was achieved through a smooth process.

However this facility was not extended to all the Zamindars. The government made a distinction between the ancient Zamindaris and those Zamindars who had acquired the status under the Permanent Settlement. But what was not however very clear was who were the ancient Zamindars? What was the criteria of the government in distinguishing modern Zamindars from the ancient ones. Because there were several opinions in the official records, itself as to whether Masulipatnam Zamindars could be grouped under ancient Zamindars or not? But even if one makes a simple distinction between the two that is, the ancient Zamindars were those who held the Zamindaris from pre colonial times and the modern Zamindars were those created by the British under the Permanent Settlement certain questions are bound to arise. In Masulipatnam region even under the Permanent Settlement the Zamindaris were mostly retained within the family with one or two exceptions. The Haveli lands which were parcelled into proprietary estates were also bought by the same traditional local Zamindars. Thus there was little change in the composition of the Zamindari group even under the Company. In that case how were the modern Zamindars distinguished from the ancient ones?

The Company made it clear that the law of entail applied only to the ancient Zamindari families in which the office and the territorial rights had been hereditary. The mootahdars who had newly purchased the estates or the other landed rights were not covered by the law.

However one thing which comes out clearly was that in all these cases, the Company had the sole right to decide as to who would benefit from these privileges, and to whom to extend them. Service Inamdars and those holding other offices to which lands were attached, or heads of old families and other Zamindars would not enjoy any of these privileges. But even their service lands would not be liable to be sold for private debts. Whereas the lands of the ordinary Zamindars could come up for sale even for private debts.

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The entail Zamindars were not liable to be arrested for any private debts or for any judgments in any civil suits. But the amounts which may be put against any such Zamindars by the Collector should be recovered again by the collection in the same manner as arrears of revenue.

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However the sale of any personal property of the Zamindars to recover such dues could be done. But the Zamindari itself should not be considered in any way answerable for the amount of such awards. The government declared that the sources of the public revenue could not be held answerable to an unlimited extent and for an unlimited time for private debts.

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The Sahukars who might have lent money to Zamindars during the period their Zamindaris were held under the terms of the Permanent Sanads and were alienable for private debts were partly

encouraged to advance their money by means of recovery held out by the present regulations, by the eventual sale of such **Zamindaris** to satisfy decrees of courts.

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It was true that **Sahukars** were perhaps equally ready to lend their money before the **establishment** of the courts. The creditors might have chiefly depended on the honour of the **Zamindars** or were tempted to risk their **money** by the exorbitant interest and bonus which they usually insisted upon.

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But under this Regulation the Company specified that the **Zamindaris** were in some measure answerable for the private debts. But only for the debts which the Zamindars made during the period they held their Zamindars on the terms of the Permanent Settlement were to be recoverable in the same manner from the Collector.

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The Collector shall take the Zamindari under their management and pay the creditors the surplus collections from the Zamindari which might remain after realizing the public revenue and paying the Zamindars an amount for the maintenance of his family which would be fixed by the Collector.

Moreover the Company felt that the Collectors should assist the **Sahukars** in realizing their debts from the **Zamindars**. The Collector should try to settle the disputes **between** the two parties smoothly and in a private settlement avoiding the law suits which would take a long **time** and involve much expense and trouble to both the parties when there was any difficulty in the **settle-**

**ment** of the accounts in the process of the settlement between the two parties the Collector should refer the matter to the Panchayat.<sup>78</sup> The amount of usurious interest and the bonus which the Zamindars in many cases paid on obtaining loans must be rejected by the government on the grounds of usury or at least reduce the amount due for interest to the lawful rate.

Keeping **in view** the **high** social status they enjoyed **in** the locality the Zamindars were exempted from attending the court in person. On their behalf the Company allowed the Zamindars to institute **Vakils**. These **Vakils** would represent the Zamindar in the courts from time to time whenever their presence was necessary **in** the court.

Another important field **in** which the ancient Zamindars were given freedom **in** the management of their internal affairs by the Company was the management of the police **in** such estates. The Company felt that the **establishment** of the police officers of the magistrate in the management of the ancient estates resulted in dissensions. The Company felt that the internal management of the estate should be left to the Zamindars themselves who they thought administered efficiently with the aid of their own people. By this measure the Company did try to please the Zamindars. Moreover on the part of the Company it was saved from the additional **establishment** of police which would incur a lot of expenditure. Section 58 of Regulation 11 of 1816 was intended in

this way to restrain the interference of the magistrate in the police of the ancient Zamindars. <sup>79</sup>

However the Board of Revenue felt that there should be certain simple rules to check the powers of the Rajahs and any abuse of authority by them, but without lowering their position. The Rajahs should afford all the aid and information to the magistrate in preserving peace and that they apprehend and send all offenders to the magistrate for action. <sup>80</sup>

This Regulation had left a lot of authority in the hands of Zamindars. The cultivators position which was not clearly specified in the Permanent Settlement left that to be decided between the Zamindar and the cultivator thus leaving lot of authority in the hands of Zamindar. Having placed police and law and order in the Zamindari hands the Company left the cultivators virtually at the mercy of the Zamindars. The cultivator lost all hopes of law and was subdued. In the event of any oppression by the Zamindars they did not have any other channel to complain as police and internal management of the estates were in the hands of ancient families.

Thus the evidence clearly suggests that the Permanent Settlement which introduced for the first time a regular and systematic process in the revenue administration had a deep negative impact on the rural social structures. For example, the very principles which were introduced to guard the smooth running of the system ironically contributed to the failure of the system.



Another important consequence was the rise of a land market. However the argument that the settlement introduced a social transformation in the region was virtually untenable as can be seen especially in the consideration of the land market which emerged during this period.

#### LAND MARKET AND THE LAND LORDS

The process of change in rural India under British rule was many folded. Land was one of the most important and deeply affected variables of the agrarian world.<sup>81</sup> British policies, especially those relating to land revenue impinged most dramatically on rural attitudes to land thus affecting its value and consequently creating a demand for it. Before the British took possession of the Circars a land market did not exist at all. The new revenue policy of the Company for the first time gave land a commodity status. The creation and sale of proprietary estates under the Permanent Settlement in the district of Masulipatnam brought land to the market on a commercial scale. This in course of time led to the development of land market with the distress sale of defaulting Zamindari estates.

Firstly, it is necessary to examine the emerging land market which was, however, in incipient stages of development in the district of Masulipatnam under the Company's rule. Secondly it is useful to debate the view that the colonial policies had

brought about revolutionary changes in the locality and through them the Company was able to transform the structure and economic base of the rural societies with reference to the social composition of the land owning groups in the region. <sup>82</sup>

In the pre colonial regimes there was little demand for land and consequently there was no real 'land market'. The limited evidence of land sales and transfers that we have under the pre colonial regimes indicates that these were for a different purpose. <sup>85</sup> For example, many inscriptions record several cases of sale and purchase of lands. The old tradition of kings purchasing lands from private individuals continued through the centuries. Kali Vishnuvardhana, the Eastern Chalukya King, purchased some land from a Brahmin for gold to grant it to a temple in a village situated in Nandigama taluk in Krishna District. <sup>84</sup> There are many other such land sales by private individuals recorded in the inscriptions during the pre colonial regimes.

There was plenty of arable land available and in fact it was labour and not land that was scarce during that period. For instance, one form of protest of cultivators against the Zamindars and their oppressions in Masulipatnam as in other parts of India, was to quit their lands. The cultivators usually migrated to neighbouring Zamindaris as they were assured of land for cultivation. <sup>85</sup> This form of protest could only be effective in a land surplus situation. Again, the scarcity of labour was illustrated by the practice of carrying away the agricultural workers

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of a rival **Zamindar**. Similarly, the status of the Zamindar was reflected not so much in the extent of his lands as in the number of the ryots whom he controlled.

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Thus, **while** labour was perceived as **being** valuable, land itself had little value in the **pre-colonial** period. Even during the early phase of the Company rule, land did not acquire any value. There were many reasons for **this**. Firstly, the Company adopted the existing systems of revenue without many changes. As explained **in** the previous chapter this was partly because of the necessity of quickly creating a class of loyal supporters of the new political structure, and partly because of the need for caution in **restructuring** a strange and complex society. The preservation of the existing revenue and social structures meant, **in** turn, that there was no large disturbance **in** the social map of the region. Even when the Company was forced by political exigencies to quell some troublesome **Zamindars**, this was not necessarily followed by any radical rupture **with** previous socio-economic **configurations**. That **is**, land **rarely**, if ever, was put on **'sale'**.

**However**, it is necessary to know briefly the origins of the development of land market and also the revenue defaulters cases in the pre-colonial regimes. Till the introduction of the Permanent Settlement the primary means of the government for the realization of arrears of revenue were traditional coercive

measures such as imprisonment and torture. The Company also **disapproved** of the sale of estates for arrears of revenue in the early stages of its rule out of political **considerations**, since **indiscriminate** sales of Zamindaris **in** disregard of their antiquity and their place **in** the rural society were always attended **with** some degree of opposition. Besides, **in** the pre Permanent Settlement period the powers of **Zamindars** being many and militarily also as they were more powerful the Company for several reasons <sup>89</sup> allowed the Zamindars to continue **in** their position.

One of the reasons for the lack of demand for land may be due to the fact that capital was kept away from land because trade **with** Europe on government loans was a more profitable investment, and that the land revenue still weighed too heavily upon the landlords and that the legal provisions against the defaulters were so dissuasive that the profits of agriculture <sup>90</sup> remained too low.

It has been suggested that another reason for the lack of a **land market** was the heavy burden of land revenue and other taxes <sup>91</sup> **imposed** by the **pre-colonial** regimes. **This is** debatable, because **if** it was the heaviness of the land revenue assessment that affected the land market, this situation was more true of the Company government. Under the Company government, especially **after** the **Permanent Settlement** of 1802, the land revenue collections were more **systematized** and more ruthlessly collected.

This, as we shall see, did not hinder the emergence of a land market. On the contrary, it stimulated the growth of a land market. The Permanent Settlement if it did no more, it was argued, did much by rendering land in the process of time a valuable property and a security for the realization of the revenue.

The formation of a land market resulted from several factors. The policy of the Company of putting the estates on public sale in the case of default was the main reason. Besides the inability of many Zamindars and more so of proprietors to cope with the increased revenue demand, the eagerness of the purchasers to acquire more land as land was a symbol of rural status and power. The revenue demand and the vigour of revenue collections of the Company under the Permanent Settlement was also the reason. However it was the famine of 1853 that quickened the process though the first lapse had occurred as early as 1813.

What critically affected the structures and patterns of land holding in the region, was the introduction of the Permanent Settlement of 1802, which marked a significant new departure. In the region the lands under the Company's rule consisted of both Zamindari and Haveli. Here too, in the Zamindari tracts, the existing Zamindars were confirmed in their previous positions and they were made the owners of the estates.

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In Bengal and other provinces the land market slowly emerged with the defaulting estates coming for sale because of Company's

new revenue policy. In the Northern Circars the land market was in its incipient stages of growth by 1802 and 1803 itself when the Company had decided to create proprietary estates even in the Haveli lands. Thus with the proprietary estates coming on to sale in the Masulipatnam district for the first time, land had come to market in commercial terms.

While in early Nineteenth Century Bengal, land control remained in essence what it had been at all times, that is power over a stretch of land and its inhabitants, legitimized by such considerations as consequent antiquity of settlement, length of occupation and so on, the man who purchased land at a public sale after its legitimate owner had been forced to part with it was not unnaturally viewed as an intended and an usurper unless he managed to compel recognition by force, which possibly brought every body back to the more familiar situation of a conflict for power. Cases when defaulting Zamindars violently opposed their property being sold by order of the court were numerous after the  
9?  
passing of the Permanent Settlement.

The authors of the Permanent Settlement believed that the principle of natural selection was implicit in the law of the market : only the fittest must survive. Thomas Law had hoped that in this process the ignorant, extravagant or indigent would sell to the able, prudent or wealthy who would improve the lands. They hoped that the land market would produce a new pattern of

proprietorship based on enterprise rather than ancestry. In Masulipatnam also, no doubt the inefficient land lords were weeded out. But unfortunately as in the case of Bengal the land market did not produce a new set of enterprising proprietors. The estates as would be shown were bought by the same Zamindars and after a time most of them passed into the hands of the government.

The Zamindari and proprietary estates were often subdivided and were put up for sale. The Malakacherla estate was broken up and sold in six portions. Some of the portions were partly sold because of owner's private debts and some partly because of the government revenue demands. Of these one portion was bought by the government and the other two portions were bought by two individuals.<sup>95</sup>

These increasing subdivisions led to personal rivalries among the Zamindars. Due to the litigations and family feuds in the Zamindari families most of the estates were divided between or among the sons. For instance, Pedanah was divided into Pedanah and Pedapatnam between the two sons of the original Zamindar.<sup>96</sup> Tumidi was divided into Tumidi and China Pundreka. These subdivisions were more in the Haveli lands when compared to the Zamindaris.<sup>97</sup> The Haveli mootahs which were originally small were thus further subdivided.

Thus in the Haveli lands, the lands belonging to the Company circar, proprietary estates were created parcelling out the land

into small mootahs. In Masulipatnam district the whole of the **Haveli** land **was** parcelled out **into** 14 mootahs, their size varying depending on the number of villages in each **mootah**. When compared to the Zamindari estates these proprietary estates were small, the smallest mootah being that of **Kovali** with four villages and the largest being Guduru **with** fifty two villages. **This disproportion in their size** must have been due to the scattered spatial distribution of **Haveli** lands **in** and around the towns under the **pre-colonial** regimes. Table 7.5 shows **list** of **Haveli** lands and the number of villages each estate consisted of which gives us an idea of the position of proprietary estates **in** Masulipatnam district.



**Table : 7.5****Size of Haveli Estates in Masulipatnam district**

S.No.	Name of the Estates	No.of Villages in each
1.	Eluru	8
2.	Kovali	4
5.	Pedapadu	8
4.	Vasantavada	<b>12</b>
5.	Malakacherla	18
6.	Crutivenu	9
7.	Kaldindi	8
8.	Kondapalli	14
9.	Vallursamut	<b>10</b>
10.	Guduru	52
11.	Akulamannadu	6
12.	Inaguduru	14
15.	Pedanah	17
14.	Six Islands	6

Source : Statement of the Zamindaris and Proprietary Estates created under Permanent Settlement, Miscellaneous Records, v.15, p.57.

In these estates the Company sought to create a new class of proprietors loyal to the British. As the amount of the revenue demand was fixed forever, the government expected a rapid rise in the value of the new estates, since any surplus income accruing from cultivation would now revert entirely to the land lords themselves instead of the state.

In the initial stages when the Haveli lands were put up for sale the regional Zamindars bought several of the proprietary estates at more than their original assessment. As possession of land was one of the rural status symbols the regional Zamindars vied with one another in purchasing these estates. Table 7.4 shows the sale price of the estates and the profit margin to the purchaser.

**Table : 7.4**

**Profit Margin to the Purchaser in the Haveli Estates**

<b>Mootahs</b>	<b>Amount of Sale</b>	<b>How many folds the amount sale is above that of the profit</b>
1. Eluru	54.162-8-0	11- 9
2. Kovali	36,137-8-0	7-12
3. Pedapadu	35,525-8-0	9- 5
4. VasantaVada	49.087-8-0	26-14
5. Malakacherla	55.000-0-0	21- 5
6. Crutivenu	15.487-8-0	25- 5
7. Kaldindi	56.087-8-0	104- 8
8. Kondapalli	33,110-0-0	551-13
9. Vallursamut	61,600-0-0	61,600
10. Guduru	19.057-8-0	11-12
11. Akulamannadu	1,540-0-0	1,540-
12. Inuguduru	3,657-8-0	3,657- 8
13. Pedanah	1,036-4-0	30- 4
14. Six Islands	8.566-4-0	8,566- 4

**Source :** Collector C.Roberts to the BOR, 21.4. 1826, PBOR, v.1061 pp.3937-3940.

The proprietary estates as mentioned above were sold at such high rates because the Zamindars anticipated that they would make a profit. But in reality for many small estates the peishkash amount was fixed too high that is beyond the estimated figures of the Circuit Committee. For instance, for the mootahs of Vallur samut, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru and Six Islands the rates were too high.

**Table : 7.5**

Proposed Peishkash and actual **Jumma** on the **Haveli** Estates

<b>Mootahs</b>	CC Estimate MPs.	Actual peishkash Amount MPs.
Vallur Samut	1,795- 0- 0	21,897-12-2
Akulamannadu	2,455- 8- 0	2,712-10-9
Inuguduru	4,933- 0- 0	6,546-10-5
Six Islands	9,166- 8- 0	9,208- 5-2

Source: Statement of the **Zamindaris** and Mootahs created under Permanent Settlement, Miscellaneous Records, v.15, p.52.

For certain other mootahs the peishkash amount was less than the circuit committee estimates. For example, it was reported that the best and the lightest assessed Zamindari in Masulipatnam  
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was Gundagolanu. Table 7.6 shows the circuit committee estimated **jumma** on the estates and the actual peishkash amount and also the amount of profit to the purchasers.

**Table : 7.6**

<b>Mootahs</b>	Sale of Some of the <b>Haveli</b> Estates CC Estimate	Peishkash Amount	Profit to Purchaser
Eluru	27,722- 7- 6	23,042- 4- 0	4.679- 3- 6
Kovali	23,574-11- 0	18,906- 0-11	4,668-10- 1
Pedapadu	20.189- 1- 3	16,379-14- 1	3.809- 3- 2

Source : **F.W.Morris**, Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement Krishna district to **H.Newill** Director Revenue Settlement, Madras 25.2.1861, Report on the Assessment of the Masulipatnam portion of the Kistna district, 1861. pp.3-6.

When compared to the **Haveli** estates the profit to the purchaser in Zamindari estates was less. As the Zamindari estates were retained mostly in the family itself and perhaps as there was not much competition in these estates the value of existing Zamindari lands must have been less. Table 7.7 suggests that this was indeed the case.

Table : 7.7

Profit margin to the purchaser in Zamindari Estates

S.N.	Zamindaris	Peishkash	Net profit to Purchaser	Amount sale	How many folds the profit
1.	Part of <b>Charmahal</b>	18252- 2- 1	24937- 8- 0	24957- 8- 0	0
2.	Part of Charmahal	12506- 2- 8	12377- 8- 0	12577- 8- 0	0
5.	<b>Tumidi</b>	12696- 4- 5	559- 5- 5	16099-12- 5	44-15- 0
4.	<b>Chatrayi</b>	104- 4- 0	1981- 0- 5	11200- 0- 0	5-10- 0
5.	<b>Vinukota</b>	49-14- 0	551-15-10	1450- 0- 0	4- 5- 0
6.	<b>Gudivada</b>	20-10- 5	98- 5- 6	500- 0- 0	5- 1- 0

**Source:** C. Roberts, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 21.4.1826, 'A Collection of papers relating to the value of land in the early Nineteenth Century Madras, (1916), SRMG, New Series, 20, p.54.

The policy makers believed that when the **quit** rent was **fixed**, there could be no dearth of purchasers. Some of the Zamindars would lose their estates either for reasons of poverty and incapacity or from sheer distrust of the government and the

reluctance to come to a settlement. In all such cases, a transfer of landed property to moneyed people who were able to **make** improvements would be in some degree advantageous to government. The development of a land market was thus an important condition for the progress of their plan and the success of the **improve-**  
101  
**ments** visualized by **it**.

The Company thought that the new settlement would improve the land revenue collections and also systematize the process. But the actual results were contrary to the **expectations**, and quite rapidly, several **Zamindaris** were put up for sale. The primary reason for this was the heavy revenue burden the Company regime imposed on the **Zamindars**, having calculated the permanent assessment on the basis of the land revenue figures of the previous thirteen years, without **consideration** of the real resources  
102  
of the estates.

Thus, many of the estates were over assessed. In 1802, at the Permanent Settlement **Rs. 1,21,870** was fixed on the estate of **charmahal**. The **Zamindar Sobhanadri** Rao refused to take up the Zamindari as the peishkash amount was too high. Therefore, the government leased out the Zamindari on account of the Zamindar. But some Zamindars, like Vasiredi of **Chintapalli**, who could exert some influence with the Company, could escape  
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with a lighter assessment.

This excessive burden was rendered even more oppressive and detrimental because of the systematic and efficient manner of its collection. For instance, the peishkash on the Zamindari for Bezwada was fixed at Rs. 36,885. As the Zamindar died without any heirs, and as the Zamindar's widow was still a minor the Zamindari had passed under the management of the Court of Wards in 1831. By 1835, the wife of the Zamindar having attained majority assumed the charge of the estate. But arrears of revenue had accumulated though the estate was under the management of the Company to Rs. 1,49,769. Besides a considerable amount was due as debts to private individuals. So the estate was put up for sale in 1836. But the sale of the estate was postponed as the Zamindar of Nuzividu, a relative to the widow agreed to pay the debts due to individuals and to the Company in installments.<sup>105</sup>

However as the arrears continued to accumulate the estate was put up for sale again in 1846. As there were no competitors the estate was purchased by the government for Rs. 3000 and the Zamindar's widow was allowed to receive a monthly pension of Rs.

<sup>106</sup>  
150. The Company's revenue management policies in the first decade of the nineteenth century, therefore, began to erode the traditional structures of power and status, demands, collapsed into economic disarray, and were thereupon put on sale to recover the arrears, thus leading to the development of a land market in the region.

This process was further accelerated by the new system the Company introduced, of putting parts of the estates for sale for recovery of dues. This was considered to be an improvement over the older system of sequestering the entire estate of a defaulting <sup>107</sup> **Zamindar**. Under the new system, only a part of the estate of value equivalent to the amount due to the Company was required to be put on sale, the expectation being that the **Zamindars** would thereby be induced to improve the estates and pay the revenue regularly, for fear of losing the **entire** estate otherwise.

Where proprietors of land fell **into** arrears they would be liable to pay interest at the rate of **17%** per month from the date when such arrears should have become due. The kists had to be **paid** on the fifteenth of the month. If discharges on or before the first ensuing month no interest **would** be charged. From the fifteenth day when the **kist** fell due and **if it** had appeared that the public revenue was wilfully withheld by the defaulter or that the arrears were **ascribable** to the neglect, misconduct or **mismanagement** of the **Zamindars** then the Board was competent to impose a penalty of **1%** per month on the arrears **in** addition to the prescribed interest to be **paid** from the time when the arrears might have become due until they be charged or until the estates or farms of the defaulters might have become due until they be discharged or until the estates or farms of the defaulters might have attached in which case the additional penalty was to <sup>108</sup> **cease**.

But one of the difficulties and inconvenience experienced under the Permanent Settlement, was experienced in dividing the estates, portions of which were exposed to sale either voluntarily by the proprietors or compulsorily by the government for the realization of arrears of revenue.

In dividing the estate put up for sale voluntarily the separation of the smallest share was often attended with as much trouble and expense as a new assessment of the whole village and from the clashing interests of the different parties concerned, many obstacles were interposed that sometimes a delay of years took place before a division could be finally accomplished.

In the second case it was always a matter of great difficulty to guard against disproportionate allotments of the jumma and thus sacrificing the public interests on the one hand or doing  
109  
injustice to the defaulter on the other.

However, the sale of small portions of estates made it possible for a land market to emerge in this region, although it needs to be noted that for various reasons, the market did not  
110  
grow as rapidly here, as it did in the Godavari district.

In the southern district of Guntur, which had been brought under the Zamindari system at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Collector still noted as late as 1820 that no lands



of whatever description were usually bought and sold either

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publicly or by private contract. **This** was true of Masulipatnam district also. Pouchepadass was right in pointing out that such a case had become exceptional by that date. Even **in** the Northern Circars mainly **in** Godavari district the Zamindari estates were put up for auction as early as 1812. It was only in Guntur and Masulipatnam we have Collectors reporting that revenue was regularly **paid** for long years.<sup>112</sup> The land had come to the market considerably only after **1830s**. It would be interesting to study why only in **Masulipatnam** the case was different and what were the reasons.

As the estates and the portions of estates came on **sale**, they found ready **buyers**, who either saw **in** these new opportunities for maximizing their wealth and incomes, or were impelled by the traditional associations between land and rural power to **acquire** more land. Two important consequences of this were an increase in the **size** of some estates, and the creation of estates which were scattered across the region. For instance, Vasireddy, the **Zamindar** of **Chintapalli**, acquired possessions as far away as Masulipatnam also.<sup>113</sup>

For example, the first lapse in Masulipatnam region occurred in 1812. The parganas of **Korukollu** and **Bhittarzalli** which were part of the **Charmahal** estate were sold by auction in liquidation of the balances. The two parganas were bought by the government

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for Rs. 93,000. It is interesting to note that the Company which paid such a huge amount for two parganas in 1812 took possession of the entire estate of Bezwada only for Rs. 3,000 in 1846. Perhaps in the beginning as the land was put up for sale for the first time there was much competition.

The sales of estates and the prices they fetched at the sales were related in a fairly complex fashion, perhaps because they were affected by several factors. It might be logical to assume that when there was a great demand for estates, prices would be high. Indeed the prices these estates fetched were quite high. In a fully developed open market prices are self regulated and vary according to supply and demand. But in the case of nineteenth century land market in Company possessions the prices were fixed depending on the arrears amount and sometimes it was either too low or too high because then land was not generally recognized as a commodity.

What was the price situation in Masulipatnam district which was characterized by the existence of numerous other description of lands in addition to the Zamindari estates?

Apart from the sale of Zamindari and Haveli estates there was a great demand for different kinds of Inam lands. These lands which were grants by kings and other officials to private individuals were also sold to private individuals in Masulipatnam district. During the first half of the Nineteenth Century sixty

three such sales were recorded in the **Zilla** Court of Masulipatnam. However unlike the Zamindari estates they were not big and sometimes consisted of one or only two cutties of land.<sup>117</sup> It is interesting to note that in the sale of different kinds of Inam lands both the Hindus and Muslims were involved. In some cases the Muslim Inam lands were purchased by the Hindus and the Inam lands of the Hindus were purchased by Muslims.<sup>116</sup>

In the district of Masulipatnam the value that different descriptions of lands fetched to **its** original assessment ranged from 7 3/4 to 61,600 fold. The **Charmahal** Zamindari which was in two divisions was disposed of by public auction in Collector's Cutcherry on account of arrears and **it** was sold 17 folds its revenue which was considered a low rate. Generally the sale of Jagir and Mokasa villages which were rent free fetched considerably a superior rate. However sometimes even the Jagir, Mokasa or Inam lands fetched less prices. For example, **kattubadi** Inam lands were sold at only four folds and **Lakhiraj** lands were sold at **six folds**.<sup>117</sup>

In the Masulipatnam district the value of land was chiefly to be ascribed to the authority both actual and nominal with which purchasers thereby became invested which no other activity gives. The actual authority was that which they as land holders possess in common **with all Zamindars** and the nominal authority was that assumed by every land holder in taking the title of

Rajah. The later **consideration** seemed to be the principal.  
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inducement to possess landed property.

However, among them prices varied depending on the fertility of the **soil** and their nearness to the irrigation sources. Besides **these**, the **Zamindar's** name and **his administration** also counted. For instance, it was the lands of **Vasireddi** which had higher value than the other Zamindari lands.

While the increasing prices of the estates put on sale indicated the growth of the land market, another crucial denominator of the new structures that were emerging as a result of these land transactions were the social composition of the buyers. The question of who the buyers were assumes critical importance in any discussion of the social consequences of the Permanent Settlement, especially because of the traditional assumption that the Settlement initiated a **revolutionary transformation** of  
119  
rural society. Who then, was the buyer in Masulipatnam region?

Sometimes parts of the Zamindari estates and proprietary ones were sold to private individuals for many reasons. Some of the estates changed hands twice or thrice before they were finally bought by the government. For instance, Vasantavada was originally bought by Toleti **Ramarazu** for **Rs. 49,087**. Soon after

wards it was privately sold to Kocherlakota Venkata Rayudu. For arrears of revenue when the estate came up for sale again it was bought by **Bommadevara Naganna Naidu**. Another example was that of Pedapatnam which formed a part of Pedanah. In 1824 it sold privately for **Rs. 17,000**. Sometimes the estates were bought for a **high** price. The Pedapatnam **mootah** was one such case. The excessive personal rivalries between the **Zamindars** was one of the factors for the high prices of the estates.

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In 1821 the Company clearly specified its policy regarding the purchasing of the estates. Having specified its policy of acquiring the estates and introducing a uniform new revenue system throughout its territories, the Board placed **discretionary** authority in Collectors in buying the estates to defeat the artifices which would be resorted to for raising the price if it were known that all **mootahs** were to be bought on account of government.

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As the estates both Zamindari and Proprietary were in heavy debts there were no immediate buyers. So the Company bought most of the estates at throw away prices. Table 7.8 shows the number of estates bought by the government and the prices it fetched.

Table : 7.8  
Estates bought by the Government

Estates	Years	Price in Rs.
Pedanah and Pedapatnam)	1857	11,660
Pedapadu	1844	53,000
Valavadam	1846	38,000
Nidadavolu	1847	16,000
Tamidi	1847	5,000
China Pundreka	1847	4,000
Kaldindi	1849	500
Akulamannadu	1849	500
Inuguduru	1849	1,000
Six Islands	1849	1,000
Gudur	1851	5,000

Source: Compiled from the evidence in, Report on the Assessment of the Masulipatnam portion of the Kistna district 1861-1865. pp. 1-7.

The Company made its objective clear in **saying** that their **main** objective was to recover possession of the **mootahs** and only a secondary object to obtain payment of arrears of revenue out of the price at which they might be sold. However it **did** place certain **restrictions**. The Collectors were ordered not to purchase any **mootah** at more than **its** value and they ought not to be imposed upon by the schemes of fraudulent **bidders**, but with these

exceptions all mootahs put up for sale should be purchased on  
122  
account of government.

The estates especially the proprietary ones which were in large arrears of revenue to the government as mentioned above were bought by the government. As the Company's object was mainly to recover the estates from individuals, the government as soon as it took possession of the mootahs the balances due to the government were struck off. For instance, the balances due to government from Tumidi and China Pundreka mootahs amounted to Rs. 1,51,209. The entire amount was written off by the Company. Same was the case with Pedanah and Pedapatnam. The arrears amounting to Rs. 41,259 were written off in 1857. Others were Guduru <Rs. 19,594> and Pedapadu (Rs. 50,580).<sup>125</sup> Perhaps this must have acted as an incentive in the worst cases to the Zamindars to surrender their estates to the government.

But later on many of the estates reverted back to the government due to lack of purchasers. The estates which were attached to the government for arrears of revenue and put up for sale did not attract any buyers and remained in the hands of government. For instance, the estates of Vasireddi Ramanadha Babu, four taluks in Nandigama, Six Islands, Inuguduru, Akulamanadu, Kaldindi, China Pundreka in the Tumedi estate of Suraneni Venkata Pathi Rao, Korukollu division in the Charmahal estates and three taluks in the Bezwada estate were put up for sale.

Table : 7.9  
Estates reverted to the Government for Arrears of Revenue

	included in the estate	to government	of which the estate was surrendered
1. Bezwada	3	1846	3,02,750- 0- 3
2. Charmahal	1	1846	1,04,849- 4- 6
3. Tumedi	1	1847	97,428- 9-11
4. Nandigama	4	1849	2,34,692-14-10
5. Six Islands	1	1846	67,300- 5- 3
6. Inuguduru	1	1849	1,24,013-14- 1
7. Akulamannadu	1	1849	52,523-15- 5
8. Kaldindi	1	1849	40,619- 6- 4

Source: R.J. Porter Collector Masulipatnam to W.H. Bayley, secretary to BDR, Ft. St. George. 16.7.1850, PBOR, v. 2249, p.10901-10911.

There were many conditions and regulations for buying the estates. Transfer or gifts of land was allowed and was recognized by the courts. A Zamindar or a proprietor of an estate had the liberty to transfer without the previous consent of the government to whomever he liked either by sale, gift or otherwise his proprietary right in the whole or in any part of his Zamindari. Where proprietors of land fell into arrears they would be liable to pay interest at the rate of 7X per month when such arrears shall have become due. Always persons desirous of becoming



ing purchasers of land may not participate in the proceedings. They can depute authorized agents or Vakeels on their behalf. In the event of any purchase being made under a fictitious name the deposit made on account of such purchase will be liable to be  
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forfeited to the government and the estate was to be resold.

Even in the purchase money 15% of it was required to be paid immediately after the sale and payment of the remaining amount could be done in one month's time. If any one failed to do it such estates were resold at the risk of the first purchaser. Purchasers of land were not to be held responsible for any arrears of revenue due to the government from the lands sold to them prior to the date of purchase unless it was otherwise stipulated in writing.  
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Europeans were not allowed directly or indirectly to participate in the purchase of land and in the event of any estate being purchased in participation with an European or a descendant of a European it would be liable to forfeiture to the government  
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together with the deposit money.

The evidence of the records indicates very clearly that most of the Zamindari estates put on sale were purchased either by the same Zamindar or members of the families of the erstwhile Zamindars. For instance, in Masulipatnam district, the Zamindari estates of Devarakota, Part of Charmahal, Chintalapudi and Zammulavayi and Medurgutta estates were purchased by the original

Zamindars only. The Devarakota Zamindari was retained by its original Zamindar Erlagadda Ankenaidu and Charmahal by Kamadana Sobanadri Rao. Again in the district, we have many cases of estates being bought by sons or brothers of the previous Zamindars. For example the estates of Bezwada. Mylavaram, Munagala, Nuzividu and Zammulavayi estates were purchased by sons. In Masulipatnam district we find that there were no non familial  
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buyers at all.

However there is some change in the owners of the Zamindari estates later on when they were put up for sale for recovery of arrears. For example, the Charmahal estate which consisted of two divisions and was under the possession of Sobanadri Rao purchased by Zamindars of Mylavaram and Bezwada, that is Sooraneni Lutchmarow and Venkata Narsanna Rao respectively. But in this case also it went out of the family possession but purchased by the other regional Zamindars.

From this, we may quite safely conclude that the sale of estates in the early years at any rate, did not precipitate any radical change in the social composition of the rural elites. What is particularly striking is that even when the purchaser was an outsider, that is, one not directly related by kinship ties to the erstwhile Zamindars. he was invariably another Zamindar of  
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the region.

What was the situation in the so called proprietary estates? These estates which were fourteen in number were created out of the Haveli lands. These proprietary estates were purchased by the Zamindars of Guntur. For instance, the Haveli lands of Kondapalli, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru, six Islands and Nizampatnam were purchased by the Guntur Zamindar Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu. Pedanah was purchased by Erlagadda Nageswara Naidu and Vallur Samut and Gundur parganas were bought by Bommadevara Naganna who alone was an outsider out of 14 estates put on sale in Masulipatnam seven were purchased by Vasireddi the Zamindar of Chintapalli.

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These estates were purchased by Vasireddi Zamindar very cheaply except the Kondapalli mootah. Till 1816 the estate's management seemed to be remunerative. But with the death of the original Zamindar, Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu litigations commenced between his two adopted sons leading to unsettled management. As the arrears accumulated the estates were bought in by the government in 1849. The government bought the mootah of Akulamannadu for Rs.500 and Inuguduru and six islands were bought for Rs. 1,009 each, whereas the purchaser of Vallur Samut paid three times the peishkash amount. The annual peishkash amount on the estate was MP's.5454-22-73 and estate was sold for MP's 16000-0-0. As in the case of other estates the prices of these estates were merely nominal and there was no one to bid against the government when the estates were burdened with heavy debts.

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**Table : 7.10**

Estates **purchased** by **the** Government

Estates	Annual Peishkash MP - F - C	Purchased for MP - F - C
Kondapalli	4,090-38-15	8,600-0-0
Akulamannadu	672-50-44	400-0-0
Inuguduru	1,636-15-22	950-0-0
Six Islands	2.272-50-44	2,225-0-0
Nizampatnam	16.000-0-0	11.500-0-0

**Source** : R.J.Porter, Collector Masulipatnam district to  
W.H.Bayley Secretary to BOR, 16.7.1850, PBOR, p.10901.

The purchase of the proprietary estates by the regional Zamindars themselves raises certain questions? Why was it that there were not many outsiders?

One major reason which perhaps dissuaded 'the outside' bidders from attending the public auctions was that it was often difficult for a purchaser to take possession of the land he had bought unless he had rural power and was as powerful as the Zamindars. But in case of the **Haveli** estates as they were not **geographically** well situated this must have dissuaded many outsiders.

One major reason which dissuaded bidders from attending the public auctions was that it **was** often difficult for a purchaser to take possession of the land he had bought. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why there were not many outside purchasers and only regional Zamindars bought the estates. Even then unless the purchaser was a big one powerful **Zamindar** it was difficult to assert his new right in the estate that too as the estates were sold in parts it was difficult even to maintain their distinction **with** overlapping.

From the statistics mentioned above, it **is** clear that there was some **redistribution** of rural power, in the sense that there was a blurring of the traditional boundaries, with Zamindars outside the Masulipatnam region seizing the new **opportunities** to acquire estates there. Again, however, what **is** significant here **is** not so much the spatial **redistribution** of rural wealth important as **it** was. but the fact that the new purchasers were old **Zamindars**.

Thus the Permanent Settlement introduced in Masulipatnam region **in** 1802 was not entirely new. It formalized various existing arrangements. But What the Permanent Settlement failed to do, however, was to regulate the relations between the peasant and the Zamindar, and this was to have long term consequences.

The Permanent Settlement did not **fulfill** all the expectations of the Company. One expectation that was indeed satisfied

was the emergence of a land market in the region. Though the formation of a land market was the result of many factors, the Company's policy of putting revenue defaulting estates on sale was the single most important factor. **Indeed**, the Company itself had strongly believed that because of the Permanent Settlement, inefficient landlords would be weeded out and that a new land owning class would emerge based on enterprise rather than ancestry.

But the evidence from the Masulipatnam region suggests that most of the Zamindari estates put on sale were purchased either by the same **Zamindar** or by members of the families of erstwhile **Zamindars**. With the exception of one or two cases, there were no non familial buyers in Masulipatnam region at all. What **is** particularly striking **is** that even when the purchaser was an outsider, that **is** one not related by kinship **ties** to the erstwhile Zamindar, he was invariably another traditional Zamindar. Thus, **it** can be argued that the sale of estates **in** the early years of the Company's rule did not precipitate any radical change **in** the social composition of the rural estates. Obviously, the Company quickly recognized the vital necessity of supporting the Zamindari system so that **it** could act as a prop for the new state.

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## 8. IRRIGATION AND THE ECONOMY

A major determinant of any agrarian economy is the availability of water for irrigation. Located as it was in the Krishna - Godavari delta, Masulipatnam was particularly rich in water resources. Nevertheless, the question of irrigation must loom large in the agrarian history of the district.

The delta districts of Krishna, Guntur, East and West Godavari are presently viewed as the growth pockets in Coastal Andhra region.<sup>1</sup> This was made possible by the construction of Krishna and Godavari Anicuts from the mid nineteenth century onwards. After the construction of the anicut, the river Krishna irrigates the whole of Guduwada, Divi, Bandar, Pedanah Kaikalur taluks and also a portion of Bezwada and Eluru taluks. The waters of Godavari irrigate parts of the Eluru and Gundagolanu taluks. The taluks which were mainly benefited by the two river systems under canal irrigation were termed the delta taluks. But some portions of the district which did not benefit under this scheme depended<sup>2</sup> mainly on tank and other sources of irrigation.

Summing up the agrarian situation of the region the Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement stated in the 1860s that the amount of irrigable land in the delta was 2,01,517 acres. Of this 73,052 acres were cultivated in 1858. 46.854 under anicut channels and 26,198 under tanks. In the upland taluks there were

14,525 acres of land out of which **8,847** acres were cultivated. The dry cultivable acreage was 4,05,558 acres of which 2,11,844<sup>5</sup> acres were brought under plough.

Thus the net result of the **wide** net work of irrigation channels was total increase in the area of cultivation, changes **in** the cropping patterns, and agrarian expansion and growth.

Against this background, **it** seems important to analyze the operation and working of the irrigation systems **in** the region **in** the pre **anicut** period. In the pre **anicut** agrarian world what were the irrigation systems? How were they organized and controlled?

#### **Irrigation Systems - A Review :**

Though some taluks of Masulipatnam were benefited from the irrigated waters of Godavari the **main** irrigation **in** the district was from the river Krishna which has **its** source **in** the western ghats and the flows of which were, therefore, mainly affected by the South West monsoons. The river Krishna received considerable accessions during the later part of its course through Hyderabad and Palnadu both of which it drained and from which many small streams flowed into **it**. For what was termed a full river it needed the aid of both the monsoons. When either failed the river did not attain **its** ordinary height, but when the South West **monsoon** failed the condition was disastrous and injurious to

cultivation. The river ~~was~~ generally full from the beginning of June to November and during the remaining six months it contained very little water.

However the river water was not fully made use of by the cultivators by the cutting of channels and storing water in the reservoirs which could have improved the cultivation further. The main reasons given by the cultivators for the neglect of such facilities was that the seasons made them unnecessary. <sup>5</sup> As the river was generally full from June to November, a time which coincided with the agricultural operations of the region for the main crop, the cultivators perhaps had developed this kind of attitude about storing water and utilizing it later for other crops. The river Krishna enters the alluvial tract just twenty miles above Bezwada and contained a number of islands some of which were of considerable size, both inhabited and cultivated. <sup>6</sup>

In South India, as the monsoons were generally inadequate, artificial irrigation became an imperative need. But as the rivers were mostly rain fed the water level fluctuated considerably during the year. Therefore the canal system of irrigation did not develop much in South India. Storing rain and high flood water in special reservoirs or with the help of dams became the main method of irrigation. <sup>7</sup>

The institutions of water control as pointed out by Vaidyanathan have to be viewed in relation to agro climatic conditions, the technology of water control and of agriculture, land tenure and other factors which define the context in which these institutions function and which to some extent condition their characteristics.<sup>8</sup>

In the Masulipatnam region the various sources of irrigation for the cultivation of lands generally were rivers, channels, tanks and wells. Generally a particular type was dominant in a particular region depending on the agro climatic conditions of the region. Besides, the scale of irrigation works determined who their sponsor would be. Schematically speaking rich peasants dug wells, chiefs built tanks and kings built large dams, while the local land owners dug channels, village distributaries and other relatively small works like temporary dams.<sup>9</sup> Table 8.1 demonstrates the geographical distribution of various sources of irrigation in different taluks of Masulipatnam.



## Tank Irrigation :

In Masulipatnam district apart from the river systems, tank irrigation played a crucial role in agricultural production. The large tanks were not excavated but formed by constructing bunds wherever natural facilities existed as across valleys, round depressions.

A necessary feature of the tanks was the sluice or vent which acted as a safety valve during the monsoons. The size of these sluices, locally called calingulahs, differed depending on the capacity of the tank. To obviate the danger of an excessive influx of water, most tanks were provided with an outlet called a calingulah. Calingulah was a work generally of masonry in large tanks, in others often of rough stone. It was built in the bund near one end of it in such a way that any excess water could escape over it. It was of such width and gorge as to be sufficient to carry off all such surplus water. This opening was closed towards the end of the rainy season so as to keep the tank full. This was done by means of straw and turf. To aid this operation the crown of the Calingulahs were generally provided with a row of rough granite posts about three or four feet high, as an assistance and support to the wall of straw, turf which were built up in front of them. These were constructed several feet lower than the rest of the bund and paved with stones sloping downwards so as to allow the surplus water to escape. But

at the same time a sufficiency of Mater was ensured by building a temporary embankment of straw, mud, and sticks which was removed immediately if there was any danger to the tank. During the rainy season these calingulahs were continuously watched because<sup>12</sup> when large tanks gave way whole villages were swept away.

A common feature about the tanks in the district was that there were no river fed tanks and the tanks hence supplied water for a limited period of time in the year. Where tanks were not supplied by perennial rivers they were always at the mercy of the rains and their irrigated acreage varied widely with the performance of the monsoon. The tanks were often linked and the drainage of one flowed into a series of tanks further down the slope. This was done perhaps as a water conservancy measure. But these tanks though watered from one particular stream were always financed separately by local or sub regional chiefs whose name was often immortalized as the name of the tank itself or even the village it benefited. For instance, the Bapatla tank, Peddamudali Cheruvu, Pamillapadu Cheruvu or Yellamarru Cheruvu in the district of Masulipatnam were few of the tanks that were named<sup>15</sup> after the villages in which they were located. Table 8.2 shows list of tanks in the pargana of Divi.

Table : 8.2

## Tanks in Divi Pargana

S.No.	Names of villages	Names of tanks	No.of tanks	Total
1	Avanigadda	Kadi cheruvu Digo pallapu cheruvu	1 1	<u>2</u>
2	Vakanuru	Pedda cheruvu Dublass cheuvu New tank	1 1 1	<u>3</u>
3	Viswanadapalli	Yedula cheruvu Mudalari cheruvu Penna cheruvu Komati cheruvu Yabana cheruvu	1 1 1 1 1	<u>5</u>
4.	Modumarri	Pedda cheruvu Brahmanula cheruvu	1 1	<u>2</u>
5	Nagayalanka	Cheruvu	1	<u>1</u>
6	Nangagadda	Malka cheruvu Jammi cheruvu Kotiupara cheruvu	1 1 1	<u>3</u>
7	Talagada Divi	Vemaiah cheruvu Pata cheruvu Pedda cheruvu	1 1 1	<u>3</u>
8	Chodavaram	Vadu cheruvu Mudalari cheruvu Penna cheruvu	1 1 1	<u>3</u>
9	Bodurapalli	Parra cheruvu Paidagami cheruvu Pata cherheruvu	1 1 1	<u>3</u>
10	Mandapakala	Cheruvu	1	<u>1</u>
11	Hamsala Divi	Goleraparru cheruvu Pamulapudi cheruvu	1 1	<u>2</u>
12	Machavaram	Pedda cheruvu Chinna cheruvu	1 1	<u>2</u>
13	Murrapulam		Tank was entirely destroyed by Krishna river	
14	Koduru	Vada cheruvu Chapaiah cheruvu Anantuni cheruvu	1 1 1	<u>3</u>

Source: Read, Collector, Masulipatnam district, 10.11.1800, MDR,  
v. 2998, p.109.



Table : 8.3

## Tanks in Gundur Pargana

S.No.	Names of villages	Tanks to be filled by rain	Tanks to be filled by pulleru cut	The period each tank is calculated to hold supply from Krishna of Water
1.	Mullavoluva	1	-	2
2.	Mokollu	-	1	2
3.	Gundram	-	1	2
4.	Kunkata	1	-	2
5.	Koduru	1	-	2
6.	Vadlamannadu	-	1	3
7.	Chodavaram	1	-	2
8.	Kunohadam	1	-	2
9.	Konkapudi	1	-	1
10.	Vartalapalli	1	-	1
11.	Gurvindagunta	1	-	1
12.	Devarapalli	1	-	1
13.	Gundur Casbah	1	-	1
Total		11	3	

Source : Read, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR,  
10.11.1800, MDR, v.2998, p.60.

The tanks were mostly fed by rain waters in **Masulipatnam** district in contrast to few tanks in Rajahmundry region which were fed by jungle streams. <sup>14</sup> As their water supply was limited to only few months in a year they became precious and precarious sources of irrigation in the region. Every where the source of the water supply to the tanks determined the quality of tank irrigation.

Another major source of irrigation was the Kolleru lake which lies between the two river systems of Godavari and Krishna. Though full with water during the rainy season, as the rains subside the land was tilled and the margin of the lake presented <sup>15</sup> a number of small tanks which support sizable rice cultivation. These tanks were supplied by large channels from the Krishna called **Budameru** and Pulleru and the other was Apparao kaluva from Godavari river.

#### **Well Irrigation :**

Besides **these**, another important source of irrigation in the district was irrigation by **wells**. Generally, **wells** were mostly located in areas where there was little irrigation from other sources or where irrigation was very insecure because of inadequate surface drainage for tanks. But against tanks, wells offered only limited but reasonably guaranteed supply of water. But all the cultivators could not afford the expenses incurred in

the digging of wells. Thus their location and use was limited to only a few cultivating families. As this measure was too costly for a single cultivator to take up, the Company government encouraged construction of wells by giving taccavi loans to the cultivators and also some kind of tax reductions in the land revenue assessment.

The main motive behind such a government policy may be, as suggested by Donald Atwood, the fact that there were fewer problems involved in their construction. They could be more widely distributed than the other sources of irrigation. They could be built and operated without government supervision. As wells did not dry up generally and cultivators were assured of continuous supply of water. Lands with well irrigation were mainly cultivated with garden crops like Tobacco, Chillies, Fruits, and vegetables. This in the long run definitely assured the government of increase in the revenue as garden crops were charged at a higher rate than the wet and dry crops.

However, not all soils were conducive for construction of wells. In lands where the soil was hard and stony, well construction was difficult and also involved much expense. For instance, in Jaggaiahpetta, Nandigama and Tirwoor taluks the soil was hard and stony and the expenses of constructing a well with stone were greater than in other places. In Nandigama the construction of a well required Rs.500. In this case, half of the expenditure was given to the ryot under taccavi loan. But the

extent of land brought under cultivation under such wells was very limited and thus it was not often very encouraging to the cultivators. Table 8.4 illustrates the above statement.

Table : 8.4

Expenditure incurred and revenue remissions granted  
for well construction

S.No.	Taluk	Depth at which water can be	Dimensions of well in Circum	Sist	Land that may be cultivated	Expected from Bagayat under well	Period with which the outlay remitted by addi- tional revenue years
		Ft	Ft.	R - A - P	C - V - P	R - A - P	
1.	Jaggannapetta & Nandigama	24-50	60-160	200-42-54	0-4 to 12-0	12-32-0	9-35
2.	Eluru	10-24	21-28	60-80	0-2 to 1-8	18 to 20-0-0	5

Source: R. J Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to DOR, 29.9.1849, PBOB, V.2213, p 14706

However, in the inland districts the need of wells was much more to supplement the deficiency of irrigation because of the elevated nature of the locality. the land was better adopted for garden produce and the hardness of the soil and the depth at which water was procurable was so considerable that it was found expedient to afford considerable encouragement to ryots who might feel to employ their capital in enhancing the means of irrigation by digging wells.<sup>19</sup> However, the remissions or exemptions of the land under such wells differed from place to place.

Table : 8.5

## Village Statistics of Divi Pargana from 1843-1848

S.No.	Names of Villages	Ploughs	Ryots	Extent of Dry land fit for cultivation			Total
				c	v	p	
01.	Avanigadda	310	257	129-13-10		400-10-11	
02.	Puligadda	91	103	51- 9- 0		1783- 3- 9	
03.	Yedlailanka	70	50	22-12- 0		187-14- 2	
04.	Modumudi	254	110	64- 6-13		15-10-14	
05.	Machavaram	56	45	30-13-13		459- 0- 5	
06.	Vahamaru	2101	152	68- 5-10		2047-13- 9	
07.	Nagayalanka	150	112	50- 1- 3		2491- 4- 3	
08.	Nangagadda	172	84	47- 0- 0		1198-13- 8	
09.	Chodavaram	53	37	18- 0-13		291-11- 9	
10.	Murripolam	360	281	132- 8- ½		2815- 5- 9	
11.	Talagada divi	168	251	54- 0- 1		1048-15- 9	
12.	Viswanadapalli	284	117	86- 2-15		1380- 7- 0	
13.	Bavadavadapalli	133	170	41- 2- 8		973- 0- 0	
14.	Koduru	340	482	96- 4- 9		2717- 6- 7	
15.	Mundapakala	110	94	25-11- 0		765- 9- 1	
16.	Hamsala divi	78	72	19-14-10		384-12- 0	
Total				2849	2417	938-1-1 ½	25451- 0- 2

Source: R.J. Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 28-6-1845,  
PBOR, v.1979, p. 10402.

In other taluks like Gollapalli, Nunestalum, and Bezwada, wells were generally constructed with hill stone and the costs of construction were comparatively lower than in Nandigama and Tirvoor taluks. In the clay or sandy soils like in Eluru, Guduwada, Kaikalur, Bandar, and Pedanah which were near the coast the expenses of construction were lower still. Generally the lands that were brought under well irrigation in the region were very few. It took five to six years generally and in cases like Jaggaiahpetta almost nine to thirty five years for the cultivators to realize the amount they had incurred in well construction as shown in table 8.4. The Collector expressed the belief that in the initial stages at least the government should take up construction of wells and encourage cultivation. In 1840 there were 2162 wells in the district though very few were in good condition. As both the government and the cultivators should have equal interest in preserving the structures intact it was opined that in maintenance of such works the government should bear two thirds of the cost and the cultivator one third of the amount.

Sometimes even under the well irrigation paddy cultivation was carried on. But this was very rare like in the taluk of

Munagala. But the method of raising water from the wells required additional technology which though indigenous meant additional expenditure. The water from the wells could be raised either by cattle power or man power and many kinds of practices were prevalent in the district. Of these the most common one was

raising water by the help of **picotahs**. In the picotah system water was raised in a bucket by a man walking up and down a balance beam, moving on a pivot to the end of which the bucket was attached.<sup>25</sup> The picotah in different districts varied in **construction**. In **well** lifts which were too **high** for the **picotahs** single<sup>24</sup> **motes** were usually employed and in low **lifts** a bale was used.

#### Minor Sources of Irrigation :

Another important minor source of irrigation was Badavalu. A Badava is a low lying moist ground into which water drains from the neighbouring **high** lands. When these bogs were full, cultivation was carried on in the adjacent lands by letting the water flow when it would, and by raising it by picotahs as it sank<sup>25</sup> down. Very little cultivation was carried on **in** this method and these sources were also limited to very few places. But in the absence of major irrigation networks even such small water sources played a crucial role in the villages though cultivating only a few acres of land.

The cultivation of this **kind** was carried on only in the taluk of Kaikalur. Nearly 21 villages were irrigated from the waters of (what were called) Badavalu.<sup>26</sup> The Badavalu sometimes were very large and the four principal Badavalu in the **Kaikalur** taluk were :

1. **Annava Badava** which was about four miles long **and half** mile

broad.

2. **Pullava Badava** was about eight miles long and half mile broad.
3. **Damidi Badava** was about six miles long and quarter mile broad.
4. **Kommileru Badava** was about twelve miles long and one and  
27  
half mile broad.

The names of these Badavalu seem to indicate the villages in which these were located. Thus, the district was characterized by a wide variety of water sources, all of which, in the absence of a canal network, played a crucial role in the agrarian economy.

#### Spatial Distribution of Water Sources :

In the absence of major irrigation networks, minor sources of irrigation acquired importance as can be inferred from the number of tanks and channels that existed in different taluks of Masulipatnam district. The cultivated area and type of cultivation whether wet or dry or garden entirely depended on the nature of irrigation source and the extent of its capacity to irrigate lands. With the decay of tanks and in the absence of adequate repairs to these sources how the water sources were reduced to dysfunction and how the cultivation suffered a set back in the region could be explained with a brief description of sources of irrigation in each taluk and the number of villages depending on each source.



Table : 8.6

## Village Statistics in Vinukota Pargana from 1843-1848

S.No.	Names of Villages	Ploughs	Ryots	Extent of Cultivation				
				Dry c- v -p	Wet c- v- p	Total c- v- p		
1.	Katarum	138	88	5- 0- 0	31 -4-0	82- 4- 0		
2.	Dokiparru	128	74	73-14- 0	26-10-0	100- 8- 0		
3.	Nimmalur	43	26	17- 1- 0		17- 1- 0		
4.	Nimmakuru	52	32	4- 4- 6		44- 6- 0		
5.	Vamavarapolam	16	10	4- 0- 0	4- 8-0	8- 8- 0		
6.	Kuremurla	16	10	8- 2- 0		8- 2- 0		
7.	Kamalapuram	8	4	2- 0- 0	6- 0-0	8- 0- 0		
8.	Kapavaram	28	17	21- 0- 0		21- 0- 0		
9.	parusapalli	14	10	17- 8- 0		17- 8- 0		
10.	Pasumurru	107	68	73- 4- 0		73- 4- 0		
11.	Pramurru	167	111	62- 0- 0	0-12-0	62-12- 0		
12.	Ramannapudi	29	19	17-14- 0		17-14- 0		
13.	Gudlamulluri	107	67	60-12- 0	9-14-0	32-10- 0		
14.	Kuradah	58	46	24-12- 0	2-10-0	27- 6- 0		
15.	Chendrala	77	40	22-12- 0	9-14-0	32-10- 0		
16.	Kunumurla	28	28	8- 5-12		8- 5-12		
17.	Kolluru	104	70	39- 9- 7½		39- 9- 7½		
18.	Palaparru	75	55	38- 2- 0		38- 2- 0		
19.	Madugamudi	3	6	2-12- 0	9-12-0	12- 8- 0		
20.	Lingala	38	35	9- 4- 0	5- 8-0	14-12- 0		
21.	Kandiparru	45	32	25- 7- 0		25- 7- 0		
22.	Reddipudi	45	32	25- 7- 0		25- 7- 0		
23.	Lallapudi	20	16	8-12- 0	1- 4-0	10- 0- 0		
24.	Pasulapudi	5	5	3- 8- 0	2- 0-0	5- 8- 0		
				672	441- 1-5½	31- 0- 0	472-1-5½	

Source: R.J. Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 28-6-1845, PBOR, v.1979, p. 10402.

The taluk of Divi was mainly under tank irrigation. Tanks in this region were mostly supplied with water by channels cut from the river Krishna. The most important of these channels was the **Swarnamukhi** which was dug formerly by the **Zamindar** of Divi. **This** channel supplied the Kadi cheruvu which was the largest in the taluk of Divi. There were on the whole 16 channels in the taluk, which fed 27 tanks and three were fed mainly by **rain** water. Though there were many tanks in the region almost 16 villages had to depend entirely on dry cultivation. There were 16 villages <sup>28</sup> in which wet cultivation was carried on. However with the decay of tanks and in the absence of even the minor repairs to these sources, the entire taluk of Divi though situated in an alluvial delta came under dry cultivation. Table 8.6 explains the villages in which dry cultivation continued, the number of ryots and the ploughs they possessed and the extent of land they held in the village under dry cultivation and also the **sist** they paid to the government.

Table : 8. 7

**Village Statistics of Pedanah and Padapatam Parganas from  
1843-1848**

S.No.	Names of Villages	Ploughs	Ryots	Area Cultivated		Total
				Dry c- v -p	Wet c- v- p	
01.	Pedanah	96	99	18-12- 0	22-12- 0	41- 8- 0
02.	Husseinpolam	6	16	3- 0- 0		3-0-0
03.	Barrepothupudi	15	28	11- 4- 0	0-6-0	11-10- 0
04.	Pollapolam	14	24	11- 0- 0		11- 0- 0
05.	Hungapoody	46	96	29- 8- 0		29- 8- 0
06.	Budollapolam	19	31	12- 0- 0		12- 0- 0
07.	Gokavaram	20	45	17- 8- 0	1-0-0	18- 8- 0
08.	Pedamullala	34	39	9- 0- 0	20- 0- 0	29- 0- 0
09.	Padapatam	58	27	6- 0- 0	90- 0- 0	96- 0- 0
10.	Devarawada	20	28	4-12- 0	9-12- 0	14- 8- 0
11.	Nandigama	60	23	5-14- 0	16- 0- 0	21-14- 0
12.	Singarayapolam	4	4	6-4-0		6-4-0
13.	Kakarlappudi	30	61	19- 0- 0		19- 0-0
14.	Kuppaladoddi	30	61	19- 0- 0		19- 0- 0
15.	Madaca	25	37	4- 4- 0	4-0-0	8- 4- 0
16.	Rudravaram	8	16	6- 0- 0	11-13- 0	17-13- 0
17.	Kytapally	252	153	145-10-12	127-14- 1	273- 8-14
Total		724	762	317-12-12	307-1-1	624-13-14

**Source:** R.J. Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 28-6-1845,  
**PBOR**, V. 1979, p. 10402.

The taluk of Pedanah was mainly irrigated by channels from Pulleru. From the main channel three sub channels of Nissenkarayavi Kodu, Malapahari Kodu and Yedla Kodu flow into the Bandar taluk.<sup>29</sup> This underlines the economic interdependence of villages on each other especially the taluks that depended on a common source of water supply. In the taluk of Pedanah fifteen villages depended on the tank irrigation. As they were mostly dependent on rain water, little area was brought under cultivation. In the villages of Husselnpolam, Pollapalem, Munganapudi Budollapalem, Singarayapalem, and Kakarlapudi did not have any wet cultivation at all. In other villages also the dry cultivation that was carried on<sup>30</sup> was very limited. Table 8.7 shows in the taluks of Pedanah and Padapatam the cultivation that was carried on with all details.

Table 8 : 8

## Village Statistics of Gudiwada Pargana from 1843-1848

S.No.	Names of Villages	Ploughs	Ryots	Extent of Cultivation			
				Dry c- v - p	Wet c- v - p	Total c- v - p	
01.	Gudiwada	274	160	105- 2- 6	8- 8- 0	113-10- 6	
02.	Kalvapudi	30	16	12- 4- 0		12- 4- 0	
03.	Kunchakayalapudi	28	16	11- 4- 0		11- 4- 0	
04.	Palematta	17	9	15- 8- 0		15- 8- 0	
05.	Enampudi	49	41	28- 8- 0		28- 8- 0	
06.	Komaravolu	62	38	44- 4- 0		44- 4- 0	
07.	Ramanapudi	95	32	32- 6- 0		32- 6- 0	
08.	Tanatenorru	118	54	77- 0- 0		77- 0- 0	
09.	Batavolu	43	15	30- 4- 0	1- 8- 0	31-12- 0	
10.	Dondapadu	43	26	16- 0- 0	2- 0- 0	18- 0- 0	
11.	Palaparru	174	89	62- 0- 0	0-12- 0	62-12- 0	
12.	Sipudi	46	16	34- 0- 6		64- 0- 6	
13.	Nandivada	80	30	63- 0- 0	29-8- 0	92- 8- 0	
14.	Tamersa Nandiwada	4	2	6- 0- 0		6- 0- 0	
15.	Gudiwada Kundreka	21	12	11- 0- 0	5- 0- 0	16- 0- 0	
16.	Chontupalli	106	70	48-10- 0		48-10- 0	
17.	Dintakorru	33	23	13-15- 2		13-15- 2	
18.	Velupuru	26	17	19- 8- 0	0- 8- 0	20- 8- 0	
19.	Lingavaram	37	15	15- 0- 0	6- 0- 0	21- 0- 0	
20.	Vamsakundreka	20	14	7- 0- 0	1- 0- 0	8- 0- 0	
21.	Nagaverapalu	29	12	26- 0- 0		26- 0- 0	
22.	Iyyenapolam	20	14	7- 0- 0	1- 0- 0	8- 0- 0	
23.	Mundapadu	48	38	26- 0- 0		26- 0- 0	
24.	Peddayerukapadu	30	22	18- 8- 0		18- 8- 0	

Source: R.J. Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 28-6-1845, PBOR, v.1979, p. 10402.

In Kaikalur taluk there were 87 wet villages and one was entirely dry. 26 out of 87 wet villages received waters from Krishna river, some from Kuldindi Kodu and some from Polaraya Kodu. Nearly 40 villages were irrigated by the waters of Kolleru lake which was raised by means of picotahs. Besides these another 21 villages were irrigated from the sources called Badavalu.<sup>51</sup>

The taluk of Eluru received a scanty and uncertain irrigation from the three channels of Tammileru. Gunderu and Ramileru.<sup>32</sup>

In taluk of Gundagolanu there were two dry villages and 22 wet villages. In Gundagolanu taluk Erra kalava supplied water to the village of Anantapalli. The remaining 13 villages were entirely under tank irrigation.<sup>33</sup> These tanks were small and their supply was imperfect. As they were filled once in the year they did not contain sufficient water for the wet cultivation.

In the taluk of Bezwada there were 39 dry and 34 wet villages.<sup>34</sup> Of the wet villages 23 were irrigated by wells. As these tanks were very small and unless they were filled two or three times in the year there was not sufficient water to carry on the wet cultivation.

In Nandigama and Jaggaiahpeta taluks there were three small rivers Pileru, Munneru and Vaira. The Munneru channel irrigated

the two villages of **Magallu** and **Koduru** in **Nandigama** and **Paleru** **Takkellapadu** in **Jaggaihpeta**. The **Peleru** watered the villages of **Batavolu**, and **Anamanchipalli**. But the channels to these villages had fallen into decay. There were two **vagulu** or mountain streams which run into the villages of **Muchchintala** and **Virabhadrunipalem**.<sup>35</sup> The remaining wet villages derive their irrigation from tanks which depend upon the rains for their supply.

#### **Tank Bed Cultivation :**

One important and common practice in the region was cultivation in the tank beds. Often when the tanks were dry tank beds were used for cultivation purposes. Though the practice was common everywhere, this was carried on extensively in the taluk of **Divi**. Not all the tanks were useful for cultivation of this kind. The tanks were generally of two kinds. The ones with a small water spread but with depth contained a good supply for a long time. The others were very shallow with extensive water spread.<sup>36</sup> These usually dried up soon and left a large space available for dry cultivation especially pulses in the region.

Usually this kind of cultivation was followed in the region by the cultivators because there was assured supply of water and soil also was good. But this practice over a period of time definitely had a drastic effect on the condition of the tanks. In the absence of any major repair work done these usually decayed in the long run. But the **Zamindars** whose main intention

was to get more revenue from the cultivators never seemed to have bothered to restrict such practices. The attitude of the Company also seemed to be the same. The Company felt that as long as the cultivation in the tanks was carried on within legitimate limits and the privilege of such a practice was not abused by the cultivators, such practice should not only be permitted<sup>37</sup> but encouraged. Besides, it is evident from the records that the Company was evolving ways and means to tax even such lands as it would further increase their revenue.

However, this kind of cultivation while profitable to the ryot, had its own risks of inundation and the time of its operations was restricted. The cultivator could not choose his own time for agricultural operations in this method but had to wait<sup>38</sup> until the ground was ready for cultivation. There was also possibility of ryots wantingly wasting the water in order to empty the tanks to commence the cultivation in the tank beds early. As most of the tanks were shared by a group of villages, this practice sometimes led to boundary disputes among the villages.

### **Water Control Conflicts :**

The irrigation systems in the region like in the other Circars were controlled within a network of certain customary practices which determined the distribution of water. Generally



a group of villages sharing the waters of a particular tank necessitated both the economic inter dependence of the villages and also at certain times led to tensions. Any disruption of the established practices definitely led to irrigation disputes.

Generally long established irrigation systems did have certain accepted conventions regarding water allocation. For any reason if the existing system was disturbed either in water allocation or maintenance it immediately resulted in conflicts either among different groups sharing water of a particular source or between villages or sometimes even between the Zamindaris.<sup>59</sup>

The water control conflicts in the district of Masulipatnam centered around many issues like building of new dams, cutting of the banks, raising the embankments, stoppage of water sources, diverting the course of water sources and even in sharing the water.<sup>40</sup> Though these were common through out the year the water conflicts were numerous during the period July to December, perhaps because this coincided with the monsoon and cropping pattern in the region.

Disputes sometimes occurred regarding the flood gates of a poorly maintained irrigation system. When the tanks were not maintained properly silt accumulated at the bottom reducing the water holding capacity of the tanks. As the retaining capacity of the tank decreased the shortage of water led to disputes among

the villages depending on the particular tank regarding the share of water to their respective villages.<sup>Al</sup> Sometimes these disputes cut across the boundaries and resulted in litigations between **Zamindaris** and **Haveli** estates.

Because water flows **downhill**, conflicts of interest would have flowed across boundaries between irrigated communities. If one village took too much water, those downstream might not get enough. If channels clogged with silt because of neglect in one villages, villages downstream would be deprived of their just <sup>42</sup>**due**.

A considerable quantity of a coarse **kind** of paddy was raised on the banks of the river Krishna near Bezwada irrigated by the occasional floods of the river. But as inundations were very uncertain and irregular and destroyed crops on ground, an artificial embankment was raised in 1827 to confine the river at all times within the banks so as to prevent damage to the dry grain. **This** measure which proved beneficial to the majority of the people in the nearby villages had the reverse effect on some others **which** so far had been enjoying the fruits of such inundation. In the villages along the channel cultivation had been impeded with the cutting of the supply. The port of **Nizampatnam** also suffered to an extent. Thus though a water source forged bonds of **interdependence** among a group of villages it also became a source of conflict among the villages sometimes.

## **Nature of Disputes :**

The manner in which the water was distributed among the village or Zamindaris dependent on a particular source was again very important. Again the customary practices of the region generally determined the distribution pattern and ratio of water either among the Zamindaris or among the **villages**. However, sometimes, the Company officials did intervene in the local customary practices and helped **in** diverting the courses of water channels to certain lands which required irrigation facilities very badly.<sup>44</sup> But this was not very often done and always it did not meet the approval of the **beneficiaries** of a particular **village** who till then were exclusively enjoying this right.<sup>45</sup> Because this meant sharing of water which would definitely increase competition for limited sources of supply.

The tanks of **Kottapalli** and **Yandapalli** usually get their water supply from Yelanad river and it gave the tanks a constant supply of water till November. The usual custom of the taluk was 1/5 of the quantity which the tank of Kottapalli received in the season was to be given to uppara. In 1782 as there was limited supply of water this arrangement could not be met which led to **dispute**.<sup>46</sup>

If it was demand for water that caused disputes **sometimes**, sometimes it was surplus water **that led to tensions**. For in-

stance, the surplus **water** of **Bapatla** tank damaged the crops of **Poonla** and Appacutla villages. The ryots of these villages wanted to put up dams in two equal lines to prevent the crops from being washed away by floods. The people of Bapatla prevented this. The manager of Guntur requested the Collector of Masulipatnam to restrain Bapatla people from preventing the building  
47  
up of dams.

As there was no centralized policy evolved by the Company for solving the disputes, the Company left the local authorities to take decisions on an adhoc basis. It was this practice that some times led to the curious situation of the Collectors of two districts quarrelling over the irrigation needs of **their** respective territories.  
48  
In 1797 a dam was raised across Nutulakudu. **This** prevented the free flow of water from the Kolleru lake to the villages in **Charmahal** Zamindari. As a consequence, there was a decrease in cultivation which was represented by the **Zamindar** to the Collector. But the removal of the dam was objected to by the Collector of third division of the district and a guard was  
49  
placed near the dam against its removal.

A crucial dispute which time and again arose was regarding the tank at Bapatla. The water which filled this tank had occasioned frequent disputes between the people in the Company's territories and that of the Nizam's. This often made it necessary to keep an armed force on the spot to prevent losses in the **produce** and also damage to the **tank**. The **cause of** the dispute

was that Bapatla got the usual supply of water by a stream from the hills near Innakonda. The ryots of Bapatla for a very long time had preserved their exclusive right to this water. But later on the people of Cherukuru finding the supply very useful had made a second tank immediately at the back of the existing one. This led to the diversification of the usual supply of water which was now distributed between the two tanks. As the water supply decreased in the Bapatla tank, the cultivation in the village had suffered thus leading to frequent disputes between the two villages. Owing to dispute between these two villages, a large extent of land remained uncultivated which<sup>51</sup> resulted in the loss to the renter. However this was not an isolated case.

Irrigation disputes were common wherever the water supply was a common source to a group of villages. These disputes certainly raise the questions like why were there numerous disputes in the region? How were they settled? The constant disputes must have been due to the changing economic conditions of the people themselves and also of the often changing revenue policies of the Company. When the revenue demand and its collection became regular and systematic, this put pressure on the cultivators who in order to improve their economic lot in turn realized the importance of irrigation in increasing the agrarian productivity. This was the basic reason for several of the disputes, though others like traditional village rivalries and other fac-

tors also contributed to the struggle among the cultivators for existing meager sources of irrigation.

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### **Irrigation Disputes : Policy of the Company :**

What was the attitude of the Company to the disputes? why did not the Company take a stern action against the causes of such disputes which always had a drastic effect on cultivation and also on the control and maintenance of such irrigation works?

The conflicts occurred both among the villages and also among the members of different **Zamindaris** over the water allocation and also over the attempts to violate such allocations. In solving the irrigation disputes there seemed to be no centralized policy from the Company's **side**. However there were **well** established conventions as to how such situations were to be handled. The leaders of a particular constituent group were expected to mediate disputes among its members. Disputes which could not be resolved at a lower level were often referred to the next higher level.

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The Collectors also generally decided the matters mostly adopting the common traditional practices existing in the region. For instance, in resolving irrigation disputes one common method resorted to in the district of Masulipatnam was the '**treading ceremony**'. Under this practice one of the oldest inhabitants of the villages under dispute was selected. He was asked to walk on the decided boundary line with a copy of the **Ramayana** on his head if the dispute was pertaining to the bound-

ary line between the villages. In other cases of dispute the village head or the Brahmin of the village was asked to settle the dispute according to the local practice.

54

During this period, the Company was emerging as the supreme political authority in the region. Nevertheless in the sphere of irrigation, as in many other cases, the Company tended to follow the local customary practices either in solving disputes or in making decisions regarding policy matters. It seems likely that as long as the disputes did not directly impinge on the revenue resources of the Company, the Company tended to follow the existing practices in order not to hurt the feelings of the parties involved, though that meant sometimes perpetuating illogical traditions and decisions. Thus in the initial stages of its rule, the Company did not attempt to superimpose its own systems of irrigation control on the local economy in the absence of any large help from its side regarding either construction or maintenance of existing irrigation sources.

However, the Company did on occasion attempt to impose its will. For instance, the Collector ordered that the Bukivarigundi kamma bank to be cut away as it was built over the natural channels of the river, though this meant decrease in the water supply to the people of the neighbouring village. He also ordered that the amount for such repairs should be recovered from the people of Cherukuru who had constructed this obstruction as a fine so

that in the future such things would not be repeated. But the Company's writ was not always respected ; sometimes its decisions were flouted on the grounds that they went against the customary practices of the region. Sensing this might be the result, generally after a dispute was settled, the Company often sent a detachment of sepoys to ensure that the settlement was respected.<sup>56</sup> Table 8.9 shows a list of some of the irrigation disputes that occurred in this period. It shows the date of dispute, nature of the dispute, the parties or the villages under dispute and also the water source which was the cause of the dispute.



Table : 8.9

## Nature of Irrigation Disputes in Masulipatnam District

S.No.	Date	Water source, under dispute	Nature of the Dispute	Complaint by	Complainant against
				people of	people of
1.	12-07-1775	Construction of a dam	Nizampatnam	Guntur	Chankicalvah
2.	01-09-1777	Obstruction of water channels	Nizampatnam	Zamindar of Guntur	Bomipettah tank
3.	19-12-1778	Sharing of water	Jagapathi Raju	Pithapuram Zamindar	Velladi river
4.	20-05-1783	Sharing of water	Upparah	Amanabad	Kottapalli tank
5.	13-09-1784	Opening of tank bunds	Nellamadda	Guntur	A tank
6.	23-09-1784	Cutting of the supply channels	Bapatla	Cherukuru	Bapatla tank
7.	30-08-1787	Closing of the supply channels	Bapatla	Guntur	Bapatla tank
8.	14-07-1789	Construction of a dam	Poonla & Appacutla	Bapatla	Bapatla tank
9.	18-07-1789	Diverting the course of water channels	Nizampatnam	Guntur	Bapatla tank
10.	05-07-1790	Raising an embankment	Vellacotah	Ramachandrapuram	Godavari river
11.	29-11-1794	Removal of a dam	Bapatla	Cherukuru	Bapatla tank
12.	08-12-1794	Obstructing the water	Bapatla	Cherukuru	Bapatla tank
13.	27-02-1795	Boundary dispute	Edla Lanka	Viravesaram	A tank
14.	25-08-1795	Supply of water to the bank	Kondapalli	Cavaloor	Ilapur tank
15.	13-09-1795	Digging of a new channel	Bapatla	Guntur	Bapatla tank
16.	06-11-1795	Opening of tank bunds	Aluru	Yagilly	Aluru tank
17.	08-11-1795	Diverting water from channels	Mobala Ramaiah	Bapatla	Bapatla tank

S.No.	Date	Water source under dispute	Nature of the Dispute	Complaint by	people of	Complaint against	people of
18.	11-11-1795	Opening of a tank bund	Yazili	Aluru	A tank	A tank	
19.	14-12-1795	Closing of the channel	Poondiah	Bapatla	Bapatla tank	Bapatla tank	
20.	09-01-1796	Construction of a dam	Chercoor	Bapatla	A tank	A tank	
21.	10-02-1796	Opening of the banks	Pundia	Bapatla	Rasoon tank	Rasoon tank	
22.	04-06-1796	Construction of a dam	Chercoor	Bapatla	Bukivari Gundikamma channel	Bukivari Gundikamma channel	
23.	04-08-1796	Opening of the tank	Bapatla	Chercoor	Bapatla tank	Bapatla tank	
24.	25-11-1797	Cutting of the tank bund	Chavendra	Duggamalli	Chavendra tank	Chavendra tank	
25.	26-10-1798	Opening of the dam	Dharmapuram	Siddipuram	Aluru tank	Aluru tank	
26.	30-01-1799	Removal of a dam	Charmahal Zamindar	Nutulacudu	Kolleru lake	Kolleru lake	
27.	17-07-1800	Cultivation	Bapatla	Chercoor	Bapatla tank	Bapatla tank	
28.	11-09-1800	Cutting of the banks of a tank	Aluru	Yajali	Aluru tank	Aluru tank	
29.	16-10-1838	Construction of a dam	Gundapalli	Anantapalli	A channel	A channel	

Source : Compiled from the Index of the District Records of

Masulipatnam from 1765 to 1840.

## Management and Maintenance of Irrigation Systems

Unlike the construction of water control works which were essentially done once for all, the operation and maintenance of these works involved tasks of a continuing nature. Basically these tasks were to make sure that the physical facilities of the systems were maintained in good working condition. Inefficient maintenance often adversely affected the water deliveries by reducing the volume of water carried by canals, some times slowing down the speed of water flow, increasing waste due to leakage and spills. This in extreme cases led to a partial or total  
57  
breakdown of the irrigation system. Thus these factors reduced the volume of water made available to the field and thus led to the consequential decrease in the level of production when compared with the potentiality of the system.

If one tank broke its bunds it would release a flood to break the one below. Thus a single tank in disrepair might affect one group of users of its water more than others because uneven silting might clog one outlet more than another.

Recently historians have begun to specifically explore the impact of the colonial rule on irrigation systems of the region. These scholars suggest that the Company tended in the early period of its rule to neglect the irrigation facilities and that  
58  
consequently such facilities fell into disrepair.

There is an apparent paradox here, for the Company's desire to maximize the land revenue collections should have led to a concerted effort to improve irrigation. Why then did the Company neglect this important aspect of the agrarian economy?

To attempt an answer to this question, it is necessary to make a detailed analysis of the management and maintenance of irrigation works in the region under different systems of land holding and the Company's interaction with them.

#### Land Holding Systems and Irrigation Management :

The management of irrigation sources differed under each system of land holding. In Zamindari estates the Zamindars were given the responsibility of maintaining the irrigation works. However the costs of irrigation repairs were generally recovered from the cultivators. For instance, in Visabadi lands Zamindars collected half the expenses from the jerayati ryots towards the maintenance of irrigation works. But in Ausara lands the whole of the expense was borne by the Zamindar. However, a small portion of the crop that was about a toom per putty was collected from ryots as a nominal contribution.

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In the case of Inam lands, nothing was collected by the government towards repairs. Moreover, the Inamdars were exempted from payment of water tax, but on the condition that the government lands were watered first. But in the case of Haveli lands,

the Collectors were asked to collect the necessary advances from the renters by installments for repair works. For instance, in Nizampatnam pargana a definite share of the produce of lands watered by the specific tank was deducted before the division of the crop took place. The share was at the rate of one maund per candy. which was determined according to the customary practice of the region.<sup>60</sup>

Thus the water sources under different systems of land holding were controlled by many : the Company, the Zamindars, the Inamdars and also the head ryots. Generally, whoever might be the persons the large estate owners had an important role in the management and maintenance of irrigation sources in their respective estates, because their interest in such works largely affected their own incomes and reflected the way the irrigation systems were managed. As the traditional land tenure systems always set aside a certain percentage of the produce for maintenance of tanks and as this was regularly collected from the beneficiaries of a particular source, there should have been strong interest in both the local groups and centers of power in ensuring proper maintenance of tanks.<sup>61</sup> But how then did the irrigation works fall into such disuse?

The expansion and improvement of water control facilities had a crucial role in increasing agricultural production. A brief study of the repairs undertaken to several works. their maintenance under different land holding systems is necessary to

review the situation and also to know the actual needs of the agrarian economy.

#### Tank Maintenance :

Though there was a sizable area of cultivation under tank irrigation, most of the tanks in the district were not properly maintained. The expenditure incurred on the repair works was very low and most of the repairs were done very superficially. Tables 8.10 and 8.11 shows the expenditure incurred in tank repairs in the region.

Table : 8.10

**Estimate of repairs to the works of Irrigation in Masulipatnam district 1847 (Taluk wise)**

S.No. Taluks	Amount to be spent on repairs			Annual revenue			Expected increase of Revenue		
	R	A	P	R	A	P	R	A	P
1. Bandar Taluk			627- 6- 0						
2. Divi and Pettalalanka	2856-	6-	0	85174-	0-	0	7690-	0-	0
3. Kytapalli	1152-	13-	0	6699-	0-	0	1550-	0-	0
4. Tirwuru	923-	15-	0	672-	0-	0	1780-	0-	0
5. Kykaluru	2658-	12-	0	569-	0-	0	3760-	0-	0
6. Nandegama	1182-	10-	0	957-	0-	0	3758-	0-	0
7. Bezwada	2099	-0-	0	4255-	0-	0	3128-	0-	0
8. Pedanah	2032-	12-	0	3441-	0-	0	2140-	0-	0
9. Gudiwada	3021-	8-	0	34546-	0-	0	4900-	0-	0
10. Eluru	2086-	0-	0	30462-	0-	0	5600-	0-	0
11. Jaggiahpetta	1559-	8-	0	1246-	0-	0	1900-	0-	0

**Source:** From J.A. Bell, Secretary BOR, Department of Public Works to H.C. Montgomery Bart, Secretary to Government, Revenue department, 23-9-1847, RDC, Vol. 660, p. 6560.

Table : 8.11

Estimate of Repairs to the works of Irrigation in some taluks in  
Masulipatnam district in 1847

S.No. Places	Amount Spent on Repairs			Annual Revenue			Expected Increase in Revenue		
	R	A	P	R	A	P	R	A	P
1. Gudiwada	416-13-	0		5937-	0-	0	700-	0-	0
2. Eluru	416-13-	0		2539-	0-	0	915-	0-	0
3. Jaggiahpet	1557-	9-	0						
4. Bandar	128-11-	0							
5. Kykalur	718-	7-	0	600-	0-	0	700-	0-	0
6. Bezwada	188-	0-	0	257-	0-	0	400-	0-	0
7. Nunestalam	844-12-	0							
8. Nandegama	778-13-	0		351-	0-	0	1393-	0-	0

Source: From J.A. Bell, Secretary BOR, Department of Public Works to H.C. Montgomery Bart, Secretary to Government, Revenue department, 23-9-1847, RDC, Vol. 660, p. 6561.



Many of the tanks were without proper sluices so as to secure a continuous supply or efficiency in distribution. The tank beds in most of the cases were so much higher than that of the river that they admitted water only in the high freshes. As the channels lacked the head sluices the crops dependent on them could perish from drought, though there was a large supply of water in the river. At another place lands could be drowned by the floods they conveyed to the tanks.

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Most dams if not all were temporary structures. Built on rock foundations they required reconstruction after each flood season. But once a tank was broken or had lost its water holding capacity due to silting of the tank bed. the means for the repair or reconstruction were hard to find. While the tanks were too small and dispersed for rulers to take responsibility and they were often too big and risky for local magnates whose interests it might have seriously undermined by the failure of the work.

As a result, many of the tanks had gone largely or completely out of use for many years thus leading to a cessation of wet cultivation in some of the villages.

63

Under the tank of Pedamudali cultivation of wet crops was totally stopped due to the decay of tank bunds. Though there was scope for extensive wet cultivation it could not be taken up because of lack of repairs. Another case was that of the tank of Peddaparpudi. Its tank bunds were so low and weak that the water

in many places overflowed. The cultivators themselves made possible minor repairs and kept up a shallow water in its bed for  
64  
preserving a few partial spots of cultivation.

The construction of a vent or a sluice and their proper repair incurred so much of expenditure that it was not taken up uniformly throughout the tank surface, so the repairs where they were attempted were so superficial and hasty that the structures  
65  
collapsed at the first heavy rains.

The expenses both of making and repairing the canals and reservoirs were to be entirely defrayed by the Zamindars. If these works were repaired regularly and maintained well they did not need much expenditure every year. But negligence resulted in quick deterioration of these crude works so much so that within a few years, even the trace of an old work might be difficult to locate. Explaining the reasons for the neglect of irrigation works on such a large scale, the Collector of Masulipatnam wrote to the Board of Revenue that some of these tanks were deliberately destroyed with a view to prevent the owners of the estates from demanding the revenue in advance on the strength of  
66  
water supply. But this does not seem to hold ground because in the absence of sufficient irrigation sources, there was always great demand and competition for the existing supplies which often resulted in conflicts. And also in the absence of any large scale repairs being taken up, definitely the beneficiaries of water sources would not have resorted to such tactics in order

to escape the assessment. But destruction to water sources of another village because of village conflicts and Zamindar rivalries was a common feature in the region during this period.

In the region generally one toom per putty was collected towards tank repairs. Generally the collection instead of being liable to abuse by being at the disposal of Tanadars was deposited with the Deshpande and Mazumdars of the taluk who would dis-<sup>67</sup>burse the necessary sums to the Tanadar and village Karanams.

But the large scale technically complex water control works definitely called for mobilization of resources and organizational capacity on a scale far beyond the capability of the local communities or private enterprise and could only be handled by the government.

#### Canal Maintenance :

For instance, the major channels in the district like Pulleru and Budameru were renovated at a cost of Rs.20,000 in 1834. Though the main channel was repaired a lot had to be done to make full use of the river supply. Because tanks sluices and their embankments which were dependent on the channel for supply all<sup>68</sup> through its length had to be repaired. Perhaps, this was one of the reasons why a single tank renovation did not yield the desired results.

Another major channel to be renovated by the Company was Apparao Kaluva at a cost of Rs.9,182. This channel connected the Krishna river to Budameru and was a major source of irrigation to the Zamindars of Gudiwada, Nuzividu and Mylavaram. The construction of such large scale works were authorized only on the condition that the respective Zamindars should bear the whole charge. This was perhaps one of the reasons why the Zamindars did not show much interest as the estates were already in a financially disastrous state. Another channel Pulleru was renovated at a cost of Rs.13,552 to benefit the paragana of Vinukota.

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Referring to the great benefit that would accrue to the estates with such renovations Captain Buckle who was put in charge to survey all the existing works of irrigation in Masulipatnam district, in his report had opined that the main obstacle in undertaking such repairs were the Zamindars. As the land belonged to the Zamindars the consent of the Zamindars was needed who did not show much interest. All the lands would benefit from such works but some lands more than others and some estates apparently at the cost of others. The constant rivalries among the Zamindars was another reason for their lack of coordination.

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The Company government also did not take interest in the maintenance of these works and left it to the managers of the respective estates to maintain them. However later on minor repairs to irrigation works were taken as a part of famine relief measures. In most of the villages there were minor works the

repair of which though not directly conducive to the revenue yet definitely proved of importance to the prosperity of the village. These included strengthening of embankments, construction. or repair of wells, deepening of reservoirs, cleaning of ponds, and water courses. The ordinary repairs in the region were in general conducted by means of village labourers. The Company believed that ryots having a personal interest in the repairs of such works would immediately make arrangements.<sup>71</sup> But the amount spent on such works never exceeded a couple of hundreds which was insufficient in view of the large scale repairs the irrigation works required in the region. These repair works were also undertaken as a measure to provide some monetary benefit to the people who were engaged in such works so the repairs never were undertaken on a serious note nor on a large scale.

Table : 8.12

Repairs undertaken to important works of Irrigation during  
1849-50

S.No.	Name of the Taluk	Names of villages	Nature of repairs	Estimated Amount in Rs.	Amount spent in Rs.
<b>1849</b>					
1.	<b>Bezawada</b>	Pulleruchannel	<b>Clearing</b>	<b>6405</b>	3735
2.	<b>Eluru</b>	Peddapadu pata cheruvu	repairing banks and sluices	1216	639
3.	<b>Relangi</b>	Visweswaram	Apparao kalva	1046	873
4.	Gudivada	Water to vinukota and pannumalla	clearing	2655	2396
<b>1850</b>					
1.	Bezawada	Pulleru channel vellatur tank	clearing repairing breaches	2669 1062	1911 1062
2.	Eluru	Denduluru Tamara cheruvu	repairing breaches	1060	362
		Kovali tank	repairing breaches	2530	1244
		Pedapadu west tank and sluices	repairing tanks	1357	557
		Pedapadu tank sluices	repairing banks		
3.	Relangi	Apparao canal	cleaning	1782	1463
4.	<b>Kykalur</b>	Kolleru embankment	Repairing	2607	2557
5.	<b>Gudiwada</b>	Kanukolanu tank	repairing breaches	1094	1093
		<b>Tamerasa</b> tank	repairing banks	1636	1606
		Tamerasa Gandhi Koducheruvu	cleaning	3379	2697
6.	<b>Nunestalum</b>	Wallurpolam head Pulleru channel ' Gandikodu	repairing <b>breaches</b>	1264 <b>1236</b>	1264 932

Source: R.D. Lushington Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 22.9.1852, MDR, v. 6336, pp. 342-343.

Even in the Inam lands the Inamdars were given advances by the government for repair works, because sometimes the sums required for repairing tanks were often beyond the means of Inamdars. All the Inams without their proper owners were taken over by the government and a fund was raised from these Inams which was used for repair works. If the government spent money directly in the Inam lands, these advances were to be returned in installments by Inamdars.

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The Company's policy of taking up relief measure works evolved as a part of classical political economy policy followed by the Company which believed in non interference in the market activities even during the economic crises.

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However. it was the local administrators who, unable completely to shut their eyes to the suffering around them tried, funds permitting, to relieve the extreme misery by providing bounties to encourage grain imports, charity and provision of employment in public works.

Public works, initiated by the local officials after the famine had struck to provide employment to the victims were conceived in haste and without any regular plan. Because the repair works started by them were in patches and never helped the cultivators in a great way in the long run. Arthur Cotton had suggested that the public works be put in a regular scheme of

**famine** relief. This policy would have involved action in anticipation of **a** famine **but** not after the famine had occurred.<sup>74</sup>

It was accepted by most policy makers that the government was duty bound to try and save people from distress in times of famine and public works were the accepted mode of the provision of relief, thought by the Company.

Several reasons have been suggested by many scholars for the decay of the irrigation works or for the lack of interest among the Zamindars to maintain these structures intact. According to A.Vaidyanathan apart from wars, introduction of tenurial reforms early under the Company's rule weakened these traditional centers of village authority. This, he believes, undoubtedly contributed to the deterioration of irrigation tanks during the nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup> This might be partly true, because in the initial stages of Company's rule, when the Company was trying to establish its political hegemony in the region, because of wars and their lack of knowledge on the political economy of the region definitely influenced the Company's decisions in not spending much on irrigation works. But with the introduction of Permanent Settlement in 1802 in the region, the Company thought that having fixed the land revenue demand on the Zamindar's permanently, the Zamindars would take more and more interest to increase cultivation and thereby increase their own revenues as it would profit them ultimately. However the effect seems to **be contrary to the expectations** of the Company administrators.



However the financial weakening of most of the Zamindars in the post Permanent Settlement period seemed to be another reason for the decay of irrigation works. As these were left largely in the care of the Zamindars, the Zamindars did not really show any interest in spending on productive works. Though certain amount was regularly collected from the cultivators towards these repairs, the interest on the part of Zamindars and intention to coordinate, repair and maintain the works was lacking.

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Another reason was as some of the tanks and big channels irrigated lands of not one Zamindari but two or three. There was very little cooperation among the Zamindars to undertake repairs collectively. Since the water was shared by many it required the consent of every one and the amount to be spent on the maintenance of these works by each village depended on the share of water each village received from a particular source.

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#### **Company and Irrigation Policy in the Pre Anicut Period :**

In the beginning the Company saw irrigation only as a means to land revenue and even after matters of public welfare entered official thinking, only minor resources were allocated for irri-

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gation outlays. But steadily, the government increased its involvement in irrigation. raising its financial commitments, providing technical assistance and also taking interest in policy

matters as they realized that any dysfunction in the irrigation systems seriously affected their revenue.

But the Company government was always cautious and discreet in advancing money for repair works. Money was sanctioned only for works of a general nature. Even in this, half of the amount was always collected from the villages concerned.<sup>79</sup> In this regard also, the Company always followed a discretionary stance, the water sources in the refractory Zamindaris were not taken care of by the government unless they were benefited by such works at least in the long run.<sup>80</sup> The Company strongly believed that the major responsibility for the neglect of irrigation sources lie with the Zamindars as the area was under their change. The Civil Engineer expressed the belief that the deteriorated condition of the irrigation works and the country was because of the misrule and mismanagement of the Zamindars who he characterized as an ignorant and indolent class overwhelmed in debt and utterly incompetent to manage their estates and were<sup>81</sup> always under the control of rapacious creditors.

Maramat Department :

In fact, the growing interest on the part of the Company in irrigation matters could be clearly seen in the development of the irrigation department itself. In the early years of British rule, the Collectors assumed the charge of the works of irriga-

tion together with that of revenue functions. They were aided by  
no professional assistants.<sup>82</sup> As the professional and technical  
assistance was lacking, whatever little sums the government spent  
on irrigation works did not yield fruitful results. In view of  
this, engineering officials, styled as superintendent of tank  
repairs were appointed to aid the Collectors. The Company's  
attitude towards irrigation systems is revealed by the fact that  
till 1809 there was only one superintendent of tank repairs for  
the whole of the presidency.

It was from the 1820s that the Company began to show deeper  
interest in irrigation works. In 1819, the entire Presidency was  
divided into three divisions and each division was placed under  
the charge of a Civil Engineer and the whole was placed under the  
control of an engineer called the Inspector General of Civil  
Estimates.<sup>83</sup> In the pre anicut period the department which  
looked after irrigation maintenance was called Maramat Depart-  
ment. The term maramat itself suggests that it was created only  
to look after repair works but not any construction. This was  
placed under the Board of Revenue in 182? so that there would be  
better coordination between the two. However in 1836 the office  
of the Inspector General of Civil Estimates was abolished and in  
its place a Public Works Engineering Secretary to the Board of  
Revenue was appointed. In 1838, when the importance of the  
Maramat Department from the point of view of the revenue of the  
country and the necessity for strengthening it so as to cope

effectually with the vast amount of work became more apparent further and more material changes were made. The entire Presidency of Madras was **rearranged** so as to form eight maramat divisions each under a civil engineer and to these officers the construction and repair of all civil works were transferred.<sup>84</sup>

It was during this time in 1838 that a commission under Captain Buckle was set up to do a detailed survey of all irrigation works in Masulipatnam and Guntur district, to study the future irrigation development prospects in the region and also to estimate the costs of such reconstruction works. The committee felt that with the construction of two major anicuts across the rivers Krishna and Godavari, there could be drastic change in the agrarian expansion in the region.<sup>85</sup> But as these projects involved large finances both the schemes were shelved for the time being and minor repairs to important irrigation sources were taken up.

However till its abolition in 1858, the Maramat Department was mostly confined to protecting irrigation works, preparation of plans and estimates, inspection and direction of works under execution. The execution of the actual work on tanks, channels however rested with a separate establishment working under the orders of Tahsildars known as revenue maramat establishment at the local level.<sup>86</sup>

**The** Company, thus to **the** limited extent possible did **take** interest in irrigation work. The interest and the quickness with which they settled the disputes revealed their concern and the belief that any dysfunction in the existing water management would ultimately affect the revenues of the Company. At the same time it was true that the amount they spent on irrigation in relation to the land revenue and actual needs of irrigation works

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was very low. Probably being a private trading Company, it did not want to embark on major sources of irrigation networks which involved heavy finances, without a more complete knowledge of the local reality though the schemes would definitely benefit them and improve their own revenue position. Another major draw back was the spatial distribution of the tanks itself. In this region the tanks were so numerous and so widespread and scattered that it rendered the task of the Company difficult and it was also not possible for the Company to evolve a systematic and centralized

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control. In fact it was this lack of centralized coordination on the part of the Company that was criticized by many scholars who believed that the irrigation systems needed centralization of management in various matters and it was the lack of this centralization that led to the deterioration of irrigation

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**systems.**

**Could bureaucratic inertia have** been one of the factors for **the neglect** of irrigation works and their maintenance? It **seem unlikely. because** most of the decisions regarding repairs and

maintenance were taken at the level of the village itself keeping in view its needs and conditions.

In "Fact, the Company had not yet been able to formulate an irrigation policy for the region as a whole and apparently left the local authorities to take decisions on an adhoc basis.<sup>90</sup>

#### Indigenous Irrigation Institutions :

Irrigation was considered a work of religious merit. We have many evidences in the inscriptions detailing the construction of tanks and dams. Under all pre-colonial regimes the provision of irrigation facilities was regarded as a prime obligation of the state. These reservoirs and tanks were referred to as thatakas in the inscriptions. Irrigation works were undertaken by kings, vassals, traders and prosperous peasantry. Especially prosperous people those without heirs undertook these works as the construction of tanks was considered to be one of the seven means of attaining merit (Sapta Santanams). The others included son, kavya treasure, temple, garden and agrahara.<sup>91</sup>

Under the pre-colonial regimes all necessary precautions were taken not only in constructing the tanks even for their maintenance. Inams were established for the specific purpose of developing and maintaining irrigation systems. Because regular water supply needed an elaborate expenditure on development and

maintenance of irrigation works. Usually expenditures subtracted from the revenues especially if institutionalized permanently through hereditary grants of land were a convenient way of removing burdens of administration from the central authority to local ones.<sup>92</sup> This way they would be within the reach of local people who would know better the requirements of each work in spending.

Dasabhandam Inam grants were one of such institutionalized forms of hereditary remuneration to local leaders for the maintenance of water works.<sup>95</sup> The village leaders or a Dasabandamdar owned the responsibility of not only construction but proper maintenance of such works. Depending upon the extent and value of the capital invested and upon the expected returns in revenue, these irrigation Inams were given under two heads - Khanda Das<sup>94</sup> abandhams and Shamilat Dasabandhams. These Inam holdings which were given extensively even under the Vijayanagara rule were not many in Northern Circars as they were in Ceded districts. Even in the Circars the Dasabandam Inam grants as such were limited mostly to western parts of Guntur. But in the district of Masulipatnam also concessions were given for the maintenance of irrigation systems and sometimes they were more popularly known as Dasabhagams that is a certain amount of remission was given in the land revenue assessment to those who undertook new works or<sup>95</sup> maintained the existing ones.

How were the various water sources maintained in the district of Masulipatnam? Who were in charge of such works? Did they have any grants for the maintenance of such works?

As the Company in the initial years of its rule could not afford to evolve a centralized system of planning either for construction or maintenance of various irrigation systems under its rule the Company gave the authority to different people under different land holding systems for their maintenance . Though no new measures were taken up by the Company in this regard, the existing systems were continued without many changes. For instance in the Zamindari area the responsibility of maintenance works rested with the Zamindars. The Company in its Cowl to the Zamindars had made it clear that it was Zamindar's responsibility to repair all such tanks, dams, channels, water courses which required repair at its own expense without claiming any remuneration from the Company on that account. However the Company opined that the Collectors were authorized to inspect and report  
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to the Boards the maintenance work even in the Zamindari areas.

In the Haveli lands, the Inspector general of Civil Estimates was put in charge of irrigation works in general. In the villages the headmen of the villages were in charge of irrigation works. The repairs to the tanks were done either by contract or by day hire. But the expenditure involved was taken by the  
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renter of the particular taluk but not from the government. However though the responsibility of maintaining these works



rested with respective Zamindars and Inamdars the final burden was always borne by the cultivators.

#### Irrigation Maintenance Works :

The Company, however, did provide certain incentives to those who undertook new construction works and maintained them. For example, if a large tank was formed at the private expense of an individual 1/4 of the land brought into wet cultivation under that particular water source was given as Inam as long as the tank was kept in good repair.

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If water courses, anicuts were dug from the river and through their means and by the use of picotahs land was brought under wet cultivation 1/4 of the extent of such land was held as Inam. Similar kinds of Inams were given even for the construction of wells. The Inam grant varied according to the amount spent on the well. For instance, if an individual spent Rs.750-1500 towards construction of a well 1/4 of the extent of garden land cultivated under it was granted as Inam. If the expenses incurred varied from Rs.1500-3000 the extent of the grant was 1/3 of the cultivated land. But persons wishing to undertake works of this nature had to give information to the taluk authority prior to the commencement of the work who usually visited the spot and reported the matter to the Collector. If he required expenses of repair to a particular water work were equal to three years

produce of the Dasabandham grant 1/4 part of Dasabandham was  
entirely zufted and 3/4 of the grant was jaree.<sup>99</sup>

Certain concessions were also given to the persons who brought either waste or dry land under garden cultivation with construction of wells. These concessions were given mainly as a kind of incentive to the cultivators to bring more and more land under wet cultivation.

However, it was customary in the district of Masulipatnam to assess lands cultivated under wells and which became suitable to garden culture with the same rates as existed for long established garden lands. But as an incentive a reduction was given in the revenue assessment during the first year of cultivation. Individuals constructing such wells were considered to have had the usufructary rights in perpetuity. In case the individual who has constructed a well failed to cultivate and maintain the well either alone or with the assistance of other ryots, then government assumed the right to interfere and provide for village. But in that case nothing would be paid by the new occupant to the original possessor. The person to whom the assessment was made generally was entitled to the same privileges as enjoyed by the constructor of the well.<sup>100</sup> But as the garden lands bore heavy assessment the cultivation was confined to only a few varieties of crops and even the average extent of each individual garden did not generally exceed one acre.

Thus these incentives on the part of the Company did bring in certain increase in construction of wells as other sources like channels, tanks were not within the reach of private individuals and which required both large finance and coordination at many levels. The number of wells constructed at the expense of individuals in Masulipatnam were only 472 in contrast to other Circars number being 1690.<sup>101</sup>

However the location of wells to a large extent depend on regions geography. In the lands bordering the sea coast wells were not so indispensably necessary because of the lowness of the situation. Because there was the facility of obtaining the means of irrigation by the most superficial digging. Apart from this the land was generally unfit for raising horticultural produce.

In some cases cowls were granted on the terms of nazar muctah which ensured a perpetual remission of the usual tax on garden lands amounting from 15-20%. In other instances from 1/10 - 1/5 part of the land cultivated under wells was forever exempted from the tax and in others the whole land or part of its was exempted from tax for several years.<sup>102</sup>

The terms of contract were mutually agreed between the Zamindar and the cultivator. under which both would benefit. The Zamindar obtained an increase of revenue in the same lands which were previously under dry grain assessment which was

converted into garden land. while the ryot was fully benefited for the amount of this outlay either by the low rent at which he was allowed to hold the land or by the time which had been given to him to reimburse himself.

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The object of the Company was to increase irrigation facilities that is the construction of wells undertaken by ryots themselves, since this would provide security against famine and increase the quality of produce and quantity of internal consumption and also export. This, the Company thought, any increase by which the cultivation is most certain of a speedy reimbursement would likely to bring this effect and thus the land actually cultivated under the wells was hence forward and to bear but a moderate assessment.

Apart from the government's incentives and grants given for the maintenance of the irrigation systems, there was a need for cooperation among the cultivators or users of a particular irrigated communities to maintain these structures intact, since each of them individually could not exploit the potentials of an irrigated system to its fullest extent and sometimes it called for a combined action which served their purposes. Thus a kind of collective responsibility or collective action was recognized among the cultivators in maintaining these irrigation systems. One such institution which was widely prevalent in the Madras Presidency and which also to some extent seemed to have existed

in Masulipatnam district was known as Kudimaramat system. The cultivators were made to pay several kinds of customary shares from his share of produce. One among such was Guttu tumulu which was collected from the cultivators who cultivated under a particular tank were made to contribute towards its maintenance at the rate of one maund per candy.<sup>105</sup> But these shares seemed to have varied from taluk to taluk. While cultivators were charged with such customary deductions in Haveli lands of Eluru, Crutivenu and Kaldindi, in some other villages no charge was made at all against the ryot on account of repairs.<sup>106</sup> But in certain other cases as these deductions went into the Zamindar's account the cultivators sometimes felt the need to contribute amongst themselves again for the immediate repairs they had to make in order to keep up cultivation without hindrance in the villages.

Besides these, the villages were also required to contribute their services quite often in repairing and up keeping the structures which called for a community organization. In the villages where the main source of irrigation was a tank, this kind of community organization was required. Under this system the cultivators were expected to contribute half the expenses of maintaining the tank, the other half presumably coming from the renter or the state.<sup>107</sup>

But sometimes this amount was so insufficient that ryots had to contribute again amongst them for this purpose. But this system was obviously confined to water sources supplying a single village. Because the maintenance of large irrigation channels which provided water to several villages

required greater resources than the villagers themselves could afford.

Thus the review of the evidence suggests that the management of irrigation works involved a number of functions like construction, operation, maintenance, water allocation and conflict resolution. These tasks, if one of them became dysfunctional led to a series of failures resulting in the total failure of irrigation works. As all the above mentioned factors were linked and functioned in a wide network of customary practices, a slight change or dispute in one automatically had its impact on the other.

The Company in the beginning viewed irrigation works merely as good safeguards against famines and droughts. The Company opined that they could be constructed as a measure to relieve distress caused by the economic crises. However this policy slowly changed and when the Company realized that expansion and improvement of water control facilities had a crucial role in increasing agricultural production, they started taking more and more interest in encouraging construction of irrigation works and

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also in their proper maintenance. But the Company could not undertake them on a large scale perhaps due to economic reasons. Thus the resources allocated for the maintenance of irrigation works did not actually correlate with either increasing revenue demands of the Company or with the actual needs of the irrigation works of the region.

As the rivers in South India in general were seasonal. the limited sources of water had to be effectively exploited by making use of local topographical situations. What was expected of the Company was to evolve a centralized coordination among all structures so that they functioned and maintained well without any discrepancy. But it was this lack of coordination that was often criticized by many scholars regarding the Company's irrigation policy in the early years of its rule in the region.

The nature and size of the systems definitely had a bearing on the way their construction and management was organized. While ground water was mostly and could be developed by individual farmers for their own use, surface systems in any region invariably served several users and were subjected to some form of collective control. Small systems were generally constructed with local resources and leadership whereas bigger systems tended to attract involvement of a higher authority generally.

Small and relatively old systems had established long standing conventions regarding various issues of irrigation development and management. Any small discrepancy in these conventions in the absence of a centralized irrigation policy under the Company definitely led to water control conflicts.

Thus the review of the evidence suggests that the apparent neglect of the irrigation systems stemmed not so much from a conscious policy or lack of it as from an inordinately cautious approach to the problem. During this period the Company was coming to terms with a political economy which was strange and complex. In attempting to restructure it and to impose its authority upon it, the Company was compelled to adopt policies which would not depart too much from those of the pre colonial times. Nevertheless, the restructuring of the economy resulted in stresses and strains which impinged upon the various elements of the rural economy in particular on irrigation. This led to the paradoxical decay of irrigation institutions at a time when the Company's own revenue demands required more systematic and efficient development and management of irrigation works.

It was this recognition that irrigation was crucial factor in the colonial economy that must have led in the later period to a more systematic development of larger irrigation networks in the Northern Circars. Through the efforts of Arthur Cotton in the post 1850s period the Circars were benefited by the irrigation works on the rivers of Godavari and Krishna.



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## 9.MERCHANTS. MARKETS, AND PRICES

Markets and the trading groups involved in the trading activities played a crucial role in the agrarian world of the region. Not only did they link various elements in the rural structure but they also connected different rural structures through their trading networks. At a higher level the markets brought the rural economies into contact with wider commercial networks. The market forces while involving various groups of agrarian structure in the trade, some directly and some indirectly, determined the nature of agrarian relations also. At another level the markets formed a crucial link between the agrarian sector and the state.

As Polanyi puts it. a market is a centre which involves some kind of exchange in which various social groups perform differentiated functions. According to him market trade involves a double movement of goods in opposite directions paving through<sup>1</sup> a supply-demand price mechanism.

In Masulipatnam district also markets operated at various levels of the economy involving different groups from the level of a village to the international level. These markets varied widely in size from place to place. At each level, the nature of the trade differed depending on the groups that were involved in it and also depending on the groups to whose needs it catered.

Actively involved in these markets were different trading castes, each group specializing in a particular form of trade. The major trading castes in Masulipatnam district for instance, were Komatis, Baliyas and Banjaras.

The major marketing centre in the district of Masulipatnam was Masulipatnam town itself which was involved with regional and international trade. Masulipatnam being a port town acted as one of the major centres for long distance trade not only for the district but for the entire Northern Coromandel region. In the absence of proper transport networks, especially in the hinterland, the port towns and towns near irrigation sources came to develop as major trading centres in the region.<sup>2</sup> It was, in fact, for these reasons that most of the important trading centres were located on the coast line which had maintained links with the rural markets through various networks.

Besides Masulipatnam there were other prominent market centres at taluk level which were located in places like Eluru, Bezwada, Jaggaiahpet. Connected with these markets at the taluk level, there were several small marketing centres operating at the village level. The number of these markets seems to have depended on the necessities of the locality and also their distance from the major markets. Some of these markets in taluks like Guduwadaj Bandar, Pedanah, Oivi, Bezwada, and Gundagolanu were located in different places as shown in the table 9.1:

Table &gt; 9.1

## Markets in various Taluka of Masulipatnam

Taluks	Villages in which markets were situated	
1. Gudiwada	Gudiwada	
	Guraga.	
	Vemavaram.	
2. Bandar	Gunduru	
5. Pedanah	Pedanah	
	Gokavaram.	
4. Divi	Avanigadda.	
5. Bezwada	Mylavaram	
	Kondapalli	
6. Gundagolanu	Pulla	

Source: F.W. Morris. Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement, Krishna district to H. Newill, Director of Revenue Settlement. Madras, 23.2.1861, Krosur, 'Report on the Assessment of the Masulipatnam Portion of the Krishna District 1861-1865'. SRMG, p.55.

## Village Markets : Santalu and other Fairs :

The markets at the village level were called santalu. A santa was like a fair and was usually held once in a week and was not a fixed market like the bazaars or bigger market centres like Bandar, Eluru or Bezwada. One chief commodity of trade in these santalu was grain of various kinds. Besides grain, articles like cloth and vegetables were also sold in santalu. After the consumption needs of the cultivators were met. the extra grain

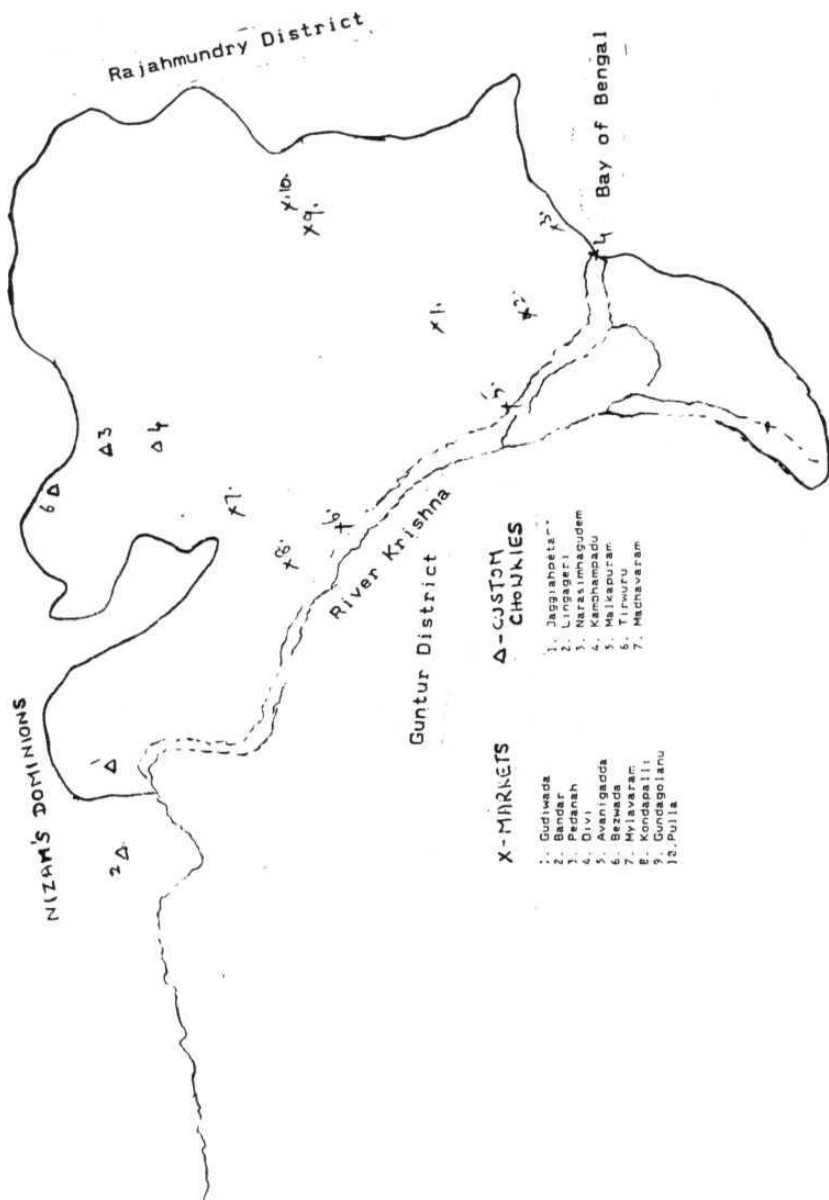
usually found its way into these markets and also other markets or fairs.

Besides these village markets, another place where trading activity took place to a considerable extent was in fairs which were held during almost all religious festivals of the region known by different names in different localities. Next to the village markets it was these religious fairs that attracted different trading groups and these were most common in almost all places of worship. Commenting on the popularity of these markets<sup>5</sup> and also the traders, R.D. Lushington opined that:

People never lose sight of the shop, they carry it into all their concerns, religious and civil, and all their holy places and resorts for pilgrims [there] are so many fairs for the sale of goods of every kind; religion and trade are in India sister arts, the one is seldom found in any large assembly without the society of the other.

The village markets mainly catered to the minimum needs of the people. Generally the market operations at village level had very little impact on the fortunes of landlords. This was because in these markets the transactions were at a minimum and grain or any other article on a large scale definitely found its way to larger markets located in principal Casbah towns like Eluru, Bezwada and Jaggiapet.<sup>6</sup> Any fluctuations in these major markets inevitably had an impact on the land owners and producers of the marketed commodities. The spatial location of marketing centres in early nineteenth century Masulipatnam district are mapped in Map.9.1

# Trading Centres and Custom Chowkies



## Trading Networks and Traditional Castes :

The machinery of internal trade was carried on by certain castes whose hereditary occupation it had been for ages. In Masulipatnam district also there were certain trading castes who were linked together through a system of hierarchically organized markets. These trading castes in the region generally and Masulipatnam in particular were mostly Komatis, and Setti baliyas. Besides these two groups another nomadic group which actively participated in the trade of specific commodities in Masulipatnam district was that of Banjaras.<sup>7</sup>

The products of the rural areas reached not only the rural markets but even major centres through these merchants. The traders bought the produce from the rural areas and marketed it in the port towns, taking their commodities in barter or at a price. In these transactions the Komatis by themselves or their servants travelled into the country gathering commodities.<sup>8</sup>

Referring to Masulipatnam town as a major trading centre, William Oram the President of the Circuit Committee, reported that it was once the resort of merchants from every part of India and the residence of many opulent Persians, Armenians, Mohammedans, Komatis, Baniyas, and Sahukars in the pre colonial regimes. As the importance of the town declined and trading activity

slowed down only a few Armenians and some sahu-kars remained as  
they found it useful to finance Zamindars.

9

Besides the Komatis, another important and organized trading group was that of Setti balijas in the region who had an efficient organization under a headman who regulated all the dealings.

10

Another extremely useful community of traders or carriers of trade were the Banjaras also most commonly known as Lambadas. They carried the commerce between Madras, Hyderabad, and Mysore. They mainly supported themselves by carrying salt from the coast to the interior of the country and cotton and wheat from the interior to the coast. They were a wandering tribe moving with their families in tents and were supposed to be the camp followers of the Mughal emperors. These tribes used to have an elected rank to regulate their itinerary and bargains. There were certain restrictions placed on their movement in Masulipatnam district. As no proper roads existed in the region, usually traffic passed through the fields. When the Lambadas crossed certain districts with their packed bullocks entire grain fields used to be spoiled. So in places like Masulipatnam they were allowed to travel only in certain specific periods of the year generally ranging from September to June. The Lambadas seemed to have enjoyed exceptional privileges like immunity from attack in times of war, exemption from duties on their goods and also guarantee of protection from the government. Generally shroffs

and other inhabitants were also prohibited from taking any fee or  
11  
taxes from them.

The special privileges the Banjaras enjoyed were obviously directed towards encouraging them in trade. In periods of war and political chaos which preceded the Company's take over of the region the Lambadas were probably the only people who had the courage to engage in the transport of goods over long distances. As they performed this vital function, they were allowed several concessions.

The custom of levying and collection of certain duties on the merchants and the traders was followed even under the Company rule. A variety of taxes were levied by the Zamindars on the merchants and the merchandise that passed through their estates. Inscriptions contain references to rural markets and weekly shandies where commodities were bought and sold in large quantities and taxes were also imposed on these shops and markets.  
12

Under Vijayanagara rulers various taxes were collected from merchants and traders. A tax called mulavise which the merchants paid to the state amounted to 1/6 of the capital. Instead of being collected in a lump sum, it was collected in the form of duties on commodities sold in the market. The sunka or the toll was an excise duty payable on all retail goods passing from one place to another. These tolls were collected generally at con-



venient places like Vasanta Garuvulu, water sheds, market towns, and roads leading to pilgrim centres. The Sthala sunkam was again an excise duty collected on goods that were imported into the region. Apart from these many more taxes like Maliga sunkam, Addagada sunkam, Kara sunkam, Margadaya, Viraalam were collected from merchants.<sup>15</sup> An interesting feature was that many of these taxes seemed to have continued even under the Company administration. But they were collected by Zamindars under several names apart from those regularly collected by the Company.

Under the pre colonial regimes there was strict administration at various levels of market operations. Several officers were appointed by the government to regulate the markets. For instance, in the town of Eluru the government appointed an officer called Nirkee who regulated with banias the daily prices of every article. For the services he rendered he enjoyed a monthly pay and also land grants. Every week the rate of grains was fixed by the market officer who instructed the headmen of the trade. The rates were also submitted for the information of the king.<sup>14</sup>

Heavy punishments were also imposed on the shop-keepers who had violated the rules fixed by the officers of the government. Often, the people also inflicted their own punishment. For instance, if there was any difference in rates or weight, the headman was compelled to ride on the donkey and the shops where the difference had occurred were looted.<sup>15</sup>

The chaudhuri was the head of the traders in each bazaar who was selected amongst the merchants and was recognized by the government. There were several officers appointed and attached to markets and toll stations to collect customs and duties from the merchants. Mutasaddies were clerks appointed for this purpose. They were to see that the prices of grain were kept low in the market and were held answerable for high prices. Passes and permits were regularly issued for the commodities coming in and out of the place. For a constant vigil over the markets and its administration officers called Piyadas were appointed to work under the supervision of Kotwal.

16

Under the Nizams, the rule was that once any businessman paid the amount of tax on goods at any one place and obtained a receipt, then he need not pay tax at other places or points. The government believed that taxation at many points might lead to discouragement of businessmen and unnecessarily enhance the prices of goods. Even if a merchant could not sell his goods that whole year and if he moved to another place, in that case one half of the tax was collected.

17

#### **Customs Collections:**

Apart from the regular custom duties levied by the Company, Zamindars used to collect extra duties in the names of sunkams from traders. These duties varied from one Zamindari to another

and were highly arbitrary. The sunkams formed a considerable amount of revenue to the Zamindars and these were arbitrarily collected by Zamindars who appointed several men to collect these amounts. The sunkams consisted of Munna rusums, Gadi and Addadi customs.<sup>18</sup> Some of these duties existed even in the pre colonial regimes and were continued even in the Company's rule based on the strength and power of the Zamindars who collected them. Apart from these, different village officials like Oeshpande, Kanakapillais and Karanams collected rusums from merchants, and traders.

Sayer was the original duty instituted by the government and was collected only by its own servants at one chowki on each public road.<sup>19</sup> Prior to the settlement of 1802, the right to collect this duty was enjoyed by the Zamindars in their estates. But after 1802 under the Permanent Settlement as the peishkash on the Zamindaris was fixed exclusive of the sayer collections, government itself took the right to collect this duty.

Munna rusums was a private assessment introduced by the Zamindars towards the end of the old regimes in the region on the merchants passing their districts. The duty was publicly admitted when the sunkams were estranged from the circar and left entirely in the Zamindars hands on their engaging to pay an additional sum annually amongst them. These rusums sometimes exceeded even the sayer duty collections and it was collected

upon the articles which the policy of the government had permitted to pass duty free.<sup>20</sup>

The Gadi customs seemed to have been established by Zamindars and collected particularly upon inhabitants and others moving from one market to another and arose from the fee they paid on the receipt and delivery of their certificate and from a tax for remaining a whole night in any village. The addadi was levied from those who take their produce by roads.<sup>21</sup>

These duties became so many and so heavy on the merchants that even the Company had viewed their collection seriously. William Oram the President of the Circuit Committee commenting on the increase of customs houses and also the duties reported that new duties were introduced under the pretext of charitable donations, fee for account keepers, protection money to Zamindars, presents to sunkam holders. The Zamindars besides collecting rusums in their parganas instituted a further fee of three pagodas on every 100 head loaded bullocks. In addition, even salt, hitherto free was taxed.<sup>22</sup> In fact under the Company salt revenue was one of the major sources of income to the government.

The Zamindars of Mustafanagar and Eluru also collected duties from the Lambadis coming from other places to buy salt besides Foudjar's fee on wheat. Green gram and Tamarind which they bought on their carts.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from these, officials from the level of village like Karanams to district officials like Kanakapillais and Deshpandes collected various taxes from traders. But these differed from Zamindari to Zamindari, for every Zamindari had a set of chowkies where the duties of sayer were collected. Generally the Zamindars rented these rights to collect customs to different headmen who being under no check, extracted always in advance whatever duties they pleased without adhering to the usual rates. <sup>24</sup> The administration at these chowkies were so disorganized that some of the principal chowkies for instance of Nuzividu Zamindari were located in the estates of other Zamindars and sometimes even in the Haveli lands.

Even on social occasions of these various groups taxes were collected by village officials. For example, in the marriages of Banias each house was supposed to give the Karanam two rupees. <sup>25</sup> But these fees were extremely fluctuating and depended on the size of the village and also the economic position of the parties involved each paying according to his ability.

As a common feature of the many agrarian economies, customs and long followed usages played an important role in the pre modern trade and in fact continued under the Company. Trading castes formed no exception to this. For instance, each caste had certain dependent or begging groups attached to them and generally the economically stronger groups supported these castes

as it was a long drawn custom. For instance, the Viramushtis or religious beggars following Vira Shaivism were attached to Komati caste. The merchants paid certain amount of fee of these maths maintained by the viramushtis for their maintenance. <sup>26</sup> Some times even on account of temples also duties were collected from passing merchants. Like in Mangalagiri a tax of one dub per bag was collected on all grain brought into the town account of the temple situated there.<sup>27</sup> Earlier this fee must have been collected for maintenance or repair work. But it was never withdrawn and became a part of the traditional custom of the place.

By the 1802 treaty the free use of the port of Masulipatnam was granted to the Nizam of Hyderabad with the privilege to establish a factory there. The free transit of goods was allowed between the territories of the two parties, for exchanging their produce and manufactures, abolishing the undefined sayar or rahadari duties except the imposition of a 5 percent duty on the Hyderabad frontier on articles from the Company's territories and 5 percent duty payable to the Company on all articles purchased in Hyderabad for export into the Company's territories. Under the decree, duties were to be levied at Masulipatnam or at one or more places according to the convenience of the merchants of the Nizam's territories. But these conditions were to apply only to traders under both the governments but not to the foreign merchants. <sup>28</sup>

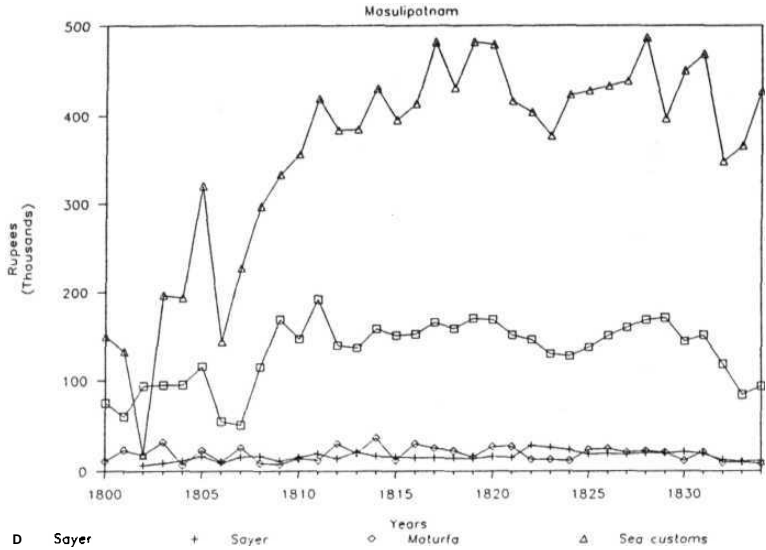
## Customs Collections under the Company :

Two important duties collected on the traders in Masulipatnam district as else where was Moturfa and sayer. The Moturfa tax was levied in two ways in the district - Visabadi and Carrabadi assessment. While visabadi was fixed on the entire village and collected as a whole carrabadi was an individual assessment.<sup>29</sup> The moturfa tax was by no means uniform either as regards the same classes of persons or the same trades. It varies to a great extent in different tanahs and in many instances in different villages of the same tanah and generally was raised or lowered according to the comparative prosperity or otherwise of the party assessed.<sup>30</sup>

The sayer duties comprised of duties on Arrack, measurable articles such as grain of all descriptions, duties on weighable goods as Jaggery, Oil, Betel nuts, duties on Tobacco, Opium and Ganja. The contribution of extra revenue collections, however fluctuated greatly depending on their nature and Company's policies. For instance, during 1800-1835 Sea customs collections had declined due to the abolition of Masulipatnam factory. The effect of such an abolition was increase in Moturfa collections, because the weavers were again forced to pay loom tax, which was a major component of the Moturfa tax. The variations in extra revenue collections from 1800-1835 are illustrated in Table A 11 and Graph.9.1 <sup>31</sup>

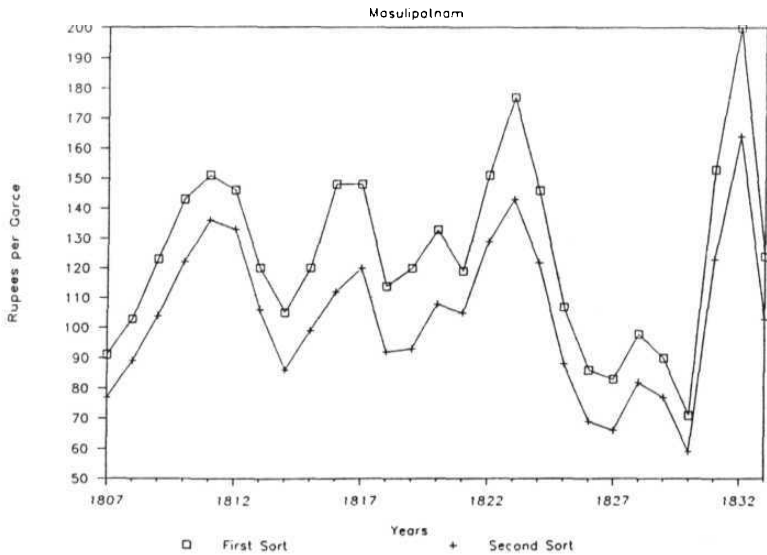
Graph : 9.1

## Customs Collections



Graph : 9.2

## PADDY PRICES





In levying customs duty on grain, the method followed was tedious and laborious in the region. Before levying customs duty on each passing bullock loads of goods, exact quantity of grain was measured before the assessment instead of levying the duty per bullock load.

<sup>32</sup> The produce of one district generally paid the duty on entering the limits of another district. The chowkies for the collection of sea and land customs in the region were situated at Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam, Pachamoogally and Peda Ganjam.

<sup>33</sup> Certain commodities were listed as luxuries and were taxed at higher rates. These included betel, tobacco and opium. But generally the consumption of these articles was high among the lower classes. The cultivation and sale of betel were free, but it was subjected to a duty in passing the customs houses. Generally the duty was levied at the rate of six annas per hundred bundles, each bundle containing about 300 leaves. Tobacco was liable to a duty at the customs house of about fifteen rupees per candy.

<sup>34</sup> The duties were levied at the rate of six annas per hundred bundles. Each bundle consisted of 300 leaves. Each Bullock load of Tobacco consisting of one maund and twenty seers paid custom at the rate of nine rupees. If the Tobacco was brought loose it **was** subjected to a custom of Rs.  $3/4$  per maund. The merchants **after they** paid customs duty at the chowkies received a receipt

from the chowki. The receipt carried the details of the merchandise, merchant's name and number of duties they paid on their way.

For instance, in Nuzividu Zamindari, the merchant Yanagadati Nagaraju carried 7 1/2 bullock loads of Jonnalalu from Maiduru to Kotturu village. He discharged munna rusums, a duty collected by Zamindars at Perkaveti chowki. In addition he paid Munna rusum duty again in Kondapalli, foujdari fee in Maiduru, Sayer, and gaddie duties in Nunestalum. Thus the collection of custom duties varied from Zamindari to Zamindari and the merchants were subjected to various duties as they passed through the Zamindaris. Some of the names of the other merchants who carried on the trade in Masulipatnam were Mulaparru Janakiramudu, Manchikunte Kamaraju, Konnapalli Ramavadhanlu.

Table : 9.2

**Average of Land Customs Collections in Zamindari Estates**

S.No. Names of Estates	Customs duties in MPs
1. Nandigama Zamindari	- 300
2. Devarakota Zamindari	- 1363
3. Bezwada	- 549
4. Mylavaram	- 607
5. Medurgutta	- 50
6. Jammulavayi	- 162
7. Munagala	- 339
8. Lingageri	- 5

**Sourest** Report from Hugh Maxwell Secretary to the president. Committee of Circuit, Report of the Circuit Committee on the Zamindaris dependent on Masulipatnam', SRMG, p.21.

In many of the chowkies like those situated in Mugitala. Jayenti, Narasimhula gudem, Vemureddi palli the charges, collected were disproportionate to receipts. The Collector felt that as they were not situated in prominent places it would be sufficient to maintain minimum establishment and also chowkies like Yaturu and Mukannavari gudem were abolished as there was not much traffic. The Chintalapudi chowki was the principal station on the road to Nagpur. Madavaram another chowki was situated on the road to Hyderabad and the traffic on this line to Nizam's territories was heavy. Salaries were paid to the revenue servants<sup>37</sup> according to the importance and work in each chowki.

The main chowkies in the Jaggiahpet taluk of the district were six located at Jaggiahpet, Panchotra, Madavaram, Narsimhulagudem, Lingagery, Malkapuram, and Kambhampadu. Each chowki depending on the functions importance of it had a gradation of officers like Peishkar, two Muddutgars, Shroffs, Duffadars, Appraiser, two Paigasties and peons numbering ten.

Table : 9.3

Customs Collections in Masulipatnam district in 1844 and 1845

S.No.Names of Chowkies	Customs Collections in 1844 Rs.	Customs Collections in 1845 Rs.
1. Jaggiahpet Punchotra	7,553	29.345
2. Madavaram	3,207	3,179
3. Narsimha gudem	-	95
4. Lingagery	183	60
5. Malkapuram	773	693
6. Kambampadu	-	430
Nandegama Taluk		
1. Aluru chowki	248	41
2. Mooktala chowki	93	35
3. Jayenty chowki	625	45
4. Yaturu chowki	-	1
5. Bezwada chowki	-	-
6. Pullur chowki	-	108
Tirwoor Taluk		
1. Tirwoor panchotra	1298	891
2. Wutturu chowki	344	184
3. Vamureddipalli chowki	530	126
4. Chinnammampeta chowki	336	157
5. Chintalapudi chowki	1760	1097
6. Wootasumudram chowki	-	314
7. Mukkunavarigudem chowki	-	13

Source: R.J. Porter, Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR, 14.5.1845. MDR. v.6331. pp.73-77.

The main objectives of the Company in continuing chowkies at each taluk seemed to be that the trade of the district should not be unequally taxed. The second objective was that people on the traders should not travel a long distance without paying a

duty. The Company also believed that if the distance between two chowkies was long, the trade which circulates within such space would escape taxation and thus result in loss of revenue to the Company.<sup>59</sup>

Perhaps it was for these reasons the chowkies were set up in each taluk and many others for collection of sea customs and other taxes.

In the district of Masulipatnam, many chowkies were set up at taluk level to collect customs from the merchants trading in various commodities. These chowkies were mainly located in Bandar, Challapalli, Divi, Bezwada, Jaggiahpetta, Tirwoor, Gollapalli, Eluru, Relanghy, Pentapadu and Gudiwada. At these chowkies duties were collected on number of articles passing through these chowkies like Tobacco, Betel, Opium, Oil, Betel nuts. Tamarind, Gingely Oil seeds. Sugar, Jaggery, Coconuts, Indigo, various kinds of grain. Pepper and Cardamom. Among these articles commodities like Tobacco, Betel and Opium were categorized as luxuries and charged at higher rates whereas grain was charged with minimum duty. For the import and export duties collected by the Company in Masulipatnam see table A 12.

But this, by raising prices, would have conflicted with the other functions of the Company, Revenue versus Commerce. It is also interesting that the Company, a representative of Capitalist enterprise for profit, should reinforce pre modern structures, which actually impede commerce. This could be an example of colonialism preserving pre capitalist modes of production.

Table 9.4

## Land Customs Collections on Betel and Tobacco at Masulipatnam

S. Months	1205F	1206F	1207F	1208F	1209F	
No.	Betel	Tobacco	Betel	Tobacco	Betel	Tobacco
13th-31st	Rs - A-P	Rs - A-P	Rs-A -P	Rs -A -P	Rs-A -P	Rs -A -P
1 Jul.	49-40-0	258-2-3	43-2-9	216-4-3	52-16-3	329-13-0
2 Aug.	100-1-9	933-12-9	66-4-9	252-2-9	91-1-0	455-6-0
3 Sep.	110-0-0	277-10-3	75-11-6	1089-4-6	115-10-0	338-8-3
4 Oct.	95-12-6	561-3-0	86-1-3	493-7-3	69-13-9	420-2-3
5 Nov.	101-4-3	452-13-0	80-9-0	152-8-0	91-13-0	721-7-0
6 Dec.	87-13-9	164-12-6	89-1-6	586-14-6	125-2-3	760-2-6
7 Jan.	81-5-0	484-9-3	104-1-9	440-11-0	109-0-9	456-8-0
8 Feb.	72-2-6	368-3-3	76-13-9	115-13-0	124-13-3	225-15-9
9 Mar.	89-3-0	279-1-6	96-5-9	230-7-3	138-11-9	440-10-0
10 Apr.	53-4-0	259-7-9	86-3-3	613-10-9	144-3-6	483-14-3
11 May	100-5-3	646-14-9	78-13-9	401-8-0	118-6-0	534-4-9
12 Jun.	66-1-9	537-13-0	87-12-6	405-0-3	136-14-6	606-10-6
13 Jul.	38-6-0	179-6-3	32-3-9	- 2-0	29-4-9	346-12-3
1st-12th					42-14-9	9-4-9
					41-0-4	41-0-4

1044-15-9 5403-13-6 1003-50 5040-13-16 1137-8-9 6120-2-6 1583-12-0 5714-10-3 1279-14-3 6235

Source : Collector, Read Masulipatnam district to the BOR,  
10.11.1800, MDR, 2998, p.15.

## Company's Attitude towards Traders :

The Company made a distinction among the traders of British dominions and foreigners. The duty to be paid on goods imported by persons trading under the privilege of being British subjects had been fixed at 6 percent to be regulated by a tariff according to the average market prices and the export duties to be paid by such persons at the subordinate stations had been regulated at the same amount.

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For making a distinction between the foreigners and British traders in India a duty was levied on goods exported by foreigners and on the goods which they would import at the subordinate stations. The rate of duty on the former was fixed at 2 percent and on later at 8 percent on the value of goods.

41

In 1802 it was decided that the collection of the inland duties would be done under the denomination of frontier and town duties. By this mode goods conveyed from other states in India into the Company's territories were subjected once to the payment of the duty on their passage of the frontier. The goods had to pay a further duty when brought into towns at the principal stations for consumption. In contrast the amount of duties formerly collected under the denomination of sayer and the inland trade were charged with a duty of 6 percent at the frontier stations.

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## Influence of Markets :

The existence of as many markets as there were towns and ports each one with its own money, its own weights and measures, with its own customs was an important feature of the pre modern

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Asian trade. These factors in the absence of proper communication net works and transport facilities isolated the village markets from the bigger ones thus creating a wide gap between various market forces. But the influence of big markets generally located in Casbah towns and port towns on the neighboring village markets to an extent reduced these differences in prices, weights and measures.

For instance, the influence of Masulipatnam market was far and wide, grain being brought to it from twenty to thirty miles. The small local fairs, however, important they might be in their general influence on the trade and prosperity of the country had little influence on the sale of grain. Mostly the surplus grain in large quantities always found its way to bigger markets like

44

Masulipatnam and Eluru.

The markets situated in Casbah towns generally ruled the prices of the taluks in which they were situated and half the neighboring taluks. Bandar and Pedanah taluks were fully influenced by the Masulipatnam market whereas for Gudiwada and Kaikalur taluks when compared with Bandar and Pedanah the influence of



Masulipatnam was less. The influence of a market on its neighbouring ones depended on the distance between them. Perhaps it was one of the reasons how the prices in all these markets though showing certain variations were limited to a minimum extent. In the absence of proper trade networks because of the influence of big markets on the smaller ones prices did not vary greatly. Where the influence of Masulipatnam market grows weak, the influence of next neighboring markets situated in Casbah towns conditioned thus maintaining a sort of equilibrium in all marketing activities in the region.

How was the Grain Marketed? :

As there were no specific and regular markets on a large scale at the village level how was the surplus grain marketed by the cultivators? In Masulipatnam district the wholesale transactions of the cultivators in agrarian produce was concluded generally at the villages itself. The sahu-kars or the local bania mostly acted as an intermediary between the actual producers of these products and the exporting merchants at large. These sahu-kars were also responsible for supplying these products to the markets at taluk level at Eluru, Bezwada and Jaggiahpet. In the absence of interior transport facilities the merchants generally made use of water sources nearest to the villages or carried the grain on strings of bullocks. All the trading activities in the internal markets were mainly oriented towards local demand.

## Who were the Beneficiaries of Grain Trade?

The merchants and the sahlukars purchased the surplus at a low price at the wholesale markets, but managed through creation of an artificial scarcity to sell the commodities at an inflated price. Thus the benefits accruing from the trade flowed not to the actual producers but to the merchants.

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Thus internal regional commerce and the wholesale stock markets which supplied both the retail and the bazar were always specialized in the purchase and sale of articles which constituted the products of the agrarian economy and generated a large inland customs duties to the Company.

Any change in the prices of these commodities had a drastic effect on the fortunes of those who were the actual producers but not on those who transacted these products. It seemed to be a general practice among the merchants to purchase the surplus at a very low price at the wholesale trade markets and thereby create an artificial scarcity in the economy, that consequently raised the prices of these products. In both ways, the ultimate beneficiary was the merchants and the trading community. As there were no inland canal or river navigation from Masulipatnam the trade of the country was mainly carried by bullocks.

## Trading Routes: Long diatanca and Short distance

The chief articles of export were manufactures at Masulipatnam and in its immediate neighbourhood. There was no direct export from Masulipatnam to foreign countries like London. The Collectors opined that the only aid the government could afford to the foreign trade was by taking off all restrictions and making the public burdens as light as possible. The charges of boat hire shipment was Rs.3 1/4 per trip for a boat capable of carrying 120 bags.<sup>48</sup>

However the successful conduct of long distance trade depended crucially on several inter related factors such as transport costs, the pattern of demand and supply, the ability of merchants to hold stocks, price elasticities and finally the position of natural harbours to trade. If merchants and traders were not able to establish some sort of equilibrium between and within each of these variables trade was characterized by a random mix of commodities, sudden appearances of excess supply on demand leading to violent price movements and rapid rise or decline of particular markets.

Apart from the intra regional trade there was considerable inter portal trade among Calcutta, Pegu, Burma. Yanam, Chittagong.<sup>49</sup> The Principal articles of import from Arracan and Chittagong consisted of Paddy and Rice. For instance, value of imports of Paddy to Masulipatnam port from Arracan and Chittagong in 1833

were Rs. 14,99.609 and 944, Whereas value of Rice imports were Rs. 7,19,980 and 1,15892 respectively. The value of exports from Masulipatnam port to Arracan, Chittagong and Moulmein were worth only Rs. 39,240. The goods consisted of White piece goods, Pepper, Gingely Oil, and Ghee.

50

The imports in 1844 show a decrease below the average of the preceding ten years while there was a rise in the prices of Rice and Paddy in 1844-45 above that of 1845-44 by Rs. 2-0-2 and Rs. 8-11-0 per candy respectively.

The Board opined that while by the imposition of restrictive duties on the importation of grain and paddy the small export trade existing was not likely to be affected, those duties might doubtless be expected to have the effect of checking importation and thereby keeping the prices of grain above those currently obtained and thus securing a fair return for agricultural produce of the country. But it must at the same time be recollected that in seasons of drought or failure of produce the proposed duty might operate injuriously on the people particularly the poor. Notwithstanding the late depression of prices in the market value Masulipatnam drew from the Eastern ports large supplies of Rice and Paddy both for its own consumption and sometimes for exportation by land into the interior for the supply of the Nizams dominions.

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The major articles of import from Arracan in the decade 1854-35 to 1843-44 were paddy and rice. However there were other articles like Pittoo rice. Cowries, China ware. Honey, Pitto Paddy, Wood oil, White piece goods, and Tamarind which formed part of the imported goods to Masulipatnam. But when compared with Paddy and Rice they were in small quantities. For instance, in the decade the quantity of Paddy imported was 19036 Madras garces, whereas the quantity of Pitto rice was 254 maunds and 52 Pitto paddy was 43 maunds.

The articles of import at the port of Masulipatnam from Chittagong were Rice, Paddy, Mentulu, Beaten rice. Ghee, Coconut oil. Lamp oil, Gingely oil and Kandulu. But except Rice all other articles were in insignificant amounts. However when compared with imports from Arracan, from Chittagong the articles of import were less. For example, the value of imports in the decade from Chittagong into Masulipatnam were worth Rs. 1,15042 whereas from Arracan the value of imports stood at Rs. 53 22,22,766.

Regarding the exports of agricultural produce 1854-35 to 1843-44 there was not much export from the port of Masulipatnam. Only articles like Ghee, Coconut oil, Lamp oil, small quantities of Wheat, Gingely oil, Kandulu, were exported to Arracan. The exports to Chittagong included Onion. Pepper, Coconut oil in very small quantities. Though there were no imports from Moulmein to Masulipatnam district little quantities of Ghee, Coconut oil,

Onion, Opium were exported besides white piece goods, printed  
54  
piece goods.

The customs duties were levied on Rice imported from other  
countries. For instance, under the act 6 of 1844 on 54482 garces  
of Paddy, imported into Masulipatnam a duty of Rs. 3405 was  
levied at the rate of one Anna per maund. Whereas for 19,444  
garces of Rice imported into Masulipatnam port a duty of Rs. 1215  
55  
was collected.

There was considerable amount of trade between Masulipatnam  
and Nizams territories. The exported articles from Masulipatnam  
included varieties of grain like Jonnalalu, Paddy, Rice, Kandulu,  
Horsegram, Bengal gram. But it was Jonnalalu that was exported in  
large quantities.

Table : 9.5

Exportation of Grain to Nizams territories from Masulipatnam in  
1847-48

S.No.Grain	Quantity	Value
		Rs - A - P
1. Jonnalalu	273-277-5 5/16	34155-3- 1
2. Paddy	2-248-1 10/16	238-8-11
3. Rica	12-67-0	2728-4- 2
4. Kandulu	1-240-6 10/16	140-4- 0
5. Horse gram	15-72-1 10/16	1518-2- 0
6. Minumulu	10-302-7 5/16	1569-3- 0
7. Bengal gram	5-237-5 5/1	769-5- 0
8. Green Pesalu	4-341-2	646-15-3

Source: R.J. Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 16.6-  
1848. MDR. v. 6401, p.233.

## Price Fluctuations and the Position of Rural Groups :

The period 1750-1850 is interesting for the study of price fluctuations. In the absence of well linked trade net works and proper inland transportation, the movement of prices and the price fluctuations varied widely within the region. This situation of price fluctuations in the period 1750-1850 when the Company was coming to terms with the regional economy and negotiating to appropriate the maximum benefit tried various revenue systems and settlements from time to time, a study of price fluctuations and their impact on the economy assumes great significance. The impact of the price fluctuations on different elements of the economy was different and it deeply influenced the working of the agrarian world.

Agricultural prices and the constant variation in their prices in fact constituted an important feature of the economy because of the share of the agrarian sector in the economy. Generally the fluctuations in prices were caused by local scarcity of the food supplies, so their effects were not wide-spread. There were wide fluctuations over time in one place and also great difference in prices at different places at any particular time. For instance, tables 9.6, 9.7, and 9.8 show that in certain years how the prices of grain like Jonnalu, Kandulu and White Paddy varied in different taluks of Masulipatnam district.

Table : 9.6

## Prices of Jonnalalu in some Taluks of Masulipatnam district

S.No.	Names of Taluks	Prices				
		1794	1795	1796	1797	1798
1.	Kondapalli	7- 0- 0	4- 4-40	3- 0- 0	3-27- 0	4- 0- 0
2.	Gundur	7- 0- 0	5-18- 0	5- 2-20	6- 4-40	6-0- 0
3.	Akulamannadu	7-18- 0	5-13-40	5- 0-0	6- 0- 0	
4.	Inuguduru	6-18- 0	5-13-40	4-27- 0	6- 0- 0	5-27- 0
5.	Pedanah	6-18- 0	5-13-40	4-27- 0	6- 4-40	5-24-601
6.	Divi	6- 9- 0	5- 9- 0	5- 9- 0	6-18- 0	7- 0- 0
7.	Six Islands	6- 9-70	5- 9- 0	5- 9- 0	6-18- 0	7- 0- 0

Source: Read, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 8.11.1800 ,  
MDR, v.2998.p.22.51, 69.90, 107. and 117.

The price fluctuations of Jonnalalu in 1794 in the seven taluks of Masulipatnam clearly show that the price of Jonnalalu in neighbouring taluks had little variations. Whereas the prices varied as the distance of the taluks increased. For example, in 1794 the prices in Kondapalli and Gunduru were same whereas they varied in the taluks of Divi, Six Islands, Pedanah, Akulamannadu and Inuguduru. The prices in 1797 clearly shows the difference. In Kondapalli the prices of Jonnalalu was 3-1/2 MPs whereas it was 6-1/2 MPs in Six islands. Perhaps the difference must have been due to either local supply of the commodities or nature of seasons.

The prices for Kandulu and White Paddy also show similar variations



Table : 9.7

## Prices of Kandulu in some Taluks of Masulipatnam district

S.No.	Names of Taluks	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798
Prices in MPs./candy						
1.	Kondapalli	11- 0- 0	9- 0- 0	6-31-40	5-18- 0	6-13-40
2.	Gundur	8- 0- 0	8-31-40	8- 0- 0	7-31-40	7-31-40
3.	Inuguduru	8- 0- 0	9- 0- 0	8- 0- 0	7-27- 0	8- 0- 0
4.	Pedanah	8-18- 0	9- 0- 0	8- 0- 0	8-18- 0	8-18- 0
5.	Divi	8- 1-10	8- 0- 0	8- 0- 0	6- 9- 0	8- 0- 0
6.	Six Islands	8- 7-70	8- 7- 0	8- 0- 0	6- 9- 0	8- 0- 0

**Source:** Read, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 8.11.1800, MDR, v.2998, p.22,51.69.90.107, and 117.

Table 9.8

## Prices of White Paddy in some Taluks of Masulipatnam district

S.No.	Names of Taluks	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798
Prices in MPs./candy						
1.	Kondapalli	7-18- 0	8- 9- 0	5-13-40	4-27- 0	5-31-40
2.	Gundur	7- 4-40	6-13-40	5- 2-20	5- 4-40	5-24-60
3.	Akulamannadu	7- 0- 0	6- 1-10	5- 0- 0	4-30-60	5-13-40
4.	Inuguduru	7- 0- 0	5-31-40	5- 4-40	4-33- 0	5-18-13
5.	Pedanah	7- 9- 0	6- 2-20	5- 5-50	5- 2-20	5-14- 5
6.	Divi	9-16-70	6-18- 0	4-10-10	5- 9- 0	6- 0- 0
7.	Six Islands	9-16-70	6-18- 0	4-10-10	5- 9- 0	6- 0- 0

**Source:** Read, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 8.11.1600. MDR, v.2998. p.22,51.69.90.107. and 117.

An interesting feature in the prices of Paddy was that in 1794 when the price was seven Madras Pagodas approximately in the Kondapalli region, in Divi and six Islands the price was nine Madras Pagodas, whereas in 1795 in Kondapalli the prices **were**

eight Madras Pagodas, whereas in Divi islands it was six Madras Pagodas. These fluctuations continued till 1798 within the region. Owing to the uncertainty of the monsoons and the difficulties and high cost of transport there was an extreme inelasticity of the supply of food grains.

According to Sarada Raju, the produce of each locality had generally to find a market within that place and there was not much prospect of import or export in case of scarcity or glut. The result was that prices would be very low in one place, while<sup>56</sup> famine prices ruled in another place a few miles away.

Fluctuations in the prices of agrarian products had a deep impact on the fortunes of different local structures. The impact of these price fluctuations on each group differed from the way they were structurally placed in the social or economic hierarchy. So the existence of direct correlation between the agricultural prices, rural groups and the revenue structures makes it necessary to analyze the prices and their fluctuations during this period.

The prices of agrarian products over a period of time were analyzed in this chapter taking selective commodities. To study the annual fluctuations in prices and their impact on the economy and vice versa among Paddy first and second varieties and Rice first and second varieties were taken. Movement of paddy prices for the period 1807-1834 are shown in Graph 9.2.

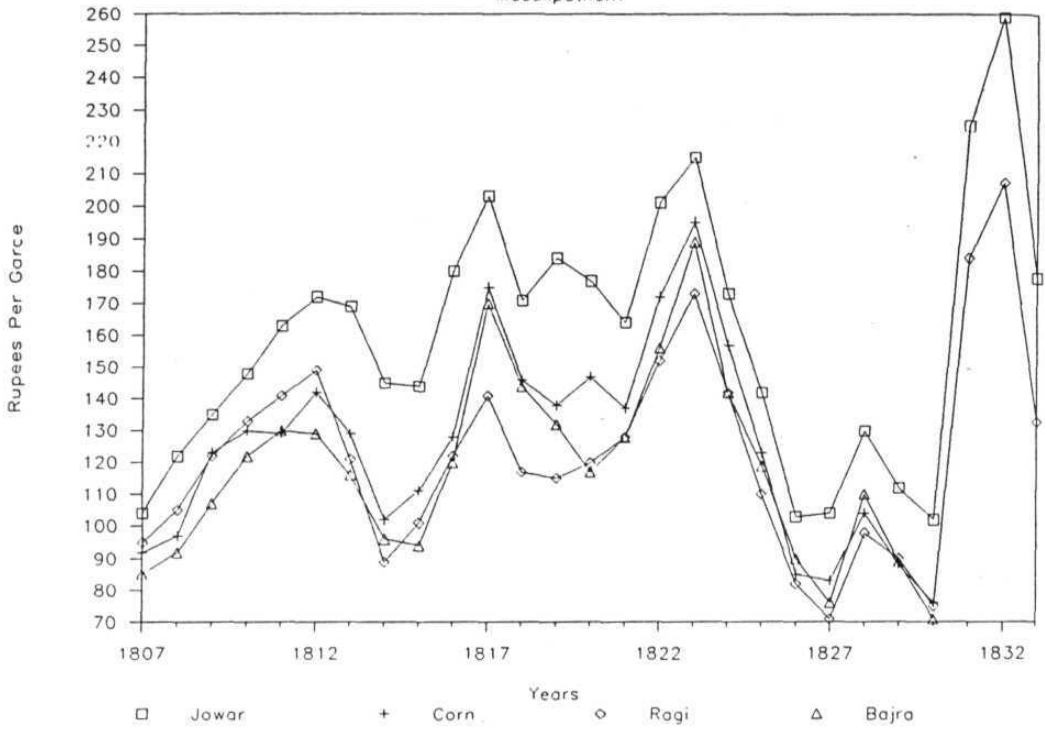
Paddy was largely for export purposes and Rice was mainly consumed by the rich. Bajra, Jowar, Corn, Ragi, prices were taken as they formed the staple diet of the masses and Gingelly oil seeds an item of export. A study of the price movements of these products, as illustrated in Graph.5, would help to identify the possible beneficiaries of such economic fluctuations or to consider how forces determined price movements and influenced the level of economic activity.

The land owners had to sell their products whatever might be the demand and this created arrears in their revenue payments and led to their decline. According to Burton Stein, the revenue measures of the Company especially over assessment and over collections, poor communications with agricultural markets and insufficient support to irrigation were a set of factors that<sup>57</sup> influenced greatly the price movements.

The annual price indices worked out by the Company for various agrarian products shows severe fluctuations in prices. For instance, Graph 9.2 shows, from 1807-1811 the prices of Paddy of both varieties were rising. Graph 9.3 shows, along with the Paddy prices the grain prices of Jonnalalu, Mokkaajonna, Ragi, and Sajjalu were also on the increase. The year 1806 being a famine years the prices rose in 1807 but they steadily increased till 1811. The rise in prices sometimes was steep and sometimes from year to year they were gradual increase.

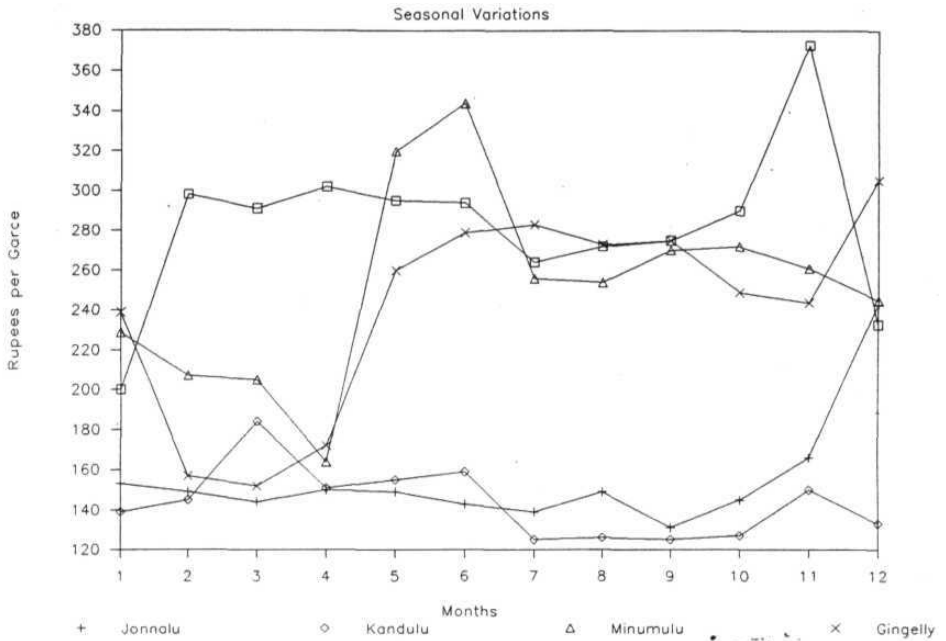
# GRAIN PRICES

Masulipatnam



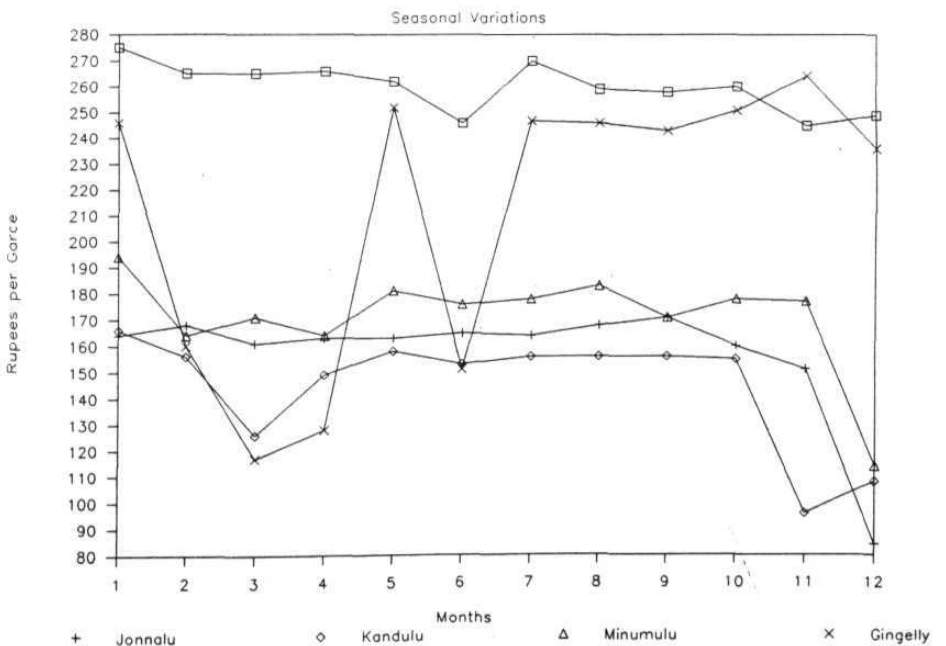
Graph : 9.4

## Grain Prices in 1812



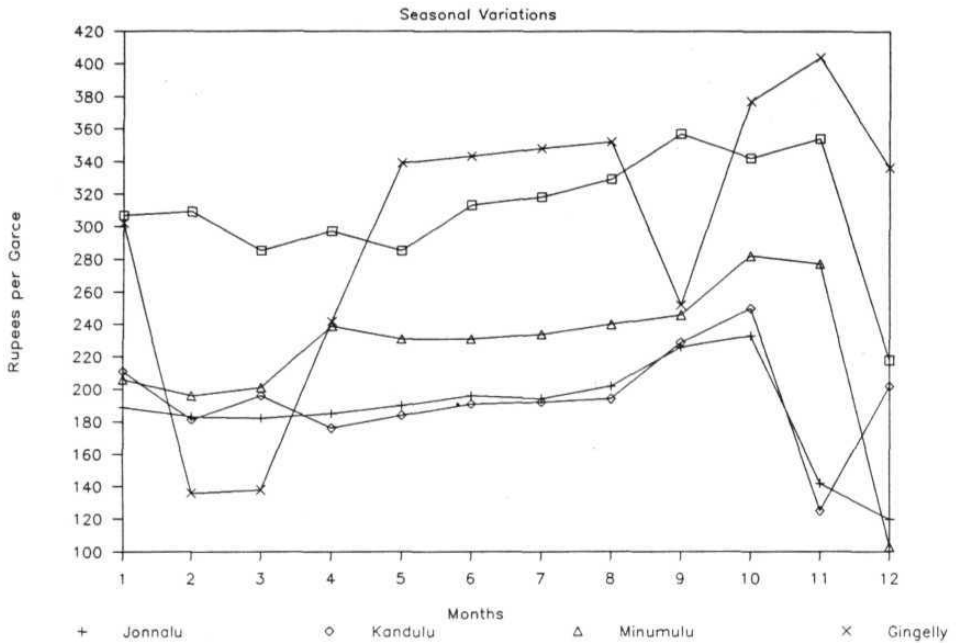
Graph : 9.5

## Grain Prices in 1815



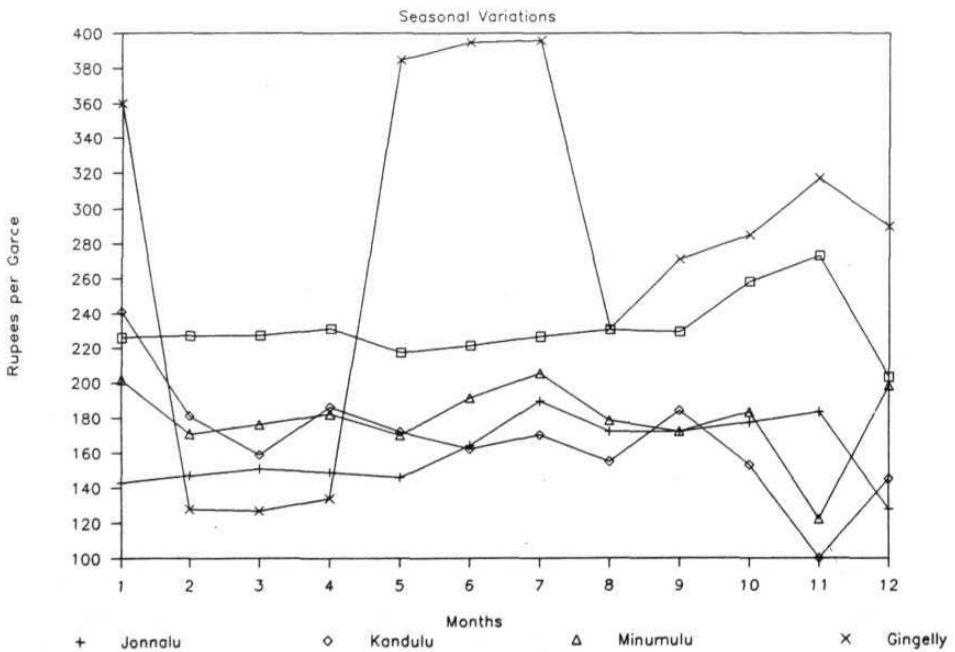
Graph : 9.6

## Grain Prices in 1818



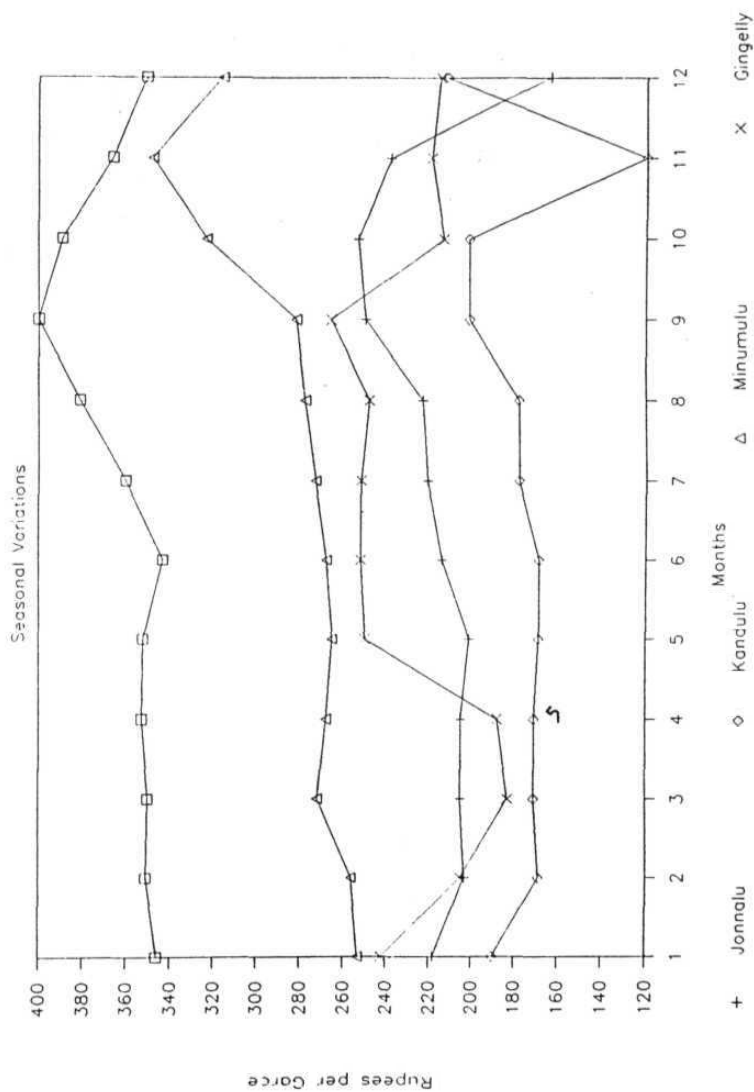
Graph : 9.7

## Grain Prices in 1820



Graph : 9.8

# Grain Prices in 1824



Graphs 9.4, 9.5, 9.6, 9.7, and 9.8 show that in 1812 the prices of Paddy, Bajra, and Hawruck were reduced whereas the prices of Jowar, Corn, and Ragi steeply increased. But this kind of fluctuations could be accounted for, as above mentioned prices were affected by the vagaries of the monsoon. The effect of monsoon differed from crop to crop. For- when the rains continued heavily and for long the Paddy fields alone were productive. The produce on the higher grounds was rotted by the damps or running water. When the season was deficient of rain then Jonnalalu was the only product which was brought to  
58  
perfection.

When there was steep rise in prices of grains like Jonnalalu and Ragi the impact on the poor people was more direct and deep. With the decrease in prices of Paddy and other grains, the revenue payers were affected in another way. The Zamindars who mainly depended on wet grains which yielded great revenue for revenue payments were affected. As the prices of these commodities decreased, the Zamindars could not pay their revenue punctually and this under the Permanent Settlement led to sale of estates. In fact the first lapse of the Zamindari occurred in 1812 only. Though decrease in prices of agrarian products was not the only reason for the fall of the estates it was one  
59  
of the major reasons.



From 1812-1814, the prices of all agrarian products fell except those of Jonnalalu, Ragi, Bajra in 1814. But in 1815-1817 prices of all agrarian products increased and in 1818 prices of all agrarian products drastically fell. The years 1819-20 had mixed seasons. Prices rose in case of Paddy, whereas for Jowar prices steeply increased and for other products like Bajra Ragi, and MokkaJonna prices declined.

From 1821-23 prices of all grains increased, and from 1824-27 prices declined. Though in 1828 prices showed some increase in the next two years there was again a decline. In 1831 the prices of all agricultural products almost doubled and continued in the next year also. But this was due to the severe famine conditions in Guntur which affected Masulipatnam region also badly.

Regarding the decline in prices in 1827-28. the Board opined that in some measure the decline in prices had to be attributed to a decay of the manufactures of India occasioned by the unequal competition which it had to sustain with British goods. The result of this competition had been not only a diminished competition of those manufacturers in foreign lands but also their exclusion in some degree from the markets of India itself owing to the higher classes of natives having adopted the use of articles of British fabric to a considerable extent.

This severe fluctuations in prices affected the peasants very badly as rent payers. At least before the 1802 settlement though the Zamindari system existed, in the bad seasons the cultivators were given certain revenue concessions. But under the new system of contractual terms the Zamindars demanded the regular payments from the ryots, as the Zamindars were not given any concession by the Company.<sup>61</sup> The ryots could not pay and this most often resulted in ryots taking recourse to sahu-<sup>62</sup>kars and permanently becoming indebted to them. Thus one of the groups which benefited from the increasing prices were the money lenders and traders.

Though a number of fluctuations occurred from 1807-1826. the prices never fell beyond the price level of 1807. After 1826 the prices of second variety of Paddy fell beyond that of 1807 and reached the lowest in 1830. But after 1830 the Paddy prices rose steeply and touched the maximum level and this was due to famine conditions. This was the same case with other grains also.

The decade 1841-1852 witnessed severe fall in the prices. Table 9. 9 shows the prices fluctuations of some of the agrarian products during this period.

Table : 9.9

Prices of Agrarian Produce from 1841-1852 in Masulipatnam district

S.No.	Years	White paddy Prices in Rupees	Black paddy Prices in Rupees	Alasandalu	Corn	Ragi	Varagu
1.	1841	75	57	50	45	54	51
2.	1842	66	49	50	33	44	35
3.	1843	64	47	33	25	35	34
4.	1844	64	49	68	25	46	37
5.	1845	115	102	158	100	111	84
6.	1846	90	78	140	100	65	76
7.	1847	82	70	91	75	67	70
8.	1848	76	64	70	57	62	60
9.	1849	82	71	56	56	65	66
10.	1850	87	66	81	75	78	67
11.	1851	73	57	79	78	54	64
12.	1852	75	50	-	80	70	50

Source: Lushington. Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, 6.1. 1853, MDR. p.71.

The decade 1841-1852 shows decline in the prices of almost all the agrarian produce. Except for 1845 in which the prices of agrarian products showed some improvement the prices continued to decline throughout. According to Dharma Kumar, one important reason for the fall in prices was almost certainly the sustained outflow of specie. But on the contrary the Company officials argued that the increase in agricultural output was partly responsible for the fall in prices. Yet another possibility was that prices fell partly because the transport costs also fell.

The price indices worked out by the officials during this period were not accurate. In fact the Collectors themselves

acknowledged that cent per cent accuracy was lacking as they had to depend mainly on the local officials for these data and there was every possibility of village officials producing wrong accounts. <sup>64</sup> Nevertheless one could draw broad inferences about the impact of the price movement on the rural structure thus affecting the economic activity.

While the annual variations depended on the supply for the whole year, the monthly changes in prices were regulated by the progress of the crops. Prices were at their highest during the period of sowing and lowest immediately after the harvest and usually there was a regular or irregular rise and fall within these periods. Graphs 2,5.4.5 clearly show the price fluctuations in a year. Table 9.10 shows how the prices of different agrarian products varied over a year.

**Table 9.10**

**Seasonal Price Fluctuations of Agrarian Product in Masulipatnam district in**

Grains	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apl	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
In rupees per Garce												
Rice	256	280	280	275	284	282	285	304	305	315	342	233
Paddy	113	128	127	124	128	129	131	165	145	140	147	113
Bajra	126	132	134	133	140	146	221	150	158	149	155	60
Corn	113	119	119	119	133	125	117	118	131	129	137	-

**Source:** Statement of Price Current of Grains in Masulipatnam district during 1809-1826', Miscellaneous Records (General, Prices, v.241.

The table 9.10 clearly shows that there was great rise in prices in certain months. For instance, in May prices of all agrarian produce were high. As the cultivating operations generally commenced in early June ryots procured seed and other necessary items in May itself. The rise in prices at seed procuring time indicates that the majority of the cultivators because of their poverty depended on the moneylenders for seed and loan. During the harvesting season prices steeply fell. The cultivators who were not economically in a bargaining position had to sell the produce immediately. As the markets were glutted with produce the prices fell. The ryots had to sell most of the produce in order to pay the revenue rents and the money borrowed<sup>6?</sup> from the sahkars. In fact, their position deteriorated when money rents were introduced in the region. In order to make up the revenue rent they had to sell most of the produce and could not even retain grain required for sowing in the next year.

The Zamindars had to pay revenue kists to the Company in four installments that is in June, September, December and February.<sup>66</sup> The Zamindars generally resorted to collections from the cultivators, so the prices in February, June, September were also high when compared to previous months and it was only in December that prices showed a decline.

Though the price rise affected almost all groups. their effect on the agricultural labourers was somewhat different. Though agricultural labourers were the group who were drasti-

cally affected the impact of price fluctuations on different groups of labourers was different.

As one group of the agricultural labourers known as Palekampus were attached to land owner's farms and were employed on an annual basis, they were not affected the same way as the agricultural labourers. The annual labourers received their salary in kind mostly. They were given certain measure of grain, clothes and little money.<sup>67</sup> So the rise in prices did not really affect them directly as the grain and minimum necessities of life were met by the Zamindars. However, there was the possibility that under adverse conditions as agricultural operations ceased their services were terminated. But during the seasons of slight fluctuations their position was not altered much.

But the daily wage labourers were the worst hit. They were given seasonal employment. When there were no agricultural operations they did not have any work. Even if they were given work, as the bargaining power was in favour of the employers they were employed at low wages. In the event of high prices, their wages were not enough to meet even the minimum necessities of life.

After 1820s though the estates were divided and put up for sale for arrears of revenue they were purchased by other Zamindars,<sup>68</sup> but they did not pass into the hands of the government.

There is a direct link between the fall in prices and fall of estates. The years in which the prices were low were the years in which some of the estates were sub divided and put up for sale. As the price fluctuations were not the same throughout the region and varied widely the estates in which the prices were low were defaulted and put up for sale. Though there were several other factors that contributed to the fall of the estates, price fluctuations also was one of the important factors.

As already noted a decline in the prices of almost all the agrarian products could be seen in the decade 1841-1851. Except for few fluctuations in 1845 the prices declined steadily during this period. In fact the impact of the price depressions during this period was very deep on the Zamindari and proprietary estates. In the previous decades when Zamindaris were put up for sale at least there was some competition in the land market. But after 1840s many of the estates reverted back to the government for lack of bidders.<sup>69</sup> In the event of such price fluctuations and price decline there was no incentive for the purchaser to invest on the land. The Zamindars were in deep trouble to buy the estates and for outsiders land did not hold any attractive incentive during the depression and for ordinary people it was out of their power to aim at such investments in land.

When the fortunes of agricultural groups were affected in this manner what was the impact on the merchants and the moneylenders? Actually it was the money lender and trader in agrarian produce who benefited most. During such periods the hold of the money lenders on the cultivators generally increased. As for the traders in fact it was they who sometimes were responsible to create artificial scarcity in the market and benefited. One of the causes for the hike in prices could be the activities of the grain dealers who mostly tried to corner the market in grain to increase the profits. When there were indications for an impending famine the grain dealers much before hoarded the stock and created artificial scarcity conditions which would enhance the prices. So the rise in prices before the famine years perhaps was an indication of that though failure of crops could have been the other reason.

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What was the attitude of the Collectors during such situations of price fluctuations? The evidence suggests that the Collectors were always trying to keep the prices low. Though the Company contended that it was their main duty to keep the prices low in order to ensure food supplies to mass of people, their immediate concern was to procure supplies without any interruption for its military establishment. In case of any price rise the Company was also affected as it had to spend much more than the regular expenditure.

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What is the source of these fluctuations? Changes in marketed supplies of food grains and other agricultural products were primarily the result of changes in yields per acre. Year to year changes in yields per acre in turn were primarily the result of fluctuations in weather patterns. When weather patterns were favourable, yields per acre would be high, marketed supplies would be high and prices would be low. On the contrary, when weather patterns were adverse yields per acre would be low, marketed surpluses small and prices high.

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High transport costs effectively prevented movement of bulk commodities overland in any regularly organized trade. While there was some trade in grain along the coast and major water ways, as well as some carriage of grain by the banjaras, such trade tended to be episodic rather than regular. In the absence of the significant market oriented trade in bulk commodities like grain, there was no regular and predictable relationship between the prices of agricultural products in one of these isolated markets and the prices of the same products in another such market.

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Markets and trading networks served to knit together the rural hinterland with the wider world, and also linked the various elements in the agrarian world. These commercial networks were also mediatory mechanisms between the state and the rural producers. However, during this period a unified market did not

emerge, as was the case else where in Northern Circars. Due to the absence of well developed transportation systems, and other infra structural facilities prices in the region displayed wide variations.

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## 18.ECONOMIC CRISES AND THE ECONOMY : FAMINES AND PEASANTS

One aspect of the Agrarian economy of any region which brings into stark relief the structural weaknesses of the system is the way in which it copes with the economic crises such as famines. One aspect of the Agrarian economy of any region which brings into stark relief the structural weaknesses of the system is the way in which it copes with economic crises such as famines. The century 1750-1850 witnessed a series of monsoon failures leading to crop failures and consequential droughts, which sometimes manifested themselves as famines. These economic crises affected various elements of the rural structure and had a deep impact on the regional economy at a time when it was coming to terms with new forces and complicated restructurings.

The primary cause of famines in India generally and in the region particularly were mostly the failure of monsoons or periodical rains. Usually monsoon failures lead to the scarcity of food supplies which result in drought situations. But all droughts are not necessarily famines. Loss of a single harvest over a restricted area, after a year of ordinary crops does not produce famines. When three or four harvests in succession failed over a large extent of the country, the first signs of distress or scarcity were noticed. When these further deteriorated and affected mainly the lower classes of population, the severity of the scarcity led to a famine.



Generally famines are both natural and man made. The natural causes producing a famine were further pushed to great heights by man made causes thus aggravating the situation. However the more concrete reasons for such economic crises lay very deep in the socio-economic and political forces of the rural structures itself. A blight, a flood or a drought might just provide the immediate cause for a famine in the locality where the socio-economic conditions of the people were not justly balanced.

Like famines, periodical flooding caused by excessive rains was another aspect of the irregularities of nature which did considerable damage to the crops and the people. But the havoc caused by floods, though serious, was not as great as that caused by famines.

Some of the Company' administrators like Thomas Munro felt that real famine was rare in the Madras Presidency.<sup>2</sup> This was true in the sense that deficiency of crops seldom occurred simultaneously in all districts. And abundance in one place and scarcity in another within a district was quite a common feature in the period. For instance, in the Masulipatnam district, in the taluks of Baharzalli, Pentapadu, Eluru, Ambarpetta. and Divi where cultivation takes place under tank irrigation, agricultural operations continued, at least in the initial stages, even if

monsoons failed. But contrary to this, in taluks of Gundagolanu, Korukollu. Boojabalapatam. China Pundreka, Vinukota. Gudiwada wet

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cultivation was totally dependent on rains. Such natural imbalances also add to the deteriorating situation. In the event of any scarcity the situation in the lands near the irrigation sources was some what better off when compared to those of dry lands which were totally dependent on rains. Under such conditions lack of irrigation facilities and poor transport facilities also enhanced the impact of the economic crises on various facets of the economy.

Generally grain from a less affected place found its way to the worst hit regions as they fetched better prices. The Company opined that the exportation of grain during such crises from one division to another would be injurious as balance between the

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production and consumption was lost. So the Company had imposed certain restrictions on exportation of grain from one region to another. But during the famine of 1792. as there was large scarcity of grain in Masulipatnam the Board removed these restrictions. The grain from Guntur was exported to Eluru, Kondapalli, and Masulipatnam which resulted in dearth in Guntur region.

A serious famine occurred in 1790-92 throughout the Northern Circars. The failure of periodical rains at the commencement of the agricultural season not only impeded the cultivation of the

punasa crop but dried up the wet crops also. Widespread starvation was caused by a succession of seasons of drought.<sup>6</sup> This generally raised the prices of food grains. The economic condition of the district was greatly aggravated by the general poverty and depressed condition of the inhabitants. The mass of people living from hand to mouth and with difficulty leading a precarious life had neither stores of grain to resort to when necessary nor money to purchase it.<sup>7</sup> The villages in consequence were deserted and the population flocked to Madras city and other large towns for food. People were reduced to such a state that they were prepared to sell their children which gave rise to a popular exprnsciun Karuvulo biddanu ammukunnattu (Mike selling a child in the famine period').<sup>8</sup>

As agriculture was heavily dependent on monsoons any slight fluctuations in the periodical rains caused imbalances in the economy. As the monsoons determined the agricultural operations of the region it is necessary to study briefly the nature of seasons and the fluctuations in them which eventually determined the nature of the economy. Though table 10.1 generally pertained to Rajahmundry Circar. for an over all picture of seasons in the region the table could be taken as a sort of indicator.

**Table : 10.1**

**Nature of Seasons in Rajahmundry Circar**

Years	Nature of the season
1781	Famine
1791	Scarcity
1792	Famine
1802	Failure of monsoons
1806	Drought
1811	Famine
1821-22	Ordinary years
1823-24	Famine
1824-25	Good Season
1825-26	Ordinary season
1826-27	Abundant produce
1827-28	Ordinary season
1828-29	Reasonable season
1829-30	Insufficient rains
1830-31	Favorable season
1831-32	Abundant rains
1832-33	Severe famine
1834-35	Ordinary year
1835-36	Insufficient rains
1837-38	Hurricane and inundation
1838-39	Extreme distress
1839-40	Scanty rain
1840-41	Abundant rains
1842-43	Ordinary season
1844-45	High floods
1845-46	Favourable year
1846-47	Scanty rain
1847-49	Failure of monsoons
1849-51	High Floods.

**Source:**Extracts from Minutes of C.E.Trevelyan on the Godavari Irrigation and Navigation, 15.10.1859.quoted in G.N. Rao, 'Stagnation and Decay of the Agricultural Economy of Coastal Andhra', Artha Vignana. 20,3,(1978). p.227.

As shown from the table 10.1, though there were certain good seasons and abundant rain fall in between it did not help much to alleviate the distress of people because the after effects of drought and famines continue so long that the cultivators would be in no position to take advantage of the good season. The poor cultivators who always live on a bare subsistence were affected so drastically that having lost men, cattle and sometimes even the agricultural implements, were in no position to take up agriculture.<sup>9</sup>

An immediate consequence of the famines was the reduction in population. Added to the scarcity, epidemics like cholera and small pox spread which increased the mortality rate. Due to shortage of food supplies and stoppage of cultivation operations people emigrated to towns and cities in search of food and employment.<sup>10</sup> Table 10.2 clearly shows the demographic fluctuations before and after the famine of 1833.<sup>11</sup>

Table : 10.2

## Demographic Pattern in Masulipatnam District

S.No.	Taluks	1830	1832	1836	1838	1850
1.	Bandar	54,935	73,485	51,675	53,608	64,443
2.	Pedanah	9,348	12,618	7,497	8,328	11,893
3.	Divi	18090	23,870	15,503	15,738	20,441
4.	Kaikalur	9,373	12,915	7,944	8,256	13,456
5.	Gudiwada	22,500	31,000	16,400	16,633	31,500
6.	Eluru	22,664	24,500	18,092	20,376	27,302
7.	Gundagolanu	12,712	17,138	10,789	9,331	14,228
8.	Bezawada	29,841	31,600	15,447	16,533	24,550
9.	Nandigama	12,666	27,092	8,679	11,098	24,766
10.	Jaggiahpet	9,000	14,625	6,500	9,292	16,065

Source: F.W. Morris, Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement, Krishna district to H. Newill, Director of Revenue Settlement, Madras, dt. 23-2-1861, Report on the Assessment of the Masulipatnam Portion of the Krishna district 1861-1865. SRMG, p.7.

Zamindaris of Nandigama and Devarakota being the chief producers of Jonnalu a grain which required less Mater than paddy had not suffered quite so much from the famine of 1792 as the other Zamindans though they had also suffered and in fact no place was exempted from its effect. The Zamindari of Nuzividu suffered not only from the effects of famine but also from the plundering parties of peons from Bhadrachalam headed by Rama Chandra Rao. Since any change in the management of the country during famine period would result in further distress, the Compa-<sup>12</sup>ny appointed a person to take charge of the crop.

#### Taccavi Loans :

Usually the cultivators took taccavi loans to purchase seed and other necessities. During famine times these loans which were given by the government did not fully cover the cultivating costs of the ryots. Ready money was given to the ryots both in Zamindari and government villages to assist the ryots in agricultural operations. The Company deliberately continued the policy of pre colonial regimes of giving taccavi loans to the cultivators with a view that the indulgences of this kind were useful in promoting industry and also served to impress the people in<sup>15</sup> general with favourable notions of the Company Government. For instance. in 1848 a total of Rs. 6000 was given towards taccavi loans in government estates.

**Table : 10.3****Taccavi Loans in Masulipatnam District**

S.No.	Taluks	Amount in Rs.
<b>Zamindari Estates</b>		
1.	Bezawada	500
2.	Valavadam	150
3.	Judjuru	100
4.	Chintalapudi	350
5.	Chanubanda	50
6.	Eluru	400
7.	Kovali	300
8.	Pedapadu	250
9.	Sriramavaram	2 5
10.	Ramasingavaram	2 5
11.	Kaikalur	750
12.	Bhujabalapatnam	750
13.	Korukollu	300
14.	Vinukota	200
15.	Gudiwada	600
		Rs. 4750
<b>In Zupty Estates</b>		
1 .	Nandigama	3 00
2.	Chintalapudivantu	100
3.	Penuganchiprolu	200
4.	Batavolu	200
5.	Inuguduru	65
6.	Akulamannadu	3 5
7.	Kaldindi	<b>200</b>
8.	Kondapalli	150
		Rs.1250
<b>Total</b>		<b>Rs.6000</b>

**Source:** R.J. Porter. Collector Masulipatnam district to the BOR,  
22.7.1848. MDR. v. 6334, p. 295.



Table : 10.4

Taccavi loans in Devarakota Estate from 1817-1831

Years	Amount in Rs.
1817	3618
1818	2861
1819	12165
1820	7903
1821	4919
1822	4000
1823	4000
1824	2592
1825	4000
1826	4000
1827	4000
1829	4000
1829	4248
1830	3000
1831	1473

Source: Acting Collector, G.S.Hooper Masulipatnam to the BOR.20.9.1832, SRMG.p.2.

The amount given to the cultivators towards taccavi loans seems to be very little in view of the amount which was sanctioned for the whole of Devarakota taluk. However even this would have relieved the cultivators from borrowing from the money lenders at higher rates of interest.

But these taccavi loans were not given indiscriminately and there were certain conditions. The government before sanctioning taccavi loans took bonds from the ryots and another security bond from the renters. In the amount sanctioned a third of the money advanced was to be repaid before the expiry of the first half and the remaining two thirds before the end of the Fasli year.

However, by involving the renters as a mediatory agency **between** the cultivators and the **government** the Company **created scope** for the renters to exploit the ryots.

The high mortality rate and emigration of cultivators has a deep impact on the agriculture of the region. The cultivators especially the poorer ones lost their land, live stock and agricultural implements and were in no position to resume cultivation<sup>15</sup> with out aid as they mostly worked as agricultural labourers.

### **Grain Robberies :**

Another consequence of such economic crises was the increase in the crime rate. The poor were affected by decrease in demand for field labour owing to the stoppage of agricultural operations. Their consequent inability to purchase usual food supplies generally resulted in extensive increase in crimes, robberies,<sup>16</sup> and decoities. The most common crimes were grain robberies and cattle thefts during such crises and Masulipatnam district also witnessed this. As crops failed, the poor, driven by hunger, collected in bodies in the fields and carried off small quantities of grain that was on the field. The grain robberies became so frequent that the government ordered security to the crops by increasing the number of police and asked them to supervise the<sup>17</sup> harvesting operations.

During 1835 famine the Collector of Masulipatnam reported that sharp rise in prices resulting in starvation among the poor a considerable increase in the number of crimes and feared that they would increase if the same conditions continued longer. As the merchants withheld the grain from sale there was added misery among the poor. With a view to the protection of the crops and also to guard against the incursions of the free booters from Nizam's territories and other districts and also to maintain peace, requested the Board to employ 250 peons temporarily at the wage rate of four rupees each and twenty five duffadars at six rupees each per month. The Collector proposed to distribute these<sup>18</sup> men in small bodies where they were most required.

However too much should not be read into these events. These sporadic riots could not be taken as any sign of protest on the part of the people towards the state or authority. These incidents were a common feature of famine crises and the people resorted to such steps driven by hunger and distress. The restricted display of anger by the crowd is akin to that described<sup>19</sup> by E.P.Thompson in his article.

In the event of any scarcity or drought, a rise in prices was an important factor for further deterioration of the situation. In the event of failure of rains and rising prices the artificial scarcity conditions created by the grain dealers further increased the miseries of the poor. In 1824, the commercial resident of Masulipatnam viewed the rise in prices which had

occurred in 1825 as a result of the failure of rains so seriously that he compelled certain merchants to sell rice at fixed prices and wrote to the Bengal government to export one cargo of rice on  
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government account.

Nevertheless, the government believed that such actions would only further create a famine rather than relieve the existing distress, keeping in line with the principles of political economy. Such an attitude on the part of the government only resulted in further deterioration of the situation. For instance, in Madras in 1824, there was only one warehouse open for the sale of grain. Several starvation deaths occurred and children were deserted by parents. A serious grain riot took place in the town and military was called to restore order. However, the crowd persistently refused to disperse until a round of ball cartridges  
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had been fired over the heads of the people.

Instead of interfering in the market directly or regulating the prices or punishing those merchants who withheld the grain from the market, the Company in line with its free trade policy instructed the Collectors to maintain the entire freedom of the market and protect the dealers from popular violence on the one hand and from the interference of the servants of the government  
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on the other. Moreover the Company did follow customary practices to appease people. In some parts of the Madras Presidency, in order to infuse confidence among the people certain

amount of money was sanctioned by the government for ceremonies to invoke the Gods of rain and these ceremonies were held sometimes under the supervision of the Collectors.

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The merchants generally faced harassment and inconvenience in transporting grain from one place to another. Under the Permanent Settlement as there was no remission of revenue during periods of economic crises the Zamindars generally resorted to collection of all kinds of duties. They imposed heavy duties on the merchandise passing through their estates. Thus though the merchants procured grain at reasonable prices had to pay heavy duties and this raised the prices of grain to great extent. Though the Company abolished all customs duties on consumer goods it could not prevent the Zamindars from levying duties.

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Moreover the gumasthas of the Zamindars harassed the merchants and seized the grain. Especially the gumasthas of Apparao the Nuzividu Zamindar stopped the merchants at their chowkies and seized whatever little grain the merchants had procured from different places. So even for the transportation of grain the

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Company had to send armed peons to escort the merchants. Perhaps the Company took keen interest in grain transportation as they had to procure lot of food supplies to meet the requirements of its military contingent.

## **Impact of Famines on the Rural Structure :**

The economic crises like droughts and famines affect various elements of the rural structure and more so those that were directly linked with agrarian world. The intensity of the impact and its nature on various groups of agrarian structure depended on their position in the rural setup. If it affected the top layers of the agrarian structure that is the Zamindars in one way, it had an altogether different impact on the lower rungs of rural structure that is various groups of cultivators and agricultural labourers.

David Arnold suggests that the distress of cultivators during such crises was inherent in the nature of the peasant society itself, because the peasants as a rule do not possess any substantial reserves or resources and they were thus poorly equipped to protect themselves from flood, drought and other environmental calamities. As a subordinate class they were denied through exploitation and depredations of subordinate groups the chance to establish more than a slender margin of subsistence.

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In contrast the Zamindars were not affected by such crises in the same way as peasants. They were affected by the decline in the revenue of their estates and also decrease in cultivation and by the regular payment of revenue to the state. Besides

these, the Company's revenue administration and its policies also increased the pressure on different groups particularly that of the Zamindars.

Under the pre colonial regimes, the governments followed a policy of active interference in times of such crises. Under these governments importation of food, fixation of maximum price and punishment or torture of offending grain dealers were the usual methods employed in fighting famines.<sup>27</sup> Though the Company also followed the same policy in the initial stages of its rule, its slow shift towards free trade and a strict revenue administration drastically affected the Zamindars.

In the pre Permanent Settlement period that is prior to 1802 and also under pre colonial regimes during times of such crises the land revenue demand of the government was reduced and the Zamindars were given certain concessions in revenue payments.<sup>28</sup> But under the Company the revenue assessment was fixed. The Company's policy of 'pay the peishkash and keep the land' led several Zamindaris into serious trouble. Even during such crises there was no relaxation in the payment of revenues by the Zamindars.<sup>29</sup> Thus in many estates arrears accumulated and reached maximum heights. For many Zamindaris which were already in a state of decay due to inefficient and mismanagement by the Zamindars the famine of 1833 sounded a death knell. After the famine the arrears accumulated so fast and finally almost all the estates were put up for sale.

Table 10.5 would give us a clear idea of the situation of the Zamindaris and certain proprietary estates in the district of Masulipatnam. The table would explain clearly the amount of arrears the Zamindars had to pay to the government before the famine and how subsequent to the famine arrears accumulated year by year. For instance, in the proprietary estate of Eluru and Kovali which paid a peishkash of Rs.39,384 per annum arrears amounted to Rs.33,065 till 1832. But by 1846 the amount increased by Rs.2,95,120. The same was the case with Tumedi and China Pundreka estates. The arrears amount of Rs.1,263 in 1832 increased to Rs.71,244 by 1845 thus leading to sale of the estates by the Company.



Table : 10.5

**Estates Revenue** Balances due to the **Company** Prior to and Subsequent to 1833 Famine

Estates	Particulars of Arrears				
	Peishkash per annum	Prior to famine		Subsequent to famine	
	Amount Rs.	Year	Amount Rs.	Years	Amounts Rs.
1. Eluru Kovali	39,384	1832	33,065	1836	14,769
				1837	24,371
				1838	36,676
				1839	23,814
				1840	32,515
				1841	34,783
				1842	35,584
				1843	22,883
				1844	25,184
				1845	28,542
				1846	15,999
				Total	295,120
				1833	6,014
				1834	3,079
				1835	4,693
2. Tumedi and Chinna Pundreka	12,043	1832	1,263	1836	1,049
				1837	3,800
				1838	11,668
				1839	2,996
				1840	11,954
				1841	4,732
				1842	8,382
				1843	5,444
				1844	5,943
				1845	1,290
				Total	71,244
				1825	59,198
				1826	90,000
				1827	104,797
				1828	100,000
3. Nandigama, Kondapalli Inuguduru Akulamannadu Kaldindi and six Islands	151,540	1825	14,237	1836	99,363
				1837	80,433
				1838	83,985
				1839	81,887
				1840	88,813
				1841	96,407
				1842	74,101
				1843	28,221
				1844	31,640
				1845	40,093
				1846	40,093
				1847	33,798
				1848	
				Total	11,94,238

**Source:** F.W. Morris, Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement Krishna district to H. Newill, Director of Revenue Settlement, Madras, 23.2.1861, Report on the Assessment of the Masulipatnam portion of the Krishna district', SRMG, p. 8.

The Permanent Settlement also had a **disastrous impact** on the **various** cultivating groups. As there was no concession to **the Zamindars** from the government, the Zamindars exploited the cultivators to maximum extent even during the crises. The cultivators had to pay the stipulated rent and to get it the Zamindars used coercion and all their authority. Thus the policy which the Company administrators thought would give security to the cultivators against the landlords only pushed them more and more into the hands of Zamindars and became heavily indebted to the Zamindars.

The effects of famine on cultivating groups was varied and wide. Distress was first felt by insufficiency of food resulting from high prices. Famine first makes itself felt among the poor classes by the decrease in demand for field labour owing to the stoppage of all agricultural operations.<sup>50</sup> This consequently results in poor purchasing ability of the cultivators preventing them from getting their usual food supplies. Mostly the cultivators having ceased the agricultural operations generally took up labour works started by the government to give certain employment<sup>31</sup> and purchasing power to the people.

But the effects of famines on the petty land holders were different. The small cultivators who usually did not work on **their** own but superintended the agricultural operations by hired people had to dismiss their workmen and reduce their expenditure

to the lowest point. If the scarcity continued the stocks of grain and cattle were sold but tried to retain the ploughing bullocks as long as possible. Besides, the cultivators were also apprehensive in disposing of the small quantities of grain they possessed. The cultivators retained the grain usually for the worst periods. The holding of stocks though in negligible quantities by the cultivators generally added to the already existing scarcity. Thus, cultivators also unknowingly contributed to the worsening of the situation.

During such crises the poorer ryots became generally indebted to the sahu-kars. They found it difficult to negotiate their customary small loans which in a promising year would rapidly be given by the sahu-kars on the security of the crops. During periods of scarcity they would have no considerable store of grain to fall back upon as their surplus grain if they have any usually was claimed and appropriated by the traders and money lending groups towards the liquidation of their debts.

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But an important group which generally benefits in times of such economic crises were traders and money lenders. Usually the traders hold back their stocks and artificially create scarcity in the market to secure a further price rise. The government usually intervenes in such times and take precautionary measures against such moves by the trading groups. But the free trade

policy of the Company government instead of curbing the illegal measures of the traders only enhanced their position and tightened their hold on the poor.

The famines affected various sectors of the economy, but the policy of the Company also added and culminated in a deep impact on the rural structure. The famine policy which the Company seemed to have followed in the initial stages of its rule slowly changed according to the ideological changes that influenced the Company's decisions at the higher levels. Thus the policy of necessary interference of the government in the market during crises was replaced by a laissez fair or free trade policy.

Any slight change or economic fluctuations were bound to have a deep impact on market transactions. The market fluctuations affect different sections of the society differently. In such circumstances the timely interference of the government was necessary to check and control the disruptive forces which try to take maximum advantage of such situations.

#### **Famino Policy and the Company :**

In the initial stages of its rule, the Company, like the pre colonial regimes, actively interfered in the grain trade by laying embargoes on exports, offering bounties on imports, fixing prices of grain.<sup>36</sup> Keeping in line with such a policy during the

famine of 1781 the Board of Revenue decided to afford every encouragement to the importation of all kinds of provisions and it was therefore agreed that the collection of import duties on grain and provisions be suspended. In order to prevent any improper consumption of rice and paddy a committee was appointed to superintend the sale and distribution of grain and also prohibited the illegal hoarding of grain by the traders.

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In 1782 the government stated that owing to the increasing scarcity they felt it their duty to intervene in the market to alleviate the distress of the people from famine. However by 1885 the policy changes seemed to have taken place slowly and stopped all direct government interference in the market. The policy of the government becomes clear from the statement of the Board of Revenue.

Company officials were convinced by observation and experience of the impolicy of the measures usually resorted to on the occurrence of the calamity of dearth or famine and that any restrictions on the freedom of the grain market, whether by enforcing the sale, limiting the price or other direct interference with the speculations of private grain dealers are more calculated to aggravate than to diminish the sufferings of the people. For example, the Board of Revenue in 1806 opined that

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In seasons of dearth, it is for the benefit of the people that the general consumption should be regulated with exact reference to the general stock and as it is for the interest of the grain dealer to adopt his price in a just ratio to the existing necessity or demand. The grain dealer without contemplating the interests of the people, necessarily provides for it, in providing his own... This operation can be performed by none so exactly as by the grain dealer for as no other person can have either the same interest, the same knowledge or the same abilities duly to perform it, so it is the best policy that the grain market be left entirely to him. He procures the best information on this point and that information renders him the best judge, if he sells too high, the discouraged consumption makes the people frugal and ultimately disappoints himself, if too low, he needlessly forgoes a possible profit, may induce an improvident expenditure, and to the calamity of dearth may superadd the miseries of a famine : but this last circumstances is not likely to happen, as it is not likely he should so much disregard his individual interest. The grain dealer without contemplating the interest of the people necessarily provides for it in providing his own. For the people, by feeling the inconveniences of scarcity by this means sooner perhaps than they otherwise would, feel them ultimately less severely than they otherwise would, feel them ultimately less severely than they otherwise might... so it is the best policy that the grain market should be left entirely to him, that is, that it be left entirely free... whenever the officers of government influenced by a human desire of obviating the inconveniences of scarcity, imprudently desire that private grain be sold in the public market at a fixed price, or injudiciously send grain themselves, into the market for that purpose they either prevent dealers from bringing their grain thither which some times increases the danger of a famine or they encourage the people to consume it so fast as must necessarily in the process, produce such a calamity; the unrestrained freedom of the grain market is at the same time the best preventative of famine and the best palliative of dearth.

This policy of non interference certainly was advantageous to some. The Company while admitting the general principles of free trade laid down a fundamental maxim that a sudden and unexpected interference on the part of the government in the public market generally has the effect of deranging them. Sometimes in

retarding the supply of the article in demand and almost always in unnecessarily increasing its price.

But in 1820 the cultivators experienced great difficulty in disposing of their grain even at prices far below their estimated value. The Company believed that the abolition of duty on the export of grain by sea was necessary to enable the cultivators to dispose off their surplus produce. The Board expressed the belief that if the export duties were abolished, grain prices would increase, which would enable the ryots to pay the Circar's rent, and this amount would more than compensate for the loss the government would sustain by the abolition of the duty. 40

But Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras remarked that the interference of the government was very often prejudicial and should suspend all duties on grain. Grain should be imported freely by sea and land security should be provided to the grain dealers from the violent attacks of the people. Munro recommended that all duties were to be taken off for one year on all grain imported from Bengal to any place in the Presidency and on all grain imported by land to any place under the government. 41

Thus in 1824 the government issued a notice stating that all **grain would** be imported without duty and also would be permitted **through out the** region without any transit duties for a period of

ten months from January. The government offered a bounty of Rs 30 per garce on all grain imported from Bengal, Malabar and Canara. All the ships bringing grain to the coast were offered a cargo of salt at eighteen rupees per garce instead of twenty four  
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rupees, the regular price.

The adoption of these measures though would be attended with some loss of revenue to the government, but it should not be an hurdle in relieving the people from the distress. During the 1855 famine, in spite of the repeated requests of the Collector to import grain to immediately alleviate the distress of the people, the Company, in line with its free trade policy, asked the Collectors not to interfere in the market. The Board felt that as soon as it became an advantageous speculation, grain will be imported into Masulipatnam district by private individuals and any interference on the part of the government would deter the 'capitalists' from embarking in such an undertaking. The Board suggested that instead of exercising direct authority on grain merchants the Collectors should take the initiative and personal-  
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ly dissuade the merchants from enhancing the market rates.

However, these ideas of the Company officials derived from European experience were unsuited to the regional economies due to lack of proper and well connected transport facilities. The grain would be selling at famine prices in one place, while there would be a glut in the market in another place. It was contended



that where people were extremely poor it would be absurd to expect that the general consumption would be regulated with exact reference to the general stock. Besides, marketing conditions were by no means so perfect as to enable the grain dealer<sup>44</sup> to adapt his price to the existing necessity or demand.

India presented too many unusual features according to the critics for the classical famine policy to be effective. Besides these general features, certain institutional obstacles also operated which were peculiar to India alone. For instance, caste, custom, and usages acted as an effective barrier to entry into the grain trading business whereas competition should in theory have resulted in the lowest possible prices. But this did not always happen because trading was a caste occupation and which meant that only particular castes entered the grain business.<sup>45</sup>

#### Famine Relief Measures :

At the same time, most of the policy makers accepted that the government was in duty bound to try and save people from distress in times of famines. In this direction public works undertaken by the government became the most accepted mode of the provision of relief. Generally, in the district of Masulipatnam repairs to water works and construction of roads was undertaken by the government in order to provide some work to the people and

give them purchasing power. These various works were taken up at the village and taluk levels in order to stop the emigration of people to cities. The poor were fed also in the government run langar khanas. During the 1855 famine, in Masulipatnam district several langar khanas were started by the government to feed the poor.<sup>47</sup> Depots in different parts of the district were started by the government to supply food to the starving population during 1833 famine. An allowance of fourteen annas and four pice per month was given to the unemployed, while those who were employed had larger allowance.

Table 10.6 would give an idea of nature of public works undertaken in the district of Masulipatnam and number of people employed in them, extent of work done and also the expenditure incurred by the government by feeding the poor during the famine of 1833.<sup>48</sup>

Table 10.6

## Public Works undertaken by the Government during the famine of 1833

Description of work	No.of people employed	Extent of work performed in yards	charges incurred by Govt.for feeding poor Rs.
Employed in re-pairing hedge around the Pettah	A,255	1514	262-15-2
Repairing the banks of the tanks in the Govt. villages of Kaitapalli	3,114	796 10/16	180- 0-5
<b>Fed gratis</b>			
Masulipatnam	119.084		2927-13-0
Eluru	25,020		782-10-9
Bezawada	25,206		985- 2-7
Nandigama	1.570		70 -7-11
Jaggiahpet	5.889		188 -0 -0
Total	185.520		5.595-12-0

**Source:** I.D.Gleig. Collector Masulipatnam to the Secretary to the Government, RDC. v.587, p.5300.

It is evident from the above table that not many people participated in public works and the government expenditure on such works was also very limited. It was also evident that compared to people who worked the people who resorted to langar khana were more.

Generally the famines were both natural and man made. The natural causes like monsoon failures often lead to droughts. Famines were in fact produced when drought situations were aggravated. Added to the natural disasters or in consequence of such failures cultivation fails and result in crop failures. As a consequence there will be rise in prices, population and live stock decline and emigration of people. These factors or conditions were sometimes enhanced by lack of irrigation facilities, scarcity of transport facilities, non proximity of market centers and also the revenue policies and administration of the government. In times of economic crises the role of the government becomes very important. Though the East India Company emerged as the dominant political power in the Circars it failed to offer enough protection to the people against the terrible effects of recurrent calamities like these. Indeed, it may be argued, that the economic changes brought about by the Company contributed in a significant measure to the occurrence of famines. Moreover, the laissez faire policies adopted by the Company towards famine relief only served to worsen the impact of famines on the rural poor.

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## 11. CONCLUSION

This study was an attempt to analyze the nature and working of the agrarian world of Masulipatnam. The study sought to examine two major aspects. Firstly, to study the various dimensions of the agrarian world in Masulipatnam. Secondly, to investigate the impact of colonial rule on the rural economy and society.

According to one of the historiographic traditions about the impact of colonialism, the overarching power of colonial rule initiated significant and fundamental social transformations in India. But recent historical analyses such as those of R.E.Frykenberg and Bernard Cohn have clearly demonstrated that the English East India Company was not as powerful as it had been made out to be, and that, on the contrary, the Company nau always to function within the constraints imposed by local circumstances.

The evidence presented in this study does, indeed, confirm that even in the case of Masulipatnam, for the first hundred years at least of Company rule, local traditions, customs and privileges had to be accepted and incorporated into the administrative structures. The need to understand an alien and complex agrarian system may have also partly contributed to the caution displayed by the Company in imposing its own systems on the agrarian world of Masulipatnam. Nevertheless, it is equally

clear that the need to secure the collaboration of the rural elites was also a factor of importance in determining the Company's policies in the locality.

For instance, till the Permanent Settlement of 1802, though the Company wanted to alter the revenue structures to maximize its advantage, it could do so only to a minimal extent. It did experiment with various systems, but in all these systems, it had to accept the traditions of the locality and apart from making the procedures more systematic, could not substantially change the existing practices.

While the Company was thus accommodating or building upon the existing systems, the elements of the rural economy and society did condition the Company's policies. For instance, the Company generally continued the practice of granting customary allowances given to various groups in the agrarian structure, because this practice had become embedded in the agrarian world, and discontinuing it may have created instability. These allowances, such as those granted to the poorer ryots and labourers by the landlords (through which the former retained a larger share of the surplus product than would otherwise have been possible) reinforced the patron-client jajmani relations, and created the impression that the Zamindar was also subjected to custom and tradition. It was also, at the same time, a mechanism intended to prevent the Zamindar from expropriating too much of the sur-

plus. Any disruption of these practices could have led to discontent and instability.

In fact, the Company learnt this to its cost. For, when it tried to introduce money rents in the wet lands or when it tried out a new revenue settlement, the cultivators resisted the changes and protested by abstaining from cultivation or by mass emigration. No doubt such protests were possible only when there was surplus land, and labour was scarce. Still, it illustrates the fact that the peasant could and did resist, at least in the early stages, the intervention of the Company.

If the desire to maintain stability curbed the power of the Company, it was the necessity of shoring up the structures of the emergent colonial state that compelled the Company to forge alliances with the Zamindars. There was a need to curtail the powers of the Zamindars, especially since many of them resisted the Company's attempts to restructure rural society. Yet, the Company could not do so till 1802. Even then, while curbing the military and political powers of the Zamindars, the Company had to allow them all other privileges which in fact enabled them to recover their position of preeminence in the countryside. Why did the Company do so ? Partly, this attitude was the result of perceiving the Zamindar as the focal authority in the region, whose power had to be supported in order to procure stability. The same philosophy was behind the Company's decision to continue

with few changes, the practice of granting economic privileges to rural elites. These privileges for the privileged as they were termed in this study, were customary concessions which were often granted to and sometimes usurped by rural elites, and which played an important role in maintaining the structures of power. Inam settlements, one such customary privilege, were, from the viewpoint of the Company, an unnecessary drain, since, by definition they produced no revenue for the Company's treasuries. Other such economic privileges, which included Zamindari Rusums and Saverams, Karanam's Salegalu and Badulu, and the Vundra allowances, also had to be continued by the Company to purchase the loyalty of these rural elites.

One of the major reasons why the Company could not exercise its hegemony over the rural economy in an untrammelled manner was perhaps the caste system which was deeply embedded in the society. Caste played a dominant role in determining many aspects of the agrarian world, and the Masulipatnam region was, this study shows, no exception. Here too, as elsewhere, we see various customs and traditions which reinforced the caste system and helped to reproduce it. A particularly striking feature was the existence of dependence castes which, attached to the various dominant castes as mendicant groups, probably helped to maintain the hierarchical system of caste.

The policy makers and the Company had believed that the so called Permanent Settlement would bring about a radical change in

the agrarian world, and ensure that the Company's revenues flowed in steadily. Quite clearly, the settlement of 1802 was not entirely new. It formalized various existing arrangements. Where it departed from tradition and thus introduced innovations was in curtailing the powers of the Zamindar. It also strengthened the office of the Karanam even while abolishing the offices of the other intermediaries like Deshpandes and Mazumdars. It may be said, therefore, that the Zamindari system rested as much on the Zamindar as on the village administrative structure focussed on the Karanam.

What the Permanent Settlement failed to do, however, was to regulate the relations between the peasant and the Zamindar, and this was to have long term consequences. No doubt, the powers of the Zamindar could be judicially regulated. But the common peasant could not always seek legal redress against the rural elites.

Interestingly, though, the district records show, the peasant cultivators did become aware of the new judicial and administrative structures they could have recourse to in cases of oppression and extortion by the Zamindars. Their petitions to the Collectors against the Zamindars and the Karanams show a remarkable grasp of the new rule of law that had been imposed by the colonial state.

The Permanent Settlement did not fulfill all the expectations of the Company. One expectation that was indeed satisfied was the emergence of a land market in the region. According to some historians, British revenue policies contributed to social change by creating a land market and a new landlord class. Indeed, the Company itself had strongly believed that because of the Permanent Settlement, inefficient landlords would be weeded out and that a new land owning class would emerge based on enterprise rather than ancestry.

But the evidence from the Masulipatnam region suggests that most of the Zamindari estates put on sale were purchased either by the same Zamindar or by members of the families of erstwhile Zamindars. With the exception of one or two cases, there were no non familial buyers in Masullpatnam region at all. There was some redistribution of rural power, in the sense that there was a blurring of traditional boundaries, with Zamindars from outside the Masulipatnam region seizing the opportunities to acquire estates there. What is particularly striking is that even when the purchaser was an outsider, that is one not related by kinship ties to the erstwhile Zamindar, he was invariably another traditional Zamindar. Thus, it can be argued that the sale of estates in the early years of the Company's rule did not precipitate any radical change in the social composition of the rural estates.

Though the formation of a land market was the result of many factors, the Company's policy of putting revenue defaulting

estates on sales was the single most important factor. In putting estates up for sale, the Company did distinguish between ancient Zamindaris and the new proprietary estates, giving the former greater leeway in payment of revenue debts, thus ensuring that these ancient Zamindaris did not get fragmented and pass into the hands of private creditors. This is the reason why the Company stipulated that the Zamindari estates could not be held liable for the personal debts of the Zamindar. Obviously, the Company quickly recognized the vital necessity of supporting the Zamindari system so that it could act as a prop for the new state.

The Company's policies towards the agrarian world were governed by the prime requisites of political stability and stable revenues. One would have expected, therefore, the Company to have devoted attention to the problem of irrigation without which there could not have been any growth of agriculture. Strangely, however, we find that the Company refrained from decisively intervening in this area. In the pre-colonial era, customs and traditions determined the control and distribution of water resources. The Company regime did not seek to disrupt these customs, perhaps fearful that any disruption would lead to conflicts. On the other hand, the Company left the solution of irrigation problems to the local authorities, and did not evolve any central policy, even though a superintendent of Tanks was appointed by the Company to supervise tank irrigation. Although it could not embark on any large scale irrigation projects, the

Company did recognize the need for quickly rectifying any problem, since it was evident that any dysfunction in the system would ultimately affect the revenue collections.

The evidence suggests that the apparent neglect of the irrigation systems stemmed not so much from a conscious policy or a lack of it, as from an inordinately cautious approach to the problem. In attempting to restructure the local economy and to impose its authority on the region's economy, the Company was compelled to adopt policies which would not depart too radically from those of the pre colonial regimes. Nevertheless, the restructuring of the economy resulted in stresses and strains which impinged upon the various elements of the rural economy, in particular on irrigation. This led to the paradoxical decay of irrigation systems at a time when the Company's own revenue demands required a more systematic and efficient development and management of irrigation works.

If irrigation networks proved often to be sites of contention and conflict, markets and trading networks served to knit together the rural hinterland with the wider world, and also linked the various elements in the agrarian world. These commercial networks were also mediatory mechanisms between the state and the rural producers. The collection of customs duties and various tolls formed an important part of the revenues of the Zamindars, and the Company sought to take over these lucrative cesses. The paradox here, however, was that the multiplicity of



customs duties on trade would have had an adverse impact on prices, and this in turn would have adversely affected the commercial functions of the Company. It is also worth noting that the Company, a representative of capitalist enterprise for profit, was, inheriting and reinforcing these traditional tolls and customs duties, maintaining and reproducing pre-modern structures which actually impeded commerce.

Although the trading networks linked different areas, it cannot be said that during this period a unified market emerged. Due to the absence of well developed transportation systems, and because the trading networks were not fully developed, prices in the region displayed wide variations. Another factor responsible for these variations, in time as well as space, was the recurrence of economic crises, especially famines.

Famines in particular brought into stark relief the structural weaknesses of the economy. But one important consequence of these famines was the occurrence of grain robberies and cattle thefts. The poor, driven by hunger, looted whatever was left on the fields. Masulipatnam too witnessed such responses to famines. But these were essentially temporary effects of an economic crisis, and there is no evidence to suggest that there was any manifestation of hostility to the state or the rural elites.

During such periods, the government adopted policies ostensibly designed to ameliorate the situation of the cultivators and the starving poor. But in reality, the measures the government adopted tended to benefit the merchants and the moneylenders at the cost of the poor. No doubt the government did take steps like the granting of Taccavi loans and construction of public works to help the famine stricken people. But as the overriding policy after 1805 was that of laissez faire, these measures proved inadequate to help the poor.

It was, in fact, the frequency of famines among other economic indicators that led some historians to conclude that the decades before the construction of the dams on the rivers of the region were marked by stagnation and decay. This study of the agrarian world of Masulipatnam reveals that there is some difficulty in accepting this argument. There were famines, no doubt, but these were more likely the result of systemic dysfunction rather than economic stagnation. The trade statistics and the price data seem to suggest that there was a significant measure of dynamism in the economy. It is not being argued here that this dynamism was the result of colonial policies. On the contrary, what can be suggested is that there was an inherent logic of growth in the agrarian world. Colonial policies often inhibited or restricted this logic, and at times even tended to preserve the pre modern socio-economic systems. Indeed, the evidence presented in this study has lent support to the argument that colonial power, at least in the first century of British

rule, was not capable of fundamentally altering the economic structures it encountered. The implication of this is that firstly, changes in the economy, if any, were occurring in spite of colonial hegemony, and not because of it, and secondly, there was a much more profound, long term consequence flowing from the fact that colonialism sought to maintain pre-capitalist social formations.

**Table : A**

**Quantity of Lard and means of Cultivation in Devarakota Zamindari**

Names of Villages	Wet Land Cutties	Percentage	Dry Land Cutties	Percentage	Total Cutties	Number of Ploughs	Land to be Cultivated Cutties	Uncultivated Lard
Movah	6	2.59	226	97.41	232	180	90	142
Venkatapuram	2	10.53	16	84.21	19	38	19	
Podapudi		0	29	100	29	14	7	22
Gudapadu	1	2.27	43	97.73	44	40	20	24
Yendacudru	5	4.42	107	94.69	113	43	21	91
Majaru	31	12.02	227	87.98	258	57	28	229
Pedamuttavi	30	16.85	147	82.58	178	84	42	136
Nedumolu	20	7.75	238	92.25	258	186	93	165
Buttapanamuru	3	1.67	177	98.33	180	80	40	140
Chittoor	1	1.11	88	97.78	90	34	17	73
Iyenki	6	4.88	116	94.31	123	52	26	97
Bartapudi	1	3.33	29	96.67	30	22	11	19
Yeddanapudi	1	2.5	39	97.5	40	24	12	28
Chinamuttavi	3	2.8	103	96.26	107	60	30	77
Chedapudi		0	15	100	15	11	5	9
Pusadam		0	54	98.18	55	46	23	32
Annavaram	14	56	10	40	25	10	5	20
Palankipadu	5	16.67	25	83.33	30	28	14	16
Bogireddipalli	78	55.71	62	44.29	140	80	40	100
Ramannapeta	5	9.62	47	90.38	52	10	51	47
Cauzah	184	48.94	192	51.06	376	150	75	301
Pedakullapalli	414	47.26	462	52.74	876	600	300	576
Marakanapalli		0	56	100	56	60	30	26
Total	817		2516		3334	1909	954	2379

Source: I.J.Lane, Collector Masulipatnam district to BOR, PBOR, v.902, p.11097.

Table : A 2

Quantity of Land and means of Cultivation in Gollapalli and Viziarayi parganas

Names of Villages	Wet Land Cutties	Dry Land Cutties	Total	Number of Ploughs	Land Cultivated Cutties	Land Uncultivated Cutties
Gollapalli	15	20	35	40	20	15
Gollapudi	15	95	110	50	25	85
Pullerlamudi	5	85	90	30	15	75
Musunuru	15	185	200	60	30	<b>170</b>
Chintalavelli	5	59	64	30	15	49
Ramanakapeta	6	64	70	35	<b>17</b>	52
Maddicherla	2	58	60	30	15	45
Mirjapuram	2	35	37	20	<b>10</b>	27
Sukuluru	8	32	40	27	13	26
Potureddipalli	10	60	70	27	13	56
Nuzividu	25	175	200	80	<b>40</b>	<b>160</b>
Viziarayi	48	56	104	15	7	<b>96</b>
Badarala	4	36	40	6	3	37
Buttavaram	3	27	30	11	5	24
Allevidu		30	30			30
Total	163	1017	1180	461	230	<b>949</b>

Source: I.J. Lane, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR, PBOR, v. 902, p.11097.

Table : A 3

## Quantity of Land and Mode of Cultivation in Nuzividu Zamindari

Names of Villages	Description of Land		Total Cutties	Number of Ploughs Cutties	Land to be Cultivated Cutties	Uncultivated Land Cutties
	Wet Cutties	Dry Cutties				
Sooravaram	80	370	450	46	23	427
Bandargudem	2	48	50	15	7	42
Kondaninavaram	15	197	212	28	14	198
Mettapalli	25	77	102	24	12	90
Veeravelli	60	440	500	45	22	477
Ranganagudem	3	32	35	13	6	28
Narsannapolam	14	26	40	10	5	35
Tippanagunta		40	40	15	7	32
Chikavaram	4	32	36	22	11	25
Terayarninavaram	28	72	100	12	6	94
Chagantipadu		40	40	32	16	24
Ogerala	30	50	80	20	10	70
Jukilansikalam		25	25			25
Total	266	1449	1715	282	141	1574

Source: I.J.Lane, Collector, Masulipatnam to the BOR, PBOR,v.902,p.11096.

# Table A 4

POPULATION IN DIFFERENT TALUKS OF MASULIPATNAM DISTRICT  
1851

Names of Taluks	Hindus			Muslims and Others				Grand Total
	Agnaitural	Non-agricultural	Others	Total	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Others	
Baxter	7195	31921	19272	58388	216	3354	2486	6056
Pedana	6040	2996	4844	13880	345	119	284	748
Divi	10936	3296	6041	20273	116	6	55	177
Challapalli	22260	13281	18776	54317	485	360	404	1249
Munesthalem	18872	6841	12629	38342	186	357	252	795
Bezwada	10277	11590	9446	31313	441	1084	648	2173
Nandigama	14161	1853	7478	23492	614	289	379	1282
Jaggiahpet	8892	8788	8605	26285	370	653	621	1644
Tiruvooru	12148	7825	8631	28604	266	186	227	679
Gollapalli	18870	3056	8102	30028	258	240	117	615
Eluru	20993	17409	17954	56356	286	2652	1596	4534
Relangi	22276	19301	12752	54329	200	636	324	1160
Kaikaluru	16932	2917	10103	29952	178	291	254	723
Gudivada	1793	3808	26646	32247	614	150	472	1236
TOTAL	191645	134882	171279	497806	4575	10377	8119	23071
								520677

Source: Lushington, Collector, Masulipatnam to Commissioners of Enquiry  
MDR, v.6336, pp 242-44

Table . A 5

## Balance of Arrears of Land Revenue in Masulipatnam District

Years	Jari Mutahs Rupees	Minor's Rupees	Sequestered Rupees	Total Rupees
1824-25			82649	82649
1825-26			96885	96885
1826-27			97565	97565
1827-28				148238
1828-29		48998	163684	212672
1829-30	1938	19219	216758	237916
1830-31	1020		65439	66460
1831-32	37743	34514	68117	140375
1832-33	44876	170337	140846	356060
1833-34	76602	108071	221444	406118
1834-35	86596	140492	387969	615058
1835-36	131223	164210	556117	851551
1836-37	325763	83945	623273	1032982
1837-38	476092	88132	695374	1259599
1838-39	653378	94709	847181	1595269
1839-40	761330	83945	939392	1784668
1840-41	871891	85825	1122506	2080223
1841-42	990236	87512	1081483	2159232
1842-43	1116103	111896	965458	2193459
1843-44	1253513	136297	1002109	2391921
1844-45	1279190	118630	110591	2503722
1845-46	1203346	110447	1115460	2429253
1846-47	1071471	101140	869692	2042305
1847-48	1065381	118605	921379	2105366
1848-49	1103219	118027	959595	2180842
1849-50	1138446	130133	947240	2215821

Source: BOR (Miscellaneous Records), v.248.



Table A 6

## Balance of Current Demand of Revenue in Masulipatnam

Years	Land Revenue Rupees	Extra Revenue Rupees	Total Rupees
1826-27	93761	11976	105738
1827-28	163921	17555	181477
1828-29	196357	28218	224575
1829-30	143792	13242	157034
1830-31	131736	23485	155222
1831-32	365985	50279	416264
1832-33	185344	37293	222638
1833-34	269889	13878	283768
1834-35	382404	8293	390698
1835-36	307292	3302	310594
1836-37	275748	5215	280964
1837-38	446102	4578	450681
1838-39	362533	5618	368152
1839-40	484886	8950	493837
1840-41	547854	9351	557206
1841-42	547311	9405	556716
1842-43	504703	4884	509587
1843-44	311512	3358	314871
1844-45	206183	4894	211077
1845-46	173051	3506	176557
1846-47	249284	6954	256239
1847-48	347168	7855	355023
1848-49	294035	16391	310427
1849-50	290481	7550	298031

Source: BOR, (Miscellaneous Records, Revenue), v.248

Table : A 7

Collections of Revenue in Masulipatnam District			
Years	Arrears Rupees	Current Rupees	Total Rupees
1822-23	31459	837850	869309
1823-24	134156	868637	1002793
1824-25	134456	938456	1072913
1825-26	13442	945188	958630
1826-27	3085	903681	906767
1827-28	60823	865441	926264
1828-29	43087	794965	838053
1829-30	99487	762368	861855
1830-31	171114	818011	989125
1831-32	162999	815229	978228
1832-33	57703	580132	637836
1833-34	149211	759899	909110
1834-35	115896	675058	790954
1835-36	60849	563196	624046
1836-37	126761	638590	765352
1837-38	43665	668882	712548
1838-39	49134	494556	543690
1839-40	110234	587897	698132
1840-41	173048	455458	628506
1841-42	188729	399339	588068
1842-43	466951	467544	934495
1843-44	468647	476225	944873
1844-45	254155	619791	873946
1845-46	198041	749585	947626
1846-47	278297	850387	1128684
1847-48	499151	712230	1211382
1848-49	157927	714526	872453
1849-50	126799	637797	764597
1850-51	195476	658822	854298

Source: BOR (Miscellaneous Records), Revenue, V.248.

**Table : A 8**

**Value of Villages in Mylavaram Pargana of  
Masulipatnam district**

Names of Villages	Value of Villages	
	In 1802 Rupees	In 1826 Rupees
Mylavaram	604	2343
Chandragudem	<b>747</b>	3148
Mulakalapenta		14
Pulleru	<b>380</b>	1462
Kadem Polavaram	68	400
Nagaluru	1161	1214
Pata Nagaluru		385
Kanamerla		126
Vadurubadem		47
Parvatapuram	<b>63</b>	44
Kirtirayanagudem	<b>456</b>	698
Koduru	<b>189</b>	1024
Nandigama	867	4593
Kuntamukala	1127	6929
Guruchanam		299
Venkatapuram	884	1832
Ganginapolam	724	1132
Patyampadu		2086
Binlapolam		3477
Duggiralapadu		578
Tola Devarapadu		792
Sunnampadu	49	1050
Kandulapadu	384	96
Shahabanda	19	3323
Guntupalli	1350	817

Names of Villages	Value of Villages	
	In 1802 Rupees	In 1826 Rupees
Gudurpadu	129	179
Machevaram	93	380
Katanakonda	259	740
Cherlakuru	541	743
Damuluru	518	3970
Chamaturu	163	48
Pundugala	46	
Malkapuram	20	48
Valavadam	1115	9663
Jangalapalli	478	648
Chandarala	636	1713
Tummalagunta		143
Gunnevaram	107	137
Ganapavaram	341	1541
Doddapadu		11
Villaturu	929	7196
Chegireddi padu	256	120
Koturu	697	2568
Konduru	972	2628
Gundamanugu	152	704
Munagapadu	422	299
Madavaram		733
Penchikalapadu	17	644
Gouravaram	35	630
Grandivanipolam	91	688
Loya	120	1736
Dasullapolam	275	160
Panupaka	256	1091
Narsiagudem	213	404
Kondagurza	224	757
Jakkampudi	459	396
Nujalavaram		2
Viddadarapuram	123	355
Rayanapadu	525	2750
Ibrahimpattam	1632	3146
Trilochanapuram	369	997
Navaputavaram	209	344
Kachevaram	218	315
Vemavaram	58	305
Pydurpadu	30	1117
Sydabada	161	392

Source: C.Roberts, Collector Masulipatna  
to the BOR, 4.1.1826, PBOR,V.1081, P.796

Table : A 9

Value of Villages in Bitterzally Pargana of Masulipatnam District

Names of Villages	Value of Villages	
	in 1802 Rupees	in 1826 Rupees
Kaikalur	590	1673
Dachavaram	683	700
Bairavapatnam	35	188
Jakkampudi	310	479
Prattipadu	106	461
Mudulapadu	366	564
Chavilipadu	377	708
Manugunurlanka	342	1005
Parumakalanka	83	589
Nuchamilli	38	1416
Bobbililanka		775
Kolletikota	1716	2403
Striptartilanka	488	1039
Manurlanka	232	950
Kudumulatippa	112	126
Puttilanka	95	186
Injeripakalanka	241	832
Payalatippa		38
Agadalanka		1379
Wurimidilanka		289
Peddavaganamilli	126	555
Kokarayalalanka	187	1009
Gudivakalanka	110	1378
Nandigamalanka	187	1036
Takkalapadu	161	508
Kondagulalanka	19	
Satulayalanka		8
Chintapadu		725
Menapalanka	116	320
Gundrallalanka	254	58
Komatlalanka		345
Kaluvapudi	232	154
Appapuram	443	143
Sobhanadripuram	218	20
Bujabalapatam	19	1821
Atapaka	48	510
Pullawada	340	681
Vadurlapadu	77	223
Someswaram	462	113
Kottanda	166	1673
Gonapadu	49	99
Kottapalli		
Siddapuram		
Penchikalamarru	1128	4781
Vadlakorrulanka		867
Kurupakalanka	2	6
Dayempadu		197
	159	1191

Names of Villages	Value of Villages	
	in 1802 Rupees	in 1826 Rupees
Iyenakurlalanka	335	1100
Pamulakorru	264	529
Kalakurrulanka	150	297
Pillapadu	4	1016
Panumullanka	311	765
Nattagullalapadu	17	285
Prattikollalanka	218	969
Chinavaganamilli	375	623
Mallavaram	211	1045
Pulaparru	156	1049
Paidichintapadu	463	1218
Kovadalanka	139	540
Alapadu	682	230
Vejarampadu	126	172
Singapuram	46	34
Sangampadu		4
Samalambapuram	19	20

Source: C.Roberts, Collector Masulipatnam to the BOR,  
PBOR,V.1081,p.797.

Table : A 10

Arrears on account of which the estates were sold

Names of Estates	Amount of Permanent Peishkash Rupees	Principal Amount Rupees	Amount of Interest Rupees	Total Amount Rupees
Pedanah	4214	14521	<b>4185</b>	<b>18707</b>
Padapatam	3548	13703	3678	<b>17381</b>
Kuppaladoddi	451	1573	<b>464</b>	<b>2037</b>
Vurtullapalli	626	2314	<b>797</b>	<b>3112</b>
Vinukota and Gudivada	81333	313324	<b>158593</b>	<b>471918</b>
Kaikaluru	8703	23983	<b>21024</b>	<b>45008</b>
Bujabalapatam	8702	26070	<b>25099</b>	<b>51169</b>
Pedapadu	15370	61342	<b>22237</b>	<b>83580</b>
Mylavaram	9111	42237	<b>39704</b>	<b>81942</b>
Turnedi	6029	32988	<b>20799</b>	<b>53788</b>
Chintalapudi	11550	25325	<b>16200</b>	<b>41525</b>
Eluru	21656	173592	<b>127113</b>	<b>300705</b>
Kovali	17727	<b>147474</b>	<b>102392</b>	<b>249867</b>
Malkacherla	676	2632	<b>982</b>	<b>3614</b>
Kondapalli	1061	<b>1432</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>1771</b>
Namala	15750	97567	<b>94181</b>	<b>191688</b>

Source: R.J.Porter, Collector Masulipatnam to W.H.Bayley Secretary,  
BOR, 16.7.1850, PBOR, V.2249, PP.10901 - 10904.

Table : A 11

## CUSTOMS COLLECTED UNDER VARIOUS HEADS IN MASULIPATNAM

Years	Sayer Rupees	Moturfa Rupees	Seacustoms Rupees	Total Rupees
1800	75514		11368	150100
1801	60779		23431	132593
1802	94154	6440	18374	18090
1803	94937	8905	32383	196686
1804	95332	11444	6471	193650
1805	115841	16663	23029	320261
1806	55466	9298	10064	144047
1807	51382	15125	25943	227333
1808	114960	16690	8773	297148
1809	169213	10966	7681	332906
1810	147059	15092	14027	356348
1811	192112	19498	12177	419328
1812	139493	13846	30579	384022
1813	137090	21073	19919	385014
1814	158702	16680	36740	430956
1815	151045	15652	11966	395762
1816	152789	14547	30280	413548
1817	165951	14577	25213	482328
1818	159278	14212	22446	431602
1819	170783	14081	15851	482618
1820	169023	16065	27143	479737
1821	152181	15248	27428	416828
1822	146561	28567	12850	404139
1823	129956	26350	12879	377480
1824	127838	23474	11427	423780
1825	137993	19220	23805	428551
1826	151501	19372	25123	434114
1827	160352	18498	20777	439342
1828	169053	20167	22797	487380
1829	171312	19990	20878	397053
1830	144817	21334	11494	450928
1831	151861	19373	21242	469409
1832	118386	12256	9458	348432
1833	84289	10548	9886	366386
1834	93833	11432	8161	427536

Source: BOR (Miscellaneous Records), V.240, PP.15 - 18.



Table : A 12

Import and Export Duty Collections  
in Masulipatnam

Years	Import Duty Rupees	Export Duty Rupees	Total Rupees
1843-44	1271	2877	4149
1844-45	8416	2980	11397
1845-46	8995	3346	12342
1846-47	4401	1318	5720
1847-48	6989	2121	9110
1848-49	8416		8416
1849-50	11621	180	11802
1850-51	4776		4776
1851-52	2708	181	2890
1852-53	490	258	749

Source: Collector, Masulipatnam to the BOR, PBOR,  
V.2446, p.15688.

Table : A 13

Expenditure on Irrigation Works in Northern Circars

Years	Canal Rupees	Person- days	Wing Rupees	Person- days	Reinforcement Rupees	Person- days	Person-Metal (person- days)	Person- days	Canal Rupees	Person- days	Total Rupees
1816-17	1462	0.35	520	0.12	2723	0.65			395	0.09	419921
1817-18	1794	0.35	525	0.11	13286	2.6			12756	2.51	508263
1818-19	1655	0.29	525	0.09	7109	1.23			3569	0.61	508235
1819-20	0		525	0.08	8530	1.23			3675	0.53	694188
1820-21	3667	0.49	525	0.08	7684	1.14	1433	0.21	940	0.14	707467
1821-22	4664	0.69	525	0.08	9535	1.28			4538	0.61	676767
1822-23	6699	0.68	1085	0.11	17908	1.89			0	0	949269
1823-24	7654	1.3	1665	0.29	13827	2.4	2633	0.42	5122	0.89	575564
1824-25	6171	0.84	190	0.01	10711	1.45	4920	0.61	2625	0.36	739265
1825-26	6253	0.59	835	0.08	3990	0.37	123	0.01	8078	0.77	1049007
1826-27	5899	0.64	3224	0.24	7246	0.54	300	0.02	5956	0.45	1324247
1827-28	4881	0.59	0		3841	0.46	150	0.02	5594	0.48	808205
1828-29	4733	0.65	398	0.06	6256	0.86	200	0.03	4126	0.57	728574
1829-30	8562	1.10	0		5332	0.77			2730	0.38	729975
1830-31	3710	0.54	9910	1.42	7999	1.03	360	0.02	1300	0.18	725398
1831-32	3518	0.58	0		14675	2.4	10	0.04	1600	0.26	610221
1832-33	4460	0.70	0		6566	0.8	55	0.01	1466	0.25	508400
1833-34	1758	0.2	3310	0.48	5121	0.75	173	0.03	1534	0.22	685991
1834-35	11978	1.74	2266	0.33	8079	1.18	400	0.06	1036	0.27	686970
1835-36	11682	2.75	3079	0.61	7034	1.11	900	0.14	0	0	639597
1836-37	10533	2.5	594	0.09	13640	1.91	227	0.03	2510	0.38	662712
1837-38	9355	1.43	1360	0.21	10335	1.66	703	0.11	0	0	652877
1838-39	7524	1.06	10980	1.54	36811	5.18	787	0.11	3904	0.55	711165
1839-40	9567	1.39	8016	1.16	22000	3.19	1364	0.2	2500	0.36	690320
1840-41	7947	1.25	2600	0.41	18900	2.83	1866	0.29	2000	0.31	635110
1841-42	5813	1.14	4104	0.8	30172	5.91	12751	2.5	2690	0.49	510559
1842-43	5592	0.97	168	0.03	31096	5.37	4944	0.86	2660	0.36	577068
1843-44	3799	0.61	5524	0.9	53859	8.78	2691	0.4	1653	0.27	615276
1844-45	817	0.1	698	0.08	168076	17.58	7935	0.95	30774	3.65	842059
1845-46	3994	0.31	4379	0.34	44983	34.4	11822	1.82	45722	3.53	1296665
1846-47	4458	0.45	11099	1.11	109468	18.55	17626	1.8	40161	4.03	997261
1847-48	2654	0.25	11148	1.15	279066	28.76	5982	3.9	43847	4.52	970192
1848-49	16388	1.52	6206	0.57	283395	26.19	39318	3.54	49757	4.6	1008097

Source: First Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into and report upon system superintending an execution of the Public Works in the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1856, pp. 89-99

Table: A 14

List of Karanams and their allowances in Kondapally Haveli

S.No	Name of Villages	Name of the Sasnettis	No. of Sasnettis	Salagalu Payable per each candy		Rusum payable on the jareeb land per each coontah	Inams	No. of Cultivators Families
				Chuvudu Salagalu seers/candy	Padulu Salagalu seers/candy	Mp- F- C-		
01.	Kondapalli Casba	Budaraju Veranallu Rajalingam	1	4	10	- - -	4	13
02.	Yalapolu	Chandrasekharudu Yalopolu Venkaiah Appaiah, Nagaiah	1	4	10	- 2 20	2	4
03.	Mulapadu	Mulapathi Sitarawudu Venkatarananapali Appaiah	1	4	10	- 2 20	1	3
04.	Katitalaoudi	Kondalraju, Buchi Papaiah	1	4	10	- 2 20		
05.	Tumalanollam	Pattaswamy Vararaju Paparaju	2	4	10	- 2 20	1	4
06.	Atukuru	G. Sentsiah Venkaiah	1	4	10	- - -	2	2
07.	Taddapalle	T. Venkatarudu Venkaiah	1	4	10	- - -	3 1/2	9
08.	Valagalare	Nagaraju, Ramaraju Chinna Chelam, Narsaraju	2	4	10	- - -	2 1/2	5
09.	Gollanudi	G. Narsaraju, Gopalraju Bucheraju, Venkatarudu	1	4	10	- 2 20	3	10
10.	Cooloor	Kintori Kistaiah veerajah Subararudu, Ramacharudu Macheraju, Sitarawudu	2	4	10	- 2 20	3	4
11.	Jocpoody	J. Subbaraju & Appaiah	1	4	10	- 2 20	1	2
12.	Muliyalammapadu	Devarajsobandri & Randas	1	4	10	- 2 20	1	5
13.	Bumavarannapadu	Devalraju Hanuman	1	4	10	- - -	1	1
14.	Bavanipuram	Kasiraju Peddodhi, Veeresham Jireesham	1	4	10	- - -	1	2

Source: Collector Masulipatnam district to BOA, MDR, v.2998, p.26.

Table : A 15

## Sale of Kattubady Manyams Registered in Masulipatnam Zilla Court

S.No.	Name of the Seller	Religion	Name of the Purchaser	Religion	Village	Taluk	Quantity of Land	Value Mos. Rs.	Date
1.	Amir Jan china Aga Mir	Muslim	Tanaberg Subedar		Varigonda Vinukota	6 Culties		50	
2.	Mir Galib	Muslim	Tanaberg Subedar		Marigonta Vinukota	1-12-0		120	
3.	Mohammad Ali	Muslim	Elasappa Venkaiah	Hindu	Vulavapudi	1-4-3		50	
4.	Yamona Bibi	Muslim	Sarhem Subarayudu	Hindu	Montpalla Gudur	12 Culties		72	
5.	Madeena Saheb	Muslim				1-0-2 Candies	23	1824	
6.	Peddara ju Ramanna	Hindu	Seemara Latchanna	Hindu	Paroor	0-10-0 Candies	800	1822	
7.	Narasanna	Hindu	Tammaiah Pantulu			3 Virues	1000	1821	
8.	Kuchimanchi Subbatah	Hindu	Poturaju Pedda Naganna	Hindu	Chinnuruvani Meduru Palen	1-4-0 Culties	200		
9.	Narsiahulu	Hindu							
10.	Guduri Ramanna	Hindu	Vadravolu Seetanna	Hindu	PasalaPudi	1-6-4 Candies	200		
11.	Kalnadhobotta Kananna	Hindu	Badravu Seetanna	Hindu	PasalaPudi	1-5-0 Candies	200		
12.	Rahaprolu Naganna	Hindu	Unnenbotta Senkarappa	Hindu	Komanure Meduru	1/4 Cutti	235	1825	
13.	Pulla Bangaranna	Hindu	Yeddengaranna	Hindu	Volapully Bickavolu	0-10-0 Candies	160	1825	

Source: SMC, New (Revenue Series), no.11, pp.84-87.

Table : A 16

Sale of Lakhiraj Manyams of Muslims registered in the Zillah Court of Masulipatnam

Name of the Seller	Religion	Name of the purchaser	Religion	Village	Taluk	Date of sale	Value MP5	Rs	Quantity
1. Fateh Mohammed	Muslim	Devan Saheb & Mohadeen Saheb	Muslim	Padanala pailem	Vinukota	1222 H		500	
2. Ameda Bibi	Muslim	Sheik Faizal Ali	Muslim	Nariki polam	Gudur	1810		2000	12 cutties
3. Rahman Bibi	Muslim	Qazi Abdul Rehman	Muslim	Inavolu	-		275		2-12-2
4. Azagarally Khan	Muslim	M. Abbasahab	Muslim	Sultan nagaram	Gudur			300	2 cutties
5. Khanam Saheb Ibrahim Saheb	Muslim	Mohammad Gaulah	Muslim	Nagavaram	Gudur	1235 H		280	3 + cutty
6. Azagarally Khan	Muslim	Agha Mohammed	Muslim	Sultana nagaram	Gudur			1500	4-5-3
7. Sheik Mohammad	Muslim	Kasana Nagatha	Muslim	Muni pally	Valvela	1817		250	2 cutties
8. Sheik Imam	Muslim	Hussein Bibi	Muslim	Vodali	Eluru			125	1 candy
9. Qasi Abdul Rahman Abba Saheb	Muslim	Namboori Venkataiah	Hindu	Inavolu		1814		225	2-12-2 Cutchellias
10. Shamim Saheb	Muslim	Mydavolu Gopala Krishnanna & Bollapragada Kamataiah	Hindu	Pada pailem	Vinukota	1823		255	
11. Mohammad Meva	Muslim	Manna Pragada Subbiah	Hindu	Daravaram	Nidada volu	1824		80	0-12-8 Cutchellias

Source : SRMC New (Revenue) Series, 11, pp 84-87

Table : A 17

## Sale of Lakhira] Manyams of Hindus registered in the Zillah Court of Masulipatnam

Name of the Seller	Religion	Name of the purchaser	Religion	Village	Taluk	Quantity	value Rs	Date of Sale
1. Gajendragana Sita Ramudu	Hindu	Kalatspu Sobanadri	Hindu	Tummala palem	Gudur	0.5 cutty	40	
2. Badada Kasawarayudu	Hindu	Avtipally Naganna	Hindu	Lakidoddi palem	Vinukota	5.5 cutties	715	
3. Paddibhotla Venkaiah	Hindu B	Yanamudra Ramiah	Hindu	Narsayana puram	Meduru	14 Visams	500	1820
4. Pasumarti Srivani Somayajulu & Krishna Sastrulu	Hindu B	Pasumarthi Narsim ha Somayajulu	Hindu	Kuranda	Vinukota	6 cutties	2000	
5. Pasumarti Narsimha Somayajulu	Hindu B	Pasumathy Sivanna Somayajulu	Hindu	Kankipadu	Bezawada	3 cutties	1000	
6. Ramavarapu Siva ramudu	Hindu	Vittanumantha Sastrulu	Hindu B	China Tumed Agraaharam		12 Visams	65	
7. Muntha Krishnanna	Hindu	Manchiraju Ramanna	Hindu	Paroor palem		1 cutty	800	1822
8. Guddati Mallisethi Guddati Malli Reddy	Hindu	Padda Nagara ju	Hindu	Veeravesaram		10 Visams	60	
9. Kasibotla Ramakka	Hindu B	Kalapatapu Rama sastrulu	Hindu	Chitrom Vinukota		5 Visams	25	
10. Ilyanti Bapanna	Hindu	Mulapudi Rama chandrudu	Hindu	Boyanapudi		2 Cha Visams	46	1823
11. Gunda Namalu	Hindu	Vurshenidhi Atchanna	Hindu	Cuttamuru		2 Cha Visams	200	
12. Jossala Veereswara Sastru	Hindu	Mallampalli Mark andeyulu	Hindu	Murripalem		1 cutty 2 visams	150	

Name of the Seller	Religion	Name of the purchaser	Religion	Village	Taluk	Quantity C - V - P	Value Rs	Date of Sale
13. Mugala Gangadharudu	Hindu	Vemuru Kamanna	Hindu	Someswaram Valluru		7-8-0	425	
14. Mugala Gangadharudu	Hindu	Bindapudi Rama chandrudu	Hindu	Makavaram Vadiamuru		7-5-0	120	1823
15. Mugala Gangadharudu	Hindu	Bindapudi Atchamma	Hindu	Palagudi		2 candies	620	1823
16. Challapalli Rajanna	Hindu	Challapalli Papiiah	Hindu	Penugonda		0-2-3	45	
17. Ramavarapu Yegganna	Hindu	Chitti Varijala Someswara Somayajulu	Hindu	China Tunedi Tunedi		1/2-0-0	100	
18. Varuganti Veyasah	Hindu	Vankamamidi Narayana sastrulu	Hindu	China Tunedi		1/8-0-0	70	1824
19. Chinnu Atchamma	Hindu	Nallajerla Kamaraju	Hindu	Cuttamuru		1 1/2 Cha visums		1824
20. Chittajulla Adilakshmi	Hindu	Gondega Seetanna	Hindu	Kottapalli Vinukota		2-0-0	615	1824
21. Tallavajjala Raja Gopal Sastrulu	Hindu	Anjati china Gundalu	Hindu	Nandegama Pedanah		1-5-5	275	1826
22. Nanduri Veera Ragha vacharulu	Hindu	Iyenna Tirumala charyulu	Hindu	Gollaprolu		6 cha Visums	310	1826
23. Bhagavatula Venkanna	Hindu	Bhagavatula Subbarayudu	Hindu	Kuchipudi Agraharam		9 + cutties	250	

B: Brahmin C: Cutties: V: Visams: P: Putties

Source : SRMG. New (Revenue) Series, 11, pp 84-87

Tab la : A 18

Zamindars and the Nature of Zamindari in Masulipatnam district							
Name of the Zamindari or Estate	Name & title of the present Zamindar & whether a minor of full age	Period when the Estate was settled on original	Whether holding under the Permanent Sanad	Permanent or other fixed Bariz or peishkash	Extent of the land of original peishkash	What portion has been alienated whether by gift or how otherwise	Time of alienation as per preceding column
1. Part of Muzivudu situated in Eluru circar	N. Venkata Narasimha Apparao Zamindar	1851 F.	under P. Sanad granted in 1212 F.	2,18,000	24,447	No alienation	
2. Part of Muzivudu situated in Kondapalli circar	N. Subhanadri Apparao Zamindar (Minor)	1861 F.	1212 F.	90,000	28,183	No alienation	
3. Nandigama	V. Jagannathababu	1808 F.	1212 F.	1,05,000	8,533	No alienation	
4. Devarahola	E. Durganadas Naidu Zamindar (minor)	At the time of an ancestor from whom present generation is 8th generation	1212 F.	1,02,000	7,505	No alienation	
5. Dharmahal	C. Subhanadri Rao	1122 F.	No Sanad was granted returned from Madras	1,21,070	16,244	In the recovery of arrears due to the circar the estate was sold	
6. Bezwa	G. Venkataswami Gopal Janardhana Rao (minor)	At the time of an ancestor, he is 6th generation	Permanent Sanad 1212 F.	35,183	4,257	No alienation	
7. Mrlavarao	S. Venkatarathi Rao	1077 F.	1212 F.	10,200	2,146	No alienation	
8. Lingapuri	N. Seensiah and Jaggiah	1107 F. The present Zamindar is of 6th generation	1212 F. 1212 F.	450	63	No alienation	
9. Monagala	K. Venkata Narasimha Rao	About 13 years back	1212 F.	4,497	328	No alienation	
10. Part of Janulavari and Medugutla	V. Venkata Kislarao	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F.	2,219	Not known	No alienation	
11. Part of Janulavari and Medugutla	V. Ramkrishna Rao	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F.	2,219	Not known	No alienation	
12. Part of Janulavari and Medugutla	V. Chinnappa Rao	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F.	2,219	Not known	No alienation	



Name of the Zamindari or Estate	Name & title of the present Zamindar & whether a minor of full age	Period when the Estate was settled on original	Whether holding under the Permanent Sanad	Permanent or other fixed Rait or peishdars Rs.	Extent of the land of original peishdars Acres	What portion has been alienated whether by gift or how otherwise	Time of alienation as per records, or how
13. Part of Zamulavari and Medurgutta	V. Lakshma Rao	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F	3,737	Not known	No alienation	
14. Part of Zamulavari and Medurgutta	V. Venkanna Rao	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F	1,312	Not known	No alienation	
15. Part of Zamulavari and Medurgutta	V. Chennama Rao	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F	1,312	Not known	No alienation	
16. Part of Zamulavari and Medurgutta	V. Ramarao & Venkannarao	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F	1,312	Not known	No alienation	
17. Part of Zamulavari and Medurgutta	S. Ramaraju yeliraju	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F	1,316	Not known	No alienation	
18. Part of Medurgutta	M. Annam Razu	At the time of an ancestor he is 5th g.	1212 F	728	Not known	No alienation	
19. Part of Zamulavari	V. Lechmedevamma	dito to 8th generation	1212 F	4,886	Not known	No alienation	
20. Chintalapudi	I. Panpanarow	175 years back	1212 F	787	None	No alienation	
21. Chintalapudi	I. Venkata Raybava Rao		1212 F	11,558	None	No alienation	
22. Kuchipudi	B. Yeganna at the time of Tenesha	No sanad was granted as they hold it as inam		231	33 cutties	No alienation	

Names of Zamindars who had no title of Rajahs previous to the permanent Settlement but since the Permanent Settlement given

1. S. Venkatarao Gopal Jugganath de - title of Rajah was continued from Collector Hawkins time.
2. S. Venkatapathi Rao Zamindar of Mylavaram, title of rajah was continued from Collector Hawkins time.
3. K. Venkatarasimha Rao Zamindar of Munagala since the Zamindar became major.
4. I. Venkata Raybavarao Zamindar of Chintalapudi when P Sanad was granted by Mr. Russel on Zamindar attaining majority.

Sources: Lane collector Masulipatnam district to ROR, P. 25, v. 754, p. 5779.

Table A 19

## List of Zamindari and Proprietary Estatts in Masulipatnam district

Zamindaris in the possession of the Proprietors

S.No.	Name of the Estates	No. of villages	Name of the Proprietors	Jumma
I.	Part of Nuzividu situated in			
	Kondapalli circle	284	M. Sobhanadri Apparao	98,000
2.	Nandigama	128	V. Ramanadha Babu	1,05,000
3.	Mylavaram	33	S. Venkatapati Rao	8,950
4.	Narasiah gudem	1	S. Venkatapati Rao	138
5.	Lingageri	6	M. Narahari and Muttiah	486
6.	Bezawada	49	C. Lakshmi Narsamma	36,183
7.	Part of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta	7	V. Ramakrishna Rao	2,219
8.		7	V. Venkata Rao	2,219
		5	V. Lakshmi Venkaiah Rao	1,312
18.		5	V. Venkata Rama Gopal Rao	1,312
11.	Part of Zammulavayi	14	V. Lakshmi Devamma	4,886
12.	Part of Medurgutta	6	W. Purushotham	728
13.	Kuchipudi	1	V. Yegganna	231
14.	Sriramavaram	1	M. Simhadri Apparao	538
15.	Pedapadu	7	M. Sobanadri Apparao	15,378
16.	Singagudem	1	M. Sobanadri Apparao	46
17.	Kondapalli	14	V. Ramanadha Babu	15,700
18.	Akulamannadu	14	V. Ramanadha Babu	6,300
19.	Inuguduru	6	V. Ramanadha Babu	2,598
20.	Kalindi	8	V. Ramanadha Babu	3,150
21.	Namella and Kanjerla	3	V. Ramanadha Babu	661
22.	Six Islands	6	V. Ramanadha Babu	8,750
23.	Tumidi	11	S. Venkatapati Rao	6,029
24.	Korukollu	32	C. Lakshmi Narasamma	11,734
25.	Part of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta	7	V. Venkatagopal Rao and	
			V. Venkata Rama Rao	3,237
26.	Vallur Samut	10	B. Naganna Naidu	21,000
27.	Gudur	52	B. Naganna Naidu	26,600
28.	Cruti venu	9	Vasireddy Venkatadri Naidu	2,940
29.	Vurtulapalli	1	M. Rangaiah	626
30.	Ooddapudi	1	Seth. Brij Mohandas	380
31.	Narayana puram	7	Seth. Brij Mohandas	2,984
32.	Malkacherla	7	Seth. Brij Mohandas	1,503
33.	Ramasingavaram	1	G. Seetaiah	676
34.	Timmanagudem	1	G. Seetaiah	64
35.	Part of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta	7	G. Seetaiah	2,219
36.	Vasantawada	12	G. Lakshmi Devamma	7,677
37.	Vadlaputlamutanam	1	Nabob Narsunniisa Begum	86

Zamindari under the management of the collectors for disqualified proprietors ancient Zamindaris :

38. Munagala	23	K. Ramaiah	4.497
39. Divi	16	C. Jagannatha Rao	47,887

Estates under attachment for arrears of Revenue :

Ancient Zamindaris :

40. Devarakota	68	Erlagadda Anki Naidu	1,02,690
41. Vinukota and Gudivada	149	C. Papaiah Rao	81,333
42. Chanubanda	1	I. Papanna Rao	787
43. Valavadam	32	S. Ramachandra Rao	9,111
44. Part of Zammulavayi and Medurgutta	6	V. Venkata Narasimha Rao	
		V. Venkata Gopala Rao	1,360

Created Zamindaris :

45. Eluru	8	Meka Narasimha Apparao	21,656
46. Kovali	4	Meka Narasimha Apparao	17,727
47. Kaikalur	31	Sooraneni Venkatapathirao	8,703
48. Bhujabalapatnam	25	Sooraneni Venkatapathirao	8,702
49. China Pundreka	12	Sooraneni Ramachandrarao	6,013
50. Bulliparru	1	S. Narasamma	468

Estates under attachment according to court orders :

Ancient Zamindaris :

51. Part of Nuzvidu situated in Eluru Mootah	274	Meka Narasimha Apparao	2,10,000
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Created Zamindaris :

52. Chintalapudi	49	S. Venkatapati Rao	11,550
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Source : From the collector P. Grant to the Board of Revenue  
PBOR, v. 1733, pp. 17262 - 17265

APPENDIX -1

CALENDAR OF EVENTS RELATED TO THE AGRARIAN WORLD OF MASULIPATNAM  
1750 -1850.

- 1750           The fort of Masulipatnam was captured by the French under the order of Dupleix.
- 1752?          Masulipatnam along with the other Northern Circars was formally ceded to the French by the Nizam.
- 1759           Masulipatnam along with the other Circars was given as an Inam to the British East India Company by the Nizam Salabat Jung.
- 1759           Hussein Ali Khan was appointed as Naib to the Nizam for the Northern Circars.
- 1761           A chief ship under John Andrew was established at Masulipatnam by the Ft. St. George government.
- 1762           Severe failure of crops in the Masulipatnam region.
- 1762-1764      Deputy ship of Abdul Rahman Khan, who was in charge of the revenue affairs of the region.
- 1764           From April to December there was absence of government in the Circars.
- 1765           The British East India Company assumed the actual management of the Northern Circars, the inam grant being confirmed by the Mughal firman.
- 1764-1766      Hussein Ali Khan was made the Amildar of Ellore and Mustafanagar Circars to manage the revenue affairs.
- 1766-1769      The first revenue settlement was made by the Company in the region. The Company's territories in the Circars were leased to Hussein Ali Khan for three years.
- 1768           The Zamindari forces in the three middle Circars of Ellore, Rajahmundry and Mustafanagar were systematically reduced.
- 1768           Based on the treaty of Madras the fort of Kondapalli and its adjacent jagir was ceded to the Company and was incorporated in the Mustafanagar circar.
- 1769-70        The Haveli lands of Eluru and Mustafanagar were leased to Apparao the Zamindar of Nuzvidu and his brother Narayya Apparao at MPs. 15,500.

- 1769 Three provincial councils were established in the Circars to supervise the revenue arrangements based at Masulipatnam, Ganjam and Vizagpatnam.
- 1769 The revenue business of the Company government was no longer transacted in the military department. They were transferred to the civil department.
- 1771 With the death of Hussein Ali Khan the dual administration in the region came to an end.
- 1770 Jogi Pantulu was granted the lease of Nizampatnam circar along with Divi, Gudivada, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru and Antarvedi.
- 1770-71 Triennial settlement was introduced in the region.  
to  
1773-74
- 1773-77 Another triennial lease settlement was made in the region.
- 1774 First report of the Committee of Revenue was submitted which dealt with the accounts current of the various districts belonging to the Company.
- 1776 Circuit Committee was formed with five members to enquire into the details of the Circars revenue management.
- 1778 The Circuit Committee was abolished.
- 1784-88 The Circuit Committee was reconstituted.
- 1786 Famine in the region
- 1786 The Board of Revenue was constituted on the model of the Bengal Board.
- 1788 Acquisition of Guntur circar by the East India Company from Basalat Jung.
- 1788 A five year revenue settlement was concluded with the Zamindars in the region.
- 1789 Another triennial revenue settlement was introduced.
- 1790-92 Famine.

- 1794           The Chief Ships were abolished and in their place  
Collectorates were established to look after the  
administration.
- 1794           The former Masulipatnam circar was divided and two  
Collectorates of Guntur and Masulipatnam were estab-  
lished.
- 1795           Ft. St. George government authorized the disbandment  
of the military followers of the Zamindars.
- 1801           A special commission was appointed to superintend  
the Permanent Settlement in the region.
- 1802           Permanent Settlement was concluded with the existing  
Zamindars in the Zamindari estates and in the Haveli  
lands proprietary estates were created except Divi.
- 1802           Under the Permanent Settlement the offices of Desh-  
mukhs. Desh pandes and Mazumdars were abolished and  
the office of the Karanam at the village level was  
strengthened.
- 1805           Change in Company's policy from necessary Interfer-  
ence to Laissez faire
- 1807           Divi was leased on Zamindari tenure to Kandregula  
Gopal Rao.
- 1812           Korukollu and Bhittarzalli parganas in Charmahal  
Zamindari were put up for sale for arrears of reve-  
nue.
- 1816-1817      Ryotwari settlement was tried out in Telaprolu  
village.
- 1820           Introduction of new currency system in Madras Presi-  
dency. The old currency of Madras Pagodas, Fanams  
and Casu were replaced by Madras rupees divided into  
annas and paise.
- 1821           The government adopted the policy of buying the  
estates that were put up for sale.
- 1821           A Regulation was passed to preserve Ancient Zamind-  
ari families of distinction from sale.
- 1824           Famine
- 1824           Abolition of Import duty on grain.

1834-35	Bezwada Estate was under the Court of Wards.
1831-1834	Famine in the region.
1837	Pedanah and Pedapatnam estates were bought by the government.
1838	A Commission under Capt.Buckle was set up to survey the irrigation works in Masulipatnam and Guntur districts.
1842	In Kytapalli village again Ryotwari system was tried out on experimental basis.
1842-43	Estimating system was introduced in the land revenue assessment.
1844	Pedapadu Estate was bought by the government for Rs.53,000.
1846	Valavadam mootah was bought by the government.
1847	Estates of Nidadavolu, Tamedi, and China Pundreka were bought by the government.
1849	Estates of Kaldindi, Akulamannadu, Inuguduru, and Six Islands were bought by the Government in the public Sale.
1851	Gudur Estate was purchased by the government.
1852-53	An anicut was built over the river Krishna.

## A NOTE ON CURRENCY, MEASURES, AND WEIGHTS

**Currency :** In Masulipatnam region, as else where in the Circars the currency in use till 1820 was Madras Pagodas and sometimes even the star Pagodas. The terms in use were Tamil. The Dub or the largest copper coin was used as general term for money. Another term used was fanam which meant Panam in Tamil meaning money.

10 Cash = 1 Doody

2 Doodies = 1 Dub

4 Dubs = 1 Fanam

4 5 Fanams = 1 Star Pagoda.

In the current value 20 Fanams = 1 Rupee.

4 Rupees = 1 Madras Pagoda.

The division commonly used were Madras pagodas. Fanams and Cash.

**Measures of Capacity:**

4 Giddas = 1 Sola

2 Solas = 1 Tavva

2 Tavvas = 1 Manika

4 Manikas = 1 Kunchum

4 Kunchums = 1 Toom

20 Tooms = 1 Putti

7 1/2 Putties = 1 Garce

Approximate actual value of 1 Manika = 157 1/2 Cubic inches.



**Measures of Weight:**

10 Pol lams      1 Seer  
5 Seer            = 1 Viss  
8 Viss            = 1 Maund  
20 Maunds       = 1 Candy  
16 1/2 Candies   = 1 Madras Garce.

**Average table and a standard value of superficial measures:**

1 Kole or rod square of 52 1/2 English feet = 1 Kunta  
= 2,756 1/4 sq.ft.

50 Kuntas       = 1 Gorru  
8 Gorrus        = 1 Cutchell

Besides these the other measures in use were

600 Kuntas     = 1 Garce  
20 Kunchams   = 1 Putti  
30 Puttis       = 1 Veeram  
16 Parahs       = 1 Veeram  
16 Veerams     = 1 Cutty.

**Source:** Collector, Masulipatnam district to the BOR, MDR, v. 2998, p. 23; C.D. Maclean, Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency in illustration of the Records of Government and the Yearly Administration Report, 1, Madras, 1885; CD. Maclean, Glossary of the Madras Presidency, Delhi. 1982.

## A NOTE ON THE ZAMINDARI ESTATES OF MASULIPATNAM DISTRICT

**Bezwada** The estate was situated on the banks of Krishna. It was held by Kaluvakolanu Timmana Rao and Rama Rao. The estate consisted of three parganas consisting of 48 villages. Kaluvakolanu Tirupati Rao of the Velama caste held the Zamindari in the beginning of the eighteenth century. From then on it passed through the hands of five successors and the Zamindari was split into two divisions but was again united after three generations by the extinction of the younger branch of the family in 1798 or 1799 in the person of Venkata Narasimaha Rao. His son Venkatrama Gopala Jagannadha Rao obtained the Permanent Sanad in 1802 on a peishkash of Rs. 36,883. The produce was entirely dry grain. But Tobacco and Chillies and small quantities of Paddy was also grown.

**Charmahal** When the country came under the British government the Charmahal estate was in the possession of Kamadana Papayya. The estate consisted of the parganas of Vinukota and Gudivada, Korukollu and Bhittarzalli parganas. The family of Kamadava were old dependents of the Nuzividu Zamindars. Kamadana Papayya was the leader of a troop of horses and received the estate as a Jagir for his services in 1738. The Zamindari title was confirmed to him by a Sanad from

Salabat Jung in 1759. In 1802 under the Permanent Settlement a peishkash of Rs. 1,21,870 was fixed on the estate.

Devarakota or Sallapalli The estate was situated between the Company's farms to the east of Masulipatnam and the river Krishna. The estate belonged to Erlagadda Codant Ram and he held this estate before the Permanent Settlement as the Desmukh. The estate consisted of sixty six villages. It was situated between the Divi and Gudivada taluks and Nuzividu and Vallursamut Zamindaris. The family belonged to Kamma caste and settled in the estate about 1580. They were supposed to have obtained their first sanad from Abdul Qutub Shah in 1640. Till 1752 it was in the hands of the family. But in 1732 several of the Zamindars in the district rebelled against the Nizam and the Nizam sent Rustum Khan to subdue the insurrection. From 1766 to 1802 the family held the estate as renters, as the company refused to recognize their claims to the Zamindari. In 1802 under Permanent Settlement a sanad was given to them and Peishkash was fixed at Rs 1,02,890. The produce was chiefly Jonnalalu. Besides, little paddy and other dry grains were also grown.

**Lingageri** The estate was originally granted to Rangasayi and Singaraju as Desmukhs in 1690 by Aurangzeb. They belonged to Brahmin Caste. Under the Permanent Settlement the estate was held by Narahari and Jogaiah. It consisted of six

villages and the produce was mainly dry grains and a little Paddy.

**Medurgutta and Zamulavayi** The estates were situated to the North West of Eluru. The estate was held by Vellanki Mallarao. It consisted of two parganas with seventy one villages including the mirasi of Varigonda Ramanna. The produce mainly consisted of dry grain besides Paddy and Tobacco. This Zamindar also held lands in Kammamet circar.

**Munagala** The Munagala Zamindari was held by Reddis. But the estate passed into the hands of Kisara family after the original Zamindar died. Under the Permanent Settlement the estate was held by Kisara Venkata Narasimha Rao. It consisted of nineteen villages and was situated about sixty miles North West of Kondapalli. The chief produce was Paddy and dry grains.

**Mylavaram** The estate was situated to the North East of Kondapalli. The estate was held by Suraneni Venkatapathi Rao and Gopala Rao. It consisted of fifty three villages. Mylavaram estate was assigned informally by the Mughal government to Venkata Rao and Narainga Rao. They belonged to Velama caste and were first settled in the district in 1760 as simple farmers. At the commencement of the company's rule the Zamindari was in the possession of Pochanna

and Narsinga Rao. Quite often the disputes between the two Zamindars of Mylavaram and Nandigama occasioned many of the inhabitants to quit their villages which led to desertion of villages. The chief produce was jonnalu. Besides considerable quality of Tobacco, Cotton and Chillies with a small quantity of paddy were grown.

**Nandigama** The estate was situated to the North West of Kondapalli. It belonged to Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu who was also the Zamindar of Chintapalli. The estate consisted of three parganas consisting of 123 villages. The ancestors of the family had settled in this estate in 1670 and obtained possession of the Zamindari in the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1760 the possession rights were transferred to the other branch of this family in Chintapalli. But when the British took possession of the country they acknowledged Rajah Mouli who had been appointed by the Nizam as the Zamindar. But when the Permanent cowl was given Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu was made the Zamindar. The chief produce of the estate was Jonnalalu and other dry grains, little of paddy and Cotton were cultivated.

**Nuzividu** Meka Venkayya the first of this Zamindari family belonged to Velama. He came from the Karnatic and rented five or six villages in 1652. After twelve years Vijaya Apparao obtained a lease of the whole pargana. During Rustum Khan's

period the family was driven out and the country was put under Tahsildars for twelve successive years. In 1756 one Venkatadri Apparao was reinstated and he divided the possession with his brother Narayya Apparao. In 1772 at the commencement of the British rule Narayya Apparao who was found in possession of the estate was allowed to continue and was expelled as a rebel in 1783 and the next year his son Venkata Narasimha Apparao was given the estate by a sanad. In 1793 the estate was attached by government for arrears of revenue and was held under Aumani for several years. In 1802 the Zamindari was divided  $\frac{2}{3}$  being confirmed to Venkata Narasimha Apparao and  $\frac{1}{3}$  was given to Ramchandra Apparao.

**A NOTE ON THE HAVELI ESTATES OF MASULIPATNAM DISTRICT.**

Originally the Haveli lands in the Masulipatnam district consisted of the estates of Bandar Eluru, and Kondapalli.

The Bandar estate which was a very large one contained subdivisions of Akulamannadu, Divi, Gudur, Inuguduru. Kaldindi, Six Islands, Pedanah. and Tamedi.

The estate of Eluru consisted of five sub divisions of Eluru, Kovali, Malakacherla, Pedapadu, and Vasantawada.

The estate of Kondapalli consisted of two subdivisions, Kondapalli and Vallursamut.

**Akulamannadu** The produce consisted of Kusumalu, varieties of Paddy, Valavadam, Chollu, Allu, Jonnalu, Kandulu, Pesalu, and Ulavalu.

**Divi** Divi was another island at the mouth of the river Krishna which was formerly under the Zamindar Appa Rao. The Zamin-dar had enjoyed a Rusum of 3% on the revenue collected by the renter Sultan Baksh the son of Hussein Ally. The pro-duce was chiefly Paddy. The French had acquired the Divi **island** who built a fort. Later on Divi was included in the Haveli lands of Masulipatnam and was given to Kandregula Jogi Pantulu, the Dubash as a reward for his services which was continued till 1806 under his relations. In 1807 Divi

was given on Zamindari tenure to Kandregula Gopala Rao which continued under the management of the family till 1853. It was put up for sale in 1853 March and was purchased by the government for Rs. 25,000.

**Gundur** Gundur was formerly in Mustafanagar circar. It was granted as Zamindari to one of Kodanda Ram's relations. Under the Permanent Settlement Gundur was bought by Bommadevara Naganna Naidu. As arrears accumulated, the estate was put up for sale and was bought by the government in 1851. The produce of the estate consisted of Kusumalu, varieties of paddy. Black paddy, Jonnalu, Chollu. Pesalu, Allu, Kandulu.

**Inuguduru** The chief produce consisted of Kusumalu, Valavadam, Allu, Jonnalu, Ulavalu, Pesalu, Kandulu, Varagulu, and some garden crops.

**Kaldindi** Kaldindi subdivision formerly formed part of Mogalturu Zamindari, but it came under the government management in 1786, as the Zamindar was unable to pay the peishkash. In 1805 when it was put up to auction it was bought by the Nandigama Zamindar, Vasireddi.

**Pedanah** In 1805 the estate of Pedanah was purchased by the Zamindar of Devarakota. In 1818 the estate was divided into the mutahs of Pedanah and Pedapatnam. In 1837 the two estates were purchased by the government. The estates



were situated in the neighbourhood of Masulipatnam. The estate produced every kind of grain like Kusumalu. varieties of Paddy. Allu. Chollu, Ulavalu. Bobbarlu, Jonnalu, Varagulu, Kandulu and some garden crops.

**Six Islands** The Six Islands in the Krishna delta were formerly under Devarakota Zamindari. The Six Islands were made into a Havell by the French. The produce was chiefly Paddy.

**Tamidi** The estate of Tamidi was formerly part of Rajahmundry district. It formed part of Masulipatnam in 1795. After the Company assumed the management of the Northern Circars it was rented out for short periods or farmed direct till 1802. Immediately after the Permanent Settlement it changed hands twice and bought by private Individuals. In 1826 the estate was divided into Tamidi and China Pundreka mutah and both the mootahs were purchased by the government in 1847. The estate of Tamidi was situated in the neighbourhood of Masulipatnam. The produce consisted of all varieties of grain. The manufactures included Punjam cloth. Gingham, and Kambalies.

**Eluru** The principal produce of this Haveli was Paddy. White betel leaf produced in the pargana was much prized, large quantities of which were sold for great profit at **Hyderabad.**

Its cloth manufactures were for local consumption only but the place was very famous for carpets.

**Kovali** Kovali was purchased by the Zamindar of Nidadavole. As the Zamindar died in 1826, his adopted son being a minor the estate came under the management of the court of wards from 1833-1857 it was managed by the Zamindar. But in 1837 it was attached and was kept under government management. But in 1847 estate was bought by the government for Rs. 16,000.

**Malakacherla** The estate was bought by Mantepragada Timmaiah. This estate was broken up into 6 portions and sold partly of the government revenue. They were small portions consisting of one or two village. For example, the portion bought by the government consisted of the villages of Sriramavaram and Ramasingavaram.

**Pedapadu** This estate was purchased by the Nuzividu Zamindar, the younger brother of Appa Rao. It was purchased for Rs. 35,525. As the Zamindar died the estate was under the court of wards till 1830. From 1830-1840 it was under the actual management of the Zamindars and in 1844 as the arrears got accumulated, it was put up for sale and was purchased by the government.

**Vatantawada** The estate of Vasantawada was bought by Olete Rama Raju for Rs. 49,087 1/2, but soon was sold to Koccherla Kota Venkatarayudu. As arrears got accumulated and the estate

was put up for sale it was purchased by Bommadevara Naganna Naidu.

KondapalliThe estate was situated at latitude 16 37'North and longitude 80 35' East. Built around 1360 A.D by Anuvema Reddy of Kondavidu and was called Kondapalli after a shepherd Kondadu who showed the site to the Reddi king. From then on it had a varying fortune under several pre colonial rulers till the East India Company acquired the estate. The produce of Kondapalli consisted of Jonnalalu, White paddy, several varieties of Rice, Black paddy, Pesalu, Senagalu. Minumulu, Kandulu, Ulavalu, Amudalu, Avalu, Cotton, and some garden crops.

Vallur Samut Vallursamut was a small Haveli on the banks of the river Krishna. The estate was situated at latitude 16 21'North and at longitudes 80 49'East. Kodanda Ram was the sub renter. The estate dates its rise from Bommadevara Naganna Naidu employed in the transport department of the British army in 1798-99. He purchased this Haveli estate in 1803 along with Guduru. In February 1807 he was granted the monopoly of the transport service in land from Masulipatnam which they enjoyed for more than half a century. The produce of the estate consisted of Jonnalalu, Kandulu, Pesalu, Minumulu, Ulavalu, Varagulu, Tamedi, and some garden crops.

**Source:** Compiled from 'Report on the Assessment of the Masulipatnam portion of the Krishna district 1861-1865. SRMG; 'Oram's Report on the Havelis under Masulipatnam', SRMG.

## A NOTE ON THE AGRICULTURAL SEASONS

The production decisions of the cultivators in the region, as elsewhere, in particular when to sow, revolved around the traditional practices of the locality or around certain traditional prognostications about the weather. An agricultural year was divided into twenty seven Kartes, each Karte lasting for fifteen days. These twenty seven Kartes were named after the nakshatras, that is the stars. The cultivators generally believed that the prosperity of an agricultural tract was in direct proportion to the amount of rain that falls during certain specified nakshatra periods.

This agricultural cycle generally followed in the region more or less corresponded with the North Indian nakshatra calendar. The division of agricultural year into Kartes enabled the ryots roughly to forecast seasons and accordingly pursue their agricultural operations.

In Masulipatnam region, in an agricultural year three crops were raised - the punasa. the pedda and the paira crop. These three roughly corresponded with the Endakaru lasting from Aswini Karte to Aslesha Karte. The pedda crop corresponded with Vanakaru lasting from Magha Karte to Jyesta Karte. The last one the paira crop corresponded with Manchukaru, which lasted from moola Karte to Revati Karte.

The names of the twenty seven kartes and their corresponding starting dates were -.pa

S.No	Karte	Starting period
1.	Aswini	11 - 25 April
2.	Bharani	26 April - 9 May
5.	Kruthika	10-23 May
4.	Rohini	24 May - 6 June
5.	Mrugasira	7-22 June
6.	Arudra	23 June - 4 July
7.	Punarvasu	5-18 July
8.	Pushyami	19 July - 1 August
9.	Aslesha	02-15 August
10.	Makha	16 - 29 August
11.	Pubba	30 August - 11 September
12.	Uttara	12 - 25 September
13.	Hasta	26 September - 8 October
14.	Chitta	9-22 October
15.	Swati	23 October - 4 November
16.	Visakha	05 - 17 November
17.	Anuradha	18 - 30 November
18.	Jyesta	01 - 14 December
19.	Mula	15-27 December
20.	Purvashada	28 December - 9 January
21.	Uttarashada	10 - 22 January
22.	Sravanam	23 January - 4 February
23.	Dhanishta	05 - 17 February
24.	Satabhisha	18 February -2 March
25.	Purvabhadra	03-15 March
26.	Uttarabhadra	16 -27 March
27.	Revati	28 March - 10 April

**Source** : C.D.Maclean, Manual of the Administration of the Madras presidency, Delhi, ; Department of Agriculture, A Collection of Telugu Sayings and Proverbs bearing on Agriculture, Bulletin no.31, Madras,1939, p.11.

## A NOTE ON THE PERIOD OF SOWING. AND HARVESTING

In Masulipatnam district itself from one estate to another there were slight variations in the period of sowing. Depending on the soil variety the ground was ploughed. For some crops the ground was ploughed only once as in the case of Ulavalu where as in Kondapalli region for some crops like Tobacco the soil had to be ploughed at least eight times. But in Vallursamut estate even for the tobacco crop the ground was ploughed only four times. Though there was not great variation in the periods of sowing, for some crops there were however minor variations. For instance, in the kondapalli region Kandulu was sown in August where as in Vallur samut it was sown in the month of July itself. In the same way in Vallur samut, Amudalu, Varagulu, and Pesalu were sown in the months of August, November, and September whereas in Kondapalli it was done in the months of September, December and November. However not all crops were commonly grown in the region. For instance, mustard was grown only in fertile soils. In the district it was sown only in the islands left by the river Krishna. Unlike in the case of other crops mustard was sown only with hand where as for other crops seed was sown both with hand and with the gorru.

S. No.	Name of the crop	Number of times the soil ploughed	Sowing Period	Quantity of seed required for one cutty of good land				Produce	Harvesting period	Average Price of grain per candy	Duration of the crop
				Sown with hand		sown with gorru					
			Months	Maunds	Seers	Maunds	Seers	Candies	Months	MPs- F- C	
1.	Valavadalu	4	August	5		4		10	January	5- 0- 0	5 Months
2.	Jonnalu	3	September	3		2	20	8	March	4-13-40	6
3.	Kandulu	2	August	2		1	20	5	April	7-27- 0	8
4.	Pesalu	2	November	2		1	20	4	February	10- 9- 0	3
5.	Minumulu	3	November	2		2		4	February	7-27- 0	3
6.	Ulavalu	1	October	4		3		6	March	4- 0- 0	5
7.	Senagalu	6	December	4		3		6	April	6-18- 0	4
8.	Anumulu	4	September	2		1	20	5	March	8- 0- 0	6
9.	Varagulu	5	December	2		1	20	8	February	2- 9- 0	2
10.	Mustard	5	November	0	20			6	May	10- 0- 0	6
11.	Alasandalu	3	September	2		1	20	5	March	6- 4-40	6
12.	Tamedalu	4	September	2		1	20	6	February	3- 0- 0	5
13.	Mokka Jonna	4	August	4				4	November	4- 0- 0	3
14.	Daniyalu	6	November	2		1	20	5	February	4-18- 0	3
15.	Chillies	5	September	1	20			50	January		4
16.	Tobacco	8	November	1	16			40	February		3
17.	Onions	5	October	1	20			300	February		5
18.	Garlick	6	October	3				50	March		3
19.	Janumu	2	August	8				9	March		3
20.	Cotton	4	September	6	10			5	May		8
21.	Sajjalalu		July						October		3
22.	Korra		July						October		3

Source : John Read to the Board of Revenue, 14.4.1801, MDR, v. 2998, p. 51 and p. 55.

A NOTE ON THE CROPS RAISED IN MASULIPATNAM REGION

**Alasandalu** *Vigna catjang*. Cow grain. In Telugu it is also Known as Bobbarlu. The plant is cultivated in sandy soil or black loam under dry cultivation. The ground is generally prepared in November or December and the seed is sown in January. The seed is sown broad cast or dibbled in. When the young plant bears three or four leaves ashes are strewn over it. When the plant is about to climb, boughs of trees are given it to climb upon and pods were plucked as they mature. There are varieties like yerra Alasandalu, Chinna Alasandalu, Tellalasandalu, Nallalasandalu, Peddalasandalu.

**Amudalu or Lamp oil seeds** *Croton* genus. Trees or shrubs. Flowers are solitary or clustered on the axis of a terminal raceme with small bracts. The best known species in the South are *Cascarilla*, *Candatus*, *Malabaricus*, *Reticulatus* and *Scabiosus*.

**Anumulu** *Dolichos cultratus*. It resembles Alasandalu or Cow grain. They are many varieties among them like Yerranumu, Chakkeranumu, Chedanumu, Tellanumu, Nallanumu, Senaganumu.

**Arika** *Paspalum Frumen taceum*. Also known as Ariga, Allu, Arikey. Hurreek or Small Varagu. Its mullet found near water edges, grain minute, black and globular. It is a five month crop. Straw is used as fodder to cattle. It is the poorest of the millets and cultivated only on the most barren parts of the country. There are other varieties like Nattarike, Peddarike, Bondarike, Sannarike.

**Avalu** *Brassica juncea*, commonly Known as mustard. It is cultivated in black and red loam, dry fields often along with Ragi. The ground is prepared in October or November and the seed is sown in December. The crop is on the field for three or four months.

**Bajra** *Pennisetum typhoideum*. It is Known as Sajja, Kambu, Gante-lu, and Spiked Millet. After Cholum it is the most commonly cultivated. It is generally grown over the high lands in the region and cultivated in block loam and is a dry crop. Ground is generally prepared in May or June. After ploughing and manuring the seed is sown in July. It is sown broad cast and ploughed in while under growth and again ploughed after twenty five days. The crop has to be watered. The full grown crop has stalks green and ears brown and it is cut usually after three months. It also forms the staple diet



of the poor. They are varieties in this like Kanla Sajja, Kande Sajja, Kommu Sajja, Gidda Sajja, Chinna Sajja, Pitta Sajja, Pedda Sajja. Potta Sajja, Mullu Sajja. Among the Gantelu varieties are Chinna Gante, Desibalu Gante, Palagante. Pittagante, Punasa Gante, Peda Gante, Pedda Gante, Bade Gante.

Choiurn Sorghum vulgare.lt is Known as Jonna in Telugu. There are many varieties in Jonna like Telia Jonna (white millet), Bontada Jonna (great millet); Gidda Jonna (short millet); Paccha Jonna (yellow millet); Konda Jonna (hill millet). Generally it is cultivated in black loam under dry cultivation. Ground is prepared in June or July after ploughing and manuring. Seed is sown in November or December. Crop is dependent on rain and is usually cut after five months. Red gram or green are often sown with it. In places where the acid soil and scorching sun are uncongenial to the production of other grain this millet is most successfully cultivated and it forms the staple diet of the poor. There are many varieties in Jonna, Some of them are Arabbi Jonna, Amajonna, Echenu Jonna, Elai Jonna, Enamandu Jonna, Yerra Jonna, Yedakula Jonna, Kaki Jonna. Kakimaru Jonna, Kudumala Jonna, Guvvagutti Jonna, Goduma Jonna, Chitti Muttyalu, Chitta Jonna, Chenchu Jonna. Jalli Jonna, Jinkapuri Jonna, Thoka Jonna, Pandimuti Jonna, Pala Jonna, Pela Jonna, Puli Jonna, Pulla Jonna, Biyyapu Jonna, Benda Jonna, Mutyala Jonna, Rabbi Jonna, Ramudi Talambralu, Sivudi Talambralu, Saijonna, Salu Jonna, Sita Talambralu, Sola Jonna.

Chollu Eleusine coracana. Also Known as Cholu, Solu, There are many varieties in this like Udupchodi, Yedakulachodi, Koyakalu Chodi, Kora chodi, Goruku Chodi, Garuvu Chodi, Goduma Chodi, Tholatari Chodi, Dasara Chodi, Punasa Chodi, Pedda Chodi, Pyra Chodi. Burada Chodi.

Cotton Gossypium herbaceum. It is known in Telugu as Patti.

In Nothern Circars it is more commonly grown as Punasa Pratti and Paira Pratti, that is the early and late Cotton. The crop is generally grown on dry or unirrigated lands and is often sown with dry grains. In cultivation the shrub requires little care and depends solely on rain fall. Ground is generally prepared in July and after ploughing and manuring seed is sown in August. It is commonly sown either with Varagu or Ragi in separate drills every sixth being Cotton. The grain crop is first harvested. It is sown broad cast and when the seedlings are three weeks old, the plantation is hand weeded. This process is repeated two or three times. The plant generally begins to flower about the fourth and in rare instances occupies the field for eight months. As the pods ripen and burst, the Cotton is picked at intervals of three or four days for two months.

**Dhaniyalu** *Coriandrum sativum*. It is mostly cultivated in soils of a saline nature. Ground is prepared by ploughing from July to October and seed is sown broad cast in November. While under growth weeds are cleared and generally stays on the field for three months.

**Gingelly** *Sesamum indicum*. Nuvvu (tel) Til. The plant is cultivated in sandy soil and comes under dry cultivation. Generally in the Coromandel Coast the ground is prepared in the months of January or February. The soil is ploughed four or five times before manuring and the seed is sown in February. Usually it is sown broad cast and ploughed in. While under growth, weeded and occasionally watered. Four months after sowing, plants are pulled up and stacked for seven days and then exposed to the sun.

**Janumu** *Corchorus capsularis*. Commonly called jute. It takes four or five months to mature, fit for harvesting as soon as flowers appear.

**Kandulu** *Cajanus cajana*. It is known as Common Dholi and Red gram. There are many varieties in this like Black Dholi, Gum Dholi, Jungle Dholi. It is seldom sown alone, but mixed with early Jonna, Arika, Ragi, and Korra crops. It is cultivated in red soil, ground is prepared in the region in July and the seed is sown in August. Sown mixed with other seed broad cast. While under growth it needs no treatment except weeding. It is generally cut after six or eight months. Other varieties are Uttaradi Kandi, Yerra Kandi, Karre Kandi, Kummari Kandi, Konda Kandi, Kommu Kandi, Gutti Kandi, Telia Kandi, Dinne Kandi, Desi Kandi, Paccha Kandi, Putta Kandi, Pedda Kandi, Potu Kandi, Billa Kandi, Modam Kandi.

**Korra** *Panicum italicum*. Also known as Kangu. It is cultivated in red loam, dry ground prepared in the region in October and the seed is sown broad cast in November. While under growth two hoeing are used and there must be rain after each hoeing. It is cut after three or four months. Other varieties of Korra are Anumantha Korra, Asakorra, Itikorra, Umma Korra, Yerra Korra, Katte Korra, Kurava Korra. Koya Korra, Gone Korra, Chippe Korra, Chema Korra, Jada Korra, Tuppeda Korra, Telia Korra. Thota Korra, Patu Korra, Pala Korra, Pedda Korra, Bochu Korra, Manchu Korra, Muddakanki Korra, Mondi Korra, Vana Korra, Sanna Korra.

**Minumulu** *Phaseolus mungo*. Commonly known as Black gram. The crop has long and trailing stems and hairy and the seeds are generally fewer, larger and longer and are dark brown in colour. The crop is cultivated in red loam. Dry ground is prepared in the region in October or November. Soil is usually ploughed four or five times and sheep folded and the seed is sown broad cast and ploughed in. In full grown crops pods are black. Three and half months after sowing

plants are rooted up. Some of the varieties are Gantu Minumu, Thiga Minumu, Dumpa Minumu, Nalla Minumu, Natu Minumu. Neti Minumu, Paccha Minumu, Pedda Minumu, Potti Minumu, Bontha Minumu, Seema Minumu.

**Mirapa** Capsicum genus. Commonly Known as chillies. It is mainly a garden crop. cultivated in black loam dry or wet and chiefly in cold season. Generally ground is prepared in August and seeds were sown in nursery. While under growth water is given once in every four or five days.

**Mokka Jonna** Zea mays. It grows 4-5 feet high. It has two spike lets. One short and one long pedicelled. It bears a dense head of closely packed grains enclosed in a sheath called the cob. Some of the varieties are Erra Mokka Jonna, Chinna Mokka Jonna, Nakka Mokka Jonna, Lakka Mokka Jonna.

**Vari** Oryza sativa. White paddy. It is Known as a Vadlu in Telugu. The most fertile soil for rice sowing is land periodically inundated in the neighbourhood of large rivers. For the ordinary process of cultivation the ground is squared off into plots varying in size marked off by small bunds. These plots after being freely saturated with water is thoroughly ploughed up and manured. The ground thus prepared is covered over with water and allowed to stand and after a few days it is again ploughed and levelled. The seed is steeped in water until it begins to germinate; then the seed was sown broad cast. The soil is then allowed to dry. When the field is irrigated, water is allowed to stand a couple of inches above the soil and so maintained till the harvest is gathered. During the first and second months the fields are hand weeded. Different methods are followed like dry sowing system and the nursery system. Under both the systems irrigation is unnecessary for the last twenty or thirty days before a paddy crop is harvested. In Masulipatnam district there are three classes of rice cultivation - Punasa or early crop sown in May or June and reaped in September. Pedda or great crop sown in July to September and cut between November and February. Paira or late crop sown in November and December and gathered in February or March. There are many varieties in Paddy. In Coastal Andhra itself one hundred and seventy two varieties of paddy are recorded. Perhaps that is why there is a proverb 'Vadlaku redlaku perlu cheppalemu' (We cannot give names to either paddy or Reddis).

**Pasalu or Grtan Gram** Phaseolus aureus. It is generally grown as a subordinate crop with Millet or Cotton. It is a dry crop. Ground is prepared in the region in September or October. Generally land is ploughed four to five times and sheep folded. Seed is sown in October or November. It is sown broad cast or by drill; then the ground is ploughed once more. Crop is dependent on rain. Four months after

sowing plants are uprooted and dried and beaten with sticks. Stem thus separated from leaves and pods are later winnowed. Pods were generally trodden by bullocks and the grain is once again dried. Some of the varieties are Aku Pesalu. Kommu Pesalu, Thiga Pesalu, Tholakari Pesalu, Desipesalu, Nalla Pesalu, Paccha Pesalu. Pusa Pesalu, Pedda Pesalu. Paisa Pesalu, Pottu Pesalu, Polam Pesalu. Bandaru Pesalu, Budida Pesalu, Motu Pesalu. Meda Pesalu.

**Pilli Pesara** Phasaelus trilobus, field gram. It is a dry crop, sown broad cast or in small parches. When fully grown the leaves become yellow spotted and begin to fall off. Three months after sowing pods were plucked by hand, then dried and threshed. Seeds were gathered and eaten by the poor, also acts as good fodder and cultivated for hay. The leaves and seeds are generally used as famine food.

**Pogaku** Nicotiana tobacum, commonly called Tobacco. The soil most suitable for cultivation are alluvial lands, black loam. The ground is prepared in October or November. After ploughed and richly manured, the seed was first sown in nursery in October and November. The transplantation takes place two months after sowing, the crop is watered regularly and weeding is a must. The crop is cut three or four months after transplantation.

**Ragi or Nachani** Eleusine coracana, corruptly known as Nutchenny. It is generally grown under both wet and dry cultivation in black or red loam, sandy soils not being favourable. Ground is prepared in November or December. Usually it is ploughed four or five times and manured. The seed is sown in December or January. This crop generally is first sown in nursery and when 6 inches is transplanted. while under growth weeds are removed and watered frequently. Full grown crop attains 2 1/2ft. leaves then become yellow. It is cut in four months by sickles at 6 inches from ground and tied in sheaves. Cotton is very often drilled with this crop. Some of the varieties are Edaga Ragi, Erra Ragi, Karre Ragi, Konagikommula Ragi, Kola Ragi, Gidda Ragi, Janamaddi Ragi, Pala Ragi, Balavetti Ragi, Pedda Ragi, Majjiga Ragi, Mabbu Ragi, Muddaragi.

**Senaga** Cicer arietinum, commonly Known as Bengal gram. It is a herbaceous and annual plant. The plant is cultivated in black loam, dry ground. The soil is prepared in the region in July or August by ploughing and manuring. Generally seed is sown after soaking in water for some hours. broad cast and soil is levelled by harrow or gorru. Grown crop is dark green and usually attains one foot height. It is cut after four months and put in the sun. The grain is separated by beating the crop with sticks. There are varieties in Senaga

like Kommu Senaga, Gundu Senaga, Chiru Senaga, Telia Senaga, Nalla Senaga. Desi Senaga, Batani Senaga.

**Tamede** Eleusine coracana, also Known as Tamida and it is one sort of Ragi. Mostly grown in irrigated lands and forms a variety of food grains. It is a four months crop. There are varieties in this crop also. Some of them are Erra Tamede. Jalli Tamede, Telia Tamede, Nalla Tamede, Mudda Tamede.

**Ulava or Madras Horse gram.** Dolichos biflorus. It is a dry crop cultivated in any fair soil. Ground is usually prepared by ploughing and manuring. If the land is cultivated in previous year, soil is just ploughed with a gorru. Seed is sown broad cast and then ploughed in. Weeding and watering is not needed. When plant has put forth two or three leaves ashes are sprinkled to promote growth. When crop is fully grown the leaves wither or drop off. It is harvested generally three months after sowing. Other varieties are Erra Ulava. Charulva, Chittulava, Tellulava, Desulava, Nallulava, Natulava, Picchulava, Peddulava, Mettulava, Seemulava.

**Ulli.** Allium cepa commonly Known as Onion. It is biennial bulbous rooted plant. Cultivated in black loam or sandy soil, dry, cultivated in November or December. Generally ground is divided into small squares with banks, bulbs of the previous year preserved as seed have sprouts at this season and are dibbled in rows and hand watered. From each bulb a tuft of grass like blades grow to nearly foot, when crop is fully grown upper part dries up, it is dug up after three months.

**Valavadam.** Commonly Known in Telugu as Nalla vari meaning black paddy. The name is derived from the colour of the grain. It is the principal variety of paddy in the region. Soil most suitable is red clay or black loam, ground prepared at all times of the year by ploughing wet four or five times and manuring. Seed is sown broad cast at all times of the year. Watering and weeding is necessary. It is usually cut three months after sowing.

**Varagu** Panicum miliaceum, also Known as Common Millet. It is cultivated as a dry crop and grows best on an elevated, dry, light rich soil and is generally sown after the rains. Ground is prepared in July. After ploughing twice or thrice seed is sown in August. Seed is sown broad cast and ploughed in or by a gorru (hand drill) and the soil gone over with a guntaka (harrow). It is usually cut after six or eight months. Lands that had been under Jonna, Sajja, Indigo, Korra are generally prepared for Varagu. It requires generally the greater portion of the ryots labour and resources, for almost all the manure goes to this crop and

land is well prepared. Crop is seldom met with in poorer soils.

**Vallulli.** *Allium sativum*, commonly called garlick. It is generally cultivated in black loam, wet. Ground is prepared by ploughing and sheep folding. Then the ground is divided into small plots by banks, seed was sown two months after, dibbled in water was let in once a week while under growth.

**Sources:** Compiled from CD. Maclean, Glossary of the Madras Presidency, New Delhi, 1982; Bhadriraju Krishnamurti (ed.), Mandalika Vritti Padakosam Agriculture. Vol.1, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. 225-242. Masulipatnam District Record, v.2998.

## GLOSSARY OF GENERAL TERMS

**Abwab** Items of taxation, cesses, imposts, taxes. This term is particularly used to distinguish the taxes imposed subsequently to the establishment of the assal or original standard rent in the nature of additions thereto. In many places they had been consolidated with the assal and a new standard assumed on the basis of succeeding imposition. Many were levied on the Zamindars as the price of forbearance on the part of the government from detailed investigations into their profits or actual collections from the lands.

**Agrahara.** Rent free villages held by Brahmins and absolute proprietary right is vested in them. It is a village or a part of a village occupied by Brahmins and held either rent free, under special grants or at a reduced rate of assessment. The precise nature of the tenure is also denoted by a term prefixed.

**Ami** 1 or Aamil Corruptly Aumil. An officer of government in the financial department especially a collector of revenue of the government or the farmer of revenue, contractor for the revenue under the native system and invested with supreme authority both civil and military in the district which he farmed.

**Amildar** Collector, Contractor for the revenue.

**Amin** Corruptly Aurrpn, Aumeen. A confidential agent, a trustee, a Commissioner. Applied in North India especially to a native officer of government employed either in the revenue department to take charge of an estate and collect the revenues or accountant of the government or to investigate and report their account or in the judicial department as a judge and arbitrator in civil causes.

**Ana** The sixteenth part of a rupee. Commonly but incorrectly written Anna, it is used either singly or in its multiples to denote proportional fractions of any article.

**Anchanadar** An officer employed to survey the standing crops and estimate their probable value, an estimator, an Appraiser.

**Ardacarry.** A tenure under which the right of occupancy is considered a property transferable, subject to the obligations annexed to the possession of it.

**Arzi** A petition, an address, a memorial, a respectful statement or representation, whether oral or written.

**Asami-war Jamabandi.** Account of revenue assessment settled with each individual cultivator.

**Asserra** or Asara. It means management or the division of produce. In Northern Circars it meant the lands of which the revenues are paid in kind, also lands which are not dependent on rains, but may be irrigated from a tank or river.

**Aumani** The term is applied to the collection of the revenue direct from the cultivators by the officers of government upon the removal or suspension of an intermediate claimant or Zamindar. It is also applied to Ryotwari settlement or settlements with each cultivator individually where no renter or proprietor has been acknowledged; Also to lands in possession of the collector's officers for arrears of revenue or which on any other account are not held by individual tenants.

**Baliya** A Telugu trading caste. Many of them are now engaged in cultivation, and this accounts for so many having entered Kapu as their main caste, for Kapu is a common Telugu word for a ryot or a cultivator.

**Baluta**, **Buloota** Plur. **Balute**, **Buloote** In most instances, the offices are hereditary, are capable of being mortgaged or sold and all paid by recognized fees and perquisites by allotment of Kuru at the time of harvest or sometimes by small portions of land rent free or at a low quit rent.

**Banjara**, **Bunjaree**, **Corruptly** **Bunjary**. The term is most usually applied to grain and cattle merchants, who with a more or less numerous party of the same calling move about to different markets and especially accompany bodies of troops to supply them with corn.

**Banyan** or **Banya** A Hindu merchant or shopkeeper. The corrupt term **banyan** is used in Bengal to designate the native who manages the money concerns of the Europeans and at the same time serves him as an interpreter. At Madras same description of person is called **Dubash** a corruption of Dwi-bashi, one who speaks two languages.

**Basavi** A prostitute, but especially one who has been married or dedicated to the deity Siva and waits upon the idol. They are also called **Linga Basavis**, **Garuda Basavis** according to the deity to whose services they are dedicated.

**Baai kam** **Corruptly** **Bhasingam**. A nuptial crown worn on the forehead of the bride and bridegroom.

**Batta**. Deficiency, discount, allowance, allowance to troops in the field.

**Bega**. A land measure equal in Bengal to about the third part of an acre, but this varies in different provinces.



**Bhatraju** A bard, minstrel, chanter of titles.

**Bhoi, Bhoee,** Incorrectly Bhojee, an individual of a caste whose business it is to carry palanqueens and who is at other times a fisherman.

**Bilmucta.** By estimate. A term used in the Northern Circars for a kind of tenure where the land is held at a very low rent.

**Bogamu** The dancing girl caste.

**Brahmin** Corruptly Braman or Bramin. A man of the first order or caste of Hindus properly charged with the duty of expounding the Vedas and conducting the ceremonies the Vedas enjoined.

**Bukka** A fragrant powder formed of various ingredients.

**Buttai or Buttei.** Portion division or allotment. Rules by which the crop is divided between the government. Zamindars and the ryots, where the public dues are received in kind.

**Cabooleet.** An agreement; Particularly that entered into by the Zamindars and farmers, with the government for the management and renting of the land revenue.

**Candy** Weighing measure. Twenty maunds equals to one candy. Approximate value of one candy equals to 500 lbs.

**Cashangary.** A tenure which is in vogue mostly in Southern Provinces and in which no sale of the right of occupancy is customary.

**Chakali** A washer man

**Chata Vayanam** A cake or cakes offered to the deity and then given as a present to a Brahmin woman in a winnowing basket at the commencement of the performance of a vow.

**Chaudari** Chaudari or Chowdari is recorded as a title of Haddi, Kalingi, and Komati.

**Cheruvu** An artificial pond or tank.

**Chowdhry.** The Head man of the village. A holder of landed property classed with Zamindar and Talukdar.

**Chowki.** The act of watching or guarding property. Station of Police or of customs, a guard a watch or the post where they are placed.

**Coonta** A land measure. It was a 64th part of a coochel.

- Cootchell** A land measure in Northern Circars yielding such a heap equal to 8 gorrus or 1000 contahs. Approximate value is 1 cootchell equals to 25 acres.
- Cowl.** Word saying, Promise, Agreement, Contract, Engagement. It is an engagement or lease of land to a Zamindar or to a large farmer. The term is used in various deeds granted by superiors to inferiors, in which the engagement implies an act of grace or favour. In revenue transactions a cowl usually means the document granted by the collector, proprietor or receiver of the revenue to the subordinate payer of the revenue or the actual cultivator, stating the terms of the agreement and the amount to be paid, and securing him against further demands. Also the contract is granted on favourable conditions, as in the case of the cultivation of waste lands for which a remission of rent is granted for a given period by a cowl.
- Curnam.** A village accountant- One of the chief officers of the village, and in some parts of Andhra he is predominantly a Brahmin.
- Cutcherry.** Court of Justice, also the public office where the rents are paid and other businesses respecting revenue are transacted.
- Dabdu** A dab or dub, a small copper coin of the value of twenty casu whence it comes to signify money in general.
- Oafadar** Corruptly Duffadar. Commandant of a body of Horses, Head of a party of police, police officer. In Bengal it meant a person at the head of a number of persons whether labourer or soldiers.
- Dari Sunka** By way customs.
- Dasabhandam** A deduction of one tenth of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, like the construction of a tank.
- Desmook.** Head man of a district. Collector of a district or portion of a country, an officer corresponding with the Zamindar. He is a native officer under the former governments, exercising chief police and revenue authority over a district, containing a certain number of villages and responsible for the revenue. Under the present administration the Deshmukh is district revenue officer who is expected to superintend the cultivation and report on the state of the crops, to assist in the settlement of the annual revenue and to give the general aid to the collector and his establishment in the discharge of revenue duties. This office was originally instituted in 1582, under the name of Croy by the Mughal emperor Akbar.

**Daspondiah.** The hereditary revenue accountant of a district or certain number of villages holding office by hereditary tenure and paid by lands. Under the British administration this officer is expected to keep a duplicate set of the public accounts, to superintend and check those of the village accounts, keep note of the collection and see that they are regularly paid, to assist in the annual settlement.

**Dharma Kartha** A judge, a magistrate. In the South of India, the manager of a temple and appropriator of the benefits derived from it.

**Dorana, Doranam also Thoranam** A shed with a pent roof.

**Dovati** Corruptly Dhوتي. A man's garment worn round the loins.

**Dowl Bandobust.** It literally means estimate settlement or the form of settlement. A sub rent roll, or particular agreements with the inferior or under farmers or ryots of a district from Mai or Sayer.

**Dumbala** An order for giving up the government share of the produce to the cultivators.

**Dumbala Manyam** Lands held free of assessment or at a low quit rent; under special grant not forming part of the original assignments.

**Ekabhogam.** The possession or tenure of village land by one person or family with out any co sharer. The appellation is continued in some instances where other parties have been admitted to hold portions under the original tenure as long as that remains unaltered.

**Falam** Whence the English Fanam. A small silver coin formerly current at Madras; 12  $\frac{3}{4}$  fanams are equal to one rupee.

**Fanam** A unit of money, either silver or gold. Despite local variations in values, prior to 1818 under the old Madras monetary system 42 fanams were equal to one Star Pagoda. A Madras silver fanam was therefore worth one star 2d. In 1799, GIC fixed exchange permanently at 350 Arcot rupees per 100 pagodas or 12 fanams and 68 cash per rupee.

**Fasli** Or Fusli. The Islamic year. Also corresponding to the harvest year reckoned from the Hijra. Fasli 1212 corresponds with 1802-1803 (1212+590). The Madras government fixed its commencement to 12th of July.

**Faujdar** An officer of the Mughal government who was invested with the charge of the police and jurisdiction in all crimi-

nal matters. A criminal judge, a magistrate. The chief of a body of troops.

**Gadi** An exclusive right of sale, a monopoly.

**Gadisunka** Out station customs.

**Gammalla** A toddy drawer. The caste following that business said to be derived from a sudra father and a Khsatriya mother.

**Garce** Measure of capacity. 400 mercauls equal to one garce. Approximate value was one garce equals to 185 cubic feet or 320 cubic inches.

**Gattu** Tumu One twentieth part of the gross produce collected by Zamindars from each village for the repair of tanks and embankments.

**Gentoo** Gentoo or Jentu is stated to be a general term applied to Balijas and Telugu speaking sudras generally. The word is to be a corruption of the Portuguese Gentio, which they applied to the Hindus in contradiction to the Moros or Moors. The reason why the term became specifically applied to the Telugu people is probably because when the Portuguese arrived the Telugu monarchy of Vijayanagar was dominant over a great part of the Peninsula.

**Golla** The Gollas are the great pastoral caste of the Telugu people. The hereditary occupation of the Gollas is tending sheep and cattle, but acquired lands are engaged in farming. The name Golla is generally supposed to be a shortened form of Sanskrit Gopala. Other titles in common use are Anna, Ayya and occasionally Nayudu.

**Gorru** A land measure equal to 125 kuntas or 45,575 square yards or 3 1/8 acres; also an instrument of husbandry used as a root of harrow or as drill plough or sometimes for weeding after the grain is in stalk.

**Gosha** A corner, a secluded spot, a detached field or a piece of ground.

**Gramakarchu** Village charges or expenditure.

**Gulal** The red powder thrown about at the hold generally the meal or flour of barley rice or singhara reddened with some vegetable dye as that of the casalpinia sappan or red sanders wood.

**Gumathta** Vernacularly gomasta or gumasta An agent a steward a confidential factor a representative. An officer employed by Zamindars to collect their rents by bankers to receive money by merchants to carry on their affairs in other

places than where they reside and the like at Madras it is also the designation of a native accountant in the revenue department.

**Havally.** House, Habitation, Domain. In Bengal the term is applied to such lands as are held by a Zamindar for his own benefit; but in Madras it is applied to such lands that are under the immediate management of the government, without the interference of Zamindars or Jagirdars, the revenues of which are either farmed out on short leases or collected by its own officers without any other agency. In Bengal Khas is the term used in the sense of Haveli applied at Madras. Also it meant the tract of the country adjacent to a capital town and originally annexed to it for the supply of the public establishments.

**Hawaladar** Corruptly Havildar One holding any office of trust. In the Deccan and also at one time apparently in Hindustan an officer appointed by the government or the farmer of revenue to prevent any abstraction of the crop or its removal from the public threshing floor until the revenue was paid.

**Hawili** or **Havili** Corruptly Havellie A house, a habitation. The tract of country adjacent to a capital town and originally annexed to it for the supply of the public establishments it afterwards came to signify in the Madras provinces government lands, lands held khas or under direct government management. In Bengal the term was applied on the contrary to lands held by Zamindar for his own benefit.

**Huzoor** The presence, the royal presence, the presence of a superior authority, as of a judge or collector of revenue and by metonymy the person or the prince or functionary also place where he presides the hall of audience, the court also abstractly the state, the government.

**Inam.** A benefaction or a gift in general. In the South among the Marathas the term was applied to grants of land held rent free, and in hereditary and perpetual occupation. The term was also vaguely applied to grants of rent free lands without reference to perpetuity or any specified conditions. Generally is gift from a superior to an inferior. So grant of land for religious or charitable purposes, made by government sometimes given free, sometimes with light quit rent or jody. Same as manyam. Technically a major Inam is a whole village or more than one village and a minor Inam is something less than a village. A Shrotriem ranks as a major Inam, a Khandiga as minor Inam.

**Inamdar.** Holder of a rent free grant.

**Inamdar** The holder of a rent free grant.

**Jada** Hair plaited or braided in coils, matted hair.

**Jamma.** The whole, total, sum, amount. assembly, collection. The total of a territorial assessment.

**Jamabundy.** Settlement of the amount of revenue assessed upon an estate, a village or district; a statement exhibiting the particulars of the public revenue, its amount and how assessed, an annual statement modified according to circumstances under which the revenue is paid, whether by individuals or communities and whether to a Zamindar or to the government.

**Jari** Corruptly Jerree. Flowing, net current, going on. set going, issued. cultivated for a second or subsequent crop.

**Jirait** or Jirayat Arable land, land fit for cultivation not requiring artificial irrigation also cultivated lands and their produce as distinguished from garden cultivation. Jirait lands are sometimes considered the same as taxable or assessable lands in opposition to Inam or rent free lands and frequently also the term is applied to land not artificially irrigated in opposition to tari wet or rice lands.

**Kala.** Kalam, Kallamu A threshing floor, a place where the grain is beaten or trodden out.

**Kalwa** A water course

**Karma** Writing collectively conceiving Kammas Kapus or Reddis. Velamas and Telagas. Originally soldiers by profession they are now mainly agriculturists and traders and some of them in the North are Zamindars. The Illuvellani subdivision was found in Krishna Nellore, Anantapur. Kavati division is confined practically to Godavari and the Pedda to the Krishna district.

**Kanakkan** Kanakkan is a Tamil accountant caste. The name is derived from the Tamil work Kanakku which means an accountant. Their title is Pillai. In the records relating to the Tamil country Conicopoly, concoply, Canacappel and other variants appear as a corrupt form of Kanakka pillai. The Karanam who is entrusted with the keeping of the village accounts is subordinate to the head of the village. It is the Karanam who keeps the revenue accounts and registers the prices of all kinds of grain, census.

**Kanungo, Kanoongo** or **Canoongo** Corruptly Canongoe. An expounder of the laws, but applied in Hindustan especially to village and district revenue officers who under the former governments recorded all circumstance within their sphere which concerned landed property and the realization of the revenue keeping the registers of the value, treasure, extent and

transfers of lands assisting in the measurements and survey of the lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue payer. They were paid by rent free lands and various allowances and perquisites.

**Kapu** Kapus or Reddis are the largest caste of cultivators, farmers and squireens in the Telugu country. The term Kapu means a watchman and Reddi means a King. The Kapus or Reddis appear to have been a powerful Dravidian tribe in the early centuries of the Christian era. Kapu is a common word for a ryot or a cultivator.

**Kasba** A small town or large village the chief or market town of a district.

**Katti** A measurement of land. It differed from place to place. In the government accounts a cutty was rated at 40 acres and 14 guntas.

**Kattubadi** A revenue term usually applied to a fixed invariable and favourable or quit rent which has been assessed on lands granted to public servants.

**Kavadi** A bangy or yoke carried by men like that used by milk maids in England.

**Kavalgar** A Watchman. This was a subdivision of Ambalakaran and title of Nattaman Malaiman and sudarman. The equivalent Kavatl is recorded as a subdivision of Kammas. The Kavali or watchers in the Telugu country are said to be generally Lingayat Boyas. The Telugu mutrachas are also called Kavalgar.

**Khandi** Incorrectly Kundee A measure of weight and capacity commonly termed candy. Its value varies in different places. The Madras Kandi is equal to twenty maunds or 500 lbs.

**Khetwar.** The assessment that is made upon each separate field according to the capacity of yielding produce, and the description of the later grown in it.

**Khod«-Khost** Or Khud khast. Applied to ryots, the term is used for those who cultivate land in the village where they reside, and by hereditary right; also the lands cultivated.

**Ki8t.** The amount paid as an installment. As a revenue term it denotes the portion of the annual assessment to be paid at specified periods in the course of the year. Such periodical payment is called a Kist.

**Kist-bundy.** A contract for the payment of a debt or rent by installments.

**Kudimarran mattu** Corruptly coodemurumut Repairs of the channels of irrigation or the borders of the fields by the cultivators themselves.

**Kuli, Cooli** Daily hire or wages, a day labourer.

**Kunchamu** A measure of capacity reckoned in some places equal to a chitank or 1 /16th of a seer, in others to 3 1/4 seers and 14 seers.

**Kunchum Kuntsamu** A measure of grain four manikas or one quarter of toom.

**Kunkuma** A fragrant cosmetic or rouge, composed of Turmeric, Alum, and lime juice.

**Kudian.** More correctly kudiyan. also kudiyanavan. A cultivator, a ryot a tenant holding temporary occupation of lands or gardens by the tenure of lease or mortgagage and not by hereditary succession.

**Kudivaram.** The share of the produce which is the right of the inhabitants or of the cultivators.

**Kudimirasi.** Land held in hereditary right by village proprietors, exempt from land tax.

**Kyledar.** A superintendent of the measurement of the crops.

**Lakhiraj** Vernacularly lakhiraj and corruptly Lackiraj. Rent free land, applied to land exempted from paying any revenue to the state.

**Lambadi.** A migratory trader, especially in grain better known as Banjara, and travelling from place to place in more or less numerous bodies.

**Langar Khana** An alms house, a place where food and alms were distributed to the poor under the Mohammedan government, by which an assignment from the public revenue was appropriated to the maintenance of such establishments in some parts of Bengal.

**Magani** Wet cultivation; the cultivation of low lands by artificial irrigation, lands that are so irrigated.

**Magani** A sixteenth. A rate of interest calculated in grain 1/16 of yedangali, per annum or the value of fanam.

**Magili** Same as Magani.

**Mahasulu** The produce of land, the harvest, the crop.



**Mahasulu darudu** An officer employed to prevent the clandestine removal of the produce of a field before the revenue had been paid.

**Makta** Cutting. A contract an agreement for work, rent, rate, a fixed rate or rent.

**Makta kaulu** An agreement under which land is held at an annual quit rent for a stipulated period.

**Mai** Or Mehal, Mahl, Mohaul, Mehaul. Wealth, Property, Revenue rent, particularly that arising from territory, in contradiction to the customs and duties levied on personals called Sayer.

**Malapalli** A pariah village

**Malavaram.** Hill produce, or a tax on the hill produce.

**Malguzar** The person who pays the revenue assessed on an estate or village whether on his own behalf or as the representative of others and whether he be sole or joint proprietor or a holder under a proprietor or the state, whether he pay the revenue to a proprietor or Zamindar or to the officers of government.

**Malikana.** Pertaining or relating to the Malik or proprietor as his right or due; applied especially in revenue language to an allowance assigned to a proprietary cultivator, who from some cause, as failure in paying his revenue, or declining to accede to the rate at which his lands are assessed; is set aside from the management of the estate, and the collection and payment of the revenue to the government.

**Mamool.** Customary, established.

**Manikattu** The wrist.

**Manyam** Corruptly Mauniam, (Karn) Manyamu (Tel) Maniyam (tarn) (Al l three are from the Sanskrit manya respectable, respected showing attention to do favour or honour). Land in the South of India held either at a low assessment, or altogether free, in consideration of services done to the state or community as in the case of the officers and servants of a village. These tenures are distinguished as Tarapadi manyam when it is inherited or held from an uncertain period as an independent right and dumbala or sanad manyam when held by virtue of a specific grant from the ruling power. They are also distinguished as Sarvamanyam when the holder is entitled not only to the revenue of the state, but the rents of the cultivators and as Ardhmanyam (from ardha, a half) where the holder has a claim only to the government revenue, the former is not frequent concept in case of

grants made to temples conjointly by the state and the cultivators, the term is largely applied to any free grant or perquisite held in hereditary right by members of a village community.

**Marakal** Corruptly Mercaul, also known as Marakamu in Telugu. Measure of capacity equals to 8 measures or seers.

**Maramat** Mending, repairing.

**Marvari** A territorial name, meaning a native of Marwar. Marvaris are Jains by religion. The marvaris are enterprising traders who have settled in various parts of Southern India.

**Maund** Manugita was the local name. A measure of weight equivalent to 25 pounds, A maund was the same as a tumu and was equal to 16 manchas, 20 patties or 40 seers. 20 maunds make a Khandi or candy (500 lbs).

**Mauza** A village. One or more clusters of habitations and all the lands belonging to their proprietary inhabitants. A mauza is defined by authority to be a parcel or parcels of lands having a separate name in the revenue records are not always contiguous and compact but may have outlying portions intermixed with those of other villages, but these are brought under one head with the rest in the revenue settlement of Mauza.

**Meerass.** Heritage or Patrimony.

**Meerassadar.** The holder or possessor of a heritage. The proprietor of land.

**Meerassee.** Hereditary property. The land of a meerassadar. Inherited right to a share of the produce of village lands or inherited right to prerequisite of a village office, such as Karanam. In Northern Circars mirasidar means a hereditary Village officer.

**Mocassah.** A village or land assigned to an individual either rent free or at a low quit-rent, on condition of service. The term as current among the Marathas is viewed differently by different authorities.

**Mootah.** In the Northern Circars, a small district or subdivision of a country consisting of a certain number of villages.

**Mootadar.** The holder of a mootah. A person on whom the Zamindari rights of a mootah are conferred by the government, under the conditions of a perpetual settlement.

**Moturpha.** Taxes formerly levied on the manufacturing and trading community as loom tax, cooly tax etc. or on artisans as weav-

ers. Cotton cleaners, shepherds, goldsmiths, braziers, iron-smiths, carpenters. stone-cutters.

Muchalka Or Muchilika. A written obligation or agreement, a bond or a deed. It is commonly applied to a counter part covenant on the part of the proprietors or cultivators of land, agreeing to the rates of assessment imposed by the government.

Murugula jodu A pair bangles or bracelets.

Nachna or Nachni Commonly written Natchany. A name ordinarily given by Europeans to the Eleusine corocana. Cynosures corocanus is extensively cultivated for its grain in South India especally.

Nadar. Having nothing, indigent, bankrupt, insolvent. An item of remission of revenue in Mysore, on account of the poverty of the ryots.

Naidu Naidu or Nayudu is a title of many Telugu castes like Baliya, Bestha, Boya, Ekari, Gavara, Golla, Kalingi, Kapu, Mutracha and Velama.

Nanjai Or Nunja. Soil that is fit for the cultivation of rice, admitting of artificial irrigation, and hence commonly termed 'wet ground or soil' in contrast to punja or dry.

Niraganti or Niruganta Commonly pronounced Nirganti. A Village officer who superintends the distribution of water for irrigation.

Paduchu Young, a girl's maid.

Pagoda A coin long current in South India and equivalent to four rupees and it was current till 1819, from which period the rupee came into being as main exchange.

Paigasti A superintendent, an overseer.

Paikari Corruptly pykari The term usually used in Hindustan for a migratory or non resident cultivator, one who cultivates lands in a village to which he does not belong by birth or hereditary claim and holds his lands either for a stipulated term or at pleasure of some member or members proprietary body. He usually receives a larger share of the crop than a resident or permanent occupant.

Paimash Vernacularly Payimasi, Measurement, measuring, survey.

Paisa Corruptly Pysa, pice. A copper coin, which under the native government varied considerably fixed at the weight of 100 grains and it rated at 4 to an ana or 64 to the rupee. In common parlance it is sometimes used for money in general.

Pala Bhogam Corruptly Paulbhogam. In Tamil Pala meaning many and Sanskrit bhogam, meaning enjoyment, possession. The tenure by which the inhabitants of a village hold their lands in severalty under an engagement among the coparcenaries, each being responsible for the revenue of his own holding and receiving the surplus for his own use. Such land may be held by the same individual in more than one village, also village lands so held, the term is also explained to signify merely possession by more than one individual distinguished, as Samudayam or where the lands are cultivated jointly and the produce is divided and Arudi Karai where they are divided among the Proprietors and cultivated severally.

Palakunda A certain grain fee given to the cultivators before the grain is measured or a portion from each measure.

Paleru, Palellu A hired cultivator, labourer, one working with implements of his employer. Same as the Paladu of Circars, agricultural labourers considered as slaves to the ryots being attached hereditarily to the lands and maintained by the cultivators during the greater part of the year, they are transferable with the land but are not sold separately.

Palu A share, a portion, the cultivator's share of the crop, in opposition to the ambaram or government's share.

Panchalu A man's lower garment.

Panchayat A court of arbitrators consisting of five members. A panchayat, an arbitration court.

Pandita Vernacularly pandit or Pundit A learned Brahmin one who makes some branch of Sanskrit learning his special study and teaches it.

Panta Cheruvu A tank for the irrigation of various crops.

Paraiyan Commonly but corruptly Pariah or Pariar. A man of a low caste performing the lowest menial services. They are numerous in the South where they are usually the serfs or slaves of the sudra agriculturists; they are also attached to the village communities performing the duties of scavengers, messengers and other low functions for which they are paid by portions of the crops, and some small privileges but they are not allowed to reside in the village, having a place outside assigned to them.

Parakudi Corruptly Paracoodie, Paracoody Purakudi. A migratory or non resident cultivator one whose proper home is in another place, one not member of the village community and having no proprietary rights but holding and cultivating

lands in the village either for a stipulated terms or at pleasure. Similar as the Pahikasht cultivator of Hindustan.

**Pargana** Puragana, corruptly Perganah. A district, a province a tract of country comprising many villages but of which several go to constitute a Zilla, the actual extent varies but the distinction is permanent.

**Parvana** Vernacularly Parbana. Any thing retaining to a certain parva or holiday as a ceremony then observed, especially one description of sraddha or obsequial rite, also the set of progenitors in the honour of whom it is celebrated. Any fee exacted from the performance of such ceremonies an import formerly levied on the ryots by the Zamindars to defray the cost of the religious ceremonies and festivities celebrated by the latter.

**Parwana** An order, a written precept or command. A letter from a man in power to a dependent, a custom house permit or pass, an order for the possession of an estate or an assignment of revenue, a warrant, a license, a writ, a paper of permission from a Zamindar to a cultivator to take up lands leaving the rent to be subsequently settled.

**Patara** A pit for preserving grain.

**Patil** Corruptly Poteel, Patel, Potail. The head man of the village who has the general control and management of the village affairs, head of the police and exercises to a limited extent the functions of a magistrate, also the principal agent in the realization of the revenue and the chief medium of communication with the officers of the government.

**Patta, Putta** Corruptly Pottah. A deal of lease, a document engraved formerly with a style on cadjan given to the ryot by government or Zamindar. It specifies the particulars of his holding, the rent payable, according to which the rent should be paid, the road cess, village cess, and other particulars. Zamindars sometimes include coody maraumut. Pattah also means title of office.

**Pattadar** One who holds a lease or engagement for his lands.

**Payara or Paira** Pulse, any leguminous edible vegetable.

**Payara Pantā** The last crop of the year consisting as that usually does of leguminous plants.

**P«dda Kapu** The head man of the village.

Pedda Panta The great or principal crop, that which is gathered in the beginning of the year.

Pedda Reddi The chief or senior cultivator, the head of the Reddis or agricultural tribe of a village, the head man of the village.

Peshkar An agent, a deputy, a manager in general, a superior or proprietor or one exercising revenue and custom affairs, a delegated authority, a subordinate officer who is employed to keep the accounts, a subordinate revenue officer.

Peshkash. A fine or present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or assignment of revenue, or on a renewal of a grant. In the Madras Presidency it was applied to contributions extracted from the great Zamindars in the Northern Circars.

Pettai Commonly Pettah. A suburb, a town contiguous to a fort but distinct from it, and usually separately fortified, a village near a town in which a fair or market is held.

Pettendar A village officer.

Polamu A field especially one in cultivation or the crop standing on it.

Polimera A boundary, a limit.

Poonasah crop. Poonasah means the season of the South west monsoon on Golcondah coast, which comes late about June-July. The crop harvested in this season is called Poonasah crop.

Poramboku Corruptly Porempoco. Such portions of an estate or village lands liable to revenue as do not admit of cultivation and are therefore exempted from the assessment as sterile or waste land, rock water, wilderness, site of dwellings and the like, also common land near a town. any place situated out of or beyond certain limits.

Punasa The first crop of the year, which consists of the smaller grains cultivable on dry soils.

Purohita Vernacularly Purohit. A family Priest, one who conducts the domestic ceremonies of a tribe, a household or family, the office is sometimes hereditary. In the South of India it is also applied to the village priest or astrologer.

Putti Pooty, corruptly Pootie, Poddie, Poody. A measure of capacity equal to twenty turns and containing 14941. 653 cubic inches same as the kandi or candy. In the Northern Circars

the putti is of smaller dimension consisting of 3635.413 cubic inches.

Putti dosillu A fee of two handful from each putti of grain paid to the village servants.

Pyacarry. A sub tenant or husband man, who cultivates the lands of others for one or more years by agreement, for which he is entitled to a certain proportion of the produce.

Rachavadu Corruptly Rachewar The name of a military and ruling tribe or of an individual of it, claiming descent from the pure kshatriyas of the Hindus established chiefly in the Northern Circars.

Rachewar. Related to kings or nobles. A war like tribe, from which a part of the Zamindars of the Northern Circars are descended. It is the same as Rowwars.

Ragi Vernacularly Raggy. A kind of grain, commonly termed also Nachani.

Rahadari Corruptly Rehadari. A pass point, a custom pass or permit transit duties collected at inland stations upon grain and other articles levied formerly by the Zamindars on their own authority.

Raiyat Vernacularly Rayat, corruptly Ryot. A Subject but especially applied to the agricultural population. A cultivator, a farmer.

Raja A King, a prince, a title given by the native government to Hindus of rank it is also assumed by petty chief in various parts of Hindustan and is not commonly borne by Zamindars.

Rasiadugu The bottom. A small quantity of grain remaining after a heap has been measured which is given to the cultivators.

Rayatwar According to, or one with Ryots. Familiarly applied to the revenue settlement which is made by the government officers with each actual cultivators of the soil for a given terms usually a twelve month at a stipulated money rent without the intervention of a third party. It is the mode of assessment which prevails chiefly although not exclusively in the provinces of the Madras presidency.

Raddi Commonly Reddy, The name of the principal caste of Telinga cultivators, a chief farmer, cultivator, especially the head man of a village in the Telugu country, who is more properly designated as the Pedda Reddi, the senior or great Reddi or villager.

**Reddi Selaga** Fee or perquisites enjoyed by the head farmer or principal cultivator and head man of a village.

**Regada** Vulgarly Regur, Ragada. Rich black loam, or mould, a soil in which cotton is usually planted and hence commonly termed cotton soil.

**Russum.** Customary commissions, gratuities, fees or perquisites. Shares of the crops and ready money payments received by public officers as perquisites attached to their situations.

**Ryotwar.** According to, or with the ryots. A ryotwar settlement is one made by government immediately with the ryots individually, under which the government receives its dues in the form of money rent fixed on the land itself in cultivation, and not being a pecuniary commutation for its share of the produce varying as the extent of the produce may vary in each year. But under aumani settlement the government receives its dues in kind from each cultivator.

**Sabnis, Subnees** Sab meaning all and nawis a writer. A public officer whose duty it was to pay the local militia and garrisons of forts or the public servants of an establishment or district and keep the records. He was one of the eight subordinate officers of the district or departments, the clerk or registrar also styled daftardar.

**Sadar Amil** The head Amil or the Collector of an extensive district invested with magisterial and military authority.

**Sadaravar, Sadalvari Karchu** Contributions for a public entertainment, expense of an annual feast in honour of Ganesa, Kacheri charges for stationery.

**Sadar Kharchu** Remission or allowance by the native government of a certain percentage of the revenue raised from a village for repairing tanks, alms to mendicants and other incidental charges.

**Sadar, Sudr** Vernacularly Sadar, corruptly Suddur. The chief seat of government, the presidency as opposed to the provinces or mufassil but the term is most usually applied in India to denote establishments or individuals employed in the judicial and revenue administration of the state.

**Sadar Warid** Corruptly Saderwareed. A traveller, a guest, in South India where it is in more general use, sometimes vernacularly modified, it is differently applied and means commonly various contingent or incidental charges borne by a village or a community, sadarvardu charge made by ryots for supplying the public Kacheri with ink, paper, oil. and the like.



**Sadirwarid** Incidental village expenses. including periodical festivals occasional allowances to village officers to religious establishments, to religious mendicants, and the like, all which were defrayed by extra assessments restricted in some place to 6% on the collection.

**Sadwar** Corruptly Sadwar or Sadawar. An aggregate or Company of a hundred. In Northern Circars, like men so named from being formed in companies of hundreds and formerly employed by the Deshmukhs and other revenue officers.

**Sagubadi** Cultivation, tillage, farming.

**Sagubadi dittam** Statement of lands settled to be cultivated in the course of the years if the seasons permit, settlement of or order for cultivation.

**Sahikar** or **Saukar** In vernacular forms soucar, Sowkar, Saukar corruptly Showkar. A banker, a dealer in money and exchanger, a merchant in general.

**Sair** Corruptly Sayr, Sayre, Sayer, Sayaru. In its original purport the word signified from the latter it came to denote the remaining or all other sources of revenue accruing to the government in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts as customs, transit duties, licenses, fees, house tax, market tax in which sense the term is current. The several imposts under this name were abolished by the Company government with the exception of and other non specified items the privilege of imposing local taxes included in the sayar was also taken away from private individuals but it still applies to various items of the income from landed property not comprised in the produce of cultivation.

**Salaga** A chief or head man.

**Samatu** Vernacularly Samat. A division of district.

**Samatudarudu** Vernacularly Samatdar. A revenue officer employed by the government or by a Zamindar to superintend the villages of a district or of a certain number of villages to settle disputes among the cultivators and communicate with the district collector.

**Samprati** Corruptly Sampretty. Samprete. An assistant to a village an accountant, a person employed to prepare copies of accounts or to examine and make out, check accounts.

**Samudayam** The treasure by which the member of a village community or Mirasidars hold the lands in common each occupying an assigned share but having no permanently exclusive right to it and holding it only for a given period until a fresh

partition and distribution take place. It also distinguishes lands not allotted to individuals but cultivated in common and again it may mean a village the produce of which is equally divided between the proprietors the cultivators.

**Sanad.** A grant or a charter. A document conveying to an individual emoluments deeds, titles, privileges, or the government rights to revenue from land.

**Santa** A market, a fair, an assembling for the sale of goods.

**Santarpana** Satisfying, satiating, a feast given to Brahmin.

**Sarkar** Commonly but incorrectly circar. The government, the state, the supreme authority or administration. The governing authority the ruler, in generally applied to the Company's government to any of its civilian political officers. The term like wise signified an extensive division of country under the Mohammedan government a subdivision of a subah containing many parganas, a district, a province.

**Sarrak** Commonly Saraf, vernacularly Sharaf, Shrof. A money changer, a banker, an officer employed to ascertain the value of different currencies.

**Sarrishtadar** A Registrar, a record keeper, applied especially to the head native officer of a Court of Justice or Collectors office which has the general superintendence of the establishment and charge of the public records and official documents and papers. Formerly denoted as the head provincial or district Kanungo or a head officer of the Amil exercising and superintending and controlling power over the other district registrars and accountants.

**Sat Sudra** A sudra who has gone through the purificatory ceremonies of the higher castes.

**Savaramu** Or Saveram. An allotment of land, or of the government revenue derivable from it assigned by the Mohammedan government to the Zamindars or other revenue officers as their personal compensation it is also explained as that part of the Zamindari which the Zamindar retained in his own hands.

**Sayer.** Variable impost, distinct from land rent or revenue, consisting of customs, tolls, licences, duties on merchandise and other articles of personal movable property as well as duties on houses shops and bazars.

**Sedhyagar** A farmer, a cultivator .

**Sedhyamu** Land prepared for ploughing.

**Salaga** An allowance of grain and other perquisites allotted to the hereditary village Karanam, or accountant in the Northern Circars, a term used by measurers of grain who call out the numbers of the measures up to one hundred and then exclaiming selaga begin a fresh enumeration from one.

**Sari** Pronounced as Sheri. Corruptly Sheiree. Arable land originally excluded from the village assessment either as fallen in consequence of neglect of cultivation or forfeiture in the lands of government and managed for its benefit on such land separated under some pretexts by the great officers of the village state and managed for their own advantage alone, when the seri lands were appropriated by the government they were sometimes rented to the mamlatdars at a favourable rent, and latterly they were made over to the patils and assessed along with the other lands of the village from which they then ceased to differ, except in retaining their original appellations. In Telugu the term denoted the land cultivated by the ryots on account of the state paying usually at the rate of half the net produce of ordinary cultivation or one third of that of garden cultivated. Seri land was considered to be two kinds - Land lying waste and unclaimed and Land respecting which disputes not admitting of decision had prevailed. Seri elsewhere signified the same as batai or the partition of the produce between the state and the cultivator and again to mean merely prolonged land or cultivation in general.

**Serigramam** A village the lands of which are considered to belong in proprietary right to the government.

**Seth, Sati. Setti** A merchant, a banker, a trader, a chief merchant often used in connection with the name as a respectful designation Komati setti applies to a Telugu merchant.

**Shamilat Dasabandham** A tenure in which a portion of the assessment on irrigated lands is remitted in favour of the person by whom the reservoir whence the water is drawn was constructed.

**Shrotrium.** Lands or a village held at a favourable rent, an assignment of land or revenue to a Brahmin learned in Vedas. Later on applied to similar assignments to native servants of the government as a reward for their past services.

**Sibandhi** Corruptly Sibbendy. Irregular Soldiery. A sort of militia or imperfectly disciplined troops maintained for the garrisons of forts and guards in towns and villages and for revenue and police duties. Sibbandy charges in the revenue accounts for the expense of such troops.

**Sir, Saar** A name applied to the lands in a village which are cultivated by the hereditary proprietors or village Zamin-

dars themselves as their own special share, either by their own labourers and at their own cost, or by tenants at will not being let in lease or farm. These lands were sometimes allowed to be held at a favourable assessment or were unas-  
sessed to provide Nankar or subsistence for the proprietors; **the** term is also applied sometimes to lands cultivated on account of the state or to those in which the revenue is paid by the cultivators without any intermediate agent.

**Sist, Sistu** Land tax assessment especially revenue assessed in money.

**Sittu** Commonly sist, Land tax. assessment especially revenue assessed in money.

**Soucar.** A merchant or a banker, money-lender.

**Sudi galu** A sort of bracelets.

**Sudra** The designation of the fourth or servile of the Hindu or of a member of it, The term is now vaguely and incorrectly applied to all the mixed castes, to all who are not either Brahmins or out castes to all the other castes engaged in agriculture trade, arts and manufactures.

**Sunka Chowki** Custom house

**Sunkam** Duty on goods, custom toll.

**Tahsildar** A native collector of revenue, a native officer collecting the revenues from a given tract under a Zamindar or the European collector. In the Madras territories he also acts as an officer of police.

**Takav** Corruptly Tuckavy, Tuccavy. Advances of money made by the government to the cultivators at the time of sowing especially in South India where the ryotwari settlement prevails to be repaid when the crop is gathered, similar advances are made in bad seasons and the like or some advances are made to the cultivators to enable them to extend their cultivation.

**Talari** Corruptly Tallary. The village watchman one of the subordinate officers of a village.

**Taluk,** Connection, dependent possession, a district or a division of a province.

**Tallukdar** The holder of a taluk, in some places a government officer, a collector of revenue from the cultivators either on behalf of the state or the farmer of revenue whose undue exactions it is his duty to prevent.

**Tanda** A troop of travelling traders lambadies or Banjaras, any assemblage of people, crowd.

**Tankam** A coin formerly current, but now used only in account, equals to four silver single fanams, there was also a gold Tankam and a copper coin similarly named but both obsolete.

**Teep.** A note of hand. A promissory note given by a native banker or money-lender to Zamindars and others, to enable them to furnish government with security for the payment of their rents.

**Thana** A station, a military post, a police station under the native governments, it was a military post or garrison, a place sometimes with a small fort, where a petty officer with a small irregular force was posted to protect the country, preserve peace and aid in collecting the revenue, under the present system it properly applies in Bengal to the police jurisdiction into which the Zillas were divided, each Thana averaging about 20 miles square under a Darogah and an establishment. Its common use denotes any police station, whether under a darogah or a subordinate officer, also a village or station assigned to invalid sepoys.

**Thanadar or Thanedar** An officer in charge of Thana, formerly an officer under the foudjar employed with a small irregular force, in protecting the country and enforcing payment of revenue, a petty police officer subordinate to a daroga.

**Thoti** A village servant a man of a low caste who waits upon the villages generally, discharges the offices of police, is set to watch the crops and assist in measuring them.

**Tip, Teap** A promissory note given by a native banker, or money lender to the Zamindars. This enables the Zamindar to furnish government with security for the payment of their rents.

**Tolukari** The first rainy season.

**Toom** Measure of capacity. Four coonchams equal to one tumu and 20 toom equal to one putti or candy. The measure however varies from place to place.

**Toshakana** A store room, a wardrobe, chambers in which objects of curiosity or value not in daily request are kept.

**Tumi** A sluice or gate, a drain, a water course, a measure of capacity a turn or toom varying in value but always the twenty eighth of a khandi.

**Upandam** An obligation, written or verbal entered into by the cultivator for a sum of ready money, while the crop is on

the ground, to sell it when cut. to the person who made the advances or price below the actual market rate.

**Uru Cheruvu** A tank for the common use of the inhabitants of a village.

**Veesabaddy.** The letting of lands at a sum equal to the governments share of what that ground will on an average produce.

**Velama Dora** A name given to military tribe formerly retained by government for services in the Northern Circars.

**Vellalars** Vellalars are cultivating caste of the Tamil country, and they are strongly represented in every Tamil district. The word Vellalar is derived from Vellanmai (vellam meaning water, anmai is management) meaning cultivator.

**Vidhvamsulu** Learned men, Men of letters.

**Vinayakudu** A revenue term signifying a certain quantity of grain offered to that deity at the time of measuring.

**Visapadi or Visabadi** Corruptly veesubaddy, visabady, Veespadd. Under the Madras Presidency a coparcenary village of which the lands or profits are allotted by sixteenths and fourteen of sixteens among the hereditary proprietors the revenue of such a village being engaged for, by some of their principal shares, the proprietors are allotted in the same way as the lands so that a district portion of the revenue is find upon every field or plot of land, a Visabadi, a statement is therefore identified with the statement by fields or their individual cultivator and is the same as a ryotwar settlement, also a tax or the profits of trade levied in periodically settled proportions upon the merchants, traders, shopkeepers, retail dealers, mercantile agents and all the inhabitants of a village or town engaged in trade.

**Viswakarma** The name of the artist of the gods, corresponding to vulcan.

**Wakil, Vakil, Vukeel** A person invested with authority to act for another, an ambassador, a representative, an agent.

**Yaga** A sacrifice, an offering, an oblation.

**Yagam** A sacrifice.

**Zabt, Zubtee** Vernacularly Juptee. Occupation, seizure in law, attachment, sequestration, taking lands under the management of the government officers lands which had been held free but has been subjected to money assessment.

**Zamindari** Vernacularly Jamindari corruptly Zamindari. The office and rights of a Zamindar. The tenure of a Zamindari whether individual or coparcenary the tract of land constituting the possessions of a Zamindar or of coparcenary Zamindars, usually designates the former.

**Zari** Free from an attachment, land exempt from revenue.

**Zillah** In Arabic, meaning side, division. The different terms for territorial revenue divisions and subdivisions under native administration were Desam, Prantam, soobah, zilla, pargana, talook, mouza and Nagara. Soobah was province. Zilla, Parganah and talook differed but little, originally meaning shire or country. Zillah was a larger division covering many talooks. Mahaul and Pettah were subdivisions of a talook. Samut, Taraf were a collection of villages under the charge of a revenue Inspector, and Cusbahs is the principal or large town in a division. Mouzah was village. Mauza, hamlet were the agricultural divisions of the village.

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