

## **MEMOIR AND MARGINALITY: REPRESENTING SUBALTERNITY OF THE DALITS IN COLONIAL ANDHRA**

**K Venugopal Reddy**

### *Abstract*

*Memoir reconnects the past with the present or present with the past. It demonstrates how an individual's memory can intersect with the historical phenomenon. The paper therefore critically explores and interrogates the representation of the subalternity of dalits in colonial Andhra as presented in a memoir i.e., Poor Life by Yelamanchili Venkatappayya. The memoir was written in 1985 in Telugu language. The focal purpose of the memoir, as stated transiently in the preface of the text, is essentially to articulate on socio, economic, moral, political and religious conditions in colonial Andhra and also to provide the contrast that is markedly evident between the contemporary Andhra scenario and that of the colonial Andhra. The Memoir is thus the narrative of the life lived and experienced by narrator during heyday of the British colonial rule.*

### **Introduction**

There is an exciting discourse on the relationship between History and Memory. Some scholars contend that Memory is an alternative to History as it constructs social reality employing subjective imagination as its source.<sup>1</sup> They argue further that the emergence of memory promises to rework history's boundaries.<sup>2</sup> Others strongly oppose this view and maintain that Memory is not a substitute to History as it lacks the objective and scientific interpretation of social events based on hard evidences. It is therefore questioned whether the history written with memory as a critical source is genuine or a truly representative of the past. Does it essentially "...re-enchanted our relation with the world and pour presence back into the past." Thus while some scholars argue that all History is a narrative<sup>3</sup>, the others tend to see it as basically a faulty argument and a misrepresentation of History emanating from those who are obsessed with the use of oral or subjective sources.<sup>4</sup> There are seemingly mutually conflicting ideas on the relationship between *Memory* and *History*. The 1980s witnessed an upsurge of interest in the uses of memory and its status as an alternative source of history.<sup>5</sup>

I argue that History and Memory are not really opposites. Conversely, what needs to be interrogated is the space that lies in between both the arguments. I consider that the imagination and the use of creativeness is as essential to the historian who constructs history and interprets

---

*Dr K Venugopal Reddy is Reader, Department of History, School of Social Sciences & International Studies, Pondicherry University, Puducherry – 605 014, Email: drk\_venugopalreddy@yahoo.com*

the social events based on hard sources as to the fiction writer or memoirist, who articulates on any social phenomenon or personal experiences or the myriad aspects of the past or the present essentially through an act of recollecting or remembering those events or things shaping or transforming the society. Therefore to dismiss the narratives, oral or written, as of meaningless descriptions to the project of comprehending the past or the history is too hasty. Similarly, to posit that all history is only a narrative explanation of social phenomenon or events of the past is to negate and deny the significance that history possess as scientific endeavor to comprehend the past. I therefore locate the significance of memoir as a creative and critical text on the multiple contexts in the past or present.

Memoir as an exercise of memory also reconnects the past with the present or present with the past and it demonstrates how an individual's memory could interconnect with the historical events.<sup>6</sup> Because memoir as also an outcome of “memory begins when something in the present stimulates as association.”<sup>7</sup> And every retrieval of memory is a reassembly of memory and our memories and our histories are inevitably shaped by present needs.<sup>8</sup>

The paper, therefore, endeavors to critically explore and interrogate the social milieu of colonial Andhra as represented in a memoir of Yelamanchili Venkatappayya. Writing in 1985 in Telugu lingo, the narrator briefly states in the preface to the text *Poor Life* that the principal purpose of the narration in articulating on multiple aspects of colonial Andhra is essentially to provide the contrast that is strikingly evident between the contemporary Andhra scenario and that of the colonial Andhra. The *Poor Life* is thus the saga of what, according to the narrator, existed and happened from the perspective of a participant as well as a spectator, who shaped as well as witnessed the unfolding of the diverse facets of life in different realms of colonial Andhra. Through his allusions to the irrationality of practices, which were extant in the society of colonial Andhra, he goes on representing the colonial Andhra in its varied and multi dimensional manifestation. This gifts the memoir a unique voice as past traditions, practices and events are both described and interpreted.

### **Biography of Yelamanchili Venkatappayya (1898-1997)**

Yelamanchili Venkatappayya was born in the year 1898. His parents were Aademma and Ankappa. His village was Kanumuru, in Pamarru “firka”, Gudiwada taluq, Krishna district, where there were many “Kammas” followed by Brahmans. He married Basavamma in some time in 1924. He had a son and a daughter, who were born in 1934 and 1938 respectively. He married Basavamma, the third daughter of Bobba Basavayya from Maineni

vari palem in Repalle taluq of Guntur district some time in 1924. His wife died in 1976 and he expired in 1997.

When Venkatappayya was a child, his father shifted the family to Paidi Kondapalem in Gudivada Taluq in 1912 from Kanumuru. Afterwards, he stayed for some time at his aunt's house in Kotta Kumuddali village, which was near to the village Kanumuru and learnt English from Gatti Subba Rao Pantulu in 1914. He studied English for two years and joined 8<sup>th</sup> std in S.K.P.P High school in Vijayawada some time in 1916, where he was helped financially by the generosity of Pinnamaneni Peda Subbayya from Kurumaddali village. After some months, he spent some of his student life in Kamma Students Hostel. He failed in S.S.L.C. exams and had again prepared for it in 1919. He was influenced by Gandhi's speech, when he visited Vijayawada in connection with the propaganda of the Rowlatt Agitation. His interest in Hindi took him to Nellore, where for six months in 1922, he had learnt the Hindi language in Hindi Pracharak Shikshana Kendra. In 1924, he traveled to Kasi and then to Allahabad, where he had learnt Hindi for another six months in Hindi Vidya Petam established by Sri Purushotam Das Tandon. Then he visited Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram established by Mahatma Gandhi in Ahmadabad. He attempted to teach Hindi in some of the villages in Krishna district and also Guntur district. After his marriage, he stayed there in the village Maineni vari palem till 1927 and later on moved to Iyitanagar in Tenali in 1929, where he happened to meet Gandhi who was on a campaign of Temple entry program of the Harijans. He also translated his speech from Hindi to Telugu.

After India's independence, he concentrated imparting Hindi in Iyitanagar in Tenali starting a school exclusively for the girls. The school was closed in 1967. He wrote several books on different themes such as "What is Caste?", "Gods meant for whom?", "Is not idol worship contrary to Vedas?", "What for Swaraj?"

### **Subalternity of Dalits and Dehegemonising Discourse on Brahminical Culture**

The memoir addresses the issue of subalternity of the historically marginalized Untouchable community. It focuses on the multiple forms of its mortification in colonial Andhra and demonstrates the critical role of Brahminical culture in the process. It further delineates the location of their houses, the denial of accessibility to the basic facilities of living, the language that is used to address them, the disarming hold of dogmas, the fetter influence of the concept of purity and pollution.

The conditions of this hapless community are described thus: 'The houses of the untouchables were located on the peripheries of the villages. They had to depend on the mercy of caste Hindus to get some drinking water, as they were ritually prohibited from going near to the wells. Their water pots were placed far way from the well and they were filled only by the merciful upper caste Hindus. The untouchables were afraid to walk even on the streets of non-Brahmin castes and were not allowed to enter the villages with their footwear. They were not permitted to use brass utensils and wear coif (*Tala paga*). Even the language that was used by the Brahmins to refer to the Untouchables was condensing, which only reinforced their social subordination. The Brahmins were addressed in more respectable terms. Several restrictions were observed in their movement and manner' (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 60 & 61). The narrator mentions that in his village even the non-Brahmin castes like Kammas observed the rules of purity and pollution even though they employed them as domestic servants (*Paaleru*). Thus, the *Malas* or the *Madigas* as untouchables had to experience the most inhuman treatment in their everyday subsistence (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, p. 51 to 53).<sup>9</sup>

The mere touch of the Untouchables was polluting to the Brahmins and the caste Hindus. However many items of daily use made or prepared by the Untouchables were used by them without cleaning them in the water. While they were not regarded polluted, the narrator reasons, the mere physical touch of the Untouchables was polluting to the Brahmins. This position was often justified by the Brahmins by referring to the statements of God in the *Shastras*. The memoir thus provides several interesting anecdotes or sketches of prevailing beliefs reinforcing the Brahminical superiority and assortment of discriminations and disabilities placed on the Untouchables (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 54 & 57)<sup>10</sup> The narrator advances a very forceful argument, which seeks to demystify the Brahminical culture and thereby asserting the equality of Untouchables with the position of Brahmins. Through his serious ideological persuasion, he endeavors to dehegemonize the ideology and culture perpetuated by the Brahmins in the society of colonial Andhra. He further raises the paradox in the approach of the Brahmins that those Brahmins who follow the practice of Untouchability idolize the beef eating Europeans. In their view, it might seem a correct practice because of the richness and material advancement of Europeans. He concludes his acerbic ideological attack with a meaningful and relevant suggestion that if the backward Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in our country are too provided the economic, social,

educational and medical facilities and develop them rich, the Brahmins and the caste Hindus would certainly love and respect them (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 59-60.)

The English medium schools were rare and they could be located only in one or two towns namely Machilipatnam (*Bandaru*) or Vijayawada. They were very few among the non-Brahmins who could study even the Telugu language. Therefore the desire to learn the English was limited. Above all the Brahmins used to inform that the English language was “*Mala* language” and “*Madiga* language” and therefore it should not be learnt. Moreover, the Englishmen and women propagated the Christianity visiting the ‘*Madiga*’ colonies. Therefore, the non-Brahmins considering the English language “*Mala* language” hated it and kept themselves away from it. The *raison d'être* for it was that the non-Brahmins blindly followed the words of Brahmins. Whatever the Brahmins pronounce, some non-Brahmins followed without any deviation (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, p. 39). This perhaps implies that there was consistent attempt on the part of Brahminical culture to preserve its domination and monopoly of the education, particularly the English education.

The narrator exceptionally articulates on the Brahminical domination over the non-Brahmins and how they used to scare them with irrational aphorisms or dictum. The non-Brahmins were terribly frightened of them. Any small boy of Brahmin family commanded so much of respect that even the well mannered old non-Brahmin could not get. Then the narrator goes on communicating the different manners in which the non-Brahmins were ill-treated and Brahmins commanded respect in the society of colonial Andhra. The condition of social discrimination and pre-eminence was evident in the use of language where the non-Brahmins were addressed in condensing tone. But strangely, the vegetables from the non-Brahmin family were sought and accepted (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 39-40).

Venkatappayya narrates an event of utter social arrogance and discrimination, where the Brahmins were given priority in the distribution of betel leaf against all other people present at the occasion of marriage of non-Brahmin. This, according to the narrator demonstrated the social subordination of non-Brahmins in the society. There were several beliefs prevailing among the non-Brahmins reinforcing the Brahminical dominance. Any attempt at clear pronunciation of the words by the non-Brahmins was mocked at and discouraged by the Brahmins. Their penchant to ridicule the efforts in such direction usually ran thus: “What Venkatappa! Like our Brahmin youth, you are able to speak perfectly and plainly? What you too want to become Brahmin?” (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 42-43).

The diversified manifestations of the Brahminical domination in different realms of culture and society of colonial Andhra have been carefully interrogated and explained. He showed how the Brahmins in the society made their position indispensable at every social or cultural occasion and commanded allegiance and obedience from the other non-Brahmin castes through recourse to the invocation of concept of sin. Psychological pressure was thus applied to command obedience to the rituals and practices and thereby reinforce their domination. This is evident in the explanation and conduct of several ceremonies from the birth to the death ceremony, where the Brahmins played an indispensable role. Many economic gifts were given to the Brahmins by the non-Brahmin caste people on all these occasions (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 44-50).<sup>11</sup>

The discriminatory practices and Brahminical superiority were evident in every social and cultural realm. In observing pollution in the event of death of a male person (*Maila* or *Sudakamu*), there was disparity between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. While former followed ten days, the latter had to observe it for fifteen days (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 62-63)

The condition of widows was very dehumanizing and the narrator was a witness to this practice in the context of his own sister. The rules for the Brahmin widows were even more dreadful and these widows were called by the name *Munda Mopi*. He refers to the practice of child marriages, which was more prevalent among the Brahmins because of which there were more widows within the community (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 64-65).

The memoirist narrates with great insight into the prevalence of superstitions on the spread of viral diseases in the villages and these diseases were all attributed to the anger of village goddesses. Ceremonies were organized to propitiate these goddesses and there were several trained priestly class to perform or offer worship to the angry goddesses. At the last day of the ceremony, animal sacrifices were also conducted to satisfy the goddesses (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 65-68).<sup>12</sup> He also refers to the superstitious belief in the power of the evil spirits and the different methods to drive them out and the prevalence and practice of witchcraft in the villages. The narrator comments that in the name of providing protection against the evil spirits or to cure people from their influence and also in the name of practice of witchcraft, the credulous common people were exploited by the priestly class in those days (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 69).

The memoir mentions that the ordinary people were afraid of smoking beedies and drinking arrack or taddy before the Brahmins, as these habits were not socially sanctioned. So, the shops selling the arrack or taddy were generally located far from the villages. The memoir further provides very illuminating information on a variety of entertainment programmes that were popular in the society of colonial Andhra. Among them the street plays and poppet shows were most common. The tricksters or con artists (*Garadi vaallu*) used to attract the huge crowds (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 76-78).<sup>13</sup>

### **A Critique on the Contemporary Milieu**

In the final chapter, he completely writes with a didactic objective. He concentrates on prevailing crisis of political system, declining and degenerating moral values, corruption in political, religious realms. He focuses on the marginalization of the lower castes and classes. He reminds the readers of the role of the political system to take care of all the needs of these people particularly the improvement of their educational, medical, and economic status. He states that religion has a great responsibility to mould the moral and psychological condition of the people. He is extremely critical of the perverse role of religion in postcolonial India. The religious system has become completely rotten as a consequence of which the moral condition of the common people also got smashed. The political class is guided by the religious priests and saints, who are morally bankrupt. The political system has become prone to all corruptions. The common man is forgotten. No body either moneyed class or the middle class thinks of the welfare of the poor man in the country.

He eloquently states that a secular, true democratic political system only can rescue the common man from moral, ideological and economic degradation. The common man through the exercise of his vote and by electing genuine secular and democratic representatives to the political system in this democratic country can bring about the required change. Only such elected representatives, can establish a truly secular, democratic political system which works for eradication of several ills and amelioration of common people in our society (Yalamanchili Venkatappayya, pp. 132-138).

### **The conclusion**

India is a land of multiple identities constructed by people themselves as active agents or by outsiders who has objectives different from those involved in it. Therefore some of the most pressing issues of India today are the problems concerning the expression and

realization of the goal of identity. Identities vary from locality to nation, from caste to class, from community to culture, from religion to rationality. People agitate and cogitate to negotiate or negate these identity formations. Therefore a critical interrogation of the memoir reveals how multiple identities act on an individual, who was a negotiator as well as a spectator to the unfolding of the historical events in colonial Andhra.

It is therefore a highly forceful text on the extant social conditions of colonial Andhra. The memoir captures very interesting snapshots of society in its penetrating and critical lenses. The society in colonial Andhra was captured and presented to the people in its naked and ugly expression through the memoir. What we find in the memoir was a decayed, putrefied and ossified and stratified society, where the subalterns had to endure very mortifying experiences in their daily existence. They encountered several social, cultural, and economic disabilities. Their entire existence was deeply embedded in worn out dogmas, which only perpetuated their historical social, cultural, ideological and economic enslavement.

The memoir traces the events in the life of Yalamanchili Venkatappayya and also the ossified and irrational social and cultural practices in colonial Andhra particularly from 1919 to 1947. The memoir is thus a remarkable comment on the extant socio-cultural practices that colonial Andhra had negotiated throughout the era. The central theme however remains his tirade against the prevalent debilitating social system entwined by Brahminical domination. The idea that social traditions, cultural and religious practices need to be transformed runs throughout the memoir.

His memoir displays his phenomenal growth from a poor and struggling child undergoing many hurdles to acquire education to freedom fighter, promoter of Hindi language and a bitter critic of social obscurantism. Therefore, what we get from the memoir is a subaltern's perspective on all aspects of the society of colonial Andhra. The memoir is significant for the following striking ideas:

- Illuminating the culture with a participant's sensibility.
- With today's knowledge and yesterday's experience, he portrays the conditions of colonial Andhra.
- He perceives the things that were happening in the social whirl and he has so much sympathy for those underdogs or the downtrodden in the society of colonial Andhra.
- The memoir is full of social message and implies the need for affecting transformation in contemporary social, cultural, moral, religious and political realms.

The memoir succeeds in connecting the past with the present by its representation of the colonial society delving deeply into the different layers of its culture and unwrapping its entrenched shortcomings. A society of colonial Andhra with all its myriad manifestations was recreated in the memoir.

## Notes

---

- <sup>1</sup> Kerwin Lee Llein, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', *Representations*, No. 69, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering. (Winter, 2000), p. 145; Note: Memory can come to the fore in an age of historiographic crisis precisely because it figures as a therapeutic alternative to historical discourse.; Also see James E.Young, "Interpreting Literary Testimony: A Preface to Rereading Holocaust Diaries Memoirs", *New Literary History*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Literacy, Popular Culture, and the Writing of History. (Winter, 1987), pp. 403-423.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 128. See for Memory as a alternative to History, Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory. (Spring,1989), pp.7-24; See for consideration of memory as a source of History, Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5. (Dec., 1997), pp. 1386-1403; See also for the idea that history is a project of memory as memory bears testimony to history, David Lowenthal, "History and Memory", *The Public Historian*, Vol. 19, No.2 .(Spring, 1997), pp. 30-39.
- <sup>3</sup> Note: 'In 1973, Hayden White's Metahistory inaugurated a critical movement that challenged historians to think of historiography as a kind of literature that is subject to new forms of literary analysis, especially structural and post structural readings. While the historical profession as a whole has been slow to incorporate White's perspective into mainstream thinking about the nature of written history, more historians in the last decade have foregrounded the literary condition of their histories in their work. A few that come to mind are Simon Schama, Gabriel Spiegel, and Dominick LaCapra'. According to Hayden White, historians shape historical evidence into literary forms that make sense, have coherence or dramatic impact. The shaping of evidence is a fictive act, the construction of historical narrative a discursive act. Much of White's work reinforces the central theme of the literariness of written history; See Michael I. Carignan, Fiction as History or History as Fiction? George Eliot, Hayden White, and Nineteenth-Century Historicism.' (CLIO, Vol. 29, 2000) see <http://www.questia.com>;
- <sup>4</sup> Note: Roy Porter expressed his apprehension that the post-modernist directives run the risk of reducing history to commentaries upon texts; See Pasi Ihalainen, 'Language and Literature in Intellectual History,' in David Robertson, (ed), *English Studies and History* , Tampere English Studies 4 (Tampere 1994), pp.223-244;
- <sup>5</sup> Kerwin Lee Llein, p. 127; Also see "Introduction: History and Memory," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 5, (Dec., 1997), p. 1371; Note: "Over the last decade, memory in its many guises has become a critical and widely used means of examining the past."
- <sup>6</sup> Daid Paul Nord, 'The Uses of Memory: An Introduction,' *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 2. (Sep., 1998), p. 409.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid, p-410; Note: Memoir too tell the history and is connected to history. Thus memoir and oral history "challenge time by retrieving something from the flood of the past and preserving it for the future." See Sharon O'Brien, "A short reflection on teaching memoir and oral history", *The OralHistory Review*, Vol.25, No. 1/2, Practice and Pedagogy: Oral History in the Class room. (Summer – Autumn, 1998), pp. 113.
- <sup>9</sup> Note: Some Brahmins considered looking or talking to the Untouchables sinful and therefore kept themselves away from them. Also the Madigas were afraid of going to the streets where the Brahmins lived. Many of the social disabilities that are movingly articulated by Y. Venkatappayya are fictionally represented in the novel *Untouchable* published in 1935 by Mulk Raj Anand (New Delhi, 2001). Also please see the following works for an insight into the conditions of the dalits in general in India: Marc Galanter, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, (London, 1984); Sir George Schuster, *India and Democracy*, (London,

---

1941); Gail Omvedt, *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*, (New York, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Note: In this context, the saying goes, “Nandi ante Nandi; Pandi ante Pandi.”; See for a critical explanation of the conditions dalits, Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, (Bombay, 1962), pp. 1-2; Also V.T. Rajshekar, *The Black Untouchables of India*, (Atlanta, 1987); Michael J. Mahar, (ed), *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*, (New Delhi, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> Note: Because there is a strong superstition that any donation to a Brahmin would bestow divine favor on those who give it. The non-Brahmins, even if they are very aged, are unfit to receive any gift from any body. That would only invite sin on those who offer it. This is also the myth that is circulated by the Brahmins.

<sup>12</sup> Note: These diseases were called in Telugu namely *Calara*, *Ammoru* (*Maschuchikamu*), *Tadapara*, *Aatalamma*. The goddesses were called: *Mutyalamma*, *Polerumma*, *Ganganamma*, *Maremma*, *Inakundamma*, *Korlamkamma*, *Potaraju*; The thatched huts built for them were called *Purams*.

<sup>13</sup> Note: There were Veedi Bhogotalu, Veedi Natakalu, Jangam Kathalu, Tolu Bhommalu, Keelu Bhommalu, Pitchi Guntala Vari Kathalu, Jamukula Kathalu, Pitta Doralu, Chenchulu, Gangi Reddulularu, Buda Bhokkalavaru, who provide entertainment to the people in the villages. Those days, through Bhorra Kathas Jangam Kathalu, Pitchi Guntala Vari Stories, Jamukula Kathalu, Tolu Bhommalu, Veedi Bhogotalu were propagated in the villages. Jangam Kathalu by Jangalu, and Pitchi Guntala Vari Kathalu by Harijans were appealing to the people in the villages. The heroic stories narrated by them exercised a great influence on common people.

## References:

Alon Confino (1997, 2000): “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5. Dec. 1997, 2000, pp.1386-1403, pp. 127-150.

David Lowenthal (1997): “History and Memory”, *The Public Historian*, Vol.19, No.2. Spring 1997 pp. 30-39.

David Paul Nord, (1998): “The Uses of Memory: An Introduction”, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 2. (Sep. 1998), pp. 409-410.

Dhananjay Keer (1962): *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, Bombay.

Gail Omvedt (1993): *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*, New York.

<http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/bhabha/nation.html>

James E.Young (1987): “Interpreting Literary Testimony: A Preface to Rereading Holocaust Diaries Memoirs”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Literacy, Popular Culture, and the Writing of History, Winter, 1987, pp. 403-423.

Jeffrey Andrew Barash (1997): “The Sources of Memory”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 58, No. 4. (Oct. 1997), pp. 707-717.

Jeffrey K. Olick (1998): “Introduction: Memory and the Nation: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations”, *Social Science History*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Special Issue:Memory and the Nation. Winter, 1998), pp. 377-387.

Kerwin Lee Klein (2000): “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse”, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering, *Representations*, No. 69, Winter, 2000, pp. 127-150.

Michael J. Mahar, (ed) (1998): *The Untouchables in Contemporary India*, New Delhi.

Marc Galanter (1984) *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, London.

Michael I. Carignan (2000): “Fiction as History or History as Fiction? George Eliot, Hayden White, and Nineteenth-Century Historicism” *CLIO*, Vol. 29, see <http://www.questia.com..>

Mulk Raj Anand (2001): *Untouchable*, New Delhi.

- 
- Pasi Ihalainen (1994): "Language and Literature in Intellectual History" in David Robertson (ed.) *English Studies and History*, Tampere English Studies 4 Tampere 1994, pp. 223-244.
- Patrick Hutton (2000): "Recent Scholarship on Memory and History", *The History Teacher*, Vol.33, No.4. Aug. 2000, pp. 533-548.
- Pierre Nora (1989): 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, No.26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory. Spring, 1989, pp. 7-24.
- Sir George Schuster (1941): *India and Democracy*, London.
- Sharon O'Brien (1998): "A short reflection on teaching memoir and oral history", *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1/2, Practice and Pedagogy: Oral History in the Class room. Summer-Autumn, 1998, pp. 113.
- V.T. Rajshekar (1987): *The Black Untouchables of India*, Atlanta.
- Wulf Kansteiner (2002): "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodical Critique of Collective Memory Studies", *History and Theory*, Vol, 41, No, 2. May, 2002, pp. 179-197.
- Yelamanchili Venkatappayya (1985): *Poor Life*, Vijayawada.