













**HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT**  
**I N**  
**ANDHRA PRADESH**

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*Published by :*  
**THE MINISTRY OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS**  
**GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH**  
**HYDERABAD**

First Edition : 1956.

*Printed at :*  
Shivaji Press, Secunderabad.

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## CHAPTER I

### **Factors leading to the rise of Indian nationalism with particular reference to Andhra.**

#### **The Andhras :**

The Andhras have a hoary past. The first mention of the Andhra people we come across is in the Aitreya Brahmana which is said to be as old as 1000 B.C. From this we note that the Andhras were a southern people inhabiting the region south of the Vindhya. Coming to the historical period we come across the first mention of the Andhras in the Mauryan times. From the writings of Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador in the court of Chandra Gupta Maurya, we note that the Andhras were an independent and powerful people with 30 forts, one lakh infantry, 2000 horses and 1000 elephant corps.

From the inscriptions of Ashoka we also learn that the Andhras were by and large predominantly Buddhist in their religion and their country was an independent "Janapada" (Republic) which was outside the pale of the Mauryan empire. It was on account of this that Ashoka had to wage the famous Kalinga war which resulted in so much bloodshed that it brought about a complete change in the attitude of the emperor and made him renounce war and violence once for all and take up to the teachings of "Ashoka Dharma" which earned for him the distinction of being the first humanist and the first monarch in the world who taught to the world community at large the desirability and possibility of establishing international peace by eschewing war. While the Kalinga war was indirectly responsible for making Ashoka immortal in the annals of world history and civilization, it also points out the bravery of the heroic people of Kalinga of which Andhra was also a part.

#### **The Satavahanas :**

After the disintegration of the Mauryan empire we find that an Andhra dynasty namely the Satavahanas came into prominence and they ruled from 225 B. C. to 415 A. D. The Satavahana

empire at its zenith comprised of Maharashtra, northern Konkan, Berar, Gujarat, Malwa and extended in the south upto Kanchi. One of the Satavahana rulers Gautami Putra Satakarni was noted for having defeated the Sakas. The Satavahana empire had trade relations with the Romans and their maritime activities are mentioned by foreigners in works such as "Periplus of the Erythraen Sea" and Ptolemy's Geography. They had also trade relations with countries in the Far East like Java, Sumatra, Indo-China and the Malaya Peninsula. The fame of the Satavahanas was known outside India in countries like China, Japan, and Burma with whom also they had commercial contacts. The Satavahana kings though they favoured the Brahminical religion patronised Buddhism also, thus revealing the spirit of tolerance of the Andhra people.

#### Acharya Nagarjuna :

The famous Buddhist philosopher Acharya Nagarjuna, who is said to be the first chemist in the history of the world, belonged to the times of the later Satavahanas (2nd C. A. D.). He was a pro-founder of the Madhyamika philosophy and gave a definite shape to the Mahayana cult of Buddhism that was ultimately responsible for the absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism, thereby adding to the many facets of the Hindu religion. The evolution of the Madhyamika philosophy of Buddhism was a distinct contribution of the Andhras to the various schools of philosophy existing in the world today. It was under the guidance of Acharya Nagarjuna that the famous Buddhist University known as the Nagarjuna Vihara flourished at Nagarjunakonda on whose model a university was built at Lhasa in Tibet. His commentary on *Pancha-Vimsatisa-hatrika-Prajna paramita* is still available in the Chinese language.

#### Amaravti School of Sculpture :

It was during the period of these Satavahana rulers that the paintings of Ajanta and the sculptures of Amaravati were carved. The Amaravati school of sculpture is a distinct school by itself, different from the Mathura and Gandhara schools of art. Thus even in the field of sculpture also the Andhras developed a distinct school of art. Commenting about the Satavahana empire, one of the historians says, "This too went the way of all empires through valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy and decay; but

while it lasted for more than four centuries and a half, it imparted more stability and security to the life of the people, the inhabitants of the vast regions of the Deccan than any other Indian power had ever done. Many empires had come and gone, the Mauryas, the Sungas, and Kanvas in Magadha, the Chedis in Kalinga and the Bactrians, Sakas and the Pahlavas in North and north western India, yet the Satavahanas ruled on, strong in will and stronger in action and before they fell, made weak by time and fate, they had already saved the Deccan from the aliens for more than three centuries”.

The people of Andhra in general are responsive to progressive ideas. This characteristic feature of the Andhra people can be gauged from the history of the various religious reform movements that took place in the country like the Advaita movement of Shankara, Veerashaivism of Basava, the Vaishnavism of Ramanuja, Achala Bodha of Vemana, Vecra Brahmam and Siddiah. All these religious preachings had their impact on the people and society, though the society in general seems to have adhered to the teachings of Shankara while imbibing the spirit of the teachings of the other reformist teachers. Even the coming of Islam and later on of Christianity into Andhra did not produce any divisive forces in the society. On the other hand it resulted in creating a sense of tolerance and goodwill among the people.

Starting with the Satavahanas in the third century B C. various Andhra dynasties played a prominent part in the history of India in general and of the Deccan in particular upto the 16th century when the last great Andhra ruler namely the ruler of Vijayanagar was defeated by the Bahamani Sultans of the Deccan in 1565. The years 1323 and 1565 are of special significance in the history of Andhra Pradesh.

### **The Kakatiyas :**

In 1323 Pratap Rudra, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal was defeated by the armies of the Delhi Sultanate. This led to the splitting of Kakatiya dominions which spread upto Kanchipuram into several independent principalities under the control of the various Reddy and Padmanayaka chieftains who were not strong enough to prevent the passing of the greater part of the country into the hands of the Deccan Sultanates that formerly costituted the

Bahamani empire. It also finally led to the establishment of the Golconda kingdom in 1518 under the Qutb Shahs who ruled over a greater part of the Kakatiya dominions.

### **Vijayanagar :**

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded in 1336 by the brothers, Harihara and Bukka of the Sangama dynasty. From 1336 to 1565 the Andhra kingdom of Vijayanagar had a unique role to play. It stood as a bastion against the spread of the muslim power in southern India. But after the disastrous Tallikota war in 1565 its erstwhile dominions broke up into several principalities on the east coast while in the south its off-shoots existed in the form of Nayaka kingdoms of Madura, Tanjore and Gingi. Later the territories on the East Coast popularly called as the Northern Circars came under the control of the Qutb Shahs of Golconda. When the Qutb Shahs were annihilated by Aurangzeb in 1568 these areas naturally came under the control of the Mughals.

### **The Hyderabad State—Cession of Northern Circars and Ceded Districts :**

When the Hyderabad State was established in 1724 in the Deccan by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asafjah they came under the control of the Nizam of Hyderabad who gave them in 1753 to the French General, Bussy, for the maintenance of the French troops in the Deccan. When the French were defeated by the English, the English East India Company acquired the Northern Circars of Eluru, Mustafanagar, Rajahmundry and Srikakulam in 1776 and Guntur in 1788 from the Nizam in return for which they promised to help the Nizam against his enemies. The Nizam also ceded to the English East India Company the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellary on 20th October, 1800 when he entered into the subsidiary alliance with them for protecting him against internal and external dangers.

### **Andhra and Telangana :**

From the year 1800 onwards the areas known as the Northern Circars and the Ceded districts of the Andhra country became a part of the Madras Presidency while the remaining Telugu speaking areas remained under the control of the Nizam under the

name of Telangana. Thus from the beginning of the 19th century onwards the development of the social, political and cultural history of the two regions takes two distinct forms on account of the fact that these two regions happened to be under two different and distinct political set-ups. We find that the course of the freedom struggle in the two areas runs on two different patterns.

The freedom struggle in the Andhra areas reflected on the whole the general features of the Indian national movement that was being carried on, at the all-India level to fight against British imperialism, but Andhra had certain unique contributions to make to the history of the freedom struggle in the shape of the Rampa rebellion of Sitaramaraju, a violent struggle amidst the aura of non-violence emanated by Gandhiji's teachings; the Chirala Perala struggle, the Palnadu and Pedanandipadu Satyagraha that are unique and different from the all India struggle.

The freedom struggle in the Telangana region of the Hyderabad State while adhering to the general pattern of the freedom struggle in the Indian Princely states also had its own special features like the growth of the anti-feudal struggle waged by the Communist party of Telangana called the "Telangana movement". The Hyderabad State Congress which by and large represented the popular aspirations of the people also had to develop certain special techniques to fight the extreme communal wing of the Ittehad Muslimeen party known as the Razakar organisation. Ultimately the State Congress by means of certain tactics and methods it adopted succeeded in bringing about integration of the Hyderabad state with the Indian Union in 1948.

### **Andhra Pradesh :**

The Andhra state comprising of the Andhra areas of the erstwhile Madras Presidency was formed in the year 1953, due to the self sacrifice of Sri Potti Sreeramulu. Later the Andhra and Telangana areas were constituted into a single state of Andhra Pradesh in November, 1956.

When we study the growth of the freedom movement in Andhra Pradesh we have perforce to study it under two different categories namely the freedom movement as it developed in the Andhra areas of the Madras Presidency and the freedom move-

ment as it evolved in the Telangana region of the Hyderabad state. Before one studies the evolution of the freedom struggle in these two regions let us first see how the 1857 rebellion, which is a distinct landmark in the history of India and which is said to be the first war of Indian Independence affected the two regions.

#### **Andhra in 1857 :**

We find that on the whole the Andhra region of the Madras Presidency was not greatly affected by the events of 1857, though there were some isolated rebellions. One such rebellion took place in the tribal Savara areas in the Parlakmidi zamindari. This rebellion was led by one Dandasena, a feudal Chieftain of Gaiba. His rebellion was put down by the British army under the command of Capt. Wilson.

Another rebellion under one Korukonda Subba Reddy, the Headman of Kottatooru village, took place on account of a private grudge he had against one Shankar Swamy, the Munsiff of Buttai-gudem. Subba Reddy was captured and sentenced to death. During his trial he declared that he was encouraged to rebel when he heard that Nana Saheb was advancing towards the Deccan and that Nana Saheb would reward all those who rebelled against the British.

Apart from this there were certain Rohilla and Arab incursions from the Nizam's dominions into the districts of Krishna, Cuddapah, and Kurnool and the Taluq treasury at Jaggiahpeta was attacked while Rudravaramu in the Koilkunta taluq was raided. The British suspected that these raids had something to do with the events in Northern India but by adopting strong measures they were able to keep these areas comparatively peaceful. One of the reasons perhaps why these areas remained calm during the period when the greater part of Northern India was caught in the conflagration of rebellion against the British was that they had no local leaders in the shape of Indian kings for whom they could express their loyalty and rise in revolt against the Company Sarkar. Local rebellions of the zamindars on the East Coast were put down by the British East India Company long before 1857.

#### **Hyderabad in 1857 :**

Coming to Hyderabad we find that the 1857 rebellion affected the state and people of Hyderabad to a far greater extent than it

did in the Andhra areas. The general impression that one has about the 1857 rebellion in Hyderabad was that the State was completely immune from all anti-British feelings during this period. When we closely look at the various events that took place in the State we find that this picture was far from correct. The people in the State were agitated by the events in the north and at least a bulk of them were anxious that their ruler should also participate in the struggle against the British. But their aspirations were not realised due to the pro-British attitude adopted by the then reigning Nizam, Nawab Afzal-ud-Dowla and his Minister Salar Jung I. The decision of the Nizam to remain firm in his alliance with the British coupled with a strong sense of loyalty displayed by the feudal nobles headed by Shams-ul-Umara in Hyderabad and the extortions of Salar Jung, the Diwan prevented a violent and serious outbreak of rebellions in the dominions of the Nizam. The British also recognised the importance of Hyderabad and the friendship and goodwill of the Nizam during this period and we find the Governor of Bombay writing to the Governor General to the effect, "If the Nizam goes, all goes". It is because of the Nizam's decision to be faithful to the British during this period that the embers of the mutiny did not spread to the Southern Regions. Thus the people of Hyderabad had no means of giving vent to their feelings. If at all they had to rebel they were left with the choice of rebelling in the name of the far off Nana Saheb Peshwa while their natural leader the Nizam for whom they were prepared to rise in rebellion lay inert.

### **Rebellion in the Capital City :**

The news of the outbreak of rebellion in Delhi created a great excitement among the people of Hyderabad. Plackards began to appear on the walls of the mosques and other public places exhorting the Nizam to rise and revolt in the name of the Delhi Emperor and in the name of Islam. The plackards appealed to all sections of the people, Hindus and Muslims, to rise against the alien Christian power and they read as follows :

"The aid of the Almighty and his Prophet is present with Afzal-ud-Dowla Bahadur who should not fear and be apprehensive. If fearful he should wear bangles and sit at home ..... If after reading this paper on



hearing of it a representation is not made to the king (Nizam) or his Diwan, the oath of the swine is on him and if in case of a Hindu the oath of a cow”.

During this period one Moulvi Ibrahim took a prominent part in inciting the people to rebel against the British. The Diwan Salar Jung called the Moulvi to his presence and severely warned him to desist from indulging in seditious activity. Another, Moulvi Akbar, tried to declare ‘Jihad’ against the British by hoisting the flag of religion when the Muslims congregated to offer their prayers at the Mecca Masjid. But they were put to flight by the strong Arab guards posted by Salar Jung.

Feelings of discontent and rebellion were rampant among the Subsidiary troops stationed at Secunderabad and also among the Contingent troops stationed at different headquarters. Commenting about this Col. Davidson, the Resident, wrote to India Government, “I believe our only reliance for the continuance of peace in the Deccan must be placed on the fidelity of the native Government and sincerely trust that after the present crisis has passed over the British Government will not forget what His owed to is Highness the Nizam and his most able Minister———An opportunity and a leader are all that I believe to be wanting to extend the north west revolt to the Deccan and all Southern India. Our sepoy have dared to judge in what cause they will fight and in what not. After that how can they be considered good and trustworthy soldiers?”

### Rebellion of the Contingent Troops :

The 1st and 2nd Cavalry of the Hyderabad contingent troops stationed at Aurangabad refused to leave the borders of the State saying, “*Nizam Ke serhad ke bahar nahi jayenge—Deen ke upar Kamar nahi bandhenge*” (we will not cross the frontiers of the Nizam’s dominions and we will not fight against our own co-religionists). The rebellion of these Contingent sepoy at Aurangabad was led by one Jamedar Amir Khan and Dafedar Mir Fida Ali. Mir Fida Ali was caught, court martialled and hanged while the native infantry and artillery corps were made to march past the gallows from which he was hung. Jamedar Amir Khan contrived to escape. All the men belonging to the 1st Cavalry were disarmed. On the whole the number of men arrested and disarmed during

the course of these incidents consisted of 1 Risaldar, 3 Jamedars, 9 Dafedars, 76 troopers and 4 trumpeteers. Out of these 21 were shot dead while 3 were blown away from guns. Apart from these 3 Dafedars and 6 troopers were arrested at Mominabad. Describing about this Capt. Abbot, the British Officer in command of these contingent troops, wrote, "We have already disposed off a goodly number of the 94 prisoners we took in the first haul of the net ; one has been hanged, 4 shot, one blown away from a gun, a frightful sight indeed ; his head ascended about 20 yards in the air and his arms were thrown about eight yards in either direction ! I was astonished to see how coolly they received intelligence that they were to suffer death."

The Hyderabad Contingent troops stationed at Buldhana were also affected by this mutiny and several of them were arrested. Some of the sepoys who have deserted from Buldhana about ten in number arrived in Hyderabad under Jamedar Chhida Khan with the hope of receiving protection from the Hyderabad Government.

#### **Attack on the Residency :**

But the Hyderabad Government had already offered a reward of Rs. 3,000 for catching Chhida Khan. As soon as Chhida Khan had arrived at Hyderabad Salar Jung got him arrested and sent him over to the Residency for trial. This created a great Commotion in the city and the people congregated at the Mecca Masjid on the 17th July, 1857 ; they decided to send 4 Moulvis to the Nizam with a request that Chhida Khan and his associates might be freed. They also resolved to attack the Residency in case the Nizam were to refuse the request.

Salar Jung, on hearing of the congregation at the Mecca Masjid, sent a body of Arab Guards to disperse the crowd and assured the Residency that he need not apprehend any danger. But by the evening of the same day he received news that a body of 300 Rohillas was heading towards the Residency building under the leadership of the Rohilla leader Turrabaz Khan and Moulvi Alauddin. So he hurriedly sent another message to the Resident saying that the Residency was in danger of being attacked and that the Resident should try to defend himself till such time as the Minister would be able to send a body of the Nizam's troops to the

assistance of the Resident. The Rohillas headed by Turrabaz Khan marched towards the Residency building from the western side, i.e., from the Sultan Bazar area where the road connects Hyderabad and Secunderabad. They occupied the upper storeys of two large houses that belonged to the local sahuks by name Abban Saheb and Jaigopaldas. By doing so they were able to get an advantageous position commanding the gateway towards the Putli Bowli and Dilsukh gardens. The insurgents demanded the release of Chhida Khan and his companions.

The Resident placed Major H. C. Briggs incharge of the defence of the Residency. As it was already dark, Briggs decided not to disturb the Rohillas and to allow them to remain in occupation of the sahuks' houses and to post Arab guards around them. But he had to open fire on them when the Rohillas broke through the partition wall of an adjoining building and tore away the hinges of the gate leading towards Putli Bowli. The English kept up firing on the Rohillas till about 4 O'clock in the morning. Finding the English cannon fire too severe, the Rohillas evacuated the house they were occupying with the help of the very Arab guards that were posted to prevent their escape. They also carried away their wounded with them leaving behind 4 dead.

Turrabaz Khan, who led the attack against the Residency, was subsequently apprehended at Moghulguda while trying to escape and was arrested. During the scuffle that ensued when he was being arrested Turrabaz Khan received a severe wound. He was tried and sentenced to transportation for life. But he contrived to escape from prison on the 18th January, 1859. The Government then announced a reward of Rs. 5,000 for anyone who would apprehend Turrabaz Khan. They were able to effect his arrest once again with the help of one Kurban Ali near a village called Toopran where in the scuffle that ensued he was shot dead by the British soldiers. The body was subsequently brought to Hyderabad and was hanged up by chains in a public place.

Moulvi Alauddin who acted as the standard bearer of the people and who led the attack against the Residency on the 17th July fled to Bangalore. He was subsequently arrested at a village called Mangalapalli, brought back to Hyderabad, tried and was sentenced to transportation for life to the Andaman islands on the 28th June, 1859, where he died in the year 1884.

The incident of 17th July, that is the attack on the Residency, was the only major incident that took place in Hyderabad city proper. But it does not mean that the closing of that episode had put an end to all disputes between the people and their alien rulers. Tension continued to prevail among the various sections of the people till the year 1860. The situation in the state continued to be very critical on account of the fact that the emissaries of Nana Saheb, Tantya Tope and Rao Saheb Peshwa were actively moving among the people. The discontent against the British rule in India took a more concrete form in the shape of rebellions in the various parts of the state such as the rebellions of Raja, Venkappah Naik of Shorapur, the Rohilla and Bhil rebellions in the Nirmal and Ajanta regions, the rebellion of Ramji Gond in Adilabad, Ranga Rao Patwari in Kowlas, and ultimately the conspiracy in the name of Rao Saheb Peshwa in 1862.

### **The conspiracy of 1862 :**

In 1862 a conspiracy took place in the name of Rao Saheb Peshwa was supposed to be a nephew of Peshwa Nana Saheb in Hyderabad city. This conspiracy had its origins at Mhow in Central India and it was also partly hatched in Baroda in Gujarat. The person who called himself Rao Saheb namely Rama Rao arrived in Hyderabad in March 1862 and stayed in a temple garden known as the Bala Mukund Bagh which was owned by a sahuakar by name Kishan Lal. He was also able to win the sympathies of the banking firm of Pooranmal to finance his projects apart from the sympathies of Rukma Reddy, the Zamindar of Marthad in the Armoor taluq, Rajaiah Reddy and Tuljaram, the brother of Amrut Lal known as 'Chhawani Raja' (cantonment Raja), the native commander of the Nizam's irregular forces.

When this conspiracy was brought to light to Salar Jung, he treated it with contempt saying that not a single person of any name nor importance at the Hyderabad Durbar has joined or been named in this conspiracy and that only the scum of the population were involved in it. The fact that Rama Rao, the alleged Rao Saheb, after his arrest on 4th March was able to slip through the clutches of the Government in spite of the latter having declared a price of Rs. 5,000/- on his head shows the loyalty, bravery and coordination of these humble people whom Salar Jung, from the

heights of his feudal greatness, dismissed as the scum of the population. Not only Rama Rao but his Diwan Kishan Rao and a Telugu woman who harboured them in the Bala Mukund Bagh were also able to make good their escape and they were never caught inspite of the best efforts of the Government.

Rama Rao narrowly escaped being caught by the Nizam's Government twice, once at Begum Bazaar where the people resisted the attempts of Jamedar Tara Singh to search one of the houses belonging to the sahuakar Kishan Lal where Rama Rao was alleged to be hiding and at another time in the village of Narsinghi where the Kotwal pretended to believe that the detachment sent by the Minister were none other than a body of dacoits.

After the escape of Rama Rao and his Diwan Kishan Rao, the Hyderabad Government arrested 59 persons and tried them. Forty persons were committed to trial and awarded various sentences. Rukma Reddy was sentenced to life imprisonment and he was always kept in fetters while the son of Kishan Lal was let off on account of his tender age but was asked to pay a fine of Rs. 75,000/- and the Pooranmal firm was fined Rs. 10,000/-. Ram Ratanji, who harboured Rama Rao, committed suicide on being arrested. With the conspiracy of 1862 the anti-British movements that were released in the state of Hyderabad in the wake of the 1857 rebellion come to an end.

### **India under British Rule, its impact :**

With the suppression of the 1855 rebellion and the assumption of power by Queen Victoria, the illusion of India being an independent country under the hegemony of the Mughals was completely shattered. Vast areas of the Indian sub-continent excepting those that belonged to the Indian Princes were brought directly under the administrative control of the India Government. The assumption of power directly by the Crown in 1858 brought about vital changes in the economic, social and administrative set up of the country.

The British were a highly advanced nation and to serve their own ends they introduced in India a centralised and uniform system of administration. Modern methods of communication, modern systems of education and a totally different type of economy that

was not hitherto present in India were introduced. This resulted in the unleashing of new social forces that forged the basis for the rise and development of Indian nationalism.

It has been a matter of great pride to Indians that theirs is the only civilisation in the world that has been able to have a continued existence right from 3500 B. C. upto the present times whereas the other ancient civilisations of the world like the civilisation of ancient Egypt, Rome and Greece have totally disappeared while another ancient civilisation, the Chinese, has undergone radical changes during the last 24 years.

One of the reasons why we Indians have been able to maintain this continuity of civilisation and culture from the very ancient times to the present day and that in spite of the various political changes that took place in our country, like the Greek invasion, the Turko-Afghan rule and the Mughal rule etc., the tenor of life especially in the social and economic fields was not affected was due to the existence of the self-sufficient village.

Dynasties have come and gone but they did not affect the basic unit of the Indian civilisation, namely the village with its self-sufficient rural economic system. In spite of the many convulsions through which the country had passed, the village communities were not affected on account of the fact that they organised themselves like little self-sufficient republics where the various communities, who believed implicitly in the caste system, with its professions, carried on their vocations and were able to evolve a self-sufficient village agriculture and industry which was completely independent of the outside world and was not exposed to any external competition. Thus the villages in India continued for centuries to live as self-sufficient economic units, and the invulnerable strongholds of tradition and stereo-typed social order.

Side by side with these self-sufficient villages there were certain towns, towns of political importance where the king and his nobility lived, towns of religious significance, and towns of commercial importance. In these areas certain urban industries and handicrafts developed to cater to the needs of the people who visited these areas. The urban industries comprised of producing luxury articles that catered to the taste of richer sections of society and also evolved certain artisan crafts like building magnificent temples and monuments of art like the Taj Mahal, etc. or forging the necessary equipment for the army.

Certain industries like the textile industry which was mainly developed in commercial towns like Masulipatam, Nagapatnam, Hubli and Broach which were situated on the banks of navigable rivers evolved textile industry which earned a reputation for itself all over the world for its fineness. So also the Indian metal works, stone works, pottery, paper industries and leather industries gained a world reputation for their artistic quality and fineness. But the industries that were developed by the mercantile classes in the urban areas were strictly limited in their scope of marketing. They did not produce articles of daily use to the common people, otherwise called the consumer goods, which were catered to by the self-sufficient village. The vast requirements of the population in India were met by the self-sufficient villages and by the local artisans who ran the village industries rather than by the merchant class that lived in the few urban areas. Thus the Indian economy before it came under the British rule was an economy that did not have to face open competition from highly developed industrial nations.

### **Destruction of Pre-British Indian Economic order :**

We all know that during the course of the 18th and 19th centuries the whole of Europe and much more so Great Britain passed through an important economic revolution known as the Industrial Revolution which completely reorganised the economy of Europe on a competitive basis. As a result of the Industrial Revolution there was a production of European commercial goods which required markets. Britain, which was the foremost industrial nation in Europe, naturally looked towards her colonies for supplying her with the necessary markets for her finished products. So one of the first acts of Great Britain after it assumed complete political power over India was to expose the Indian economy to the competition of European markets that were highly industrialised and also to introduce a uniform system of capitalist economy in the country. This resulted in the complete disappearance and disorganisation of the old economic order, the withering of Indian indigenous industries and the consequent impoverishment of the agricultural peasant, due to the pressure brought on agricultural land on account of the ruination of the urban and village artisans and handicrafts.

The introduction of the capitalist system in the century in the long run gave rise to the evolution of Indian national economy and to the growth of a new economic class which wanted to compete with the British markets and herein lies, one of the reasons for the growth of resentment on the part of India against the British rule which culminated in the rise of Indian nationalism.

### **The Renaissance :**

The introduction of a uniform system of administration and a modern system of education with English as the medium of instruction also created in the country a new class of intelligentsia who imbibed the liberal teachings and spirit of the Western philosophers.

In pre-British India the entire life of an individual was organised within the concept of caste and tradition. The culture of the Indians was predominantly a religious culture and all intellectual and artistic avocations were dominated by a religious tone. But now with the emergence of the new intelligentsia, they began to look upon themselves as individuals existing in their own right and not necessarily as an integral part of a social structure to which they had always to bow and sometimes compromise their individuality.

This growth of a new intellectual class in India led to what was known as the Renaissance Movement in the 19th century in the country.

The education imparted by the British in India was secular in character, liberal in essence, and for the first time open to all irrespective of caste or creed. So the educated Indian who imbibed the spirit of the British democratic principles felt the urge to rebel against the orthodox social institutions in India, like the caste system and authoritarian social philosophies that tried to suppress the individual in the name of tradition and custom. They also dreamt in terms of free national existence for the Indian people on a democratic basis, freedom of press, association, and the responsibility of the executive to the people. But, one remarkable feature about them was that while they wanted to reform their society they did not at the same time want to give up their cultural heritage. This new school of intelligentsia first appeared



in Bengal with Raja Mohan Roy (1744–1833) starting the ‘Brahmo Samaj’ movement for the reformation of the Hindu society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy is described in the History of India as the “living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to an uncalculable future”. This work was soon taken up in other parts of India particularly in Maharashtra, when Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade founded the Prarthana Samaj in 1867. Ranade also founded the first Depressed Classes League in 1849, a widow home and also an orphanage at Pandharpur.

The Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj represented the Indian response to western rationalism. But there were two other reform movements of the 19th century which took their inspiration partly from India’s past and they derived their basic principles from her ancient scriptures. These are the Arya Samaj founded by Swamy Dayanand Saraswati in 1875 and the Ramakrishna Mission which marks the synthesis of the oriental and the western religions and which attained fame, due to the transcendental personality and teachings of Swamy Vivekananda. Another reformist religion which also gave great moral courage to the Indians was Theosophy which showed the way to the Hindus to reconcile universal brotherhood with the caste system and the fundamental unity of the Supreme Being with the worship of numerous gods and goddesses. All these reform movements led to the revival of Hindu society and the emergence of nationalism in India.

In India, a new middle class intelligentsia nurtured by the philosophical writings of thinkers like Burke, Spencer, Stewart Mill and Voltaire inspired by the writings of revolutionaries like Mazzini, events like the American War of Independence and the French revolution, came into existence by the beginning of the 19th century. They were all admiration for the British parliamentary institutions and were anxious to put into practice the spirit of democracy that they had learnt and imbibed in their class-rooms.

The British Government began to violate one by one the assurances of equality of treatment given to the Indians by the Proclamation of 1858. The British Government during this period showed its reluctance to appoint Indians to the Civil Service Cadre by trying to prevent the appointment of Surendranath Banerjee to the Civil Service and later by removing him from service on flimsy grounds. Shortly after this the British Government also

tried to make it impossible for the Indians to sit for the Civil Service Examination by lowering the age limit from 21 to 19. They also passed Acts prohibiting the Indians carrying arms (1878) and restricting the activities of the vernacular press.

### **The Dawn of Political Awakening :**

This led Surendranath Banerjee to found in the year 1876 the "Indian Association" of Calcutta which acted as the forum for the educated middle classes in the country to create public opinion by appealing to the people directly. Shortly after this in 1883 during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, the Ilbert Bill was introduced. This Bill sought to remove the special privilege enjoyed by the European British subjects, they could be tried only by an all white jury. This move on the part of Lord Ripon created great resentment among the Anglo-Indian section of the community in India. They went to the extent of abusing him and boycotting him socially. The Anglo-Indian press also vehemently criticised the move of this liberal viceroy.

The Anglo-Indians also formed an association called the "Anglo-Indian Aid European Association" and raised funds for its defence and ultimately forced the Government to partially modify the bill in their favour. The Indian public opinion was greatly shocked to see "the all powerful British Government deflected from its purpose by newspaper abuse and an exhibition of bad manners". It also made them realise that in future they should also adopt similar agitational approach to run their campaigns. The forming of the 'Defence Association' by the Anglo-Indian section of the community led to the formation of the 'Indian National Conference' in 1883 in Calcutta by Surendranath Banerjee. Representatives from all over India attended this Conference. For the first time an all India national fund was raised for running the Indian National Conference. As a result of the agitation by the Indian National Conference the age limit for the Civil Service examination was once again raised by the British Government. Amidst all this unrest and agitation, Lord Ripon, who had become popular among the Indians by repealing the unpopular Vernacular Press Acts, by introducing local self Government institutions, and who, on account of these liberal acts, became unpopular among the Anglo-Indians, relinquished his office in 1884.

His departure from India was an occasion for popular demonstrations that were hitherto unparalleled in Indian annals. These demonstrations perturbed the British Officers and we find Sir Auckland Colvin, the Indian Finance Minister, wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "If it be real, what does it mean?" He described the growing Indian unrest as "the dry bones in the open valley had become instinct with life". It was against this background of growing Indian unrest that Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, and Allen-Octovian Hume conceived the idea of founding the Indian National Congress so that it can act as a safety valve for popular discontent, where Indians can meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be remedied. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. With the birth of the Indian National Congress, the history of India takes a new turn.

### **The Growth of Public Opinion in Andhra :**

The period under review 1858-1885 saw also the growth of several vernacular newspapers and literary associations throughout the country. In Andhra also we see the same phenomenon. The first Telugu journal to be published is believed to be the *Satya Doota*, a missionary journal for the propagation of Christianity by the Christian Association of Bellary. To counteract the missionary propaganda a few Telugu newspapers were started, the most notable among them being the *Tathwa Bodhini* in 1864 by the Veda Samaj of Madras.

It is with the coming of Rao Bahadur Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, the father of the renaissance movement in Andhra and the founder of modern Telugu, that Andhra journalism and the social reform movement in Andhra gained new dimensions. Veeresalingam started in 1874, in Rajahmundry a weekly called the *Viveka Vardhini* for introducing reforms in the social and literary fields. Later on he also started a separate journal for women called the *Satihita Bodhini* and the *Hasya Vardhini* and *Satya Sam Vardhini* wherein he advocated the removal of social evils like child marriages, caste-system, the institutionalisation of prostitution as an integral part of the Hindu caste system, etc. He also advocated the introduction of widow marriage and the worship of god on monistic principles (Ekopasana). In order

to counteract the teachings of Veeresalingam, journals like the Andhra Bhasha Sanjeevani of Mahamahopadhyaya Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu, was started from Madras.

The first Telugu political news weekly the "Andhra Prakasika" was started in 1885 with Sri A. P. Parthasarathy Naidu of Madras as Editor. Naidu was an ardent nationalist and he carried on with vigour the publications of this weekly for more than 25 years.

Another striking feature of this period was that it saw the formation of several associations like the Madras Native Association (1852), the Chennapattana Swadeshi Sangham by Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetti (1806-1869) who also was the founder of the English Weekly, "The Crescent", the Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884) and the Kakinada Literary Association, etc.

The first President and Secretary of the Madras Mahajana Sabha were Andhras namely P. Rangaiah Naidu and P. Ananda Charlu. The aim of the Madras Mahajana Sabha was to give proper direction to the growing national consciousness among the people.

The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 also led to the formation of district associations in Andhra and the first district association to be formed out of the 21 districts that constituted the Madras Presidency was the Krishna District Association in 1891.

When the first session of the Indian National Congress was held in 1885 in Bombay, several Andhras from the Madras Presidency like P. Rangaiah Naidu, President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, Ananda Charlu, the Secretary, S. N. Narasimhulu Naidu, Gutti Keshav Pillai from Anantapur, S. V. G. Pantulu and S. Venkatasubbarayudu of Masulipatam, not only attended its session but also actively participated in its deliberations. The subsequent sessions of the Indian National Congress were also always well attended by the Andhras.

In spite of these signs of public awakening one must say that political awareness in Andhra in real sense of the term emerges only with the out break of the Vandemataram and the Swadeshi movements. This nascent political awareness blossomed into full-fledged nationalism in the 1920's under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Prior to 1905 the theme of the Telugu newspaper was confined largely to the discussion of social, economic and educational matters.

The *Purshartha Pradhayini* in 1874, wrote criticising the attempts of the bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay to convert the people to Christianity while another Telugu newspaper, the *Lokranjani* criticised the remarks made by "Broad Arrow" that the Hindus should not be made eligible for higher appointments in the Civil Service in India unless they sat for the competitive examinations in England saying, "In every town and in every village there are to be seen number of poor lads wandering about in the streets apparently without any employment, provision should be made for the education of the helpless boys;—It is one of the duties of the Government to look after them".

It is only from the beginning of the 19th century that the Telugu newspapers began to take up the discussion of issues which had a political implication and criticised the Government for some of their actions. For example, the 'Gautami' in 1901 criticised the Government for issuing an advertisement which said, "Wanted a Musalamaan clerk for an acting post in the Chief Office of the Inspector General of Police in Madras". In its editorial on the 27th August, 1901 it wrote saying, "If such an advertisement proceeds from such a high official of the Government.....whose duty it was to suppress all racial differences, such things not only prejudice between one race and another but also induce people to entertain doubts regarding the just administration of the country".

Another Telugu journal the "Sasilekha" criticised the Government in 1902 for having spent lavishly from the Indian exchequer towards the coronation celebration of the King Emperor Edward VII and for not showing equal treatment to India along with the other colonies. The *Krishna Patrika*, a national daily that was originally started in 1902 by Sri Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya and edited by Mutnuri Krishna Rao, wrote in 1902, commenting about the plight of the Indians in South Africa and posed this pertinent question to the British Government, "Are not all subjects under the rule equal?.... Now that the British Government is supreme in Africa the whole Indian population looks to it for the removal of the disability of the Indians there". Thus we find that there was a swing towards nationalism in Andhra in the beginning

of the 20th century and with the outbreak of the Vardematararam movement this swing gained greater momentum.

### **The Three phases of the Indian national movement :**

The Indian national movement is usually divided into three phases—the first phase from 1889 to 1904 called as the “era of faith, prayer and unanimity” ; the second phase comprising of the Swadeshi movement and the Home-Rule movement is called as the “era of discord and disillusion” which lasted from 1904 to 1917 while the third phase from 1920 to 1947 is called as the “Gandhian era” and it is during this period that India was able to rise as one nation against the British on a mass scale and ultimately achieve its independence.

During the first phase Indians believed implicitly in the basic good nature of the British people they thought and they could achieve their object of active association in the administration of the country by sending appeals to the British Government. So we find some of the leading Congressmen like Ramesh Chandra Dutt saying, “Educated India has practically identified itself with British rule, seeks to perpetuate British rule——because it is by a continuance of British rule that educated India seeks to secure a large measure of self-government and a position among the modern nations of the earth, which it is our aim and endeavour to secure”. Even a staunch nationalist like Surendranath Banerjee said in Poona in 1895 that the west owed a heavy debt to the East and it could be repaid by the political enfranchisement of Indians. He appealed to England to give to her brown children what she had given to her white ones. Another eminent Indian, Lal Mohan Ghosh, who had proceeded to England to plead with the British Parliament for raising the maximum age limit for entrance to the Civil Service, presiding over the Indian National Congress session at Madras in 1907, said, “We prefer to cling to the belief that the English people are not barbarous conquerors, but they are champions of liberty whose divine mission it is to rekindle the torch of genius in this ancient land of philosophy and to raise it once more to a position in some degree worthy of the greatness of our past history”. The main ideal of the Indian patriots during this period including nationalist leaders like Lokamanya Tilak was to attain a large degree of autonomy under the hegemony of the British. As late as the year 1904 the Congress delegates at the Bombay session which included Tilak

supported the resolution of Sir William Wedderburn to send a delegation to England ; Tilak added, "It is there that the judges sit and our advocates must plead our cause before the English judges and not before the judges in India". Even Bipinchandra Pal, though he called himself a radical, declared, during this period that he thanked God for having brought English Government in this country to work our salvation. Thus we find that the entire period from 1889 to 1904 had implicit faith in the innate goodness, sense of justice and fairplay of the British Government and hoped that by pleading alone they would be able to attain their object of getting self-government. Only a few extremists like Damodar Hari Chapekar and Lala Munshi Ram, who later became famous as Swami Shradhananda, were bitter against the British and severely criticised the Congress. Chapekar declared "We have formed a society for removing the obstacles in the way of the Aryan religion— This society does not want the beggarly Congress". He further criticised the Congress saying, "A thunder cloud produces no rain, a talkative man will not act". The Congress during this period tried to focus the attention of the Government on some of the short comings in matters of land revenue administration, improving agriculture and praying for enlistment as volunteers in the military and for starting a military training institute for Indians.

During this period a memorial was also sent from Andhra to the Secretary of State for India by the literary association of Kakinada that the age limit for entrance to the Indian Civil Service examination should be raised. The Madras Native Association as early as 1889 sent a petition to the British Government against the monopoly of the Civil Service by the European Officers who were normally young men fresh from the school and ignorant of the languages and customs of the people over whom they governed. This naturally resulted in inefficiency, and the Madras Native Association suggested that "the inefficiency and evils of this system would be most likely remedied if the educated and trained natives now acting as proxies in the performance of the functions normally assigned to these young and incompetent civilians were placed under their personal responsibility in all the supporting branches of the revenue and judicial lines". But such was the anxiety of these people that they waited till the Indian mutiny was suppressed and then only submitted their petition so that the British Government would not

misunderstand their action. Even Ananda Charlu while presiding over the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1891 says, "The British people are ignorant of the Indian affairs. We must acquaint them in an increasing manner with an image of India to get our wishes fulfilled. After deep thought the British supporters of the Indian cause in Britain have invited us to hold our conference in London. We must respond to their call. We must meet in London to press for our demands and demonstrate to the English people and to their Government that we are not disloyal members and hostile to the English. On the other hand we are British subjects and want to remain under the British rule but wish to associate ourselves and take part in the affairs of the Government of India".

But as we proceed towards the year 1905 we find there is a perceptible change in the attitude of these leaders. Tilak in an editorial in the *Kesari*, dated July 4, 1904, wrote, "We will not achieve any success in our labours, if we croak once a year like a frog" and he exhorted saying that the time had come to give a new direction to the political movement, ——"there is today sufficient reason to change the white man's old idea that the people of Asia will always remain slaves of foreigners".

A section of Congressmen realised the uselessness of carrying on the agitation in the old way and Tilak once again wrote on 15th August, 1905, "Government has no respect for the opinions expressed at meetings of lakhs of people. ————Our state of public opinion has become like waves beating against the mountains on the shore and blow back. Waves are far more effective than our public opinion because at least they are salty." These leaders who were becoming impatient with the Government's indifference towards the Indian demand for association in administration were called as "extremists", while they preferred to call themselves as nationalists; they condemned the Congress Policy as political mendicancy. This school of political thought was led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Poona, Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal and Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab.

### **The partition of Bengal :**

While Indian public opinion was becoming more and more impatient, Lord Curzon, the viceroy, announced amongst other,



things the plan for the partition of Bengal on 7th July 1905, into East and West Bengal. This resulted in the growth of a fierce agitation all over the country. The people felt that the partition of Bengal not only struck at the dignity of the Bengali nation but also at the nationhood of the Indians. They felt that the honour of the mother-land is to be protected. In this context the old invocation to the Goddess Kali, "Vande Mataram" or "Hail to the Mother" acquired a new significance and it became the political war cry of the Indian national cause.

Thus we find that out of the travails of Bengal Indian nationalism was born and the Benaras session of the Indian National Congress in 1905 passed the following resolution, "that this Congress records its emphatic protest against the partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the province".

The partition of Bengal created a country-wide reaction and it led to the growth of what was known as the "Vandemataram" and the "Swadeshi Movement". While on the political front the slogan "Vande Mataram" inspired the people to wage a struggle against the British on the economic front the Indians wanted to fight against the latter by trying to revive Indian indigenous industries through the Swadeshi movement.

The Congress ranks were split up into two camps on the question of Bengal Agitation; the nationalists, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal, Arvind Ghosh; and the moderates led by Surendranath Banerjee, Pheroze Shah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Nyapati Subbarao Pantulu and Mocherla Ramachandra Rao, etc.

The differences between the nationalists and the moderates became quite acute by the year 1906. While the nationalists wanted to introduce a resolution on Swaraj and Boycott at the ensuing Congress Session in Calcutta, the moderates who still believed in British benevolence wanted to avoid such a resolution. In order to bridge the cleavage between the two groups, Dadabhai Naoroji, was invited from England, to preside over the Calcutta Congress session in 1906. Naoroji in his Presidential speech exhorted the Congress to fight for Swaraj. The Calcutta Congress also passed a resolution supporting the boycott of British goods, to

promote national education and to encourage indigenous industries. At the Calcutta Congress the song "Vande Mataram" was adopted as the National Song of India and as a rallying point for all the nationalists to fight against the British. It is from the name of this song that the name of the movement "Vande Mataram" was derived. The Raja of Munagala, Komarraju Lakshman Rao and Gadicherla Harisarvottama Rao and even Ananda Charlu who attended the Calcutta Congress Session joined the side of the nationalists. Ananda Charlu as a matter of fact moved the resolution on "Swadeshi" at this session.

### **The Vande Mataram movement—a middle class movement:**

With the outbreak of the Vande Mataram movement India enters into a new phase of freedom struggle. Hitherto, the leadership of the Congress was dominated by the liberals. They constituted the intelligentsia and they were drawn mostly from the educated upper middle classes and the commercial classes. The Congress under the leadership of these liberals from 1885 to 1905 fought for administrative reforms such as the separation of judicial and executive functions, the Indianisation of services and the repeal of the Arms Act and also against the anti-Indian legislation in countries like Transwal, Cape Colony, etc. The liberals stood for representative institutions and the elective principles. They had also implicit faith in the rich democratic and scientific culture of modern Europe. They were all admiration for the rationalist thinkers of Europe and stood for democratisation of social relations on the principles of humanism and economic advancement through industrialisation. But as days advanced they realised that there was a fundamental conflict between the British economic interests and the economic interests of India which was a colony of Great Britain. So also the political interests of India clashed with the political status of England as an imperialistic country. As this realisation began to dawn upon them, they became more and more disillusioned and we find Surendra Nath Banerjee declaring that "the history of the Civil Service is one unbroken record of broken promises". Hence we find that even a moderate leader like Dadabhai Naoroji strongly advocated at the Calcutta Session of Congress the adoption of the new programme of swaraj, swadeshi and boycott of British goods. These were all endorsed by the liberals. This disillusionment was

further accentuated by the outbreak of a severe famine in Bombay in 1896 and Tilak boldly asked the people to demand the benefits of Famine Relief Code from the Government and he asked the people not to be cowards and not to sell their lands and cattle to pay the dues. This political discontent among the people was further accentuated by the high handed methods of Lord Curzon who passed the Official Secrets Act, brought the Universities under the Government control and finally partitioned Bengal. His speeches were also very provocative and it roused the people when he said that "the Indians by their environment, heritage and upbringing were unequal to the responsibilities of high office under the British rule". The unemployment among the educated youths also had increased considerably by the beginning of the 20th century. So the programme of the liberals to achieve progress with British aid in slow measures did not appeal to the youth in the country. Hence now there emerged in India the extremist school led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo and Barindra Ghosh. These leaders inaugurated in India what was known as the 'era of militant nationalism'. The support to these leaders and to the new nationalism came from the middle classes.

The social basis of the Indian national movement was hitherto confined to the upper class intelligentsia and to the richer commercial classes. But now it extended to the lower middle classes, and was able to gain a greater momentum than it was hitherto possible in the country.

The defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan in 1905 gave a great stimulus to the growth of nationalism all over Asia. In India it helped them to cast away their inferiority complex and regain their self-confidence in overthrowing the British rule.

#### **The Nationalists, inspiration from Indigenous Indian Sources :**

The militant nationalists in India drew their inspiration from India's ancient past and cultural heritage. They tried to infuse national pride and self-respect among the people and invoked episodes from the history of India for that purpose. They were against idolising the Western culture, more particularly the British culture. The names of India's ancient heroes like Chandragupta

Maurya, Ashoka, Rana Pratap Singh, Akbar, Shivaji and Jhansi Laxmi Bai's were invoked.

The Indian historians began to take up from this time onwards to the writing of Indian history laying stress on the cultural heritage of the Indians derived from the Hindu and Islamic contacts.

The philosophers of militant nationalism believed in the special genius of India and advanced the theory that the Indians are endowed with a special spiritual greatness. In Bengal this school led by Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh who were greatly under the influence of the neo-vedantism of Swami Vivekananda, otherwise called as neo-Hinduism. Aurobindo declared, "What is nationalism? Nationalism is a religion that has come from God. Nationalism is a creed ————What the intellect could not do, this mighty force of passionate conviction born out of the very depth of national consciousness will be able to accomplish."

In Maharashtra this new nationalism was led by Tilak, who resuscitated the memory of India's past cultural greatness by reviving the tradition of Shivaji's struggle against the mighty Mughal Empire for the liberation of Maharashtra. He also utilised the celebration of purely religious festival like the Ganapathi festival as a special social gathering for the cultural revitalisation of the Hindu society and last but not the least in order to counteract the inertia of passivity of the people he asked them to take their inspiration from the 'Bhagavat Gita' which he said was based on the principle of doing the right action at the right time. He declared, "Political rights will have to be fought for. The moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be got by strong pressure."

The militant nationalists also infused a strong sense of national consciousness among the people. Tilak propagated his ideas through the *Kesari*, a Marathi weekly and *Maratha*, an English Weekly. He also revived the Shivaji festival in 1895. Some political thinkers have criticised the part played by these extremists in reviving Indian nationalism by drawing inspiration from the Hindu religion and said that by doing so they were able to evolve essentially a Hindu nationalism and as such they could not draw all the sections of the Indian population into the fold of the freedom struggle. But when we look at the general condition

of the country and the life of the people, a great majority of whom were Hindus and who were illiterate and tradition bound, the only method by which nationalism could be built up among such people was by appealing to their ancient past and to their religion. We know from the popularity of the Vande Mataram movement, and its extensiveness, that the method adopted by the nationalists was correct. The identification of the country with the 'concept of Mother India' in a society where the Goddess Kali is worshipped as the supreme mother, had a tremendous psychological effect on the imagination of the people. We find on the Durga Pooja day 50,000 citizens of Calcutta, had taken their oath saying, "Mother! I solemnly promise that to the best of my power I will never use foreign articles, and that I will not purchase that articles from foreign shops which are to be had at Indian shops". This instilling of nationalism through accepted religious norms made the movement popular throughout the country and we find that several songs idolising India as the Bharat Mata or the Divine Mother were composed during this period because the Indian mind and psychology are used to the concept of worshipping the Mother Goddess as the Supreme Prowess capable of putting down injustice and tyranny. Thus the Vande Mataram movement was in keeping with the psychology of the Indian masses, so much so that it found a ready response among the people. Any movement if it were to be successful should have its roots strongly imbedded in the cultural genius of the people. The Vande Mataram movement was one such. The new nationalism gave to the Indians a proud ego and self-reliance and they were prepared to undergo suffering for the attainment of swaraj. The *Kesari* and the *Maratha* papers of Tilak in Bombay, the 'Vande Mataram' of Aurobindo Ghosh and the *Yugantar* in Bengal and the *Krishna Patrika* in Andhra played a notable part in educating the people in their respective regions in the new programme.

The Swadeshi movement, as conceived by the nationalists, was essentially a weapon forged by the people to achieve the industrial and general economic regeneration and advancement of India. In practice it became the common religion of united India. The 'Boycott movement' was an anti-British measure which included not only the boycott of British goods but also renunciation of titles and Government posts. The Boycott movement was used as a

weapon to annul the Government partition of Bengal and also to rouse the determination of the people to win Swaraj. ° Lala Lajpat Rai explaining about the significance of the Boycott movement said, "the meaning of boycott is this ————The primary thing is the prestige of the Government and the boycott strikes at the root of their prestige".

As a result of the successful campaign against the boycott of foreign goods there was a great slump in the cotton trade in Bengal and the Marwari Chamber of Commerce sent frantic cables to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to use their influence in bringing about the annulment of the partition of Bengal. The Boycott and Swadeshi movements which are component parts of the Vande Mataram movement have a special significance in that they paved the way for the future growth of the non-cooperation movement under Mahatma Gandhi. Both boycott and Swadeshi, as conceived by the extremist leaders, outgrew their original meaning and object, of undoing the partition of Bengal and developed into the idea of non-cooperation with the British on every front in order to achieve the independence of India. Aurobindo Ghosh writing about the swadeshi and Boycott movements on 6th August, 1906, in his paper the 'Vande Mataram' said that it was a call for absolute autonomy free from British control and he gave a detailed programme of what he called non-cooperation and passive resistance which later on spread to the other provinces of India. Thus we find that as the ideas of "Swadeshi" and the "Boycott" during the Vande Mataram movement began to spread, the economic aspect of the swadeshi movement was superseded by the new meaning given by Aurobindo. Gokhale also in 1907 described Swadeshism as "Swadeshism at its highest is a deep, passionate, fervent, all embracing love of the motherland and that this love seeks to show itself in any one sphere of activity but not all." Gandhiji also observed, "that the day the partition of Bengal took place may be considered as the day of partition of the British Empire and that demand for the abrogation of the partition is tantamount to a demand for Home Rule. As time passes the nation is being forged."

The extremists on the whole advocated organised passive resistance for achieving their goal. As the Vande Mataram movement launched by the militant nationalists began to spread the

Government adopted repressive measures. Arrests and imprisonment of leaders and thinkers began to take place.

Tilak who declared in 1908 "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it," was sentenced to six years imprisonment for an article published in his paper and was sent to Mandalay. In the Punjab agrarian riots took place in Lahore, Layallpur and Rawalpindi in connection with the Canal Colony Bill and Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported from the Punjab.

The extreme policy adopted by the nationalists was not liked by the liberals in the Congress and in 1907 at the Surat Session the split in the Congress between the liberals and the extremists took place. In spite of this split the movement continued unabated and Government finally had to yield to the pressure of public opinion and annulled the partition of Bengal in 1911.

The First World War broke out in 1914 and the British Government in order to win the support of the Indian merchant class for the war, granted an import duty of  $3\frac{1}{4}\%$  on cotton in 1916 on account of which the Indian textile industry was greatly improved. But all these measures did not satisfy the extreme nationalist leaders and they continued their demand for Swaraj during the War.

Tilak, when he came out of prison in 1914 started a campaign for the Home Rule for India and founded the Home Rule League in Poona in 1916. Annie Besant started the All India Home Rule League at Madras six months later.

The moderate and extremist sections of the Congress once again reunited at the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1916. A pact was also concluded with the Muslim League, which was of great significance for the forthcoming national struggle.

The Home Rule movement lasted from 1916 to 1918. In this connection Mrs. Annie Besant was interned at Ootacamund in 1917 while Tilak and Pal were served with orders of externment.

Another offshoot of this period was the rise of terrorist societies, that believed in the creed of violence. The societies tried to set up revolutionary centres and manufacture arms and bombs in India.

The main centres of these terrorist activity were in Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra. They had close links with the terrorist centres in London, Paris and New York. Shamji Krishna Varma along with V. D. Savarkar established the Indian Home Rule Society in London in 1905 and also the India House at High Gate. Both were revolutionary centres. Lala Hardayal started the 'Gadar Movement' in San Francisco in 1913 and they were very strong in the Punjab, Bengal and other places in India between the year 1914 and 1915. Their activities included armed dacoities, killing of police officials and revolutionary propaganda among army units in the Punjab and in military centres like Meerut and Kanpur. The terrorist activity decreased in India after 1915.

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## CHAPTER II

### Andhra and the Vande Mataram Movement

The teachings of the nationalist leaders had a very great impact on the Andhra Public and they responded to the Vande Mataram movement wholeheartedly. The first meeting in connection with the Vande Mataram movement was held by some Andhra students studying in Madras. Sri Kaleswar Rao, Ramasastri Naidu, Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao, Komarraju Lakshmana Rao, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri and Chakriah Chetty, convened a meeting in support of the Vande Mataram agitation on the Madras beach in September, 1905, under Presidentship of Sri G. Subramanya Iyer, the editor of the *Swadisha Mitran*. Hundreds of students attended this meeting, at which the great Tamil poet Subramanya Bharati recited some of his songs. The students at this meeting decided to raise a national fund in support of the Swadeshi movement.

#### **Bipinchandra Pal's Visit its Repercussions :**

Bipin Chandra Pal undertook a tour of the Andhra country in April 1907 to propagate the ideals of the Swadeshi Movement among the people. Emotional by nature, the Andhras turned Pal's visit into a triumphant march. His visit in Andhra led to the founding of several national educational institutions like the National School at Rajahmundry and the National College at Masulipatam and several Swadeshi stores. Pal's tour was organised by Mutnuri Krishna Rao, the editor of the *Krishna Patrika*. Pal visited Kakinda, Visakhapatnam where his lectures were organised by leaders like V. Poornayya and Bhoopathy Raju Venkatapathy Raju. From there he proceeded to Rajahmundry where a gathering of two thousand people accorded him a rousing reception. Flags bearing 'Vande Mataram' inscribed in Telugu, Urdu, Sanskrit were carried by the people in the procession. On behalf of the youth of Rajahmundry a welcome address was read to him by Harisarvothama Rao. Pal was led in a triumphant procession marked by the offerings of garlands, fruits and *arati* by the enthusiastic public of Rajahmundry town.

Rajahmundry was a great centre for propagating the ideals of the Swadeshi movement. The youth there, even before the coming of Pal, had started in February the Bala Bharati Samiti with the object of promoting the Swadeshi movement. Prominent men like Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao, Ganti Lakshmana and Tangutoori Sreeramulu were associated with this Samiti. Gunneswara Rao, the Karnam of Rajahmundry, was also secretly supporting the Swadeshi movement and the Bala Bharati Samiti. On the Maha Sivaratri day in February the members of the Bala Bharati Samiti took out a grand procession to Kotilingalu on the banks of the river Godavari and held a meeting there. The meeting was addressed by Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao, a teacher trainee, of the Rajahmundry Arts College and Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao spoke on Swadeshi. Pal, during his visit to Rajahmundry was accompanied by Mutnuri Krishna Rao. He stayed in the house of Madalla Sowraiah of Rajahmundry. Pal delivered lectures in Rajahmundry on the 19th, 20th and 23rd and spoke on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott, and the Brahma Samaj, etc ; he left the place on the 24th April 1907 for Vijayawada where he was the guest of the Raja of Munagala who was at that time a student of the Masulipatam Noble College. From Vijayawada he proceeded to Masulipatam where he was received by Koppalli Hanumantha Rao, M. Narasimham, Suryanarayana Rao and others. He stayed in the house of one Ramadas Naidu, a Brahma Samajist. Pal stayed at Masulipatam on the 26th, 27th and 28th April. On the 26th Sri Krishnamachari, the Headmaster of the Hindu High School, presided over the meeting, which was addressed by Pal while on the 27th Puranam Venkatappayya, the ex-Chairman of the Masulipatam Municipality and a pleader, presided.

Bipin Chandra Pal's visit in Andhra created great repercussions in the Andhra country side. Hence forth, Rajahmundry and Masulipatam played a notable part in spreading the ideals of the Swadeshi movement not only in Andhra, but also to the other parts of the Madras Presidency. During his tour in Rajahmundry from 19th to 24th April, the famous Telugu poet Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham, translated all his lectures into Telugu. It was then that Chilakamarti composed his famous song which became popular during the Swadeshi movement wherein he compares India to a milch cow and Indians to calves deprived of their due share of milk by the cunning white man whom he compared to a

subtle cowherd and he says, "though the country is rich the people are dying due to starvation. It is like the flight of Tantalous", he further says, "Even if one has to suffer imprisonment and sleep on hard floor for the redemption of his motherland, one should feel as though he is sleeping on soft velvet cushions, as it is a great honour to be sent to prison for the sake of one's country". This song in its original Telugu version became extremely popular among the people and it was sung by the students and inscribed on the walls of all public places. During his stay in Rajahmundry Pal also opened a Swadeshi stores, when an address was presented to him by Hariharvothama Rao on behalf of the Swadeshi stores while the Karnam, Gunneswara Rao, presented him a purse of Rs. 1,000/- for the opening of a National School at Rajahmundry which was affiliated to the Bengal Council of National Education. Several donations were received by him for promoting the national school in the town. From Rajahmundry Pal proceeded to Vijayawada where he was received by the Raja of Munagala and also Sri Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao. He delivered several lectures on Swadeshi. From Vijayawada he proceeded to Masulipatam where he was received by the Krishna District Association. Here also he spoke on Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Swaraj and ultimately in his final lecture explained the significance of the Vande Mataram Movement, and the significance of the worship of Durga in that connection. As a result of Pal's visit a youth committee known as the Swarajya Samiti was formed for establishing a National School at Masulipatam. Koppalli Hanumantha Rao, the founder principal of the Masulipatam Jateeya Kalasala, announced that he would dedicate his life for the cause of national education and see that the National College set up by him is laid on strong foundations. So one of the direct results of Pal's visit to Masulipatam was the founding of the National College at Masulipatam. Pal's tour in Andhra had a lightening effect on the people. It created self assurance and a certain amount of aggressiveness among the people and a desire to do something for the country. The students were greatly excited and from this time onwards they started taking active part in the politics of the country. Everywhere the cry of "Vande Mataram" was raised. It became the most popular slogan and a way of greeting one another. Whenever the students saw some white man passing by, they could not resist the temptation of raising the slogan "Vande Mataram", the meaning of which

great majority of the whitemen did not understand. Though the mere shouting of "Vande Mataram" did not do any harm to the white men physically, it created in them a certain amount of irritation and a certain sense of inexplicable fear which was hard to explain or rationalise. The frequent hearing of the 'Vande Mataram' slogan made the European officers feel that they were living in a hostile atmosphere and we find a missionary worker in Rajahmundry writing to the Government, "Pal had no doubt sown a powerful and bad seed which has fallen on very fertile ground and is beginning to grow at some places more rapidly than one is inclined to think".

**Harisarvothama Rao and students of Government Arts College, Rajahmundry expelled :**

The main effect of Pals's tour was on the student community who were roused by his passionate speeches and imbued by the new ideas of national patriotism they wanted to express their latent feelings by wearing Vande Mataram badges and by greeting one another with the slogan Vande Mataram. The amount of unrest through which the student community was passing during this period was revealed by the incident that took place at the Rajahmundry Government Arts College. The Principal of this College during this period was one Mark Hunter who had received complaints even before the arrival of Pal, at Rajahmundry saying that his students were in the habit of shouting Vande Mataram while driving and cycling along the streets and whenever they came across Europeans. So he convened a meeting on the 19th March and forbid the students from indulging in quasi-political and disloyal activity by participating in processions, displaying Vande Mataram placards. He also forbid them from wearing Vande Mataram medals and badges inside the College and asked them not to become members of the Bala Bharati Samiti. The next day one of the students J. Ramchandra Rao visited the College hostel accompanied by Gunneswara Rao, and incited the students to defy the Principal's orders. The Principal on hearing about the activities of Ramchandra Rao summoned him to his presence; the latter, went to see him wearing the Vande Mataram medal. There upon the Principal immediately suspended him and asked him why he should not be expelled from College within five days. Ramchandra Rao replied that since there was no specific order forbidding

the wearing of the Vande Mataram badges or medals, he was wearing it. The Principal took serious notice of the explanation offered by Ramchandra Rao. Seeing the unsympathetic attitude of the Principal Ramachandra Rao offered his apologies and he was re-admitted into the College on the 26th March. Members of the local bar also interceded and asked Mark Hunter to reconsider his decision forbidding his students from becoming members of the Bala Bharati Samiti. Shortly after this the students gave a written petition to the Principal requesting him to allow them to continue as members of the Bala Bharati Samiti, to wear Vande Mataram medals inside the College and also to participate in processions advocating the use of Swadeshi goods. The Principal did not accede to their request for wearing Vande Mataram medals or for participating in the processions but he permitted them to remain, if they so choose, as members of the Bala Bharati Samiti. Apart from the Government Arts College, Mark Hunter had also the Government Training College under his control. He gave the same advice to the students of the Training College as he had given to the students of Government Arts College.

On the day Mark Hunter addressed the students of the Training College i.e., on the 26th March 1907, Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao, who was also a teacher trainee during this period, was not present. In the meanwhile, the Principal, Mark Hunter, during the first few days of Pal's visit at Rajahmundry was in Madras attending a conference. On his return on the 22nd April, he learnt that the students were completely carried away by Bipin Chandra Pal, that they were idolising him and coming once again to College wearing the Vande Mataram medals. He also learnt that on the 24th April one of the teacher trainees, Harisarvothama Rao, had presented an address to Pal before he departed from Rajahmundry wherein he reiterated the determination of the students and people to attain Swaraj through the methods advocated by Bipin Chandra Pal.

The teacher trainees were recipients of Government stipends. Naturally, Mark Hunter was not prepared to see this sort of behaviour from Government beneficiaries. He was very angry to see that his students had defied his earlier orders and are coming to college wearing the Vande Mataram medals. He was so anxious to take drastic action against these recalcitrant students that he did

not care to consult the Staff Council. On the 24th April he entered the junior and senior B. A. classes who at that moment were appearing for the half yearly examination and ordered all of them to remove their Vande Mataram medals and badges. They complied with the request of the Principal. Among them was also Ramachandra Rao. From there Hunter proceeded to another room and ordered the students to do like wise. But here the students were more recalcitrant and as the Principal was expostulating with them angrily, the cry of Vande Mataram was suddenly raised by some one in the near varandah. The students in the examination hall and also in the other rooms immediately took up the cry and all rushed out from the class rooms. The Principal found that even the B. A. class students who had earlier removed their medals had once again put them on. Seeing the defiant attitude of the students the Principal became highly excited and gave them just two minutes time in which they were asked either to remove the medals or leave the College. The students took him at his word and left the college and that evening the Principal passed orders dismissing Harisarvothama Rao from the Training College. All the students who had left the college were placed under suspension. But during the next two days about fifty students whose parents and guardians had interceded on their behalf and apologised to the Principal were re-admitted. The Principal was bent on punishing the senior B. A. class students to which Ramachandra Rao belonged for having defied him by debarring them. Harisarvothama Rao was not only debarred from college but he was also debarred from employment in any Government or aided school and later on he was debarred from employment in any office under the Government. J. Ramchandra Rao was debarred from appearing at the B. A. examination and later on permanently from Government service while other students of the senior B. A. class were debarred for two years while that of the F. A. class for one year. The junior students were debarred for one year. By this order of the Government about 138\* students were affected out of a total of 222 in the College. Thus the Rajahmundry college incident marks the beginnings of the participation of students in the politics of the country. From

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\* See Appendix I for the list of students expelled from the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, vide Government order No. 864 Public dated 16th November, 1907.

hence-forth students started taking an active part in the freedom struggle.

Several prominent men including B. N. Sarma of Vizagapatam and Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu tried to intercede on behalf of the students. But it was of no avail. The contemporary Telugu newspapers supported the students; the *Deshabhimani* wrote in a defiant tone, "We believe that the Government in issuing the said order supposed that we cannot live without Government employment. It is time for us to prove to the Government that supposition is a pure mistake. We must open schools and educate our children at our own cost. We need not care for the university examinations. If the Government wants our services, we shall be ready to offer them; but if they are not wanted we may do as we please". The *Krishna Patrika* wrote, "Oh, students! Don't be discouraged. Justice is with you. . . . . There are indications that you will, by the disposition of providence, be leaders in the establishment of Swaraj also". Harisarvothama Rao after his expulsion from the training college settled down at Vijayawada and devoted his time in collecting funds for building the National College at Masulipatam and in the cause of social reform. Later, he also started the Telugu weekly *Swaraj* in which he wrote several articles on the revolutionary movements that took place in the various parts of Europe.

#### Arrest of Harisarvothama Rao and Bodi Narayana Rao :

In December, 1907 the Surat Congress Session met at which a complete breach took place between the extremist national leaders and the moderates. The Krishna District Congress Association supported the extremists when they met in the summer of 1908 at Tenali. About this time some youths of the Tirunalveli district of Tamil Nadu, shot at the District Magistrate for which Chidambaram Pillai was arrested and was awarded a life sentence. The people of Madras were greatly excited at the arrest of Chidambaram Pillai and in that excitement one Englishman shot dead two Indians. Harisarvothama Rao wrote an article condemning the action of the Englishman in his journal, the *Swaraj*, wherein he said, that the cruel English tiger had devoured two Indians. The Government treated this article as a seditious article and arrested

Harisarvothama Rao and the publisher Bodi Narayana Rao on the 18th July, 1908. The Sessions Judge in the Krishna district originally awarded 6 months simple imprisonment for Harisarvot-hama Rao and 9 months for Bodi Narayana Rao on 9th November 1908. The lawyers who pleaded for Harisarvothama Rao were Suryanarayana Murthy, J. D. Samuels and Ramachar while on the Government side Kalli Narayana Rao acted as the pleader. The Raja of Munagala gave his statement as a witness in favour of Harisarvothama Rao. After the awarding of the above sentences by the Sessions Judge when an appeal was made to the High Court in Madras, the High Court Judge, Benson, while confirming the 9 months imprisonment for Bodi Narayana Rao, increased the sentence of Harisarvothama Rao from 6 months to 3 years R. I. The Government felt that the Sessions Judge, Kershasp, was too lenient in his attitude towards Harisarvottama Rao and demoted him from the post of District Magistrate to that of a sub-Collector and transferred him to Narasaraopet. Thus Harisarvothama Rao and Bodi Narayana Rao were the first political sufferers in Andhra who went to jail during the Vande Mataram movement.

**The Kakinada Riot Case :**

The Kakinada Riot Case took place in July, 1907. The genesis of the case was that one Capt. Kemp, the District Medical Officer, while he was going in his coach a group of three boys started raising the slogan of Vande Mataram. Capt. Kemp got irritated and getting down from the coach, caught hold of one of the boys by name Krishna Rao and gave him such severe blows on the head that the boy became unconscious. Then catching hold of the boy's hair he dragged him to the police station and left him there without any medical aid, though he himself was a medical officer.

When the public of Kakinada heard about this they were infuriated and a mob of about 300 armed with sticks started at 8.30 P. M. towards the European Club where Kemp was having his dinner with his friends. They pelted stones on the windows, broke the furniture and caused general damage to the Club worth about Rs. 2,000/-. Kemp and his friends hid themselves on the first floor by putting out the lights. On hearing this news the Collector, J. A. Cumming, rushed with a force of constables but he



was also assaulted by the rioters who hit him with a soda water bottle on the forehead which caused bleeding. After this attack on the Club the mob ran away in different directions. The Collector seeing that he was running a risk in keeping Kemp at his residence sent him away by cycle to Samarlakota in the midnight and from there to Rajahmundry and ultimately to Madras. The Europeans in Kakinada were panic stricken; to assuage their feelings the District Superintendent of Police came from Rajahmundry with about 50 constables of the Reserve Police. The Government got angry at the outrage committed against an European Institution. Twenty persons were arrested for rioting in this connection. Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu, a leading lawyer of Rajahmundry, took up their case. Among the arrested Ariperala Lakshmi Narsimha Rao, a graduate and the manager of the Swadeshi stores in Kakinada which was known as the National Warehousing Company, Chinna Periah and Pedda Periah who were awarded 2 years R.I. with fine while Baru Venkata Narayana, Ramanna, Lakshmana, Rattaiah were awarded 10 months R.I. with fine. At the expense of the citizens of Kakinada a punitive police force was brought from Rajahmundry and maintained near the Club for sometime. The citizens of Kakinada held a protest meeting for its early withdrawal under the Chairmanship of K. Perraju. They had to pay Rs. 398-13 Annas 8 paise as compensation for the loss of property incurred by the Club. However Capt. Kemp had to pay Rs. 300/ for having assaulted Krishna Rao. Later on, on appeal, Ariperala Lakshmi Narsimha Rao and two others were let off. The Kakinada riot case was the first criminal case in Andhra in the political field. Though the incident was a minor one, the sentences awarded to the Indians were heavy as they were meant to be of a deterrent nature. The case on account of its novelty drew wide attention and questions regarding the Kakinada riot case were raised in the Madras Legislative Assembly also. Capt. Kemp was later transferred to Cuddapah.

### **The Kotappa Konda Riot :**

Another event that took place during the Vande Mataram movement was known as the Kotappa Konda riot case. This incident took place on 18th February, 1909 at Kotappa Konda in the Guntur district on the Mahasivaratri day. Kotappa Konda

is a hillock on which a temple of Shiva is situated with open plain ground on all sides extending over an area of 5 or 6 square miles. It was a regular annual feature for pilgrims to visit this temple on the Sivaratri day when they took along with them for display their best bulls and to hold bull-fights during the *mela*. Men, women and children participated in great numbers in this *mela*. For the Kotappakonda *mela* in 1909, one Chinnappa Reddy went along with his best pair of bulls, to participate in the fair. As the times in which this *mela* was held were days of tension for the British Government, the police were excessively strict in enforcing law and order. They started beating the people unnecessarily in the name of maintaining discipline, and also shot at the bulls of Chinnappa Reddy. One of the constables tried to attack Chinnappa Reddy also when the latter threw him down on the ground. The police thought that the constable was killed. Immediately about five or six constables rushed to the spot and arrested Chinnappa Reddy and took him to the police station. The infuriated mob demanded the release of Chinnappa Reddy, and when it was refused they started attacking the improvised police station and set fire to the palmyra leaves of the shed that constituted the police station. Even women who had gathered there for the *mela* were so infuriated that they got hold of sticks and rods nearby and started attacking the police. The cries of Vande Mataram rent the air and the police seeing the infuriated condition of the mob ran away. On hearing about this the District Superintendent, Mr. Subba Rao, who was put up in a choultry rushed to the scene of rioting but it was too late. Already the police station was in flames and the constables had run away. He tried to appease the mob but the crowd only responded by pelting stones at him which hit his head and he started bleeding profusely. Under the circumstances he had also to return to the choultry in an exhausted condition. The Sub-Collector, Mr. Kershasp, who had already earned the odium of the British Government for having been lenient towards Harisarvothama Rao in the 'Swaraj Sedition Case', was camping at a nearby village called Guruvayyapalem. On hearing about this news he immediately proceeded along with a single Dafedar to the choultry where the Dy. S.P. Subba Rao was lying unattended. He started personally washing the face of the Dy.S.P. In the meanwhile the crowd attacked the choultry, beat the Dafedar and set fire to the choultry. With great difficulty

Mr. Kershasp and the Dy. S.P. managed to escape from the angry mob. The rioters set fire to various sheds erected in connection with the *mela*. In the course of the riot a constable and a peon attached to the Salt Department were killed and several police officers were seriously injured while on the side of the people two Reddy boys died. The Government arrested 45 persons in this connection out of which 21 were convicted. Chinnappa Reddy was sentenced to death while 4 others were sentenced for life and the remaining were given various sentences.

The people naturally regarded Chinnappa Reddy as a hero and martyr who had the courage to defy and fight the police. Long after his death several ballads were composed and sung in his honour recounting his heroism in fighting the police.

While the Kotappa Konda incident created a deep ill-feeling towards the British in the hearts of the people, the Anglo-Indian papers like the 'Madras Times' criticised Kershasp and Subba Rao saying that they simply ran away from the scene of action and that if it were an European he would not have behaved in such a cowardly manner. The paper went to the extent of saying that the incident served as an instance to prove that educated natives were unfit to govern. This created more bitterness between the Government and the people. The Madras Government influenced by these Anglo-Indian papers suspended Kershasp and the Dy. S.P. and later demoted them. They were never informed about the reasons nor were they asked to give any explanation in connection with the charges against them. A Tahsildar, Brahmanandam Naidu and a Sub-Magistrate, G. V. Subbarayudu Naidu, who were also Indians, were dismissed from service. Commenting about this 'The Hindu' wrote, "The action of the Government in suspending the two officers, we cannot but regard as hasty and ill-judged. In this days of tension of feeling between classes it would be well for the Government to be on its guard against the danger of surrendering its judgment to mischievous Anglo-Indian counsels." As a consequence of these incidents Mr. Kershasp resigned his job.

#### **The Tenali Bomb Case :**

Another incident known as the 'Tenali Bomb Case' took place during the period under review. In the Kancharlapalem village a Harijan by name Chennugadu was blown away to death by the

explosion of a bomb which was supposed to have been manufactured and planted by Chukkapalli Ramaiah, Katamraju Venkatrayudu and Lakkaraju Basaviah. They were arrested on 6th April, 1909. Chukkapalli Ramaiah was sentenced by the Chief Justice to 10 years transportation under Section 5 of the Explosives Act. K. Venkatarayudu and L. Basaviah were charged with circulating seditious pamphlets known as *Swarajya Sampadana* in Telugu. L. Basaviah was sentenced to transportation for 5 years but later on it was reduced to a term of 2 years imprisonment. Sri Tanguturi Prakasam, who was then practicing as a Bar-at-Law defended the accused assisted by P. V. Srinivasa Rao and Akka, Lakshmi Narasimha.

### Swadeshism and National Educational Institutions :

Apart from these incidents in the Andhra areas during the Vande Mataram movement the other regular features of the movement that emerged are the growth of a strong feeling of Swadeshism and the encouragement to National Education. Several Swadeshi Stores and National High Schools came into existence during this period. In starting these national educational institutions at Rajahmundry, Gunneswara Rao, the Karnam, played a prominent part. According to a C. I. D. report he was the soul of the local Swadeshi movement. As a matter of fact when Bipin Chandra Pal was leaving Rajahmundry Gunneswara Rao also went to the station along with the students to see him off. The police officer on duty warned the students to be careful about their behaviour. When Gunneswara Rao heard this he wanted the police officer to apologise to the students. He was the accepted leader of the students. Gunneswara Rao also played a prominent part in starting not only the Bala Bharati Samiti but also the Vande Mataram Night School at Rajahmundry along with Ganti Lakshmananna and Bhimasankaram. The National High School at Rajahmundry was also started during this period for which Sri Perraju donated landed property worth about Rs. 40,000. The College was declared open by Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu who compared it to a national temple of knowledge (*Desiya Vidyalayam*). In Masulipatam the National College was started by the efforts of Harisarvothama Rao and Koppalli Hanumantha Rao, who was the son of the Diwan of Challapalli Raja. Apart from the above people other leaders of Krishna like Hidamti Hanumantha Rao, Ramadasu,

Valluri Suryanarayana, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Koutha Sri Rama Sastri and Pättabhi Seetaramaiah played a prominent part in not only starting the College but also in promoting the Swadeshi Industrial Provident Fund. Mutnuri Krishna Rao after he took over the editorship of the *Krishna Patrika* in 1907, rendered yeoman service in building up the National College. The Krishna district people and their leaders not only took up the cause of National Education and Swadeshi but also promoted cultural institutions like the National Theatre of Dasu Narayan Rao. On the stage of this theatre the stories of Indian heroes like Shivaji, the glories of Vijayanagar or similar inspiring annals from the Maratha history were enacted. Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Puranam Venkatappayya also propagated the spread of handloom industry by adopting the shuttle loom. To encourage the use and sale of Swadeshi goods they used to conduct Swadeshi Fairs (*Santalu*).

Koppalli Hanumantha Rao who qualified himself as a lawyer, tore off his lawyer's certificate as a symbol of his boycotting the British courts and devoted himself entirely in the serving of National College at Masulipatam where he introduced carpet weaving industry as one of the courses.

Similar such National Institutions were opened at Ongole, Cuddapah and other places. Meetings in connection with the Swadeshi movement were held in almost all the Andhra districts. As early as 1904 a Swadeshi meeting was held at Nellore in which V. Ramesam, K. S. Subramanya Sastry and others participated.

In Rajahmundry the Swadeshi movement was led by Ganti Lakshmana, Nyapati Subba Rao, Bhimasankar Rao, Sudarsan Rao, Dr. Krishna Rao, etc. The Swadeshi movement spread not only among the students but also among the merchant class and the enlightened public. Several leading merchants of Rajahmundry like Nalam Pullaiah and Alapati Bhaskara Ramaiah responded to the Swadeshi movement by agreeing to sell only Swadeshi goods. Even landed proprietors and Inamdars like K. Ramchandra Rao supported the Swadeshi movement. They also started an association at Rajahmunday called the Industrial Institute.

Bhavanachari of Guntur suggested the idea of sending young men to Japan for industrial training, in order to start industries at

home after their return. They appealed to the enlightened zamindars to send these young men at their expense. The Sethu-brothers, Srinivasa Rao and Madhava Rao, took a prominent part in this. On account of the influence of Koppalli Hanumantha Rao the Raja of Chellapalli was induced to take interest in the Swadeshi Movement.

In Cuddapah, Jangam Kota Hariappa and Bhadrachalam Venkateshwara Rao started a Swadeshi cloth shop.

In Nellore, a Swadeshi Society was started in 1908 by one Mahankali Srinivasa Sastrulu. A night school was also started in the house of Vennalakanti Narasiah.

In Guntur, the Swadeshi movement was led by Konda Venkattappayya and Vinjamuri Bhavanachari. Bhavanachari's younger son Rangachari who was only 15 years of age at that time also used to give lectures in support of the Swadeshi movement.

#### **Students sent to Japan for industrial training :**

In accordance with their plans to send students to Japan for receiving industrial training, the following students were deputed :

1. Malladi Venkata Subba Rao of Kakinada :—He was sent to Japan in 1906 to learn pencil making. His expenses were borne by the Seva Voyage Fund of Guntur.
2. S. Rama Rao, a student of Bellary, was sent in 1906 to learn glass and watch making. His expenses were borne by the Madras National Fund and Industrial Association.

Philonthropic individuals also deputed students at their own cost. One such case was that of Gobeti Janaki Ramaiah, he was sent to Okasa to learn the making of card-board and straw board boxes. His expenses were borne by A. Bhaskar Ramaiah, a wealthy timber merchant of Rajahmundry, while the Madras National Fund and Industrial Association donated a sum of Rs. 200 towards his expenses. Another person who was sent abroad during this period was Mamidi Devendram of Rajahmundry. He was sent to learn electroplating and its ancillary industries.

Several books in Telugu were written during this period in support of the Swadeshi movement, the most notable among them being Attili Suryanarayana's *Hindu Daridryamu* and Mangapudi

Venkata Sarma's and Venkata Subbarayudu's *Bharata Matru Satakamu*.

When the movement for the propagation of Swadeshi started, the Madras Mahajana Sabha at its meeting held on 15-2-1906 decided to propagate the idea of Swadeshi by a) Starting weaving schools in different districts and sub-divisions, (b) Introducing woolen and silk fabrics as also knitting machines in the weaving schools that are to be set up, (c) Encouraging the invention, and manufacture of improved looms, (d) Introducing small scale industries that can be started with a small capital such as the manufacture of knives, scissors, locks, keys, padlocks, steels trunks, buttons, candles etc., (e) Establishing national scholarships for the training of energetic young men in useful arts and manufactures in order that they might become teachers in the national schools, (f) By advancing small sums to poor weavers on security, (g) Encouraging student volunteers on monetary basis for hawking Swadeshi goods from house to house".

This meeting was presided over by Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu.

The Madras Mahajana Sabha also decided that in every district, town and Munsiff town, there should be a Standing Committee while the Central Committee would be located in Madras. It was the duty of these committees to approach all zamindars, bankers and professional men and merchants for donations. It was also decided that the Swadeshi volunteers would approach the heads of families at the time of weddings, *shradhas* and other ceremonial occasions to remind them of their duty towards the National Fund. It was also decided that all merchants and shopkeepers should be requested to set apart a pie in a rupee for this National Fund.

The nationalists also exhorted the people in India to imitate Japan. We know from the confidential report sent by Rev. Arps of Dowleshwaram to the Collector that the Bala Bharati Samati at Rajahmundry was responsible for secretly inciting the students to visit the nearby villages and give lectures to the villagers on the Swadeshi movement. Several of the rusticated students of the Rajahmundry Arts College, after their externment from College, devoted themselves to the propagation of Swadeshi ideals in the nearby villages of the Godavari district.

In Visakhapatnam a female Bharati Sangham was started in 1905. This was patronised by the Maharani of Vallur. During the Swadeshi and Vande Mataram movement the following leaders were noted in the contemporary C. I. D. Reports for carrying on activities against the Government :

Mutnuri Krishna Rao of Masulipatam, Ethiraja Surendra Nath Arya of Masulipatam, Harisarvothama Rao of Masulipatam, Koppalli Hanumantha Rao of Masulipatam, Gunneswara Rao of Rajahmundry, Unnava Lakshminarayana of Guntur, Sethu Madhava Rao Chillariga of Masulipatam, Narayana Rao Outupalli of Masulipatam, Bodi Narayana Rao of Vijayawada, Ranganatha Naidu of Vijayawada, Srinivasa Rao Chillariga of Masulipatam, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah of Masulipatam, Seshachalapati Rao Devagupta of Guntur, Rajeswara Rao Katamraju of Guntur, Suryanarayana Rao Alluri of Masulipatam, Kowtha Sreerama Sastri of Masulipatam, Venkatasubbayya of Madras (Member of the Servants of India society), Mamidi Devendram of Eluru.

Apart from these Gutti Keshav Pillai of Anantapur and Konda Venkatappayya of Guntur were also taking an important part. It is of interest to note that whenever conferences were held the C. I. D. reports made it a point to see from which caste the people who took a prominent part in the meetings were drawn. Several C. I. D. Reports of the period say that the Brahmins were behind the Swadeshi movement while in another report the C. I. D. remarks that no Mohammadan attended the Conference, no non-Brahmin delegate except one Ramaswamy Gupta of Guntur attended the Conference. Incidentally it so happened that the majority of the leaders who took part in the Vande Mataram movement were Brahmins. Due to several historical and sociological reasons peculiar to the Hindu society the Brahmins were more advanced and better educated than the other communities in the society. Being better educated they could more quickly grasp the points at issue whereas the less educated non-Brahmins took some more time to appreciate the subtlety of the nationalist movement. Hence during the early phase of the Freedom Struggle in India, the majority of the leadership came from the Brahmin community. The British tried to meet the challenge by not only introducing communal representation in India through the Minto-Morley



Reforms but at a later stage encouraged the establishment of the Justice Party in the Madras Presidency. They tried to create differences not only between the Hindus and Muslims in general but also between the Brahmins who dominated the administrative services on account of their better educational qualifications and the non-Brahmins who were just then taking up to Western education.

The immediate outcome of the Vande Mataram and the Swadeshi agitation was the announcement of the Minto-Morley reforms through which the British Government tried to pacify the Indian public opinion by giving representation to the Indians in the Legislative Council. At about the same time the Minto-Morley Reforms were introduced, the Government also passed in 1910 the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act by which the freedom of the people for holding meeting, and the freedom of expression through the press were seriously curtailed.

To counteract the growing spirit of Swadeshism an Imperial League was founded by the Maharaja of Bobbili who was nominated to the Madras Executive Council under the Minto-Morley Reforms. Its main aim was to promote loyalty and support towards the Government.

The Swadeshi movement took various forms but some of its general features were that students used to shout Vande Mataram slogan whenever they saw an European officer and sometimes did not even hesitate to throw mud and stones at Europeans. The people were so much carried away by the new found sense of national pride that they ridiculed the European conventions and everything European ; for example when the Collector Mr. Braidwood and his wife were leaving for England, Ganti Venkataramanayya, the Municipal Chairman of Rajahmundry, issued the following invitation "To meet Mr. and Mrs. Braidwood, I request the pleasure of your company at a garden party to be given in the Museum Garden at 5.00 P. M. on Saturday the 7th March." The nationalists wanted to show that the Collector after all did his duty while in India and as such it is not necessary to show him any special regard. So, in order to ridicule the Braidwoods the younger brother of Tanguturi Prakasam, T. Sree Ramulu, editor of the 'Carlylean' and Ganti Lakshmaiah, a pleader of Rajahmundry and

the President of the Bala Bharati Samiti, held a mock tea party in honour of a Brahmin cook who retired from the service of one Chellapalli Brahmaji Rao. Invitation cards were distributed to the effect "Chellapalli Brahmaji Rao requests the pleasure of the company of the public at an entertainment to be given to a faithful cook in appreciation of his meritorious services, today (7th March) at 5. 00 P. M."

Another off shoot of the Vande Mataram movement in India was the starting of secret terrorist organisations. It was during this period that Lala Hardayal started the Gadar party in San Francisco. In Andhra on the whole the terrorist movement did not spread. Darsi Chenchayya is the only Andhra who joined the Gadar party of Lala Hardayal but did not remain a member throughout. But pamphlets regarding the secret organisations of the Russian revolutionaries were distributed among the people. The incident known as the Bapatla Seditious case took place during this period in which one L. Basaviah was charged with distributing Seditious leaflets.

The Vande Mataram and Swadeshi movements in Andhra were in full swing till about the year 1910. But from 1910 onwards the moderates among the nationalist leaders began to dominate. Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo who had led the extremist nationalist movement were no longer in the vanguard of the movement. Tilak was sent to Mandalay to serve a term of six years imprisonment. Pal was also thrown into prison while Aurobindo settled down in Pondichery and took to spiritual life. So, from 1910 onwards the leadership in Andhra came under the control of moderates like Konda Venkatappayya and Diwan Bahadur G. Keshav Pillai of Gutti. They worked during this time in building up public opinion towards the creation of a separate Andhra state. Thus from 1911 onwards the movement in Andhra takes the shape of the Andhra Movement and people of all walks of political opinion were united in the demand for the creation of a separate Andhra province

### **The Home Rule League :**

Tilak was released from Madalay and was brought to Poona on 16th June, 1914. Soon after his release he founded the Home Rule League in 1916, saying that it was the first step towards the attainment of freedom from the British yoke.

In the meanwhile the First World War broke out in August, 1914. The extremists and the moderates of the Congress who were split in Surat were united once again in the Lucknow session of the Congress. This gave a great strength to the nationalist movement. The Indian National Congress also entered into an agreement with the Muslim League known as the Lucknow Pact. More or less at about the same time when Tilak started his Home Rule League in Poona, Mrs. Annie Besant, an Irish lady by birth and who regarded India as her second motherland and who was the President of the Theosophical Society in Madras, founded in September 1916, the Home Rule League. It was understood that there should be co-ordination between the two Leagues. Commenting about the part played by Mrs. Annie Besant during this period Pat-tabhi Sitaramaiah observed in his 'History of the Congress', "Here was India then in 1916, a nation whose cause went unheeded (By the British) and whose leader remained yet to be found. It was at such a juncture that Mrs. Besant stepped in the trench. She jumped from religion to politics, from theosophy to Home Rule".

#### Home Rule Movement in Andhra :

Andhra welcomed the Home Rule Movement. An Andhra branch of the Home Rule League was formed with Harisarvothama Rao as the Secretary. Virulent propoganda in favour of the Home Rule was carried on in Andhra by Harisarvothama Rao who declared, "Nothing can be a greater mistake than to suppose that in the case of such a great country as India self-government will not conduce to afford political training to her. ————— Just as the time passed away when it was believed that boys could not be educated unless they were beaten and abused and knowledge was ground and sent down their throats, so must the time, when it is talked that people cannot learn self-government unless they are taught under compulsion and restraint. Nevertheless, to those who are accustomed to old ways, however good they may be, a change cannot but be repulsive. Further it is difficult for love of power to die out. It is the principal object of the Home Rule League to dispel that repulsion, to kill that love of power and to secure strength for the British Empire by making a system of self-govern-  
ment recognised as the primary basis of the political progress of India." He also issued several pamphlets in Telugu defining 'Swaraj' and also translated into Telugu the song of Sarojini

Naidu, 'Awake Mother' as *Nutana Haindava Matrugeetamu*. Other pamphlets like *Swarajya Paramoddesam* (the ideal of Home Rule), *Swatantravardhana Patram* (Proclamation of Queen Victoria promising equal rights and treatment of Indians), *Swarajyamu Korutaku karanamu* (The Reason why we want Home Rule). All these pamphlets were priced at three paise each and sold among the people to spread the ideal of the Home Rule. Hatisarvothama Rao also wrote strong articles in the press advocating self-government saying that no government, however benevolent it is, has the right to say that the people cannot govern for themselves. For his writings, the security deposit for the 'Nationalist', an English weekly that was run by him, was forfeited under the India Press Act of 1911. The Telugu newspaper *Desamala* run by Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham also wrote strong articles during this period for which it was asked to pay a security deposit while another newspaper the *Hitakarini* of Eluru compared the conditions in India with those in Ireland and warned that a party of the type of Sinn Finners might come into existence in India also, if the British Government were fail to solve the Home Rule problem to the satisfaction of the Indians. The *Andhra Patrika* which was founded in 1914 as well as the *Krishna Patrika* of Mutnuri Krishna Rao played a prominent part in propagating the ideals of Home Rule in Andhra.

Mrs. Annie Besant undertook a tour of the Andhra country from time to time during the year 1916. While presiding over a meeting held in Chittoor she said, "No self-respecting man can remain content to live in his own country as an alien shut out from higher reaches of his public life ————— — To live without freedom is to die daily. It is not life but living death". She exhorted the Indians saying "By all the memories of your mighty past, by all the fame of your glorious dead, by all the hopes of your splendid future, for the sake of the generation yet unborn who shall bless you as the builders of a free nation or curse you as traitors who welded more strongly the fetters of her limbs, concentrate yourself to the service of the motherland." She further said that on the ground of her white skin she was allowed to say things which might be dangerous for Indians to say. She did not know for how long she was to be allowed to say so, but she was not going to modify her language until she was silenced by force.

Mrs. Besant carried on a tirade against the British Government methods through newspapers, "The New India" and the "Common Weal". She represented the British Government in India as a foreign despot whose favourite weapons are the gag and the 'Lettre and the cachet'.

The Madras Government sent her warnings through the Private Secretary of the Governor. But she remained undeterred in her determination to carry on the campaign for Home Rule. She also through her writings created a spirit of resistance among the Indians at the discrimination shown to the railway passengers by the Railway Authorities who did not allow Indians to travel in a compartment reserved for the Europeans. She said that it was illegal and asked the Indians not to put up with such an insult. This naturally led to several instances of free fights between the Indian students and the European students going to colleges by train. Young Men's Indian Association on the lines of the Young Men's Christian Association was started by Mrs. Besant. The Indian Boy Scout movement and the Order of the Sons of India were also encouraged by her and she advocated the spread of National Education on 31st March 1917, a parliament known as the Madras Parliament to which delegates were invited to come and give their opinion on the state of affairs in India was convened. Several people like B. Narasimheswara Sarma, a member of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, responded to her call for the Home Rule. She also started the National College at Madanapalli in May, 1916. Mr. J. H. Cousins, an Irish journalist was appointed as the Principal. The young Men's Association created by Mrs. Besant distributed political tracts among the people propagating the ideals of the Home Rule. Gutti Keshav Pillai of Anantapur also played a great part in popularising the Home Rule Movement among the people.

### **The Justice Party :**

Seeing the popularity of the Home Rule League growing day by day, the British Government tried to split up the political ranks in Madras by starting the Justice party to encourage the non-Brahmin movement in the country. But several patriotic Indians and non-Brahmins like Gutti Keshav Pillai, B. H. Venkatapati Raju of Vizagapatam who actually lost his Municipal Chairmanship on

account of his pro-Home Rule sympathies, Nageswara Rao Pantulu, etc., saw through the subtle game of the British Government, and tried to counter-act the separatist tendencies of the Non-Brahmin League.

Mrs. Besant and her colleagues Mr. Arundale and Wadia also identified themselves with the Congress-League policy of self-government and propagated the idea of self-government among the people. On account of these activities Mrs. Besant was interned at Ootacamund along with her colleagues Arundale and Wadia on 16th June 1917.

The arrest of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues created a feeling of anger among the people. Meetings were held all over the country condemning the action of the Government. Funds were collected for running the Home Rule League in the absence of Mrs. Besant called the Besant Fund and a group known as the "Indignant Group" of the Home Rule was formed whose members used to wear the Besant Pendant as the badge. The Government, seeing the unrest, passed an order (G. O. No. 559) prohibiting students and school boys from taking any part in political meetings.

The Home Rule movement also fought for recruiting Indians to the army and for throwing open commissioned ranks to the Indians on a more liberal basis. The agitation carried on by the Home Rule League led for the first time to labour and agrarian disputes in India. From the Government C.I.D. reports we know that these strikes were mainly due to the writings of nationalists like G. Harisarvothama Rao and Chidambaram Pillai. Commenting about the manner of recruitment of Europeans and Indians to the army the 'Common Weal' in its issue of 29th June, 1918, wrote, "The Government has its own way of recruiting sepoys. It is grooming out Englishmen for officers even though they be hair dressers, drapers and the like———It has come to this that the Government of India neither knows nor trusts the country it is supposed to govern. Rather than employ Indians as officers the bureaucracy will prolong the war. Even shop assistants, hair dressers and tailors are preferred as officers to Indian noblemen and gentlemen. The latter may serve under them as sepoys if they so please." As a result of this propaganda carried on by the Home Rule League the Government efforts at raising a war loan in

enlightened towns like Rajahmundry, Ramachandrapuram met with very poor success. Actually the pleaders of Ramachandrapuram told the Tahsildar that no subscriptions could be expected from them until the people of India were granted the Congress-League scheme of Reforms. The impact of the Home Rule movement was also seen in the fact that the number of recruits to the army also fell conspicuously during this period. The District Conferences that were held at Anantapur, Ganjam, Krishna and the Andhra Conference that was held on the 17th August, 1918, at Guntur reiterated the demand for implementing the reforms on the model of the Congress-League scheme.

The Home Rule movement also carried on propaganda against the indignities to which the Indians were exposed in South Africa and East Africa.

It was during the internment of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues that the political leaders of India thought for the first time adopting Passive resistance as a method for securing the release of the three Home Rule leaders.

Gandhiji had already tried with success at Champaran the passive resistance movement. The policy on Passive resistance was supported by the Madras Provincial Congress Committee on 14th August, 1917, and it was signed by Sri B. N. Sarma, B. S. Srinivasa Sastry, Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu, Mocharla Ramachandra Rao, P. Siva Rao, B. H. Venkatapati Raju and B. P. Madhava Rao. The members of the Home Rule League at Madanpalli met under the Presidentship of Harisarvothama Rao and reiterated their determination to carry on the Home Rule movement. Harisarvothama Rao toured several places like Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada, and Guntur where he gave lectures on "Swaraj" and Home Rule. The talk of Passive resistance and the activities of the Home Rule League convinced the Government that it is not advisable to intern Mrs. Besant any longer, especially in view of the announcement of the British Government to introduce the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. So Mrs. Besant and her colleagues were released on 17th September, 1917.

The intensity of the Home Rule Movement created a change in the attitude of the British Government towards India. It decided to meet the growing public agitation by announcing the Montagu-

Chelmsford Reforms by which they promised to associate Indians in a larger number in every branch of administration and also to develop self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India. The Government also announced that as a token of trust in the Indian people they had removed the racial bar which excluded Indians from the King's Commission in the army.

The announcement of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms was followed by the announcement to associate greater non-Brahmins and other communities in greater numbers in administration. This led to the outbreak of riots in towns like Guntur, Kurnool, and Cuddapah between the non-Brahmin and Brahmin groups. So a special session of the Andhra Conference was convened at Vijayawada by A. Kaleswara Rao, to allay the fear of the non-Brahmins and resolutions were passed in favour of the non-Brahmins being given a greater representation in the Madras Legislative Council. The Non-Brahmins also responded to the call of the nation by convening a conference at Vijayawada, representing the coastal districts of Andhra. At this meeting Pattabhi Rama Reddy of Nellore, Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Choudhary, Gutti Keshav Pillai and Ranganatha Pillai played a prominent part in passing not only pro-Home Rule resolutions but also resolutions keeping in tune with the resolutions passed by the Andhra Conference convened by Kaleswara Rao. The convenors of the Andhra Conference also carried on a signature campaign in favour of Home Rule and they were able to procure 10,000 signatures in the five taluqs of Vijayawada Congress division alone.

The Andhra Congress Committee also demanded that they should be allowed to wait on Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, which was granted, after some delay.

The 'Divide and Rule' policy of the India Government could be seen from the fact that they deliberately allowed different deputations based on communal differences to meet the Secretary of State. They allowed not only the representatives of the Andhra Congress Committee, but also the representatives of different Non-Brahmin castes from the Telugu districts like the Arya Vaisyas and Naidu communities to wait on Montagu.



**The Andhra Congress Circle :**

The year closed with the annual session of the Congress at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Mrs. Besant, a fitting tribute to the great services rendered by her during 1914-1917 to the cause of the country and freedom. The Calcutta Congress passed a resolution on self-government and it was here for the first time due to the efforts of Tilak that Andhra was recognised as a separate Congress circle.

In the year 1918, it was decided that a special delegation be sent to England to explain the ideals of the Home Rule Movement to the British Government in England. But the British India Government forfeited the passports of the Home Rule delegates while they allowed Dr. Nair who opposed to the Home Rule Movement to proceed to England. The All India Congress Committee which met in Bombay protested against this action of the Government. This meeting was attended from Andhra by Konda Venkatappayya, Oruganti Venkatasubbayya and Kaleswara Rao. At this Conference, Tilak moved an amendment saying that India would respond to the war efforts in proportion to the measure of Home Rule that the British Government would grant to the Indians. The Andhra delegates supported the amendment of Tilak. It is against this background that the India Government announced the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918. It did not come upto the expectations of the people. Special district meetings were held in Cuddapah, Vijayawada, Krishna, Nellore and Ganjam expressing the disappointment of the people regarding the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of reforms. At Guntur, an Andhra Conference was held under the Presidentship of K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu in which resolution was passed for the implementation of the Congress League Scheme. This resolution was moved by B. N. Sarma and seconded by Mr. T. Prakasam.

In the meanwhile the First World War came to an end on 11th November, 1918. The Allies were victorious in the war and they promised the principle of self-determination to all nations of the world. Naturally the Indian political leaders hoped to gain greater political rights and in order to plead their case, they even thought of attending the Paris Peace Conference. So on the 8th December, 1918 the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met

at Vijayawada and it passed a resolution saying that the All India Congress should make a representation to the Government saying that Bal Gangadhar Tilak should be sent as a delegate to the Paris Peace Conference. They even thought of holding the Congress session in England so that the democratic world in general and President Wilson in particular should know about the views and feelings of the Indians. The All India Congress Committee which met at Delhi later under the Presidentship of Madan Mohan Malaviya also passed a resolution saying that India should be represented at the Paris Peace Conference by the elected representatives of the Indian people and it nominated Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gandhiji and Hasan Imam as its representatives. It demanded complete responsible Government for India. But the British India Government, once that the war was over, was in no mood to hear the voice of the Indian people.

With the conclusion of the War the Home Rule phase of the Indian freedom struggle comes to an end. One of the achievements of the Home Rule agitation in India was that it gave a mass base to the political struggle in India and during its intense agitation for Swaraj the people developed a large amount of political consciousness. In the meanwhile, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who had dominated the Indian political scene like a colossus, died on the 1st August, 1920. With the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak Indian politics came completely under the influence of Gandhiji, and the Gandhian era in the Indian National Struggle for independence started.

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## CHAPTER III

### **The Gandhian Era—The Non-Co-operation Movement in Andhra.**

#### **The Rowlatt Act and Satyagraha :**

During the course of the First World War the British Government had passed the Defence of India Act in 1915 which armed the authorities with powers to intern people. The Government also appointed special tribunals to try people charged with seditious activities and sentenced them either to death or transportation for life or imprisonment. By adopting such ruthless measures it was able to put down all revolutionary movements during the War. Now that the War was over, the Government of India wanted to introduce the Rowlatt Bills under which it sought wide executive powers like imprisoning persons without trial. These Bills met with universal opposition from the people.

Gandhiji, who had earned a great reputation for himself as a saintly leader by the successful conduction of Satyagraha in South Africa, Champaran district in Bihar, and also by giving relief to the peasants in the Khera district in Ahmedabad, reacted sharply to the Rowlatt Bills. He proclaimed on 24th February, that he would lead a Satyagraha movement if the Rowlatt Bills were passed. He advised the India Government to stop the legislation but the latter declaring that Gandhiji was hasty, passed the Rowlatt Bill in the first week of March, 1919. So, he started organising the Satyagraha Sabha and asked the people to be prepared for suffering and sacrifice and pledge themselves to the service of the country. The Satyagraha pledge ran as follows, "Being consciously of opinion that the Bills are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle, we will faithfully follow truth and

refrain from violence to life, person or property." After making his decision known Gandhiji undertook an all-India tour to win over people for his Satyagraha movement. Gandhiji's call for Satyagraha acted as a clarion call among the people.

### **Gandhiji's tour in Andhra :**

In the course of his tour he also visited the Andhra country. The response to Gandhiji's leadership in Andhra was overwhelming. Gandhiji first visited Secunderabad and from there he proceeded to Vijayawada and addressed a mammoth meeting at the Ram Mohan library. His talk was translated into Tēlugu by Sri Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao. At this time Gandhiji was suffering from heart weakness but inspite of that, he did not hesitate to undertake the arduous tour. From Vijayawada he proceeded to Madras. Even before Gandhiji arrived at Madras a mammoth public meeting was held on the 23rd April, 1919 at the Madras Beach under the Chairmanship of Tanguturi Prakasam. On the motion of Sri Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Prakasam was voted to the Chair. This meeting marks the emergence of Tanguturi Prakasam as a political leader in Andhra. Prakasam, from his Presidential Chair, read out the pledge to the audience and declared, "When the people concerned have been protesting from the very beginning and the members of the Viceroy's council have been advising the Government not to proceed with this measure and every source of persuasion had been exhausted, ----- Mr. Gandhi has come forward on behalf of his unfortunate countrymen to tell the Government that they have driven the people to a point of desperation. He has intervned and advised the Executive to stay their hands. The result is that he was told that he was hasty. ----- This is a legislation which has cut at the root of the fundamental and natural rights of man. The State in enacting such oppressive laws exceeds its power. When the State exceeds its jurisdiction and proposes such oppressive laws the weapons which the people are entitled to use are (1) Direct representation (2) Constitutional agitation and (3) Passive resistance. Passive resistance would certainly become unlawful the moment physical force is coupled with it in any form. So long as it is practiced subject to the limitations prescribed by Mr. Gandhi, I fail to see how it can be said that it is unlawful or illegal." Another great Andhra leader who addressed this meeting

was Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who moved a resolution urging the Viceroy and the Government of India to drop the Rowlatt Bills as they are "Oppressive, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based." She then spoke about the Satyagraha movement in the following manner, "Ever since, in far off Allahabad, in that little thatched cottage where the selfless sage dwells, living a life of a self chosen poverty, ever since the little guru of the men and women came to decide that the only possible weapon today in the armoury for tyrannised India was not the weapon of the machine guns and swords but the immortal, elementary and invincible weapon of all spiritual revolt against temporal iniquity ----- there has been a channel of spiritual revolt and spiritual power which is against the material weapon and the material power of other nations, we decided to dedicate our lives, and all that our lives stand for in the way of our personal liberty and yes, according to the world's standards, of our personal honour and our personal happiness ; ----- The Satyagraha movement is a thing of organic life which must of necessity grow and expand because it carried within itself the immortal functions of life and so the Satyagraha movement has kindled itself with fire in the temple or 'ashram' where Mahatma Gandhi is the high priest or Guru. He has lighted the flame where the torches of the spirits of India must catch fire so that in the spiritual illumination of that national dedication to the cause of justice and liberty, India shall be served by her great army of spiritual warriors ready for death. That, gentlemen, is the meaning of Satyagraha. .... . . .

..... Satyagraha is that form of historic resistance to outside devastating and disintegrating influences which has kept down the life and spirit of Indian people today..... .. In the Viceroy's Council Sir William Vincent and the other great men whose coffers have been filled these many years from the wealth of India, who boast that England went to war in this great World War because of her chivalry towards a weak neutral nation, that England would be paramount in this great League of Nations that is to determine the exact place and purpose, the exact balance of power, of freedom, of prestige which is to belong to any of the nations of the world. When it comes to India, it says, 'My dependency, our allies are the Belgians whom we have championed, the

Colonies beyond the seas we hold as comrades of our blood, America has our blood, they are our kin, our friends and our colleagues in this great war of freedom. But you (India) sent your sons to France, sent the blood of your blood to Flanders, the soul of your souls, in the life reward take this stigma, this brand of dishonour of the fallen, unable to rise because you are unarmed'.

————— The vocabularies of liberty have been printed in a limited edition for circulation only among those who belong to one colour creed of the world. And yet loyalty is in that dictionary that is printed for slaves like us. Contentment is another word. Loyalty, contentment and gratitude are the assets of a conquered nation, while power, honour, freedom, prestige are rights of a nation that holds your heart under its heel.—————

——— We have only the weapon of suffering, the weapon of sacrifice, the weapon of dauntless self determination which means to most of us death in some form or other. That is the only weapon in the armoury of world's weapons left to us.————— Because we cannot endure the stigma of dishonour in the future the stigma of shame today so that we followers of Satyagraha, the spiritual soldiers of truth ask you, "If you people come and fight side by side with us with that sword that is of the spirit, well and good ; but if you cannot come with us in that great battle of pilgrimage, if you cannot share with us in that work, stand aside, not in mockery of us, not in opposition to us. Who are you that cannot accept our truth and yet make mockery of our conviction ? Stand aside from the pilgrimage of the soldiers of truth. But if you share with us in the vision of that liberty which is your birthright, even though you cannot share with us the sufferings of our pilgrimage, cheer us in our way, give us your benediction, and bid us be of good cheer, because we fight for your and your children's children and that honour which is India's and shall be India's, if we and this generation die to achieve freedom".

The following day, another mammoth meeting was held on the beach opposite the Presidency College, Madras, to welcome Mahatma Gandhi. This meeting was conducted under the Chairmanship of S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar. Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his message declared, "————— The Bills require to be resisted not only because they are in themselves bad, but also because Government who are responsible for their introduction

have seen fit practically to ignore public opinion and some of its members have made to a boast that they can so ignore that opinion. ——— I have however, after much prayerful consideration, and after very careful examination of the Government's standpoint, pledged myself to offer Satyagraha against the Bills, and invited all men and women who think and feel with me to do likewise. ——— There are times when you have to obey a call which is the highest of all, i.e., the voice of conscience even though such obedience may cost many a bitter tear, nay ever more separation from friends, from family, from the state to which you may belong, from all that you have held as dear as life itself. ——— My experience of Satyagraha leads me to believe that it is such a potent force that once set in motion it ever spreads till at last it becomes a dominant factor in the community in which it is brought into play and if it so spreads no Government can neglect it. Either it must yield to it or imprison the workers in the movement. ——— I make bold to promise that we shall bring about withdrawal of the two Bills and neither the Government nor our critics will have a word to say against us. The cause is great, the remedy is equally great, let us prove worthy of them both''.

In the meanwhile, inspite of the countrywide protests, the Rowlatt Bills were enacted as law towards the end of March. It was decided that 30th of March, 1919 should be fixed as the day for observing a country wide *Hartal*, fasting and prayers and for conducting meetings all over the country. Later on, the date was changed to 6th April. In several places including Delhi, not knowing that the date of *Hartal* was changed from 30th of March to 6th April, processions were led by the nationalists and the soldiers fired upon them. The Arya Samaj leader Swamy Shradhananda led a procession on the 31st March. The police tried to open fire but Swamy Shradhananda bared his chest and defied the British soldiers to fire at him. The soldiers were taken aback by this attitude and allowed the procession to proceed. On the whole in the Delhi firings, five people died while several were wounded. There were disturbances in Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad and other parts of India also.

On the 6th April, *Hartal* was observed all over Andhra in a befitting and peaceful manner. Meetings were held in several Andhra towns like Vijayawada, Masulipatam, Guntur and

Rajahmundry. There were meetings, demonstrations and strikes all over the country against the Rowlatt Act. Gandhiji observed the day as a day of humiliation and prayer preceded by a twenty four hour fast. He expected all the participants in the Satyagraha movement to observe this fast, to suspend work for the entire day, to close down markets and other business places and thus observe a complete *Hartal*. Instructions to this effect were issued in the form of handbills signed by C. Rajagopalachari, Ramaswamy Iyengar, Harisarvothama Rao and Adinarayan Chetty, they were distributed all over the country in the Madras Presidency. On the 5th April, people were reminded of the *Hartal* on the next day by the beat of drums. The *Hartal* and Satyagraha on the 6th April were a complete success. There was also an unprecedented fraternisation between the Hindus and Muslims. Hindu-Muslim unity was the watch word and even Hindu leaders were allowed to preach from the pulpit of a mosque. People belonging to all communities, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs participated in the *Hartal*.

In the Punjab, Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, the two leaders of the Congress, were arrested and sent to an unknown place by the authorities on the 10th April. The people went in a procession to the Deputy Commissioner to demand their release. They were turned back and fired upon with the result that several were killed. This created great unrest among the masses and led to violent outbreaks at Amritsar, Gujranwala and Kasur. Hearing about these outbreaks Mahatma Gandhi wanted to start for the Punjab but he was not allowed to proceed there. He was arrested on his way and brought back to Ahmedabad. Fearing that the struggle might turn violent, Gandhiji withdrew the Satyagraha.

### **Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy :**

The Government struck at the Congress party in a ruthless manner. Hindus and Muslims were arrested on mere suspicion of being nationalists and harassed. While conditions were in such a state, a meeting was held on the 13th April in Amritsar at the Jallianwala Bagh, in protest against the Government's policy of repression. At this meeting there were nearly 20,000 people amongst whom were several helpless women and children ; it was being conducted in a very peaceful manner. On hearing about



the meeting, General Dyer marched at the head of a body of troops. After taking care that the entrance to the Jallianwala Bagh was blocked by the military and the crowd had no way to escape, he opened fire indiscriminately till all his 1600 rounds of ammunition were exhausted as a result of which 400 people were killed, while 1200 were wounded. The whole country was filled with anger and indignation, hearing about this deliberate massacre. It reaffirmed their decision to fight for Swaraj and to defy the atrocities of the Government at any cost.

The Government tried to suppress the news about the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The news of it reached the other parts of country piece-meal. Martial Law was proclaimed in Lahore, Amritsar and other places in the Punjab and it lasted till the 11th June. The people in the Punjab were submitted to untold misery and repression. Several students and professors who participated in the *Hartal*, were arrested. The students of Lahore College were made to walk bare-footed in hot sun, and report themselves four times daily at a place covering a distance of 16 to 20 miles. Even small school children were made to parade and salute the British flag. The Badshahi mosque was closed for six weeks and innocent members of a marriage party were flogged. Arrests, imprisonments and executions took place on large scale. At one street in Amritsar where a missionary lady by name Miss. Sherwood had been attacked while she was cycling, people passing through were ordered to crawl with their belly on the ground. The British forgot that Miss. Sherwood was protected in that very lane by decent citizens. Some of the Englishmen like Quarter Master General, Hudson, regarded it as a great joke. Bicycles, other than those of Europeans were seized. In Kasur, an open cage was constructed for the incarceration of arrested persons. Hindus and Muslims were hand-cuffed together in pairs to ridicule the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity and they were paraded in the streets. Electricity and Water supply was cut off from Indian houses. Gujranwala was mercilessly bombed. Public flogging of innocent victims stripped naked to the knees and tied to telegraph poles was common in the Punjab. The Martial Law officer in Gujranwala, even passed orders, that when Indians met British officers, they must salute, alight from their coaches or dismount riding and lower their umbrellas if they happened to be carrying one.

The Punjab atrocities created a thrill of horror throughout the country. It shocked the sense of forbearance of the people. They deemed it as a national humiliation. Meetings were held condemning the atrocities of the Government. In the Andhra country meetings were held under the auspices of the Godavari, Krishna and Visakhapatnam District Conferences where the Government's acts of repression were condemned.

Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao wrote an article entitled "Cult of the Bullet" in his paper 'The Nationalist' condemning the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy for which his paper was proscribed by the Government. Several papers like the *Andhra Patrikâ*, *Deshamata Desabhimani*, *Andhra Vani*, and the *Hitakarini* also became the uncompromising critics of the Government's repressive policy. Under the pressure of public demand the Government appointed a committee known as the Hunter Committee to enquire into the firings at Jallianwala Bagh. The Committee published its report in March, 1920. In its report it declared that the action of General Dyer was only "a grave error of judgement which exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case." Even the Secretary of State, Montagu, declared that the General was prompted by honesty of purpose and unstinted adherence to duty. Since the Hunter Committee's report was found unsatisfactory, the Indian National Congress appointed a committee of its own consisting of Gandhiji, Chittaranjan Das, Motilal Nehru and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to enquire into the Punjab atrocities and if possible to send a delegation on their own to England to rouse the public opinion there. To add insult to injury, the Government also introduced another bill known as the 'Indemnity Bill' by which they wanted to indemnify all the officers of the Punjab who acted in pursuance of the Martial Law and committed atrocities on the people of the Punjab.

Country wide protests were made against the ruthless acts of the Government in the Punjab. We find that the Guntur Bar Association demanded the impeachment of Gen. Dyer. It also decided to collect funds for the rehabilitation of those people who were victims of harassment at the hands of the Government. Deshbhakta Konda Venkatappayya undertook the responsibility of raising the fund.

Thus the year 1919 was marked by a phenomenal growth of the mass movement in India. Political demonstrations, *Hartals*

and strikes, became the order of the day. The nationalist movement for the first time in India was acquiring a mass basis. It was no longer a movement of the middle and upper class people. Gandhiji was able to draw into its fold by his magnetic personality workers, peasants, capitalists, students, lawyers and other professional classes and above all, the women of India; who from the time Gandhiji assumed leadership, began to take an active part in the country's struggle for freedom. It was indeed a stirring spectacle to see that the women of India, tens and thousands of them, who for centuries were chained to a narrow domestic life under the weight of tradition and custom, stepping out into the streets and marching on equal terms with their male compatriots in illegal political demonstrations without the background of such a thing as the suffragist movement. But it was also said to the credit of the Indian men that they did not hesitate to give an equal place to the women not only in the political movement but also in society without any struggle. This great psychological change in the Indian society was wrought by the personality of Gandhiji.

Against the background of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, the annual session of the Indian National Congress was held in Amritsar under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru who declared, "You have assembled here in deep mourning over the cruel murder of hundreds of your brethren. In electing me your President, you have assigned to me the role of the chief mourner." By this time the new scheme of constitutional reforms known as the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms or the 'Dyarchy in India' was passed into law. On the eve of the Congress session all the political prisoners were released so that a favourable atmosphere would be created in the country for receiving these reforms. The Indian National Congress passed a resolution to the effect that, "The reforms are inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and that the British Parliament should take steps to establish full responsible Government in India. However, the Congress declared that it was prepared to work and try for the reforms." The Telugu press expressed their deep sense of dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. But since the Amritsar Congress passed a resolution saying that they are prepared to try the reforms for what they were worth, the Telugu press also advocated the acceptance of the reforms and for the entrance of

Indians to contest the ensuing elections. Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, Satyamurthi, and Kaleswara Rao undertook a tour of the districts in order to educate the people regarding the ensuing elections.

### The Khilafat agitation :

In the meanwhile, the Muslims in India were deeply agitated over the Treaty of Sevres by which the British Government and the European powers wanted to dismember the Turkish Empire. An agitation was carried on against the dismemberment of the Turkish empire in India by leaders like Moulana Mohammed Ali, Shoukat Ali, Dr. Ansari, etc. In Turkey this agitation was carried on by Mustafa Kamal Pasha. Since the Sultan of Turkey was the 'Khalifa' or the religious head of the Muslims all over the world, this movement was known as the 'Khilafat Agitation'. As soon as the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were published in May, 1920, a conference was convened in Allahabad in June consisting of Gandhiji and other prominent Muslim leaders. Gandhiji who was highly dissatisfied with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms decided to completely identify himself with the 'Khilafat agitation', thereby he was able to win over the Muslims in the cause of the Indian national struggle. He decided to launch the "Non-co-operation movement in India". Commenting about it, Patabhi Sitaramiah, the historian of the Congress, says "The Triveni of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and the invisible flow of inadequate reforms ——— enriched both in volume and content the stream of national discontent. Gandhiji decided to undo the wrong done to the Punjab and to Khilafat by once again launching his non-violent Non-Co-operation".

The *Desabhimani* wrote, "Just as Lord Krishna saved Arjuna, Gandhiji has sounded his conch of Non-Co-operation to save the whole world. His message is a novel one. This will enable not only the Indians but the whole world to attain salvation"

The decision of Gandhiji to start non-violent non-co-operation against the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms created differences between the Home Rule League under Annie Besant and the Congress. Mrs. Besant opposed the decision of Gandhiji to boycott

the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, as a result of which many of her followers left her and joined the Indian National Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi. In order to propagate the aims of his new movement Gandhiji undertook a country wide tour in the company of Moulana Mohammed Ali and others.

The 6th to 13th of April, 1920 was observed as a National Week when the people were expected to remember the Punjab atrocities and hold meetings condemning them. On 17th April, 1920, for the first time Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Mohammed Ali announced that all patriotic Indians should renounce the honorary titles and posts held by them under the British, boycott the ensuing elections and later on to abstain from paying taxes, that students should leave the Government colleges and join the National Educational Institutions and that lawyers should boycott courts. It was also decided that the next session of the Congress should be held in Calcutta in the month of September. After declaring this to be the policy of the Indian National Congress Gandhiji undertook a country wide tour and while on his way from Madras to Calcutta along with Shoukat Ali and C. Rajagopalachari, he stopped at Vijayawada where he was received by Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Cherukuvada Narasimham and others. He addressed a meeting on 1st August, 1920 at Vijayawada where he announced the policy of the Congress as Non-Violent Non-Co-operation even before it was formally decided at the Calcutta Session. According to Gandhiji, Non-Co-operation was a matter of conscience with him and on such a matter one should not and need not wait for the verdict of even an august body like the Congress. He had already surrendered the title of "Kaisar-e-Hind" and other decorations that he had received during the First World War to the Viceroy. At that meeting he asked Kaleswara Rao that if he agreed with his views, he should give up his candidature to the ensuing elections to the Madras Legislative Assembly. Kaleswara Rao willingly agreed to do so. Thus among the Andhras, Kaleswara Rao and his friend Mohammed Ghulam Mohiuddin were the first to respond to Gandhiji. Kaleswara Rao gave up the idea of contesting for the Madras Legislative Assembly while Mohammed Ghulam Mohiuddin Saheb who was a First Class Honorary Magistrate, resigned his post. Later on, on 28th September Konda Venkatappayya also resigned his membership of the Madras Legislature. He was followed by

other leaders like Ganti Subbarayudu, Vinjamuri Bhavanachari, Vemavarapu Ramdas Pantulu, Chimakurti Ramaswarthy, Gangunta Appa Rao, Khaja Ahmadullah, Anwar Zama Khan and others who had announced their candidature to the Legislative Assembly. Panuganti Pitchiah of Kothagudem Taluk, Khammam District resigned his patwargiri in response to the Non-Co-operation movement, later joined as a worker in Ramadandu and suffered imprisonment. The Guntur Bar Association also passed a resolution to boycott the courts.

### **Boycott of Elections :**

The special Session of the Congress was convened in Calcutta on 4th September. Among the Andhras who attended and sided with the policy of Mahatma Gandhi were Kaleswara Rao, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, Bulusu Sambamurthi, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, Dandu Narayana Raju, Peta Bapaiah, Kotagiri Venkata Krishna Rao, etc. Konda Venkatappayya and Dr Pattabhi Sitarameiah also attended the session. Initially Konda Venkatappayya was opposed to the policy of boycott proposed by Gandhiji but later on as becomes a disciplined Congressman, he also responded to the decision of Congress by resigning his seat in the Madras Legislature. After the Calcutta Congress, the various Congress leaders in Andhra undertook a tour of their respective districts to explain the policy of Non-Co-operation to the people and to appeal to them to abstain from casting their vote in the ensuing election and to persuade lawyers to give up their practice in the courts. Lawyers like Unnava Lakshmi Narayana, Polisetty Hanumanthayya Gupta, Madanapalli Narsimhacharyulu, responded to the call of the Congress. Among the students who responded to the call of boycott of British educational institutions during this period was Kala Venkat Rao, who was a B. Sc. Final student in the Noble College at Masulipatam. A meeting was convened in October at Peddapuram of the Godavari District. National Conference with particular reference to the boycott of Councils under the Presidency of Kotagiri Venkata Krishna Rao, the Kumar Raja of Gampalagudem. Another meeting at Nellore known as the Nellore District National Conference was held with Tikkavarapu Rami Reddy as the Chairman of the reception committee. Konda Venkatappayya as the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee undertook a tour of the several Andhra districts. The Chittoor District Congress Committee not only decided to boycott

the elections but also established a model arbitration court on the Vijaya Dasarni Day. Panchayat courts were also established in several villages. As a result of the organised propaganda carried on by the Congress, very few people participated in the voting. In Guntur, the percentage of voting recorded was only 15 while at Rajahmundry out of a total of 120 muslim voters only one vote was cast and that too by a Government servant. In a majority of the districts, several polling stations returned empty polling boxes.

### **The Nagpur Congress :**

Encouraged by the mandate of the people, Mahatma Gandhi went one step further at the Nagpur Session of the Congress in December, 1920 which was held under the Presidentship of Sri Vijay Raghavachari. This session of the Congress was attended by nearly 16,000 delegates and the majority of these delegates were drawn from the lawyer and student communities. Almost all of them wore swadeshi clothes and for the first time the "Gandhi Cap" was also worn by the delegates. At this session Gandhiji declared that the object of the Congress was to attain Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means. The word 'legitimate' was deliberately adopted in place of 'By constitutional means' and it was made clear to the public that the attainment of Swaraj is their ultimate object which is to be achieved not only by the boycott of Councils, Courts and Schools but also by the non-payment of taxes. He also declared that Swaraj would be achieved within one year if his Non-Co-operation policy was strictly adhered to by Congressmen. By adopting the resolution on Swaraj and Non-Co-operation in the above manner a subtle change was brought about in the creed of the Congress in such a fashion as to eliminate, "The declared adherence of that body to the British Government and to constitutional methods of agitation". Henceforth Congress circles in every district were reorganised on a linguistic basis. The Nagpur Congress laid down heavy responsibility upon the nation. In pursuance of the Nagpur resolution the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met from month to month in the year 1921 at different sessions.

### **The Vijayawada All India Congress Committee :**

The Working Committee that met in Vijayawada from the 31st March to 1st April, 1921 was of a very momentous nature where important decisions were taken. The Vijayawada session

of the All India Congress Committee had a great impact on the progress of the freedom struggle in Andhra as well as in Southern India. At this session it was decided to raise one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and also to enrol one crore Congress members and to introduce 20 lakhs of charkhas in order to promote the 'Khaddar' movement. Organisation of Panchayats, prohibition of liquor, removal of untouchability, working for Hindu-Muslim unity, encouragement of national educational Institutions and Hindi language were also singled out. This Vijayawada session was a unique event in the history of the Andhra country. Hearing about the coming of Mahatma Gandhi along with Kasturba, and Mahadev Desai, and about the arrival of almost all the important leaders like Vallabhai Patel, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Chittaranjan Das, Abbas Tyabji, Hakim Azmal Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Mohammad Ali, Shoukat Ali, Purushottam Das Tandon, etc. people from all over the Andhra countryside and also from the other districts of Madras and even from Hyderabad State went in thousands to Vijayawada. In those days when communications were not properly developed and when there were no regular bus services, they went several miles on foot or in bullock carts as though they were going to attend a *mela*. Bands of enthusiastic young men, on their way to Vijayawada on foot, stopped at intermediary villages to preach Non-Violence, Non-Co-operation and about the greatness of Gandhiji. To get over their fatigue they used to sing national ballads on their way. It was during this particular session that the 'Kesari Samajam' of Rajahmundry went to greet Mahatma Gandhi with the song *Dandalu Dandalu Bharata Mata* on their lips, while another group coming from Ramachandrapuram sang *Mahatma Gandhi Darshaname Punyamu*. The visit of Gandhiji and the other All-India leaders roused the people and it looked as though the whole atmosphere was electrified with feelings of patriotism. The people's love for the national leaders overflowed in their songs and in their rush towards the 'Pandal' to have a glimpse of these leaders. The A. I. C. C. session was held at, what is now called, Gandhinagar, which is in those days was an open place with some thorny bushes here and there. Addepalli Rama Seshayya Chetty was the Chairman of the reception committee. It was here for the first time that Kalluri Subba Rao, then a very young man, worked as a volunteer.



All Andhra and south Indian leaders like T. Prakasam, Konda Venkatappayya, Pattabhi Sitaramiah, Bulusu Sambamurthi, Duvvuri Subbamma, Gadde Rangaiah Naidu, Ramaswamy Naicker, Shafi Ahmed, Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, K. Santanam, C. Rajgopalachari participated in the deliberations of the A. I. C. C. From Telangana, Madapati Hanumantha Rao and others went as observers. Nearly two lakhs of people went to see the A. I. C. C. session and the entire countryside echoed with the cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai, Congress Ki Jai*.

One of the things that attracted the notice of the delegates was the "Ramadandu Volunteers" of Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya. These volunteers who were about 500 strong were employed to maintain discipline, law and order during the session, and by their unstinted service they were able to control the mobs from getting out of hand. It was at this session that one Pingali Venkaiah designed the tri-colour flag of the Congress which was adopted by Gandhiji as the Congress National flag with the 'Charkha' imposed on it. The entire town of Vijayawada looked like one green 'pandal' of palm and mango leaves. People everywhere sang *Mamu Brova Mahini Velasitiva Mahatma Gandhi* (Gandhi! are you born in this world to save us). The entire country was filled with a sense of jubilation, happiness and a sense of supreme confidence, that they were going to win ultimately. After the Vijayawada Congress session Gandhiji undertook a tour of the Andhra country during the course of which he visited Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Eluru, Masulipatam, Guntur, Vetapalem, Nellore, Bapatla and Chirala.

Wherever he went people came forward with their contributions to the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' and women came forward to donate their jewellery. One of the first women who came forward to donate all her jewellery, to discard foreign clothes and wear Khaddar was Maganti Annapurnaamma. Another incident that happened reminiscent of the response of Ambapali to the call of the Buddha was the case of Yamini Purna Tilakam, a lady belonging to the professional dancing community. Under the impact of Gandhiji's personality she gave up her profession and dedicated her life to the cause of the Non-Co-operation Movement and India's independence. Mahatma Gandhi undertook this tour of the Andhra country in the company of Konda Venkatappayya and he

was extremely happy to see the spontaneous response of the people for his Non-Co-operation movement. During this period several students left their colleges. Among those who left their colleges was Mir Mahmood Hussain of Karimnagar. He also underwent an imprisonment of six months at Vellore jail. Later he became the Director of Central Record Office in Hyderabad. Akbar Ali Khan, who later became a Barrister and an M. P., Maqbool Ali, who became a Civil Surgeon, and Syed Mohammed Ansari, who became an advocate, left off their studies during this period. All the above mentioned people belonged to the Hyderabad State. Kala Venkatrao, Manikonda Satyanarayana Sastri, Kamineni Venkatappayya and Shanker Reddy also discontinued their education.

The Vijayawada session of the Indian National Congress was a great success. The 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' was over-subscribed and the target for establishing twenty lakhs of charkhas in order to bring about a boycott of foreign cloth was also achieved. Soon after the Vijayawada session, Dasu Madhusudan Rao, who had given up his pleader's profession, started a Khadi Centre at Vijayawada from where Khadi was exported to the other provinces in India. The famous 'Pondur Khaddar' of Srikakulam district gained an all-India reputation for its fineness. In Masulipatam and the East Krishna District, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah and Duggirala Raghava Chandrayya, in Guntur, Konda Venkatappayya and Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri and at Ongole, A. Ramasastri and Erneni Subramanyam, did a great work in propagating the Khadi movement among the Andhras.

The number of lawyers who responded to the call of Gandhiji and gave up their practice reached 103 by the month of June, 1921 while the number of teachers who left their jobs after the Vijayawada session were 47. Among these were Panyam Ramachandrayya, B. E. Narayana Murthy, Gurajada Raghava Sarma, Kodali-Anjaneyulu, Gadiyaram Sambayya, Kalluri Subbarao, etc. The Government servants and Karnams who gave up their services numbered 44, among them being Gadipati Venkateswara Rao, Kodepoyina Kotaiah Naidu, Pingali Venkat Rao.

Several leaders also went to jail during the Civil Disobedience movement of 1921-22. Among them were Cherukuvada Lakshmi-

narsimham, Manikonda Satyanarayana, Kaleswara Rao, A. P. Kavi, Bulusu Sambamurthi, KalaVenkatrao, Adavi Bapiraju, Atmakuri Govindacharyulu, Ghouse Beg, Kotagiri Venkata Krishna Rao, the zamindar of Gampalagudem, Khambampati Sambaiiah, Bezawada Chandrasekhar Reddy, G. V. Purnayya Sastri, Varadarajulu Naidu of Anantapur, J. V. Narayana of Berhampur, Kondala Sarveswara Sastri, Bhanumurthi of Anantapur, Duvvuri Subbamma, Manthena VenkataRaju, Venneti Satyanarayana etc Garimella Satyanarayana was also arrested for writing popular and inspiring ballads like "We don't want this white man's rule" ("*Maku Vaddu Yii tella doratanamu*"). All told, nearly 300 people in Andhra had to undergo imprisonment of various terms during the 1921-22 Non-Co-operation Movement.

Thus a great step was taken by Gandhiji for the attainment of independence in India, a step that was momentous and which brought about great changes in the history of India, England, as well as the whole world.

Commenting about this Satyagraha movement of Gandhiji one of the contemporary historians has said, "Gandhi based the political Satyagraha movement on moral and spiritual principles. He thus injected religion into politics which became thereby mystified. He frequently talked of soul force, abstract truth (without defining what constitutes truth) and the ethical conversion of the political opponent. When political programmes instead of being based on the scientific analysis of objective forces are deduced from abstract and even nebulous religious principles they tend to lose clarity of purpose, definiteness of objective and rationality of methods".

But when we look at the contemporary society of the 1920's in India, from its various social and political aspects, one cannot but come to the conclusion that this close intermingling of religion and ethical principles with the political objective was the only method that could have been adopted for getting the right type of response from the Indian people for making the movement a success. The appeal to the people saying that the struggle of the Indian national movement during this period was like the struggle of the righteous 'Prahlada' against the tyrannical 'Hiranya Kashyapa'

had a subtle psychological impact upon the understanding of the people who could comprehend this Puranic analogy in a clear manner without even being acquainted with the writings of rationalist thinkers or their theories on the "Natural Right of Man". The identification of India with Bharat Mata had also a great integrating effect on the mind and thought of the people. For the first time the people, though speaking different languages, identified themselves as the children of the same mother. To an India that was suffering from an inferiority complex due to the missionary tirades against their culture and tradition, the teachings of Swamy Vivekananda were like a soothing balm. Deriving inspiration from the teachings of such revivalist thinkers and reformers, the Indian renaissance with its new found pride in its ancient culture and civilisation seems to have bloomed into full prowess by the early 1920's when Mahatma Gandhi emerged as the national leader and diverted its development towards the growth of nationalism in India. Some of the regular features of the nationalist movement were to have community *bhajans*, *sankirtans* and *Prabhat bheris*. During *Harikathas* and *Sankirtans* not only songs with religious themes were sung, but also the patriotic songs and ballads. Even beggars and mendicants during their daily visits to the various localities, went about singing these national songs. Advantage was also taken of religious fairs like *Krishna Pushkaram*, etc., to appeal to the people's sense of patriotism through the medium of anecdotes taken from the Hindu scriptures and epics which was easily understood by the people even though they were uneducated. Gandhiji was compared to an incarnation, the incarnation of Krishna born to restore *Dharma* by asking Arjuna to wage a righteous war. An implicit belief arose in the people that their's was a *Dharma Yudha* or a righteous war that is being fought against the British for their economic and political exploitation of India. The popular nationalist songs like *Moku vaddu Yii tella doratanamu*, (We don't want this white man's overlordship); and a song against the economic exploitation of India *Dandalu Dandalu Bharatamata* . . . . . *Chippa chetuki ichhinadu Bharatamata* . . . . . *Adukka tinadam manadanta Bharatamata Vollu-gulla chesinadu Bharatamata*, (The Englishmen had exploited India and Indians to the utmost and ultimately gave the begging bowl to the Indians) were composed by Garimella Satyanarayana during this movement for which he had to suffer one year's imprisonment on one occasion and two

years' rigorous imprisonment on a second occasion. Such type of songs caught the imagination of the Andhra people. These were sung not only at the time of the political meetings, but also during spare time in the evening when many a farmer tried to forget the mundaneness of his daily toil by playing *Kolattam* and similar games.

### **General features of the Non-Co-operation Movement (1921-22) :**

Adhering to the general pattern of 1921-22 Non-Co-operation movement, the movement in Andhra also followed the following lines: 1. Boycott of elections, 2. Surrender of titles and honorary offices, 3. Boycott of educational institutions, 4. Boycott of law courts, 5. Extension of non-co-operation to Municipalities, 6. Defiance of forest rules, 7. Encouragement of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign cloth, 8. Promotion of temperance by advocating prohibition of intoxicating liquors, 9. Resignation of village officers and last but not the least, 10. The no-tax campaign.

### **Boycott of Elections :**

Under the programme for boycott of elections, we have already seen that as the elections drew near A. Kaleswara Rao, K. Venkatachalapathayya, V. Rajagopal Rao, K. V. R. Swamy, Venkatakrishna Rao, Sabhapathi, R. Obul Reddy withdrew their candidature to the Madras Legislative Council while Konda Venkatappayya, B. Venkatapathi Raju and C. Narasimha Raju resigned their membership of the Madras Legislative Council. V. Ramdas Pantulu resigned even his membership of the Madras University Syndicate. The efforts of Erramilli Jagganna Sastry and the oratorical powers of Mattam Balasubramaniam Gupta of Vijayawada who addressed the crowds in popular colloquial Telugu, appealing to them to boycott elections had a great impact on the minds of the people. Balasubramaniam Gupta had to undergo six months Rigorous Imprisonment for his speeches.

The people observed *Hartal* in protest against his arrest and several factories and schools were closed down. Due to the efforts of such leaders empty ballot boxes were returned in some places.

### **Surrender of titles :**

Among those who surrendered their titles were Moulvi Zahid Hussain Sahab and Jamal Moinuddin Sahab of Madras who

resigned their titles of Shamsul Ulema and Khan Saheb respectively. Five Honorary Magistrates namely Moulvi Mohammed Raza Saheb of Guntur, Ghulam Moinuddin Saheb of Vijayawada, Satyadevara Rameswara Rao Pantulu of Bhimavaram, and Eluru Hanumantha Rao of Guntur resigned their offices.

### **Boycott of Educational Institutions :**

Educational Institutions were also boycotted and student demonstrations were arranged at every centre. Pamphlets were distributed asking them to take to National Education and to do village work. Student Seva Samities and Sankirtan Parties were formed to encourage spinning and weaving and also to preach temperance. Some of the students who gave up their studies during the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1921-22 were Chittavarjula Ramakrishnamma of Noble College, Masulipatam, Kala Venkat Rao of Amalapuram, Manikonda Satyanarayana of Urutur, Bomma Seshu Reddy of Nellore, Ramachandraiah, Venkattappa, Vennelakanti Raghavaiah, and Paturi Subbaramaiah. Some of the teachers who gave up their jobs during this period were Kodali Anjaneylu, Gurajada Raghava Sarma, Gadiyaram Sambaiah, and Surampati Kanakaraju. On the whole 20 students from the Arts College, 60 from the Christian Mission College, Masulipatam, 30 from the Parlakimidi Raja's College, 6 from the A. V. N. College, Visakhapatnam and C. B. M. High School, left the Educational Institutions in which they were studying. The students also carried on demonstrations asking the Government to convert their schools and colleges into National Educational institutions. About 1,000 students of the Maharaja's college and Municipal High School, Vijayangaram, abstained from classes on 4th February, 1921, while the Tenali High School students nearly 1050 strong abstained for about a week in February, 1921 and demanded that it should be converted into a National Institution. On account of this popular pressure and also on account of the trend among the people nearly 44 National Schools came into existence by the middle of 1921.

### **Boycott of Law Courts :**

One of the foremost social groups that responded to the call of the nation were the lawyer community. The Guntur Bar Association had already passed a resolution on 28th September, 1920,

asking the lawyers to suspend practice for a period of three months starting from the 15th of January, 1921. It again met on the 20th January and extended the period of suspension for a period of 11 months commencing from 1st February. Some of the prominent lawyers who gave up their practice during this period were A. Kaleswara Rao, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, Madabhushi Narasimha Charyulu, Unnava Laxminarayana, T. Prakasam, Polisetty Hanumanthaiyah Gupta, Sista Purushotham, Surya Narasimham, Oruganti Venkatasubbaiah, Venkateswar Rao, D. Madhusudana Rao, and Vissa Rajagopal Rao.

The boycott of foreign cloth was also taken up with great zeal by the Andhra country. Some of the Congress workers mostly comprising of young student volunteers used to go about the countryside asking people to give up their foreign clothes and wear Swadeshi clothes. They used to go about the streets singing national songs and *Bhajan* songs appealing to the people to burn their foreign clothes. In response to their appeal when people handed over to them clothings like shirts, towels, etc. made of foreign material, they used to gather all the discarded clothes and make a bon-fire of them jumping and singing around it such songs as "Treat the foreign clothes as worthless rags and burn them". (*Seemaguddalu unte bhoomilona penta*).

In Nellore, young Congress workers like Vennelakanti Raghavaiah, Bomma Seshu Reddy, Komandur Parthasarathy Iyengar, Ramasubbaiah, etc., did a tremendous work for the propagation of Swadeshi under the guidance of leaders like Oruganti Venkata Subbaiah, Gadepalli Padmanabhaiah, Vissa Rajagopal Rao, etc. In the Godavari district Brahma Joshyula Subramaniam who started the Sitanagar Ashram carried on the propagation of 'Khaddar' with great zeal.

During this period Kodali Anjaneyulu also wrote a political drama entitled '*Viplava Parivartanam*' which was proscribed from being enacted by the Government. On account of the efforts of these enthusiastic workers the idea of boycott of foreign cloth and the promotion of 'Khaddar' gained a great momentum; for e. g. on the 1st October, 1921, about 70 merchants of Vijayawada took a pledge to boycott foreign cloth and not to import or deal even in Indian mill made cloth till 1922.

**Prohibition or Anti-Drink Campaign :**

On account of the activities of temperance workers the anti-drink campaign made a tremendous progress in Guntur, Nellore, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and the Godavari districts. Both the Hindus and the Mohammadans co-operated in a remarkable manner to organise the anti-drink campaign. In the Anantapur district Kalluri Subba Rao led a movement for temperance and for prohibition. His activities led to his arrest in 1921 at Penu-gonda and he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. In Nellore Oruganti Venkata Subbiah, Tikkavarapu Rami Reddy, B. Chandrasekhar Reddy took great interest not only in starting the Tilak Swaraj Fund and collecting funds for it but also started an Ashram on the Gandhian lines at Pallipadu. Chaturvedulu Krishniah was made incharge of the Ashram. Tikkavarapu Rami Reddy and B. Chandrasekhar Reddy were greatly responsible for dissuading the Reddies of Nellore from bidding for the Toddy contracts. They were ably assisted in their efforts by enthusiastic workers like Vennelakanti Raghaviah, Bomma Seshu Reddy, Ballepalli Ramasubbiah, Doraswamy Iyengar, Komandur Parthasarathy Iyengar, Smt. Ponaka Kanakamma and Venkatakrishniah Shreshti. The active workers in the field for promoting temperance were Vennelakanti Raghaviah, Bomma Seshu Reddy, Rallapalli Rama Subbiah, Komandur Parthasarathy Iyengar. On account of their efforts in 1921 there was no bidding for Toddy contracts. These enthusiastic workers used to travel by bullock carts in the nights and visit every village in their district. In the day time from morning to evening they used to go about singing *bhajan* songs, delivering lectures exhorting people not to drink and that by doing so they will have the curse of Mahatma Gandhi on them. This way they carried on active picketing in Nellore. The people were greatly effected by their songs and propaganda. We find that their sympathy with these workers was so great that at Kandukuru, they cut off the ears of the horses in which the local Tahsildar was riding to show their resentment against the Tahsildar's cruel behaviour. Wherever the Congress workers went they used to appeal to the people saying "Don't betray the country and bring about the defeat of Gandhiji. If you do so his curse would be upon you and whatever you undertake will meet with failure". In fact, in their songs Gandhiji was compared to an incarnation born to redeem



India. The 1921 Civil Disobedience movement nurtured in an atmosphere of deep religious and ethical sentiments that veered towards the instilling of nationalism among the people.

The people were made to swear in the name of Mahatma Gandhi that they would not bid for Toddy contracts. Seeing the Congress workers active everywhere, the Government tried to keep the biddings a secret from them by arranging auctions in gardens and countryside places that were not frequently visited. For example, at Rajapalem, Vennelakanti Raghavaiah, Bomma Seshu Reddy, Parthasarathy Iyengar and Ramasubbiah came to know from one Syed Mohsin Saheb that the Government was intending to invite contractors to bid for excise contracts. Knowing this they proceeded to Rajapalem and guarded the entrance to the compound where these biddings were usually made and carried on their usual lectures in favour of temperance. While Parthasarathy Iyengar and Seshu Reddy were giving lectures, Raghavaiah used to take a round of the compound exhorting the people to go and hear what the Congress workers are saying. Thus they were able to prevent the bidders from entering the compound till about four O'clock in the evening and were happy that their efforts met with success. But suddenly they realised that the Excise Sub-Inspector was able to persuade a group of bidders and entered along with them through a side opening into the building so that they could bid for the Toddy contracts. This was noticed by the Congress workers. As soon as they realised it, Ramasubbaiah fell at the feet of the bidders and said "You are betraying your motherland. Don't do that. Save your country from destruction". The people were so moved by this appeal that they turned round on the Inspector and refused to bid for the Toddy liquor shops. Seeing that the Congress workers are successful in obstructing the bid for Toddy shops by their propaganda in Nellore the authorities tried to outwit them by holding simultaneous auctions at twenty four centres. But Bomma Seshu Reddy and his colleagues enlisted enough volunteers to go to all the twenty four centres and see that no bidding was made.

At Anantapur on 7th February, 1921, Abkari sales were held. Standing outside the Abkari building Venkatappayya and A. Narayana Rao gave lectures dilating upon the evils of drink, as a result of which eighty contractors did not take part in the auction and

the sales had to be postponed. At Srungavarapykota in the Visakhapatnam district also due to the efforts of Sarveswara Sastri and his colleagues no bidders came forward to bid for the Toddy shops. In Narsipatnam taluk not a single bidder turned up when Abkari sales were conducted. In the Palakonda taluk only one shop out of twenty six was able to procure a bidder. In Kurnool due to the picketing done by the Congress workers toddy shops at Peddapaka, Jolapuram and Budawarapeta had no sales from the middle of February, 1921. The anti-drink campaign resulted in a substantial loss of income to the Government in the Ceded districts. For example, in Cuddapah the revenue came down from Rs. 4,15,406 to Rs. 2,01,044/- by the beginning of 1922, in Anantapur from Rs. 2,69,574 to Rs. 1,37,664, in Bellary from 3,00,000 to Rs. 2,00,000 while in Kurnool it came down from Rs. 2,22,900 in 1920-21 to Rs. 90,316 in 1921-22. In Guntur district also the anti-drink campaign was highly successful. The consumption of toddy fell down considerably on account of this. Seeing the activities of the Non-co-operators the Government revived the Sedition Meetings Act and also its powers under Section 144 of the Indian Penal Code. Some of the leaders arrested during this period were K. V. R. Swamy, G. Ramchandra Rao, B. Subramaniam, and Dr. P. Guruswamy of Rajahmundry who were sentenced for refusal to execute bonds for good conduct. Under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code Ghose Beg, Chavali Suryanarayana, Venkatanarasimha Charyulu and Konda Venkattappayya were forbidden to make speeches.

#### **Wearing of Gandhi Caps forbidden :**

The wearing of the Gandhi cap was also discouraged, for example, the District Magistrate of Godavari sentenced under Sec. 228 of the Indian Penal Code, Malapuri Narasimham, Gollapudi Sreeramsastry and Prayaga Viswanatham for having appeared before him wearing Gandhi caps. 142 students of the Medical College, Visakhapatnam, were served with dismissal orders on 28th September, 1921, for having attended College with Gandhi caps on their heads. Of these, 32 did not apologise and they had to leave their college.

#### **The Hartal in connection with the Prince of Wales visit :**

When the Prince of Wales visited India on the 17th November, 1921, *Hartal* was observed in several places in the Andhra

country like Kakinada, Samarlakota, Pithapuram, Rajahmundry, Peddapuram, Vijayawada, Guntur, and Ramachandrapuram.

### **Resignation of Village officers :**

Several village officers resigned their posts during the Civil Disobedience movement, as a result of which the No-Tax campaign was highly successful in Andhra.

In August, 1921, suspension orders were served on Bikkena Venkatratnam, village karnam of Chodavaram and the President of the Andhra Desa Village Officers Association, for his failure to attend the co-operative meeting at Gollalamamidala. Later on suspension orders were also served on Khaja Venkatramiah of Sitampalli, Banda Vinnayya, Banda Bayyanna, Murut Kumara Venkat Rao and others. In such a repressive atmosphere the Andhra Desa Village Officers Association met at Rajahmundry and urged all the village officers to tender their resignation by 1st October, 1921. In response to this several village officers in Krishna and the Godavari districts laid down their offices. The response to this appeal at Guntur was dramatic. At Poesulur a conference of the village officers was held, the village Munsiffs and Karnams of 16 villages announced then and there their resignations. Several resignations also came from the Pedanandipadu firka. While offering his resignation the Karnam of Dendulur wrote to the Government that it had inflicted an unbearable insult upon the country in regard to the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and as such he could not serve a "Satanic Government".

The boycott of the municipalities which took the form of the famous Chirala-Perala struggle in the Guntur district, the No-Tax campaign of Pedanandipadu and the Forest Satyagraha in Palnadu deserve a special mention for their uniqueness not only in the history of Andhra but also in the history of the freedom struggle in India. The Non-Co-operation Movement was extended to the municipalities in order to paralyse the local administration. After the introduction of the Madras Municipalities Act, six out of the twelve Municipal Councillors of Narasaraopet resigned in protest against this Act. In the Repalle taluq of the Guntur district eight out of twelve members resigned under the influence of the Non-Co-operation movement. They wanted their newly constituted Municipality to be abolished, the collection of taxes suspended. But the

Chairman did not agree to these demands. So several cart drivers and 'tonga' pullers went on strike and the people refused to receive the tax notices, and ultimately they succeeded in getting the Municipality abolished.

### The Chirala Perala Struggle :

The Chirala-Perala struggle under the leadership of Andhra Ratna Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya was also a part of the campaign for the boycott of Municipalities. Originally the Chirala-Perala Municipality comprising of the four villages of old Chirala, Perala, Jandrapeta, and Veeraraghavapet, was under the administration of a union called the Chirala Union and the income of the Union was roughly Rs. 4,000/-- per year. In the year 1919 the Government of Madras decided to convert Chirala and Perala into a separate Municipality while Jandrapeta and old Chirala would continue to be under the Union. This announcement was not liked by the villagers and they sent petitions and deputations to the Government to restore the *status quo-ante*, because the Government after converting Chirala and Perala into a Municipality raised the taxation to Rs. 33,000 a year.

The population of the Chirala and Perala villages was about 15,000 and a majority of them were from the weavers' community. Their daily wages ranged between four to five annas. As such the weavers were greatly hit by the decision of the Government and they also made a representation to the Governor of Madras when he visited their district, against the setting up of the New Municipality. But all these were of no avail and the Government constituted a Municipality in January 12, 1920, giving it a Council comprising of 11 members, a Divisional Revenue officer as the Chairman and taxes were raised to yield a revenue of Rs. 33,000 a year to meet the expenditure of the Municipality. Some of the new Councillors oppressed the people and were quite indifferent towards improving the sanitary conditions of the town. Finding that their numerous representations were going unheeded, the people resolved to boycott the Municipality. The Municipal Councillors, seeing the mood of the people, quietly resigned. Then the District Collector visited the place to make an enquiry into the resignation of the Councillors. The people represented to him that the imposition of the Municipality might be revoked, and made a similar representation when the Minister for Local

Administration P. Ramarayaningar visited Chirala in February, 1921. The Minister, instead of hearing them sympathetically, threatened to appoint a paid Chairman, and to station a punitive police force there. He even went to the extent of telling them that they would be deprived of such amenities as a railway station, post office and hospitals, if they did not behave properly. Such threats roused the ire of the people of Chirala even more.

At this juncture Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya stepped into the arena to take up the cause of the Chirala people. He told them not to pay the taxes. The Government forcibly tried to collect the taxes by attaching the property and putting it to auction. But no bidders came forward, even when they were taken to outside places like Bapatla and Guntur; so a dozen persons including an aged woman, perhaps the first lady to go to jail in the whole of India, were imprisoned for their refusal to pay the taxes. Seeing that the Government was increasing its repression day by day, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya consulted Gandhiji, and on his advise decided to evacuate the town so that a direct conflict between the Government and the people could be avoided and also that the Municipality might wither away. The people, permeated by the spirit of Non-Co-operation, readily responded to the call of Gopalakrishnayya to evacuate their hearths and homes and to settle down in thatched huts (*Parnasalas*) on the outskirts of the villages of Chirala and Perala. 13,572 villagers out of a total population of 15,326 evacuated their homes in the mid-night of April 25, 1921. It was a picturesque and inspiring sight to see the illiterate and rustic people of Chirala and Perala, determined with the indomitable will to resist unwanted forcible taxation, leaving their hearths and homes, treading along country bullock carts laden with their household goods and furniture. Commenting about this one of the then correspondents of *The Hindu*, D. S. R. Rao who had visited the place wrote, "It was a sad sight to watch them and their furniture move from their old homes to their new *parnasalas*. Street after Street of Chirala was deserted and hardly a voice was heard from the lonely thoroughfares. The creak of the heavy laden carts, the din of the hammer strokes, the odour of the sun-dried palmyra leaves and the unconscious sighs of the patient men, women and children treading the dusty paths to their new homes, sweating under the weight of their belongings, were an overwhelming phenomenon—they were indeed an inspiration!"

“It was not a one man’s show by any means. The sacrifice and toil involved in the forsaking of their old homes meant a deep conviction on the part of the people. ‘What would occur if something happened to your leader?’ I asked a man who did not look particularly educated. ‘There are ten ready to take his place’ was the quiet, reassuring reply.”

Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya was a great visionary who tried to establish an idealistic state based on the concept of *Swaraj* and *Swadharma*. He tried to introduce during the eleven months of the peoples’ stay on the outskirts of Chirala and Perala an ideal rural state based on the principles of Panchayat administration where every community was represented in the committees that were constituted according to the number of communities that were there among the people. During these eleven months there was no Municipality in Chirala. The Chirala-Perala incident was an attempt by an idealist who accepted Gandhiji as “a seer, creator, a leader of mankind and, above all, an *Avatar*, for establishing *Swaraj* in India within the period of grace 1921. Actually Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya established a parallel Government as against that of the British during this period, which perhaps was a measure much in advance of the times through which the country and the people were passing. Neither the revolutionary leaders nor the contemporary public opinion in society were geared up to resist the British to that extent. Gopalakrishnayya was above all a visionary and a *sanatanist* who always compared Mahatma Gandhi to *Vamana* who had driven away *Bali* to the Nether world in three strides. He said that Gandhiji would also similarly drive away the British by taking the three decisive steps in the form of the Punjab, Khilafat, and the *Swaraj* agitations. It was this ebullient admiration for Gandhiji and the vision of *Swaraj* within an year that made him take the extreme step of establishing a parallel Government at Chirala and Perala.

Gopalakrishnayya also raised a volunteer corps called the ‘Ramadandu’ to serve the needs of the community and society in general. The place where the chief office of the ‘Ramadandu’ was located was called Ramnagar. He also created a Parliament consisting of nearly 200 people where each caste through its caste Panchayat was given representation. Gandhiji visited Chirala on

the 6th April, and he commended the manner in which the people were carrying on the struggle. The volunteers of the 'Ramadandu' wore red uniform. The volunteers and the people of Chirala and Perala under the leadership of Gopalakrishnayya defied the Government for a period of eleven months, facing great odds and difficulties. The Government adopted severe oppressive measures to kill the spirit of resistance among the people by levying a penal cess of Rs. 1,025 on each hut on the plea that the huts were pitched on Government assessed waste land. The cost of each *Parnasala* or hut depending on the size of the family roughly came to Rs. 20 to Rs. 40 while the temporary wells that they had dug for the supply of water cost them Rs. 5 each. Commenting about their spirit of resistance the *The Hindu* correspondent wrote, "These simple folk are bearing their burden nobly,-----Mute courage, great sacrifice and intense enthusiasm are to be witnessed among the inhabitants of Chirala and Perala. How long they will hold out remains to be seen, but they look determined. Be it remembered that they are not a cultured people.-----But, these simple village folk are determined not to be ruled against their will. Chirala is only an index of what India may do when she realises her plight and makes up her mind to act".

In September, 1921, Gopalakrishnayya delivered speeches at Berhampore during the session of the Andhra Conference inciting the people to prepare themselves for Civil Disobedience. He was served the gagging order under Section 144 and when he defied it, was arrested under Sec. 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, tried for sedition and was awarded a sentence of one year imprisonment. True to his ideal, Gopalakrishnayya went to jail with the song, "*Padave Bhadradriki Papishti ghatama*" (Oh sinner! on to Bhadradri).

The arrest of the leader broke the morale of the people and they gradually began to return to their original homes. In recognition of this great idealistic venture of Gopalakrishnayya, Dr. Moonje, when he started the Bhonsle Military School at Nasik, called his school grounds as Ramabhoomi and his cadres as "Ramadandis" and he even had his telegraphic address as 'Ramadandi'. The Municipality of Chirala was abolished later during the first Congress Ministry in 1938 by Dr. B. Gopala Reddy.

**Defiance of Forest Rules :**

The Non-Cooperation movement also took the form of defiance of forest rules and the non-payment of grazing fees called *pullari* in the Palnadu and Vijayawada taluqs of Andhra Pradesh. The people of Palnadu taluq demanded that they must be given free permission to cut wood for fuel and for making agricultural implements and also for the cutting and removal of *yapi* leaves in the hot weather. They wanted that they should be given access to all water resources in the reserved forest areas at all times in the year. They further demanded that the permit fee for cow grazing should be reduced from twelve annas\* to three annas and that only one single permit should be issued for the entire district of Guntur so that the cattle might go from forest to forest according to contingency and that all grazing blocks and Panchayati reserves should be abolished. They also demanded that the permit fee for grazing of goats should be reduced to 1½ annas and that the removal of fuel and fire wood should be charged at six paise per head load and that bullocks employed in agriculture should be allowed to graze freely. The people of the Palnadu taluq belonging particularly to the villages of Macherla, Veldurti, Jattipalem, Srigiripadu, Rentachintala, came under the influence of the Non-Co-operators and they developed a defiant attitude towards the forest authorities. On several occasions they led large herds of cattle into the reserve forest in contravention of the forest rules and when the Government forest guards tried to impound the cattle, the villagers used to go in organised parties and rescue the cattle. At Nadipalem, when the forest guards wanted to impound about 100 buffaloes, the villagers led by a young woman attacked the ranger and his party and brought back the cattle. In Srigiripadu about 700 cattle were impounded. The people got so angry at this act of the Government that they decided upon the social boycott of officials of not only the Forest Department but also of all the local officials. They announced by the beat of drums in the village that no washerman should wash the clothes of these officials nor should the village barbers go to serve them. Similar instances happened at several villages like Mellaragu, Kandlagunta, etc.

On 23rd September, 1921, the forest officials assisted by the armed reserve police conducted a raid in Mutpur forest reserve



near Minchalapadu and captured 300 cattle. But the villagers consisting of 200 to 300 men and women tried to rescue the cattle by hurling stones at the police guards and by shouting and whistling so that the cattle might be frightened away. The police had to open fire and disperse the crowd, during the course of which their leader Kanneganti Hanumanthu along with three others were shot dead. The crowd then dispersed but again reassembled in larger numbers. The police had to call for further reinforcements. The next day the police arrested 28 men and 9 women.

The social boycott of the officials was very effective. The District Collector and the D.S.P. could not even get conveyance to go from place to place. When the Collector wanted to make his orders known by the beat of drums, the village Munsiff informed him that the drums used in the village for tomtomming were all in a damaged condition and as such they could not be used. Washermen were prevented from washing their clothes and no water carrier was allowed to take water to the Forest Rangers' families. The supply of milk to his house was stopped and the Ranger could not get milk even for his little daughter. The landlord of the house in which the Ranger was living served a quit notice and he was threatened that his house would be stoned and destroyed if the Ranger did not quit. At Kottapalli two forest guards were thrown out from an eating house while they were half-way through their meal. On the whole the people of Palnadu saw that the forest laws became inoperative in their taluq. Seeing the violent turn that the forest Satyagraha was taking, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee deputed Unnava Lakshminarayana and Madabhushi Vedantam Lakshminarasimha Chari to enquire into the grievances of the people of Palnadu. The presence of these leaders further accentuated the situation. The Collector, fearing that it might lead to worsening of the situation, summoned the two leaders to appear before him and to show cause why they should not furnish security for good behaviour. The people when they heard about these summons, took these leaders in a grand procession with the beat of drums, the very drums that the Collector was not able to secure for his work. The Collector was highly infuriated at this and on the refusal of the two leaders to pay security, he sentenced them to one year's imprisonment. This led to a week's *Hartal* in Guntur. Unnava Lakshmi-bayamma and

Yamini Purna Tilakam took an active part in organising and making the *Hartal* a complete success.

A High School student by name Suryaprakasa Rao was arrested by the Sub-Inspector of Police without a warrant when he was appealing to the college students to come out of their classes. This led to a student demonstration near the police station where the boy was detained and the police retaliated by lathi-charge. This roused the anger of the people and when the Deputy Collector went to disperse the crowd, mud was slung at him. Thereupon Konda Venkatappayya intervened and persuaded the crowd to disperse. Nevertheless, Konda Venkatappayya and three others were arrested for having created a tense situation in the Guntur town on the 30th July. Later, they were released on the 2nd August as the grounds on which they were arrested were flimsy.

At Kondur near Vijayawada forest laws were defied under the leadership of Sangavaru Subbayya Sastri. In the Rayachoti taluq of Cuddapah district the Satyagraha was extremely serious and the Collector had to call the punitive police to restore normalcy. While things were in such a state, Mahatma Gandhi decided to call off the Civil Disobedience movement, on account of which the tempo of the Forest Satyagraha was considerably weakened and gradually normalcy was restored in the Palnadu taluq.

### **The No-Tax Campaign and the Pedanandipadu Satyagraha :**

The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met at Vijayawada on 7th January, 1922 and decided that No-Tax Campaign as a part of the Civil Disobedience movement, should be carried on in the districts of Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. Among the three districts, the Guntur district and more particularly the Pedanandipadu firka and the Bapatla taluq in general achieved an immortal name in the annals of the freedom struggle in Andhra by carrying on a successful No-Tax Campaign in defiance of the Government. It drew not only county-wide attention but even the attention of the British Members of Parliament.

In order to carry on this campaign, the Guntur District Congress Committee met at Ponnur under the leadership of Konda Venkatappayya and Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri and decided to launch the No-Tax Campaign throughout the district excepting in

the Firkas of Tenali, Guntur, Ongole and Repalle Taluqs. Many leaders among the Andhras and even Mahatma Gandhi himself looked askance at the starting of the No-Tax Campaign as they were afraid that the people were not yet completely disciplined in the creed of non-violence. But the ryots were enthusiastic and they thought that by the non-payment of taxes the Government would be faced with bankruptcy and it would come to terms with the demands of the nationalists. Konda Venkatappayya, Saranu Ramaswamy Choudari, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, Unnava Lakshmi-bayamma, Mohd. Gouse Beg, Mantena Ramaraju, Maddi Radha-Krishnayya and Kamaraju Bhanumurthi carried on a virulent campaign in favour of the No-Tax Campaign. On account of their efforts, several village Munsiffs and Karnams of different places in the Guntur district resigned while the village officers of Pedanandipadu firka resigned their offices *en masse*. Machiraju Ramamurthy, who himself was a Karnam at one time in the Repalle taluq, took a prominent part in pursuing the village officers to tender their resignations. The Collector of Guntur A. Galletti called these village officers to a conference to discuss with them the reasons for their resignation. The village officers no doubt declared that they had certain grievances, owing to the reduction in their establishment, and the Government gave them assurance that no legislation affecting their hereditary rights would be undertaken. But even this had no effect and we find L. T. Harris who was deputed by the Government to study the situation writing, "There is an outstanding cause of the present situation. The N. C. O. (Non-Co-operation) movement working on the real or imaginary grievance of the village officer or ryot———The grievances are many and some of them real, but none of them could have produced the situation without the Non-Co-operation Movement".

Having decided to launch the No-Tax campaign in Pedanandipadu, the Congress leaders raised a corps of volunteers known as the *Santi Sena* to go round the countryside not only to preach the creed of non-violence but also to incite the people not to pay their taxes. In Pedanandipadu firka alone the strength of *Santi Sena* was about 4,000. They constituted the eyes and ears of the Congress organisation. They saw that the villagers did not yield to the pressure of the Government. The effectiveness of their propaganda could be seen from the fact that when Rutherford, the Additional

District Magistrate of Guntur, who was specially charged by the Government to deal with the No-Tax Campaign, visited the Pedanandipadu firka, none of the villagers would come forward to tell him whether he was actually in the village of Pedanandipadu or where the special troops stationed to deal with the situation were camped. The volunteers with lathis in their hands were everywhere, behaving in a perfectly disciplined manner but effectively preventing the villagers from coming in contact with the Government officers.

When the people refused to pay taxes, the Government tried to seize and auction their property, but when it tried to do so it was found that the house numbers were wiped off so that the Government servants would not know to whom the house belonged. Very often when they entered the houses they found that they were empty and nobody would tell them where the defaulters were. It was the experience of the revenue officers when they entered the village to come across houses with closed doors and a deep silence pervading all round them. When the houses were opened, very often they found only empty houses denuded of all their belongings. In several places as soon as the Government officers were sighted the women of the houses walked out while the men had already disappeared and joined the Non-Co-operators. The Government officials themselves had to take up the onerous task of measuring grain, tying it up into bags and writing attachment lists which took a considerable time. Such was the effectiveness and efficiency of the Non-Co-operators that no coolies were made available to carry the baggage. The Reserve Police had to do the work of the coolies like measuring grain and tying it up in bags which took one whole afternoon for them to distraint six cases. The Volunteers were of course always hovering in the background. They did not interfere with the work of the officials, but at the same time they saw that no help was rendered to them.

The highly successful manner in which the No-Tax Campaign was carried on without any untoward incidents and the disciplined manner in which the volunteers of the *Santi Sena* were trained, was mainly due to the efforts of Parvataneni Veeraiah Choudari who was popularly known as the "Andhra Shivaji". It was common during the movement of 1921-'22 to call the people by appellations drawn from popular anecdotes and stories of Indian

heroes, which perhaps was a reflection of the fact that this particular stage of Indian politics was a period of total idealisation of the national movement.

The Government officials took a serious view of the campaign and we find Harris, a Member of the Board of Revenue, saying, "This movement is usually referred to as the Non-Co-operation or the Civil Disobedience. It would be more appropriately described as attempted revolution" while the District Collector and District Magistrate of Guntur declared, "I have no intention of using troops if it can be avoided, but I consider it essential we should have the big stick in reserve. The present movement is an open rebellion, though for the moment it is non-violent." The Government tried to persuade the village officers to withdraw their resignations but when they found that it had no effect, they threatened them saying that their resignations would not be accepted and that their heirs would not have the right to succeed to the posts. They also tried to create differences among the people by relaxing the qualifications for the recruitment of village officers and deliberately appointing some depressed class and Muslim officers to these posts so that it would affect the morale of the movement and bring about a split in the organisation of the No-Tax campaign. But this crude attempt on the part of the Government proved futile. In many cases the people did not come forward to accept the jobs offered. The Government found in the *Santi Sena*, an institution which could not be tackled under any rules and regulations. It thought of various means by which it could break the organisation such as by proclaiming it as an unlawful association and by arresting the volunteers. But this proved to be an impractical proposition in view of the volunteers being too many for the Government jails to accommodate. Another alternative method thought of was to send them to distant places. But even that was found unfeasible. So, ultimately it decided to station punitive police in every village where the volunteers were conspicuous and to charge the maintenance of the police to the village.

Finding that even the auctioning of the house-hold articles had no effect on the people, the Government, in order to create fear among them, wanted to seize their lands and cattle and sell and distribute them among the depressed classes. But even this repressive measures of the Government did not deter the ryots

and the Non-Co-operators from their stand. So the Government decided to demonstrate their might by making troops stationed near Pedanandipadu to parade through the villages in armoured cars. The strength of the reserve police was also increased. Finding all the deterrent measures that it had adopted were a failure, the Government ultimately introduced Section 144 under which the *Santi Sena* was declared as an unlawful association.

During this period the Palnadu Library Association brought out a book entitled "*Swarajya Geeta Punjamu*" which was proscribed by the Government. The President of the Palnadu Library Association also appealed to the people reminding the people of Palnadu of their ancient glory which was still sung in the popular ballad, "*Palanati Veera Charitra*". The Government arrested Valluri Satyanarayana, K. V. R. Swamy, B. Venkatratnam, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, Oruganti Venkatasubbaiah, K. Sambaiiah, R. Rama Subbiah and others during the period when the No-Tax Campaign was at a high pitch. The District Congress Committee met on the 10th February. The Andhra leaders were divided on the advisability of carrying on the No-Tax campaign. They also appointed a committee consisting of Kasinathuni Nageswar Rao, Dandu Narayana Raju and Tanguturi Prakasam to visit Pedanandipadu taluq where the No-Tax campaign was going on and see whether the people are really disciplined enough to carry on a sustained movement based on non-violence. The Committee was impressed by the manner in which the No-Tax campaign was being carried on in the Pedanandipadu firka but it was afraid that the masses ultimately might get out of control if the Government were to employ inhuman oppression. They felt that the time at the disposal of the people for receiving proper discipline was too short. Hence they wanted the movement to be suspended. While matters were in such a state, Mahatma Gandhi himself wrote a letter to Konda Venkatappayya asking him to suspend the Pedanandipadu No-Tax campaign till he tried a similar No-Tax campaign at Bardoli. It damped the enthusiasm of those who were in favour of carrying on the movement and as strict disciplinarians, obeying the orders of Gandhiji, Andhra Congress leaders called off the No-Tax Campaign.

Even though the Civil Disobedience movement was called off, it took some time for the people to adjust themselves and resumption of tax payment was done in gradual stages.

Mahatma Gandhi wanted to start the Civil Disobedience and the No-Tax campaign in the Bardoli district and he wanted that the No-Tax campaign should not be tried in other parts of India till the experiment in Bardoli was found successful. But unfortunately on the 5th February, 1922, an outburst of violence took place at Chari Choura in Uttar Pradesh. This hurt the feelings of Mahatma Gandhi a great deal and he suspended the Civil Disobedience programme. Many of the Congress leaders did not like this decision of Mahatma Gandhi. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai, who were all in prison at this time, wrote to Gandhiji not to suspend the movement. But Gandhiji, once having taken a decision, was not to be deterred. The Government on the 13th of March, 1922, arrested Gandhiji on a charge of sedition. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment but later on released after two years on the grounds of his delicate health. Thus by February, 1922 the Civil Disobedience movement in India came to an end. This movement was distinguished from the previous movements by its predominantly national character and also by the idealisation of politics. The people, wallowing in their new found fervour of national patriotism and the subsequent emancipation from a feeling of subservience to all things Western, flung to the other extreme of glorifying their ancient culture, religion and tradition and tried to draw inspiration from their past. In their enthusiasm for liberating the Motherland from foreign domination, all sections of the people - the landlord, the industrialist, the peasant, the worker, the labourer - were united. They were not divided by class and even deep caste rivalries. The society in general was swayed by the all pervading spirit of nationalism.

### **The Rampa Rebellion :**

Another important rebellion which forms a part of the freedom struggle in Andhra Pradesh but does not constitute a part of the struggle launched by the Indian National Congress was the rebellion of Alluri Sitarama Raju, popularly called as the 'Rampa Rebellion'. It lasted for a period of two years and five months i. e., from January, 1922 to May, 1924. While the Indian National Congress adopted non-violent non-cooperation as the main plank of its resistance against the British, Alluri Sitarama Raju deliberately adopted violence as a means for driving away the British from

India. The Rampa Rebellion may not find a proper place in the history of the Indian national struggle for independence. Nevertheless, we have to recognise the fact that it was greatly influenced in its culmination by the contemporary patriotic fervour and anti-British feelings in the country and that it was an off-shoot of the freedom struggle in Andhra. The rebellion by itself did not achieve any tangible results. But the Rampa Rebellion and its young hero, Sitarama Raju, have left behind a glowing memory in the hearts of three crores of Andhras of his heroism and he is cherished in their hearts just as the other national heroes like Shivaji and Rana Pratap Singh are cherished. Though the rebellion lasted for only a short period of 2½ years and was confined only to the Agency areas of the coastal Andhra districts of Godavari and Visakhapatnam, it succeeded in bringing the British authority into jeopardy in those areas.

Many reasons are attributed to the outbreak of the Rampa Rebellion such as the oppression of the local taluq officer Mr. Bastian, the *Muttadari* system and the forest reservation policy of the British Government. While giving due share to the above facts one should not also forget the fact that Alluri Sitarama Raju, who at this time was a young man of 25 years of age, was greatly influenced by the contemporary surroundings and the prevailing atmosphere of the Civil Disobedience movement in the country. We learn from the report of Happel, a British Officer, that Sitarama Raju went to Chittagong in July, 1921 and participated in the secret meetings of the revolutionary committees. After returning from Chittagong he toured the Gudem hills and visited Peddavalasa, Antada and other villages and preached temperance among the people and also asked them not to go to courts but to settle their disputes through the indigenous Panchayats. Even as early as 20th January, 1922, there were rumours at Krishnadevipeta that Sitarama Raju wanted to start a *fituri* (rebellion). So, he was kept under police surveillance and a plot of 30 acres of land was allotted to him at Pydiputli where he was asked to settle down. Finding the police surveillance irksome he asked the Divisional Magistrate that the surveillance might be removed and he should be allowed to go to Nepal on a pilgrimage. The Divisional Magistrate Fazl-ul-lah agreed to do so. But Raju did not go to Nepal. Instead he visited the Agency



areas and prepared the ground for rebellion to drive away the British and to win Swaraj. The situation in the Agency area was highly favourable for organising an armed revolt. The people in the Agency tracts were dissatisfied with the Government's agrarian policy and the restrictions they placed on jungle clearance and *podu* cultivation. The repressive policy of Bastian, the Deputy Tahsildar of Gudem, and his overseer Santanam Pillai, who was noted for corrupt practices, further added to the discontent. A third factor which also accentuated the situation was the dismissal of Gam Mallu Dora, an *Adivasi* (Koya) from the office of the Village Munsiff of Battapankalu and also depriving Gam Mallu Dora and Gam Gantam Dora of their lands. These two Gam brothers acted as the able lieutenants of Sitarama Raju and they played a considerable part in influencing him to lead the people of the Agency areas against the British. Another person who also assisted Raju in this rebellion was Yendu Padal who was disgruntled with the British because he was not made the Muttadar of Peddavalasa. Another cause that also contributed to the discontent of the *Adivasis* was the persecution of Mattedam Veeraiah Dora, ex-Muttadar of Gudem. The Gam brothers assisted Raju in collecting men and ammunition. These revolutionaries adopted a systematic policy of raiding police stations so that they could lay hands on the ammunition depots and arms at the police stations and thus paralyse the local power.

The first police station to be attacked was the police station at Chintapalli on the 22nd August, 1922, when Raju led an attack at the head of 200 men armed with six muzzle loading guns, spears, bows and arrows, looted the station of its arms and ammunition while the local police remained helpless spectators of the scene of arson. The police stations at Krishnadevipeta and Rajavommangi had also to submit to a similar fate. According to the police evidence, Raju and his followers obtained 27 carbines, 38 bayonets, 20 swords and hundreds of cartridges. From Rajavommangi the rebels marched to Gudem on 28-8-1922 from where they reached Gangarajumadgole. By this time the Government rushed special reinforcements and the first encounter between the rebels and the Government police took place at Onjeri Ghat on the 3rd September. The police party was commanded by the Divisional Officer Tremenhere of the Ghat Division. He was severely wounded and

he had to withdraw leaving behind the kit which fell into the hands of the rebels. A fortnight later the rebels returned to the Gudem taluq reaching Damanapalli on the 23rd September. The Assistant Police Superintendent, on receiving previous intimation of the movements of the rebels, went to the Ghats with a party of the Bellary police. Seeing this the rebels pretended to withdraw and the police, taking it as a genuine retreat, returned to the headquarters. Taking advantage of this the insurgents fell on the police and repulsed them and shot dead Scot Coward, their leader, and Mr. Heyter, their second in command. Besides Scot Coward and Heyter four other policemen were also killed. The police withdrew leaving behind a great deal of ammunition and six 303 rifles. From the 24th September till the 15th of October the police did not dare to face the insurgents who now openly began to roam about in the interior of the villages where they were lionised by the people. They started intercepting postal communications and captured the police patrol and the sub-inspectors incharge of the Tappal. They also looted Turamamidi and Lakkavarapupeta. A Sub-Inspector was let off when he prostrated himself before Raju after being administered a warning not to spy against him.

The *Dusserah* festival was celebrated with great eclat at Gudem from 7th to 10th October, 1922, by Sitarama Raju and his followers. In the meanwhile the Government sent special Malabar police forces to deal with the situation. In spite of that Raju resumed his campaign of raiding the villages in search of arms. He even intimated the Taluq Officer in advance that he intended to raid Addatigala on the 16th October. The Government rushed special police under Sherlock, but they had to retreat. From Addatigala Raju proceeded to Rampa Chodavaram where he sent for the Tahsildar and clearly told him that the *fitari* would continue for two more years and that there would be much bloodshed. At Chodavaram, Raju could not lay hands on the ammunition as the police had taken care to send away the ammunition to Rajahmundry. The people of Chodavaram welcomed Raju with *Aarati* (camphor lit lamps).

Raju was able to carry on his campaigns successfully on account of the excellent intelligence system he maintained due to the sympathies of the village Munsiffs and the villagers in general towards him. The Government tried to intimidate the village

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Munsiffs and we find the Officer commanding the operations against Raju writing, "No reports of the rebel movement have been received though they must have passed through numerous villages on their long march from Cheravu to Gudem and must also have obtained supplies. The position is becoming ridiculous and I can suggest no means by which the village Munsiffs and villagers may be made to realise their responsibility." On the 3rd November at Makaram, Raju captured Inspector Nityanand Patnaik and subsequently released him.

After the arrival of the Malabar police and the wireless sets, the Government resumed the offensive against Raju by leading a surprise attack against them on 6th December at Peddagaddapalem where Sitarama Raju and his men received for the first time, a reverse. The Government also proclaimed an award of Rs. 1,500 for the capture of Raju and Rs. 1,000 each for the capture of the Gam brothers and Veeraiah and Rs. 50 each for other rebels. But in spite of these proclamations nobody came forward to give an inkling to the Government about the whereabouts of Raju. The Government did not know his movements for months though he along with his forces was passing through the hilly regions of Peddavalasa, Gudem, Dharkonda, Gurtedu and Matam Bhimavaram. On account of this non-receipt of news about Raju's movements, the Government erroneously came to the conclusion that the rebellion is fizzling out, so they decided to send back the Malabar police and the special equipment they had brought to track down the movements of Raju.

No sooner were the Malabar police withdrawn than Raju resumed his offensive against the Government by attacking the police station at Annavaram on 18th April, 1923. He was not able to get any arms there but he was openly welcomed by the post-master, the Deputy Tahsildar and the Sub-Inspector of Police who took him to their houses where their womenfolk received him, washed his feet and sprinkled the water in which his feet were washed over their heads, an honour that is done normally to a great Guru. From Annavaram Raju proceeded to Shankavaram where also he was openly welcomed by the people. The Government soon realised that the prestige of Raju was as great as ever. Becoming irate at the behaviour of the people of Annavaram and Shankavaram villages, they imposed a fine of Rs. 4,000 each

on the two villages. On the 31st Raju's men appeared at Koyyur. The Sub-Inspector and the Deputy Tahsildar who were there to collect the punitive tax were captured, beaten, but they were let off after being severely warned. Sitarama Raju often used to say that he regretted that he could not shoot Europeans as they were always accompanied and surrounded by Indians. On 15th June Raju and his men including Aggijaju (Pericherla Suryanarayana Raju) of Kumudavalli went to Kondakamberu and Malkanagiri to secure fire arms. But they could not get them as the Government had already removed them in advance. However he summoned the Tahsildar to his presence and told him about his plans. From the report of the Tahsildar we know that Raju and his men normally wore red 'Khaddar' shirts and knickers as their uniform. The village Munsiff of Ebulu and his son who were suspected of spying were carried away by Raju's men but no personal harm was done to them. Throughout this period Raju kept on moving from place to place in the Agency area either for procuring arms or for procuring rations and supplies. On the 18th September Gam Mallu Dora was taken unawares and captured at Nadimpalli village. His capture was a great loss to Raju. However Raju resumed his raids and once again attacked Gangaraju Madgole and Pedduru on the 20th and 22nd of September and raided the police stations there. The police retaliated by opening fire on them but could not prevent Raju and his men from escaping. At Guddapalli Raju was about to be captured by the police patrols but the village Munsiff who was asked to assist the police in tracing Raju deliberately led them away from the place where Raju was hiding and we find the Deputy Tahsildar of Malkanagiri writing to the Agency Commissioner, "Nothing but the treachery of the village Munsiff got the rebels out of the tight corner."

As the days were progressing Raju was feeling the shortage of fire arms. His policy of raiding the police stations for arms did not prove successful as the Government, anticipating his moves, had already removed the fire arms from the police stations. So he decided to attack the Gudem military camp on October 26, 1923. The whole of the villagers were on the side of Raju in this attempt to raid the military camp. But the police offered stiff resistance and Raju had to make a retreat with several of his followers wounded and one killed. A few days later, Raju again visited the

village of Uratla. By this time the Government of Madras realised that their military forces in the Agency areas were not sufficient to cope up with the situation. So they summoned for their assistance two double companies of Assam Rifles which arrived at Narsipatnam on the 27th January, 1924. They also appointed Mr. Rutherford as the Special Commissioner in charge of operations against Sitarama Raju. By this time Raju's followers were moving about in the Padava taluq of Jaipur district. Rutherford applied himself energetically in trying to hem in Sitarama Raju from all sides. Realising that it was the sympathy of the villagers that was preventing the Government from tracing the movements of Raju, he issued warrants against 55 individuals for deportation and also warrants against 183 persons who were the near relatives of the rebels. This action of Rutherford created unhappiness and fear among the people.

Raju continued his movements as before. In an encounter on 6th May, 1924, near Madderu river, one of the close associates of Raju, Pericherla Suryanarayana, popularly known as Aggiraju, was captured. On the 7th May, Raju was surprised in one of his hide-outs by Jameder Kanchu Menon of the East Coast Special Police and was brought before Maj. Goodall. There, according to the Government report, Raju made an attempt to escape and he was shot dead. Later, on 26th May, Endupadal, another associate of Raju was killed by two villagers, while on the 7th June, Gantam Dora lost his life in a skirmish with the police. Thus by the middle of 1924 the Rampa Rebellion came to an end.

The Rampa Rebellion had a romantic hallow around it and it caught the imagination of the Andhra people. Though the Indian National Congress which was waging a non-violent struggle against the Government did not support the violent rebellion of Sitarama Raju, yet Raju's exploitations filled the hearts of one and all in Andhra with pride. The British Government tried to explain away the rebellion of Sitarama Raju as due to the policy of oppression of the *Adivasis* by the Gudem Taluq Officer, Bastian. But we find that the Additional Magistrate L. H. Arndt in his judicial report says, "I am prepared to believe that the rebel leaders obtained followers by harping on the wrongs done by Bastian——— But I cannot help inferring that they remained rebels because they shared in the more general object of subverting authority——— The

pillaging, the destruction of Government property and the horror that marked, for example, the Mophla rebellion, are conspicuously absent here and nothing is more noticeable than the respect shown to police officers who fell into the hands of the rebels———

I find that Raju who ruled his followers with a firm hand openly said his object was to drive the British out of India. This explains his treatment of Indian officials and his refusal to allow Government property to be injured. As his intention was to set up another Government, he would naturally not destroy buildings, which he would require when his Government was established. All through the rebellion the striking feature is the fact that scrupulous care was taken not to antagonize the people". Thus we know that Sitarama Raju aspired to establish a Government of his own by driving away the British from India. Heroes like Shivaji had succeeded in their attempts to establish a parallel Government as against the existing authority. But the times in which Shivaji lived and the conditions in which Sitarama Raju found himself were entirely different. Sitarama Raju's attempts to establish a Government of his own were, no doubt, a failure. They failed because he lived at a time when isolated rebellions would not succeed in subverting the central authority particularly in a country where the modes of communications and scientific warfare had developed to a high degree. So, the misfortune of Sitarama Raju was that he lived and aspired to achieve an ideal at a time when circumstances were not at all favourable for making his dreams tangible.

### **The Swaraj Party :**

After the suppression of the Rampa Rebellion there was a lull for about a decade in the revolutionary activities though the urge for Swaraj was rapidly increasing. In the meanwhile the suspension of the Non-Cooperation movement created a great deal of frustration among the Congress leaders like Hakim Azmal Khan, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel. These leaders wanted to enter the Legislative Councils and to obstruct the Government from within the Legislative Councils. But this idea was opposed by leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, Ansari, Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Pattabhi Sitaramiah. This led to the emergence of two groups—one in favour of change and the other who did not want change. Those who were in favour of entering the Councils formed what was known as the 'Swaraj Party' in 1923. Its aim

was to attain Dominion Status for India within the British Empire and this Party was led by Deshbhandu C.R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Vithalbai Patel. C R. Das undertook a tour of Andhra country where the majority of the people happened to be in favour of maintaining the *status quo* policy adhering to the Congress ideals. As a result of the tour of C.R. Das, an Andhra branch of the Swaraj Party was formed and the people who belonged to it were A. Kaleswara Rao, B. Venkatratnam, V. Ramadas Pantulu, K.V R. Swamy, etc. In 1923, B. Venkatratnam, P. Anjaneyulu, P.V. Venkatapathy Raju contested the elections to the Madras Legislative Council while V. Ramadas Pantulu was elected to the Central Legislature. In 1924, a compromise was reached between the Swarajists and the No-Changers and the Swarajists were allowed to function within the Legislatures on behalf of the Congress as an integral part of the Congress organisation. Outside the Council, the Congress concentrated its attention on constructive programmes like popularising 'khaddar'.

In 1925, a branch of the All-India Spinners Association was started in Andhra with a capital of Rs. 1,07,139. Gandhiji's tour of Andhra and Madras in 1921 gave a further impetus to the 'Khaddar' movement and by the end of his tour the Khadi collections amounted to a total of Rs. 2,53,332 out of which the Andhra branch alone got Rs. 1,86,600. No doubt, the 'Khaddar' Enquiry Committee of June-July, 1922 declared "Andhradesa stands ahead of nearly all the other provinces with the possible exception of the Punjab in Khaddar production". This period also saw the spread of the prohibition campaign under the leadership of A. Govindacharyulu. The period from 1924 to 1927 is called as the period of the Council entry. During this period the Swarajist leaders in Andhra carried on non-co-operation from within the Councils and even though they were in a majority, they did not agree to form the Ministry in Madras. However, their leader C. V. S. Narasimha Raju became the President of the Council, much to the dislike of other leaders like B. Sambamurthi and Madduri Annapurnayya, who were against the policy of Council entry. As a matter of fact, after the suppression of the Rampa Rebellion, the Andhra Provincial Congress meeting held in December, 1925, and also in Eluru in 1926 passed a resolution moved by B. Sambamurthi to amend the Constitution of the Indian National Congress in order to

clearly define Swaraj. They also formed a Committee consisting of Dr. B. Subramaniam, M. Tirumala Rao, Krovvidi Linga Raju, Tenneti Viswanatham, to intensify the agitation for complete independence. The majority of the Andhra leaders including T. Prakasam, Konda Venkatappayya, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, A. Kaleswara Rao, Dandu Narayana Raju, K. Nageswara Rao and Sitarama Sastri were in favour of India acquiring Dominion Status and felt that there was no need for a change in the Congress objective.

The period from 1928 to 1929 marks the period of transition from Council entry to Satyagraha.

The Congress after the cessation of the Civil Disobedience movement appointed a Committee called the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee to study the situation in the various parts of the country. The Committee visited Guntur on the 1st August, 1922. The local Congress leaders wanted to give them a warm welcome and elaborate preparations were made for receiving them. During the journey of the Committee from Madras to Guntur huge crowds gathered at all important stations like Nellore, Chirala, Bapatla and Tenali and gave them a rousing reception. All this irritated the authorities and just a day before the arrival of the Committee at Guntur, the Government proclaimed the clamping order Sec. 144 prohibiting the Congress leaders and the Khilafat volunteers from taking part in the reception or any processions connected with the celebration of the arrival of the Committee. After this proclamation some of the leaders like Unnava Lakshminarayana, Dandu Narayana Raju, and Narasimhachari were arrested. Altogether 250 arrests were made in this connection in Guntur. Their irritation at the behaviour of the Congress leaders was such that they went to the extent of pulling down the 'pandal' erected in the 'maidan' for holding the meeting. In spite of this the people gave a rousing reception to the leaders. When the Municipality of Guntur wanted to present them with an address, the Collector vetoed it. In spite of this one Municipal Councillor, N. V. L. Natasimha Rao, read out the address of welcome. The Vijayawada Municipal Council also presented a Welcome Address to the Committee. The Government showed its vindictiveness by arresting young and enthusiastic political workers like Madduri Annapurnayya and K. Ramchandra Rao, the editors of *The Congress* on grounds of sedition.



The Congress, during this period, had set up National Panchayat courts in the villages. This was also resented by the Government and some members of these national courts were sentenced to imprisonment. One of the Deputy Collectors of Godavari even went to the extent of issuing a circular saying that Munsiffs, Karnams and Assistant Munsiffs should not attend the sessions of the Indian National Congress, even as observers or visitors. In 1923 Andhra had the unique distinction of contributing an all-India President for the Indian National Congress in the person of Konda Venkatappayya and the General Secretary in Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya. As the President and the General Secretary both belonged to Andhra, the headquarters of the All-India Congress Committee were shifted to Vijayawada and the annual session was held at Kakinada in 1923.

#### **The Nagpur Flag Satyagraha :**

In 1923 Andhra sent five batches of eight Satyagrahis each every week to the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha which was carried on under the leadership of Jamnalal Bajaj. These Satyagrahis were drawn from the districts of Krishna, Godavari, Guntur, Nellore and Srikakulam. Some of those who participated in the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha were Nalam Chinnabhimaraju, Editha Satyanarayana, Bulusu Yagnanna, Jellepalli Kameswara Rao, Banka Achajiah Patrudu, Potina Ganapati Rao, Matam Balasubramanya Gupta, etc.

#### **The demand for complete Independence :**

In the meanwhile a section of the Congress leaders like Bulusu Sambamurthi, and Dr. Subramaniam were getting impatient at the delay in achieving Swaraj and at the Ganjam district conference in September, 1924 they passed a resolution saying that the Congress creed should be changed to one of *Sampoorna Swatantramu* (*Purna Swaraj*) instead of Dominion Status and they requested the Belgaum Congress to adopt this resolution. At the Belgaum Congress the decision to admit as Congress members only those who have spun 2,000 yards of Khadi was adopted. This was strictly implemented in Andhra. Bulusu Sambamurthi and his colleagues were however not satisfied with only the constructive activities of the Congress in the economic field. They wanted complete independence outside the British Empire and a decision to that effect

was passed at Palivela in the Godavari District Conference. Thus Andhra had the distinction of passing the first resolution on *Poorna Swaraj* or complete independence, even two years earlier than the Indian National Congress which adopted *Poorna Swaraj* as its aim only in the Madras session in 1927. Even the Swarajist leaders in Andhra like Harisarvothama Rao and A. Kaleswara Rao, the President of the Andhra Swarajist Party, welcomed this resolution.

### **The Elections to the Legislature :**

In 1926 T. Prakasam who happened to be the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, issued a manifesto against the repressive policy adopted under the Bengal Ordinance and the attitude adopted by Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, in spite of the demand for responsible Government. Prakasam declared that the Congress Party stands for national weal and not for any selfish party goal or individual and he undertook a tour of the Andhra country to campaign for the elections. The Congress won the election by a sweeping majority against the Justice Party not only in Andhra but also in the rest of the Madras Province. But the Congress leaders were against the principle of accepting office though they were empowered to do so by the Sabarmati Pact. So an independent Ministry headed by Dr. P. Subbarayan was formed in Madras.

### **Post Non-Co-operation Movement Developments — The emergence of new classes and socialist forces :**

The period following the Non-Co-operation movement saw the emergence of certain distinct features in the political history of India. Though the entire Civil Disobedience movement and the Non-Co-operation movement of 1921-22 was fought on the plank of communal unity, yet the period following the Non-Co-operation movement saw the flare up of communal tension all over India on account of the fact that the two communal bodies in India, the Muslim league and the Hindu Mahasabha, were controlled by reactionary vested interests. This had the effect of undermining the national consciousness and the national unity of the people. Another interesting feature that emerged during the post Non-Co-operation movement was the growth of socialist and communist groups and also the rise of independent economic and

political class organisations of the working classes. In the South, particularly in Andhra, from the year 1930 onwards more non-Brahmin leaders began taking part in the Non-Co-operation movement. Previously, upto the Vande Mataram movement and also during the Non-Co-operation movement, leadership in the country was mostly confined to the educated Brahmin community. But now the rich landlord class mostly belonging to the Kamma, Reddy and Raju communities, economically secure on account of their large land holdings and having time at their disposal to ponder over political issues, began to take part in the national movement in greater numbers. This is an indication of the failure of the Government policy to bring about a split in the national movement by creating differences between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin castes through the Justice Party.

#### **The emergence of Socialist Forces :**

Through all sections of the people - the liberals, the Congress with its left wingers, the socialists and the Communists - fought under the banner of the Indian National Congress, these Groups could be distinguished in their operations. S. A. Dange started in 1923 the first Socialist weekly called *The Socialist* in Bombay. This was the beginning of the socialist ideas, though on a very limited scale, in India. Neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party were in a position to stand on their own, all these groups submerged their distinctive individuality and fought for the independence of the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The workers and peasant parties also built up trade unions and we find that certain strikes like the South Indian Railway Strike of 1928, the Bengal Nagpur Railway Strike and the Bombay Textile Workers' Strike, were organised by these bodies. It was during this period that Acharya Ranga organised the District Agricultural Labourers' Conference at Nidubrolu in 1923. This was the first agricultural labourers' conference held in India. With the help of Sri Maganti Bapineedu he also founded the Andhra Provincial Farmers' Union in 1929. He also took interest in organising the Madras Forest Panchayats Unions in 1931. Acharya Ranga also took interest in seeing that at the All-India Congress session held at Bombay in 1931 the socialistic principles were accepted in the fundamental rights envisaged by the Congress. The Kisan movement began to take a definite shape from

this time onwards. In 1934 Acharya Ranga founded the Andhra Congress Socialist Party. Ultimately he was able to bring into existence the All India Kisan Mahasabha in 1936, under the presidentship of Swami Sahajananda. He was also responsible for starting three hundred Rural Ryot Societies in the Krishna District alone, for which the Government awarded him one year's imprisonment,

The Congress under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru felt that the national struggle for *Poorna Swaraj* could be successful only if the Kisans were drawn into the orbit of the freedom struggle. The first Kisan School to train active Kisan workers in the methods of carrying on propagation and organisation work was started at Nidubrolu by Acharya Ranga. He also formed the Madras Presidency Ryots Association in 1935 and the Madras Presidency Agriculturists Association in 1937. Andhra was the first province to form the Ryots Association in 1923 under the leadership of Ranga and the Provincial Ryots Association was formed in 1928. Falling in line with the policy of Andhra, Kisan Sabhas were started in some parts of the Panjab, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh also.

This period also saw the famous Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928-29 under the leadership of Vallabhai Patel which was a forerunner of the 1930 Satyagraha in India. The Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928-29 and also of 1930-31 apart from giving an impetus to the peasant movements in the country also gave the necessary confidence to the Indian National Congress to launch the Satyagraha movement of the 1930's in India. Thus this period saw the rise of peasant movements in Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Gujarat, Karnataka and other parts of the country, mainly authorised by the Congress party and sometimes unauthorised. The Russian Revolution of 1917 had also a great influence in making the Kisan Movements strengthen in India.

As early as 1920 the All India Trade Union Congress was founded due to the efforts of N. M. Joshi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Joseph Baptista. Later, nationalist leaders like V. V. Giri and C. R. Das actively participated in the activities of the All India Trade Union Congress and the Indian Trade Union Federation. Seeing the growth of Trade Union activities in India, the Government passed as an Ordinance the Public Safety Bill in 1929. The

trade union leaders in India also participated in the boycott of the Simon Commission as well as in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-33. Though there was an emergence of the left wing forces in India during this period as against that of the old right wing and liberal forces, the nature of the new social classes that emerged continued to be of a predominantly national character and they all fought under the Congress banner to safeguard their common interest as against that of the British imperialists.

### **The Indian Chamber of Princes :**

During this period the Indian princes also organised themselves on an all India basis under an organisation known as the Indian Chamber of Princes.

The inter reaction of all these forces lead to the steady growth of the discontent among nationalists which found a natural outlet in the agitation against the appointment of the Simon Commission without any Indians on its body. The All-India Congress met at Madras in 1927 in this atmosphere of discontent passed a resolution saying that the aim of the Indian National Congress was to achieve complete independence. It also decided upon the boycott of the Simon Commission and it affiliated itself to the International League against Imperialism.

The year 1928-29 was marked by a striking growth of student and youth movements in the country, particularly in Bombay and Bengal. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in association with Subhash Chandra Bose and Bulusu Sambamurthi organised the All-India Independence League with branches in a number of centres. From Andhra Madduri Annapurnayya became a member of this All India Independence League. This association supported the independence demand and also sympathised with the struggle of the masses. It stood for a national democratic programme based on independence, abolition of the Princely States, the Zamindaries and for bringing about an economic improvement in the condition of the masses. The Student and Youth Associations together with the Independence League played a prominent part in organising the boycott of the Simon Commission.

### **The Boycott of Simon Commission :**

The Simon Commission reached India on the 3rd February, 1928. An all-India *Hartal* was observed on that day and several

protest meetings and demonstrations were held throughout the country. Demonstrations took place in Delhi, Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras and Patna.

In Madras, a public meeting was held on 3rd February under the Chairmanship of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao who spoke in Telugu. He declared that the Simon Commission was coming to India to perpetuate India's slavery and that Indians should with one voice declare that they would have nothing to do with that Commission. G. Harisarvothama Rao and Sami Venkatachalam Chetty also addressed this meeting. The Congress in Madras attempted to boycott the Simon Commission under the joint auspices of the Andhra and Tamil Congress committees. S. Satyamurti was the Chairman of the Simon Boycott propaganda Committee and he issued a manifesto appealing to the students and teachers to abstain from going to schools and colleges, vakils, barristers to boycott courts, markets and shops to remain closed. He also said that no vehicles such as tramcars, buses, taxis and even bullock carts and rickshaws should ply on the roads of Madras and that all hotels and restaurants should remain closed. In appealing to the people to observe a complete *Hartal* he declared, "The significance of the *Hartal* is to show the Government and to our enemies that the wish of the Congress runs as it is as far as the Government, if not further."

T. Prakasam while appealing to Municipal Councillors of the Madras Corporation to boycott the Simon Commission by not presenting a Welcome Address also appealed to the people to show to the Government that "though we have quarrels amongst us, yet we have combined against you in the same manner as you (British Government) combined against India or other foreign nations." He said that in this answer to the Commission lay the foundation for any Swaraj that Indians might seek to establish in India. Smt. Rukmini Lakshmipathi also appealed to the ladies to observe *Hartal*. In Madras the demonstrations against the Simon Commission were to a certain extent marred by the outbreak of violence.

Konda Venkatappayya appealed to all the Andhra leaders on behalf of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to boycott the said Commission while Bulusu Sambamurti appealed to the

people to organise a successful boycott, by means of *Hartal*. After his participation in the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee at Vijayawada, Sambamurti undertook a tour of Guntur and Tenali, wherever he went he advocated the boycott of the Simon Commission and also enrolled members for the Independence League. While he was entraining for Kakinada on 7th February, he was arrested by the Government under Sec, 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code and on his refusal to execute bail, he was removed to the Masulipetam sub-jail and later awarded one year's Rigorous Imprisonment, and sent to Bellary jail. He was removed from the Rajahmundry jail in the dead of night and was made to walk a distance of two miles from the jail to the station carrying his own luggage. He appealed to the people to make the Simon Commission boycott a complete success. The arrest of Sambamurti created a great stir among the people and the Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, Prakasam, Dandu Narayana Raju, Venneti Satyanarayana were determined to see that the boycott of the Simon Commission would be a complete success. They appealed to the students to abstain from schools and also to stage black flag demonstrations against the members of the visiting Commission. The Government in this connection arrested Deshbhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, K. V. R. Swamy, G. V. Punnaiah Sastri and Venkat Rao of Amalapuram, but later released them. In Madras under the leadership of Tanguturi Prakasam complete *Hartal* was observed in the city. There was also a black flag demonstration against the visiting Commission. A boycott procession was organised by the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Congress Committees at Napier Park by Srinivasa Iyengar, Varadarajulu Naidu, Satyamurti, Shafi Mohammad, Kasinathuni Nagaswara Rao, Punniiah Sastri, Kaleswara Rao Yamini Purnatilakam and others. Thousands of people carrying black flags in their Hands shouted "Simon go back", "Down with Imperialism" etc., in Tamil and English. Another procession under the leadership of Prakasam, Konda Venkatappayya, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, B. Venkatratnam, Madduri Annapurnayya, G. Rangaiah Naidu, A. Govindacharyulu, started from the Swarajya office and joined the procession started from the Napier Park. The *Hartal* was a complete success in Madras, but owing to the failure of the police to properly handle the situation there were certain disturbances which led to firing by the Reserve Police in which one man

was killed while several were injured. Prakasam who was the President of the Andhra Congress Committee was going with a batch of followers towards the spot where the firing took place. The police tried to block his passage upon which he defiantly bared his chest and told them, "We are determined to move on and have a look at the dead body of our comrade; shoot me if you want" the police were taken aback by his boldness and courage and allowed him to proceed.

Several Municipalities in Andhra like Tirupati, Kurnool, Eluru, Vijayawada, Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Guntur passed resolutions in favour of boycotting the Commission. Processions were held against the visit of the Commission. In Tenali the boycott was a great success due to the efforts of Punnaiah Sastri. The Bhimavaram Bar Association also passed a resolution in favour of the boycott. In Andhra the Simon Commission visited Guntur and Ongole when black flag demonstrations were held and complete *Hartal* was observed. While on their way to Guntur when the Commission halted at the Vijayawada railway station, Kaleswara Rao who was then the Municipal Chairman for Vijayawada sent his Dafedar with a sealed cover to be delivered to Sri John Simon which contained the boycott resolution and another paper on which was inscribed, "Simon go back". Throughout the year 1928 boycott propaganda against the Simon Commission was carried on.

In the meanwhile the All India Congress session was held in Calcutta in December, 1928. Before the Calcutta Congress met, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee considered the Nehru Report and accepted the principles of complete independence. The Andhra Provincial Independence League was formally established on 19th December, 1928 with Bulusu Sambamurti as President, Dr. Subramanyam as Secretary and Teneti Viswanatham as Treasurer. The Nehru Report was suitably amended and adopted at the All India Congress session at Calcutta. One of the resolutions adopted at the Calcutta Congress was the boycott of foreign cloth, and that Congress men should take to the wearing of 'Khaddar'. Mahatma Gandhi himself led this movement in Calcutta and he organised the burning of foreign cloth in the Shradhananda Park for which he was prosecuted. This led to a reaction in Andhra where several meetings were organised and



on the 10th March huge quantities of foreign cloth were burnt down. The problem of untouchability and its eradication was also taken up seriously in Andhra from 1930 onwards.

### **Gandhiji's tour of Andhra :**

Mahatma Gandhi undertook a tour of the Andhra country in 1929 for about six weeks which had a great impact on the people and inspired them to fight the British. It also promoted the 'Khaddar' movement in the State. At his meetings Gandhiji was wont to address particularly the ladies saying, "Let there be *Ramarajya* in India once more. There can be no *Ramarajya* without Sita and I wish to see Sita imbibed in you all". This greatly inspired the ladies in Andhra to participate in the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 to 1933. It was during this period that on 17th July 1929, Madduri Annapurnayya, the editor of *The Congress*, a nationalist Telugu weekly, and a member of the Independence League was arrested [on charges of sedition and sentenced for two years rigorous imprisonment. The object of the Government in arresting Madduri Annapurnayya was to kill the youth movement in Andhra. During this period several youth leagues were established all over the country and Madduri Annapurnayya played a great part in carrying on the activities of the Youth League in Andhra and he tried to revive the memory of the national heroes of India like Alluri Sitarama Raju through the Youth Leagues. After him the editorship of *The Congress* was taken up by Krovvidi Linga Raju who also maintained the same fearless out-spoken spirit of the paper.

### **Terrorist Activities :**

The years 1924-29 also saw the rise of several terrorist activities and conspiracies like the Kanpur conspiracy case, the Meerut conspiracy case and Lahore conspiracy case in which Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were sentenced to death. It was also during this period that Jatindas who was in prison undertook a hunger strike in order to get the sufferings of the fellow political prisoners ameliorated, and in the process sacrificed his life after sixty four days of hunger strike. All these events created a deep unrest in the minds of the people.

On the 31st October, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, declared that he is prepared to implement the declarations of 1917 by which

India would be able to gain dominion status. He also proposed to hold a round table conference with the Indian Political leaders. The Congress leaders were filled with hope on hearing the declaration of the Viceroy and expressed their readiness to co-operate with the Government through the 'Delhi manifesto' for evolving a scheme of dominion status to India. This manifesto was signed by Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, T. B. Saprū, Mrs. Besant and Jawaharlal Nehru. On 23rd December, 1929, Gandhiji and Motilal Nehru, on behalf of the Indian National Congress, Jinnah and Saprū on behalf of the other political parties in India, met the Viceroy, Lord Irwin at Delhi. Gandhiji asked the Viceroy to give an assurance that India would be granted full dominion status before starting the round table conference. The viceroy expressed his inability to do so and this led to the breakdown of negotiations.

#### **The Lahore Congress :**

Amidst this tense political atmosphere, the Indian National Congress met at Lahore and there for the first time passed a resolution on *Poorna Swaraj* (complete independence). It also decided to launch civil disobedience and if necessary the no-tax campaign against the British Government. Thus the Lahore Congress became a prelude to another nationalist mass movement in the country. It was at the Lahore Congress for the first time that 26th January was adopted as the day of Indian Independence and the first Indian independence day was celebrated on the 26th January, 1930. The Lahore Congress also appealed to all the Congressmen in the Legislatures to resign and also to observe 26th January as the independence day. Soon after the Congress session the Andhra delegates led by Konda Venkatappayya went to Mahatma Gandhi for instructions. Gandhiji said that for the success of his Satyagraha movement he depended on three provinces in India namely Gujarat, Bihar and Andhra and asked them not to swerve from the path of non-violence under any provocation. After obtaining the blessings of Gandhiji the Andhra leaders went to Kakinada and convened the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee meeting. There it was decided to observe the 26th of January as the independence day and to take the declaration of independence oath throughout the Andhra country. In response to the Congress resolution all the Andhra leaders who were members of the Madras Legislative Council like Mote Narayana Rao, A. Kaleswara Rao, Koti Reddy, T. Prakasam and V. Ramdas Pantulu resigned their membership.

## CHAPTER IV

### **Salt Satyagraha and the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-34)**

On 30th January, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi published in the *Young India*, his eleven points which included among others introduction of total prohibition, reduction of land revenue by 50%, abolition of salt tax and he declared, "Let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital things of India. He will then hear no talk of Civil Disobedience" Shortly afterwards the Congress Committee met at Sabarmati in February, 1930 and empowered Gandhiji and those working with him with full authority to lead and direct the Civil Disobedience campaign. Gandhiji decided to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement by breaking the salt law of the Government at Dandi on 6th April, 1930. On that day he along with 69 carefully selected followers broke the salt laws but he was not arrested. So, on 9th April he declared that the entire country should try to break the salt laws by manufacturing contraband salt and that women should picket liquor shops and foreign cloth dealers, students must leave Government schools and colleges and that Government servants should resign from their service. He also appealed to the Hindus to eschew untouchability. This movement was known as the 'Triple Boycott Movement'. The boycott of foreign cloth and liquor enforced by methods of picketing met with tremendous success. Other movements based on violence like the Chittagong armoury raid did not succeed. The non-violent movement of Gandhiji began to spread like wild fire and the whole country was caught in the conflagration of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Congress Committee meetings were held throughout the country to organise camps for the training of volunteers, to acquaint the people with the concept of Satyagraha and also for setting up camps for carrying on the Satyagraha. But long before the Satyagraha campaign was started, Andhra joined in the fray of anti-British activities by staging demonstrations against the Governor's visit during his tour of the East and West Godavari and Krishna

districts. The District Congress Committee of East Krishna staged a black flag demonstration asking the Governor to go back. On account of this Kodali Anjaneyulu was sentenced on 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1930, to 16 months rigorous imprisonment. Besides him 10 others were also arrested in this connection.

### General features of the Salt Satyagraha Movement in Andhra :

The Andhra Provincial Working Committee appointed Deshbhakta Konda Venkatappayya as the dictator for the entire Andhra province to carry on the Satyagraha movement ; for each district there was to be a district dictator and a war council to advise him. A *Shibirum* or a military camp was also established in each district. They were meant to be centres from where volunteers were to move in batches to disobey the provisions of the salt tax. The first stage of this new Civil Disobedience Movement in Andhra started with the defiance of salt tax laws at various places where people gathered to manufacture contraband salt. For the East Godavari district the *shibirum* was located in the Sitanagaram Ashram, for West Godavari at Eluru National College, for West Krishna at Vijayawada, for East Krishna at Masulipatam, for Guntur at Guntur proper, for Nellore at Pallipadu Ashram, for Visakhapatnam at Vijayanagaram, for the Ceded districts in Bellary and for Madras city at 'Vedavanam', the residence of T. Prakasani. It was also decided to disperse the Salt Satyagraha movement, to different centres so that the Government would not be able to concentrate its armed forces at any one single centre. This was done on the advice of Pattabhi Sitaramaiah about whom the District Magistrate of Krishna wrote to the Government "Pattabhi Sitaramaiah had throughout a long career of anti-Government activities, hitherto avoided being sent to jail. But during the previous movement as also in the early stages of the present movement he was the *brains* behind the whole organisation". So, different centres were selected for offering Satyagraha in different districts. For example, Masulipatam which was near the sea coast was chosen as the centre for offering Satyagraha for both East and West Krishna; Chollangi, a coastal village two miles from Kakinada, for East Godavari; the residence of Konda Venkatappayya for Guntur; and Mypaud for Nellore district. In Nellore Bomma Seshu Reddy was the President of the District Congress Committee. Messrs. Oruganti Venkatasubbayya,

B. Gopala Reddy, V. Lakshmaiah and L. Subbarama Reddy were chosen to the Council which was to be in supreme control of the Satyagraha movement and if any one of them were to be arrested, they had the right to co-opt others. These leaders were arrested and sentenced for having participated in the Salt Satyagraha movement. The first batch of volunteers to offer Satyagraha in Nellore was led by Oruganti Venkatasubbayya. In the East Godavari district the Sitanagaram Ashram played a prominent part and Duvvuru Subbamma, Venneti Satyanarayana, Suryaprakasa Rao, O. Mallikarjuna Rao formed the first batch of volunteers. In Guntur, the women's section of the volunteers under the leadership of Smt. Unnava Lakshmi-bayamma and Smt. Rukmini Lakshmi-pathi went round the city appealing to the womenfolk to observe *Swarajya Lakshmi Vratam* on the Telugu New Year's Day which happened to be on 31st March, 1930 and participate in the Satyagraha movement. The Satyagraha camps that were set up had popular support. People from all communities including Adi Andhras and Christians had joined the national movement by this time. In East Godavari the volunteers were led by Venneti Satyanarayana while the Satyagraha batch for West Godavari which had its camp at Ganapavaram was led by Dandu Narayana Raju, Narsimha Sarma of the Chagallu Ashram. In Nellore Paturi Bala-saraswatamma was the first woman to join the Salt Satyagraha movement. Later the entire family of Oruganti Venkatasubbayya including his wife Oruganti Mahalakshamma, daughter and sons and Smt. Ponaka Kanakamma participated in the movement and were awarded various terms of imprisonment. At Chollangi (near Kakinada) the salt law was broken before a public of 4,000 while in West Godavari nearly 6,000 people including 500 women attended the ceremony. Salt water was boiled in fifty pots and nearly 100 women assisted in the operations. At Masulipatam, 22 male and 3 female volunteers participated while another 1,000 bathers who had come to have their bath in the sea, started boiling the sea water. In Madras the salt Satyagraha was mainly organised by the Andhra leaders, prominent among them being K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, V. L. Sastri, Smt. Durga Bai Deshmukh, Gadde Rangaiah Naidu. The salt laws were broken on the 13th April. Several ladies under the inspiring leadership of Smt. Durgabayamma and Smt. Prakasam volunteered to join the Satyagraha movement and they also gave away their jewels to the Satyagraha

fund. Smt. Durgabayamma was sentenced to 9 months simple imprisonment under Sec. 117 I.P.C. and another three months simple imprisonment under Sec. 188 for her participation in the Salt Satyagraha movement. Along with her, Kuppuswamy Mudali and Obaidullah Saheb were sentenced to 18 months Rigorous Imprisonment. Among another prominent leaders arrested during this period were K. Nageswara Rao, Prakasam Pantulu, G. Rangaiyah Naidu, V.L. Sastri, Smt. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, A. Kaleswara Rao, Kakani Venkataratnam, Muduganti Jagganna Sastri, Krovvidi Linga Raju, Konda Venkatappayya, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, Vallabhaneni Ramabrahman, Chalapathi Rao, Venkata Krishna Rao, the Zamindar of Gampalagudem, M.B.S Gupta, Cherukuvada Lakshminarasimham and others. Some of the notable women leaders who were arrested were Unnava Lakshmi Bayamma, Lakshmi Narasamma (mother of Dr. Subramanyam), Vedantam Kamala Devi of Kakinada besides several others.

One of the unique features of the Salt Satyagraha movement was that wherever the Satyagrahis established a *shibirum*, people showed their sympathy towards the nationalist movement by contributing voluntarily for the maintenance of these camps. Merchants as well as the people in general in Andhra agreed to maintain these camps at their cost. For example, for the maintenance of the Pallepadu *Shibirum*, the villagers around Pallepadu as well as the rich Reddies of that area met the entire expenses. When the Satyagraha volunteers went marching to the *Shibirum*, they were normally received with music and songs by the local people. Meetings were held praising them for their patriotic sense and wishing them all success in their venture and appealing to the youth at large to come forward and volunteer to serve for the national cause. It was during this 1930 Salt Satyagraha movement that the famous lyric, *Veera Gandhamu Tecchinaramu Veerulevaro Telupudi*. (Tell us, who the heroes are ..... we have come to anoint them . . . . once the brave youth of Andhra enters the field he will not turn back) of Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Choudhary, was composed. The soul stirring and emotional appeal of this lyric is as effective today as it was in the heyday of the Salt Satyagraha movement. Ramaswamy Choudhary composed his lyric while welcoming the Satyagraha volunteers of Tenali under the

Leadership Sharanu Ramaswamy Choudhary. Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Choudhary was by political convictions a sympathiser of the justice party which was pro-British, but such was the emotionally charged atmosphere that he was not only carried away by the lofty sentiment of patriotism but even went to the extent of welcoming the volunteers and personally anointing them with "Tilak and Sandal Paste". The entire expenses of the camp near Ganapavaram in West Godavari district were met by the managers of the Madhava Swamy Rice Mills. The local villagers with national flags in their hands and *shehnai* music went to receive the volunteers. Commenting about the Ganapavaram camp the C.I.D. report says, "It is interesting and instructive to study the list of volunteers forming the Satyagrahi troop which started at Ellore on 31st March ultimo. The troop is led by a non-Brahmin; it consists of 19 Brahmins, 5 Kshatriyas, 1 Viswa Brahmin, 6 Kapus, 5 Kammās and 2 Toorpu Kapus, all sat together for the common meal, they sang together in a chorus." This integration is an indication of the new forces that are asserting themselves in the society where caste distinctions were getting obliterated under the new found ideal of common nationalism. As the leaders were arrested more and more volunteers began to come forward for the breaking of the salt laws.

#### Satyagraha in the Krishna District :

The Krishna district was the first to start the Salt Satyagraha movement. A. Kaleswara Rao, Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah went to the seashore on the 6th April and they picked up salt which was distributed among the audience at a public meeting held the same evening. On the 9th April again Dr. Pattabhi broke the salt laws by going to the seashore and picking up salt which was auctioned at a public meeting near Tilak Chowk at Masulipatam. Puranam Suri Sastri purchased a packet of salt from Dr. Pattabhi for one *Navarasu* (Sovereign). Veluri Yagnanarayana with a batch of five volunteers also broke the salt laws on that day. On the evening of 10th April T. Prakasam, Nageswara Rao and Konda Venkatappayya visited Chinnapuram and collected small quantities of salt. But while they were returning they were intercepted and the salt they had collected was seized. On the 11th April about 150 volunteers brought salt water from the sea to Masulipatam in pots and after passing through the

town in a procession, manufactured salt and sold it among the people. K. Venkata Krishna Rao of Gampalagudem collected 60 volunteers from West Krishna and 150 from East Krishna and took them to the Konar Swamp. They remained there on the 13th and 14th of April and collected salt from the swamp deposits. This salt was later distributed at a public meeting on the 26th April at Vijayawada. A. Kaleswara Rao and Dr. V. Hanumantha Rao with batches of 86 and 36 Satyagrahis went to the sea coast near Masulipatam and broke the salt laws.

**Satyagraha in the Guntur district :**

The Salt Satyagraha in the Guntur district was led by Konda Venkatappayya, N. V. L. Narasimha Rao, Sharanu Ramaswamy Choudhary on the 9th April. They led a batch of 100 volunteers to the seacoast near Ganapavaram and Vadarevu and brought the salt brine in pots to the house of Konda Venkatappayya, where it was manufactured. Sixteen ladies also participated in the manufacture of salt. At Vadarevu, A. Kameswara Rao and Kasi Viswanadham succeeded in breaking the salt laws. On the 16th April they sold this contraband salt at a public meeting held in Tenali. On the 26th of April, 41 volunteers raided the Kanaparthi salt factory and also induced the villagers to follow their example in gathering the salt. About 100 volunteers at the Devarampadu Shibiram collected salt on the 27th.

**Satyagraha in the East Godavari District :**

In the East Godavari district V. Satyanarayana and Bulusu Sambamurti marched from Kakinada to Ohollangi to break the salt laws. Three maunds of salt was manufactured there and distributed among the public later.

**Satyagraha in the West Godavari District :**

Dandu Narayana Raju and his band of volunteers broke the salt laws by preparing brine from the swamps while A. Govindachari broke the salt laws at Mattapalem. They remained in their respective camps from 15th April to 13th May.

**Satyagraha in the Visakhapatnam District:**

The Salt Satyagraha in Visakhapatnam was led by Tenneti Viswanatham. At Bimili four volunteers manufactured salt on the 18th and 30th of April.



**Satyagraha in Nellore :**

In Nellore, Bezawada Gopala Reddy, N. Fakir, V. Balarami Reddy, T. Ramalingam and D. Subba Rami Reddy and Ch. Venkata Raghaviah broke the salt laws at Mypaud on the 11th April. The manufactured salt was auctioned for a sum of Rs. 120 at a public meeting near Tipparaju Choultry. On the 20th of April Oruganti Venkatasubbayya and Khasa Subba Rao along with 16 others manufactured salt at Mypaud and took it to Nellore.

**Satyagraha in Madras City :**

T. Frakasam and K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu devoted their activities to the city of Madras to see that the Salt Satyagraha movement was successful there. Smt. Durgabayamma (Smt. Durga Bai Deshmukh) was actively associated in the arrangements made for the campaign. Smt. Rukmini Lakshmi pathi went round the city appealing to the people to join the Satyagraha movement. The first batch of Satyagrahis under the leadership of Prakasam and K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu started out in a procession from the Swarajya office after intimating the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras and manufactured salt on the sea shore on the 13th of April. Later, T. Prakasam and Smt. Durga Bai led a batch of 20 ladies to the Beach opposite the High Court and successfully manufactured salt there.

The arrest of K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu and other leaders roused the people of Madras and on the 22nd of April the merchants of the City observed a complete *Hartal*. On the same day at about 11.00 A.M. about 1500 mill workers took out a procession as a mark of protest against the arrests. While the procession was going, they clashed with a posse of policemen. While this disturbance was going on, a large crowd which was just returning after having heard the speech of T. Prakasam, joined the procession of the mill workers and attacked the police. The police had to resort to lathi-charge to disperse the crowd. They also promulgated an order prohibiting the holding of meetings at the High Court Beach between 4 and 10 P. M. In defiance of this order a crowd of 200 men gathered on the 26th April and the police had once again to resort to firings to disperse the crowd. Another protest meeting was held at the Triplicane Beach against the police behaviour. The crowd that gathered at the Triplicane Beach started pelting stones

at the police and the police retaliated by a lathi-charge. The mob which was roused by this action of the police, became uncontrollable and the police had to resort to firing as a result of which three persons were killed and several were wounded. In spite of all this elaborate police bandobust Smt. Durgabayamma led a batch of nine lady volunteers to Santhome Beach, Mylapore, on 5th May. While the volunteers were engaged in manufacturing salt, the police arrived on the spot, broke their pots and overturned their ovens. The lady volunteers therefore had to return to Vedavanam with sea water filled in bottles. Thereafter the police raided and closed the camp at Vedavanam from 16th June onwards.

### Satyagraha in the Ceded Districts :

The Salt Satyagraha in areas like Anantapur, Cuddapah and Bellary was not so strong as it was in the coastal districts because these areas happened to be inland regions, far away from the sea coast. But the two other programmes of the triple-boycott namely Anti-Drink and Swadeshi movements were more successful in these areas. Kalluru Subba Rao played a prominent part in the Ceded districts to see that the 1930 Satyagraha movement was successful.

The police adopted several repressive measures to put down the Satyagraha movement, besides arresting top Congress leaders. In spite of this, the people carried on the Satyagraha movement by shifting the scene of activity. For example, in the West Godavari district under the direction of the District War Council they resorted to mass Civil Disobedience movement. On the 11th May at Eluru the volunteers stationed in the National School proceeded to the Second Reservoir Tank and prepared salt. Salt laws were also broken at Dendurur, Nadimpalli, Kovvali, Chintalapudi, etc. In Nellore the Satyagrahis shifted their scene of operation to Allur and prepared salt from the sea water. In East Godavari Krovvidi Linga Raju led a batch of volunteers from Kothapalli *Shibirum* to the seashore and prepared salt there. The police raided the Chollangi camp and destroyed it. So, other places like Kothapalli, Uppada and Amalapuram were chosen for the manufacture of salt from sea water brought from Bendamudilanka. In Guntur district on the 3rd May, Sharanu Ramaswamy Choudhary, K.T. Venkateswara Rao, Vedantam Narasimha Rao and K. Gopalakrishnayya

went in a car from Devarampad to the Kanaparathi swamps and picked up salt from there. While returning they were arrested by the police. About 30 to 40 volunteers and a crowd of 400 entered the brine pits at Nizampatam and obtained salt from there. In the meanwhile, the rainy season had set in and by the end of June the areas of natural salt deposits were flooded with water. This made the people to turn their attention towards picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth.

### **Anti-Drink and Picketing of foreign cloth campaigns :**

Another feature of the Salt Satyagraha movement was the cutting off the spathes of the Palmyra trees and also the burning of foreign cloth. The Spathe cutting programme was a complete success in the Andhra districts. Commenting about this Spathe cutting, the Collector in his confidential report to the Chief Secretary wrote, "The most effective leader of the movement in Guntur was Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri.-----He had organised the first cutting of the spathes of the toddy trees which became one of the most prominent of the new forms of activity. The speciality of this was that it can be represented as a measure of social reform and more than anything else, it brought the ryots into direct conflict with the Government". This activity spread quickly not only in the Guntur district but also in the Nellore and Krishna districts. Picketing against foreign cloth shops was also done by members of the Youth League and lady volunteers. Some of the lady workers who took part in this were Digumarti Butchikrishnamma, Gadicherla Seshabai, S. Subbamma, Palakodeti Syamalamba and others. The merchants in Krishna and Guntur districts promised at the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement not to sell foreign goods for a period of six months.

Several Village Officers also resigned during this period, the first among them being Ponangi Rao, the Karnam of Eluru. He was followed by the Karnams of Challapalli, Koniki, Veerabhadrapuram, Yalamanchipadu Shrotriam, besides others. The people also resorted to the cutting of telegraph wires.

In the beginning the Government tried to adopt a lenient attitude towards the Satyagrahis and no arrests were made in the first half of April. Seeing this the leaders started making objectionable speeches. This led to the arrest of several leaders under

Section 108 of Cr. P. C., and later when they started raiding the salt mines, severe measures were adopted. The Government tried to meet the situation by applying economic pressure on the ryots who were being drawn into this movement in greater numbers by depriving them of water supply for irrigation purposes and thus making it impossible for them to raise a second crop. Some volunteers like Smt. Rukmini Lakshmi in the Vedaranyam camp tried to kindle disaffection among the Reserve Police stationed near the camp by distributing pamphlets among them. By June 21st, 1930, the Government declared the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, the Bezawada District War Council, the District Congress Committees of Guntur, East Krishna, West Krishna, West Godavari and Nellore as unlawful associations and they promulgated Sec. 144 by which the Convening of war meetings stopped and the persons were prohibited for assembling at a place. This was done when the Satyagrahis started raiding the salt mines.

### **The nature of the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930) in Andhra**

Commenting about the nature of this 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement K K. Vzielli, the District Magistrate of Guntur, in his report to the Government wrote, "The Civil Disobedience Movement undeniably reflected the work of the spirit of nationalism but the range and depth of that spirit are not easy to estimate. As is generally the case with national movements, it derived its motive force from the intelligentsia. From this class were drawn not only the leaders but a great part of the rank and file. In addition a large section of the educated public opinion while not openly approving the movement, gave it their tacit support by a continuous condemnation of the Government's repressive policy and by insistent abuse of the police-- ————. The temporary attraction of the ryot to the movement was most noticeably in the rich deltaic areas of the Telugu country where the natural fertility of the soil and the unfailing supply of water drawn from the Krishna and Godavari rivers had brought prosperity during a period of high prices and created a comparatively leisured class with enough education to appreciate the wider issues involved. With money to spend and plenty of time to spare, many of this class took to politics as a game and a means of escaping from the boredom and dullness of every day life, more especially during the dry

weather months when agricultural operations were at a stand still. History here repeated itself once again as during the non-co-operation days. It was the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and the Kammas who were most prominent in their hostility towards the Government----- . It is perhaps the nationalist spirit that most distinguishes the Civil Disobedience movement from the non-co-operation movement of 1920-1922". The report further compares the non-co-operation movement in Andhra to the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 and says, "The initial outbreak of the latter was in many respects more serious involving as it did the resignation of Government servants and particularly Village Officers on a very large scale. But its force was derived from the hope of immediate Swaraj and when disillusionment came, it collapsed as quickly as it had arisen. But in the years that followed, the question of self determination assumed a progressively prominent place in practical politics. ----- In 1921 Gandhiji was a real leader in advance of public opinion in 1930, though his influence was still predominant, there were other and younger men ready to take his place, and indeed to supersede him should he appear to fail in the struggle. ----- The cult of Gandhiji had in fact been merged in the cult of nationalism".

On the 5th of May Gandhiji was arrested. His arrest was followed by *Hartals* all over India. In Andhra also *Hartals* were observed at Gutti, Tadpatri, Guntakal, etc. The Vice-President of the Tadpatri Taluq Board resigned during this period. The same District Magistrate of Guntur commenting about the nature of the movement in Guntur district says, "This country is strongly occupied by Kammas and Kshatriyas in whose minds the anti-Government propaganda of newspapers and political extremists have been working for years. They need wider interests, better opportunities and newspapers presenting views more favourable to Government." The above assessments of the District Magistrate regarding the nature of the movement and the nature of some of the classes involved is a correct appraisal of the forces involved in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Government realising that the ryot is getting more and more involved in the Non-Co-operation movement by the Spathe cutting campaign of the Congress, used to carry on propaganda

amongst the ryots explaining the policy of the Government, which they did by summoning all the Village Headmen and those Karnams who were loyal to them, and asking them to assure their villagers that the Government would assist them if they were to resist the civil resistance. When the Police Superintendent went to explain this to the people, the village of Kuchipudi refused to have anything to do with the Government. Nonetheless, the Government continued its propaganda through the Agriculture and Revenue Departments. They also started running pro-Government newspapers, one such newspaper was the '*Yadatha Vadi*' and encouraged the forming of 'Loyalist Leagues'. At certain places like Gudivada and Ongole the attempts of the Government to disperse the crowd under Sec. 144 led to rioting and the police had to open fire. At Ongole a crowd of nearly 200 attacked a police party led by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate. Commenting about the arrest of the leaders the Government report says, "as the leaders were arrested, the lesser lights arose and the tone of the speeches became violent". This statement reveals that the 1930 Salt Satyagraha movement was a mass movement.

The District Magistrate of Visakhapatnam G.T.H. Bracken in his report of 4th January, 1931 compares the 1921 Non-co-operation movement with the 1930 Civil Disobedience movement and says, "At the beginning of the Non-co-operation movement a considerable part of the population seriously believed that Mr. Gandhi's promise would be achieved on the date fixed by him. So the initial outbreak was far more serious and involved the resignation of Government and Village Officers on a considerable scale. But when Swaraj did not materialise as expected and promised, the disillusionment was profoundly great and the reaction marked. So the movement collapsed .....The Civil Disobedience movement shows signs of far more careful preparation and organisation. The mistake was avoided of pretending that Swaraj would come in a day. In fact the probability of a long struggle was forecast. People don't rush into the movement as they did in non-co-operation days. There is, in fact, a far more staying power behind the movement and far more of a real nationalist spirit——  
 ————— The arrest of Gandhi was the signal for collapse of non-co-operation; his arrest in the Civil Disobedience movement was a result anticipated and as such did little to check the movement. Non-co-operation practically died out in less than a year;

Civil Disobedience has wanted temporarily but the danger of its revival is still real”.

Just as the movement began to gain a mass base, more and more the repression of the Government began to increase day by day; whenever opportunity occurred, they did not hesitate to resort to severe lathi-charge in the prisons. Lathi-charges and firings became the order of the day. Apart from the firing at Gudivada and Ongole, firing was resorted to at Eluru also on the 24th June, 1930. Whenever the Government Officers came across the national flag, they made it a point to remove it and tear it to pieces. On the 6th May at Masulipatam a serious clash occurred between the police and the people, when the former pulled down the national flag that was hoisted in the public square by Tatwanadha Swamy. When the Swamy tried to rehoist the flag he was belaboured and thrown down, several volunteers were mercilessly beaten till they fell down unconscious. The Police concentrated on people with good physique, particularly on Thota Narasayya Naidu who was beaten at a time by fifteen Policemen. This roused even the ire of the Municipal Chairman, Silam Jagannadha Rao Naidu who was not a Congress sympathiser, and he came forward donning khadi clothes, made his colleagues, the municipal councillors, to adopt a resolution not only to hoist the flag in the public square but also on the municipal building. For instance, Velidandla Hanumantha Rao of Vijayawada, a Satyagrahi in the Rajahmundry jail, when he refused to take ‘ganji’ because it contained some worms, was transferred from that jail in the dead of night to Vellore jail. But while he was being transferred from Rajahmundry to Vellore he was beaten and kicked till he lost his consciousness, on account of which he became seriously ill; he could never completely regain his health after this and died in 1934. Another Satyagrahi Dr. Gurumurthy of West Godavari while delivering a lecture was severely lathi-charged by the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mustafa Ali. He not only lathi-charged him but also knocked his head deliberately against the wall. Another Satyagrahi by name Dr. Korrala Raja Rao, while he was at Ramachandrapuram propagating the principle of Civil Disobedience movement, was awakened from his sleep by the police by the butt-end of rifle and lathi-charged mercilessly. Yet another person who was severally beaten was Ithekada Ramasastri of Guntur. While picketing before a toddy shop he was beaten so seriously

that he started vomiting blood. However, the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 came to an end by January, 1931 when Gandhiji and the other leaders of the Congress working Committee were released. It led to the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin pact. The All-India Congress Committee met at Karachi in 1931 and it agreed to Mahatma Gandhi going to England for the Round Table Conference.

In spite of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Government's repression regarding picketing against liquor shops and foreign cloth shops did not abate. They also objected to the people going in processions carrying the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi. On account of this a riot took place near Rajahmundry called as the Vadapalli Riot on the occasion of *Rathotsavam* of Sri Venkateswara at Chinnavadapalli in Razolu Taluq. The people wanted to take the procession of the deity in a big car for the *Kalyana Mahotsavam* on the 30th March, 1931. They also wanted to keep the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarojini Naidu and the tri-colour flag on the car. The *Dharma Karta* of the temple, obtained the permission of the Government for keeping the portraits. But, while the procession was about to start, the Sub-Inspector of Razolu removed the portraits. When the *Dharma Karta* asked the Circle Inspector to allow him to keep the portraits, the latter said that it was better to wait for the arrival of the Sub-Magistrate and the Deputy Superintendent. The Deputy Superintendent soon after his arrival, asked the people to proceed with the procession. The people refused to draw the car as the portraits of the leaders and the tri-colour flag were not placed on the procession car. This was the signal for the Police to start beating and lathi-charging the people indiscriminately. After beating the people the Deputy Superintendent of Police once again ordered the people to pull the ropes of the car. But they did not obey the orders of the Deputy Superintendent of Police. The police then arrested some people and lathi-charged the crowd and even innocent spectators who were watching the events by perching themselves on the trees, were pulled down, and when they fell on the ground in the procession they were mercilessly beaten even before they could get up. In spite of this the people refused to comply with the orders of the Police to pull the car without the portraits of the national leaders. Then the police indented upon the service of some *Panchamas*



but they could not pull the car. Then the police fired in the air for the crowd to disperse. The crowd retaliated by throwing clods of earth and mud on the police upon which the police indiscriminately fired on the crowd resulting the death of two persons and injuring several others.

It was also during this period that Krovvidi Linga Raju was prosecuted under Section 124 A and sentenced for writing two articles entitled *Veera Bali* and *Prathama Swatantra Samara Vardhanti* on 31-2-1931 and 10-5-1931 in the nationalist Telugu weekly, *The Congress*. In these articles he exhorted the young men of India to emulate the example of heroes like Sitarama Raju, Bhagat Singh and others, Linga Raju in his statement declared, "I am proud of being charged under this section and thereby afforded the opportunity to uphold the tradition of my journal. If it is the will of God that I should serve my country by going to jail, I will gladly bow to His decision."

#### **Andhra and the 1932 Civil Disobedience Movement :**

The situation in the other parts of the country was also no better. In the meanwhile Gandhiji returned from the Round Table Conference in England a disillusioned man. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact proved a failure. Gandhiji after his return from England, sought an interview with Lord Wellington to seek a solution, but the latter refused even to see him. Thereupon the Congress Working Committee which met in Bombay on the 29th, 30th, 31st of December, 1931 and 1st January, 1932, passed the following resolution :

"Nothing short of complete independence carrying full control over defence, external affairs and even with such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of the nation can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory."

It however, called upon the people to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement in case the Government did not come forward with a satisfactory solution to their demand. This time the Non-Co-operation movement was to be confined to the picketing of liquor shops, boycott of foreign cloth, organisation of processions and demonstrations by volunteers and also defiance of salt laws. The Government met the challenge thrown by the Congress by arresting Mahatma Gandhi on the 3rd January, 1932. This action of the Government

roused the entire nation to act and they decided to launch upon the Civil Disobedience Movement. Andhra along with the others also started the campaign of Civil Disobedience by appointing dictators to organise the movement in the various districts of Andhra.

### **Repressive methods of the Government :**

The Government struck heavily against the people by resorting to severe methods of repression. It promulgated special ordinances to counter-act the activities of the Congress by passing the 'Prevention of Molestations' and 'Boycotting' Ordinances, the 'Unlawful Associations Ordinance' and in order to prevent the revival of the No-Tax campaign in the districts of Godavari and Krishna, the 'Unlawful Instigation Ordinance.' It also declared the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, the District Congress Committees of Madras and the Andhra districts, the Taluq Committees of Narsapur, Kovvur, Tanuku, Bhimavaram, Kaikalur, Gudivada, Bobbili, Chipurupalli and Anakapalli and the Town Committees of Masulipatam, Vijayawada, Nuzvid, Gudivada, Visakhapatnam and Vijayanagaram as unlawful associations. Apart from these, the Yelamanchili Firka Congress Committee, the Madras City Congress Boycott Committee, and the Hindustan Seva Dal (Ganjam District) were also declared as unlawful. It also declared all the Ashrams set up by the Congress as unlawful associations and took possession of them; one of them being the Sitanagaram Ashram which was a prominent centre for the propagation of 'khaddar' and for publishing the paper *The Congress*. It forfeited the printing press of *The Congress*; even the cattle shed, bulls and the bullock carts attached to the Ashram were seized and sold. On the 20th January the *Shibirums* at Inugapalli, Batlapenumarru and Nellore and the Gandhi Ashram at Komaravolu, in the Krishna district were also seized by the police. Even the private residence of individuals suspected of being the centres of Civil Disobedience Movement were seized. In this connection the houses of Yerneni Subramanyam, Yerneni Suryanarayana of Angalur, Nadimpalli Narasimhamurthy of Visakhapatnam, Kondiparti Sreeramamurthy of Kotigardi were seized.

### **Congress Offices locked up by the police :**

The Congress Office at Vijayawada known as the Andhra Ratna Bhavan and also the Congress Office at Kakinada were locked up

by the police. On the 31st July, the Congress volunteers under the leadership of Habeebullah tried to reoccupy the Andhra Ratna Bhavan, but they could not do so and seventeen of the volunteers were arrested.

#### **Promulgation of section 144 :**

The Government also promulgated Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and served notices on prominent leaders like Dr. Subramanyam, Kala Venkata Rao, Dr. J. Mallaparaju, M. Tirumala Rao, Peddada Kameswaramma, Devulapalli Satyavamma, Venneti Satyanarayana and others and forbid them from saying or doing anything in furthering the Civil Disobedience Movement. At Visakhapatnam, T. Viswanatham, K. Sarveswara Sastri ; in Nellore, Smt. Pappaka Kanakamma, Komandur Parthasarathy Iyengar, Oruganti Venkatasubbayya and Oruganti Mahalakshamma were also served with similar orders. In Guntur, Konda Venkatappayya, G. V. Punnaiah Sastri, Unnava Lakshminarayana, Unnava Lakshmbayamma, N. V. L. Narasimha Rao, Maddi Venkata Rangayya, were forbidden from convening the conference for carrying on the Civil Disobedience. They also tried to intimidate the people from sympathising with the Civil Disobedience Movement by taking deterrent action. For example, the Deputy Karnam and the Village Munsiff of Kothapollur were deprived of their posts for having given food and shelter to Smt. Oruganti Mahalakshamma and Smt. Ponaka Kanakamma during the Civil Disobedience Movement of the previous year. Surapaneni Gopalakrishnayya was fined Rs. 1,000 for having given food to the lady volunteers. The Village Munsiff of Rayavaram was not only dismissed from his post but all the members of his family were also disqualified from holding the post in future for showing his sympathies towards the Non-Co-operation movement. They also prohibited the holding of meetings and demonstrations or processions in enlightened towns like Kakinada, Guntur, Tenali, Ongole and Rajahmundry.

#### **Arrest of Leaders :**

Prominent Congress leaders like T. Prakasam, Dandu Narayana Raju, Bulusu Sambamurti, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramiah, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Rangasai, Cherukuvada Narsimham, Peta Bapaiah were arrested. In spite of the arrest of these leaders and the promul-

gation of Sec. 144, the innate patriotism of the people ascertained itself. The boycott of foreign cloth was once again taken up seriously. Congress volunteers distributed cyclostyled leaflets appealing to the people to take to Swadeshi. Bon-fires of foreign cloth were organised. Picketing of foreign cloth shops was carried on with great vigour and success throughout Andhra, more intensively at Rajahmundry, Vijayawada, Eluru, Kakinada, Vijayanagaram, Tenali, etc. In Nellore, O. Mahalakshamma, Tangirala Sitaramamma, Damaratha Rama Reddy, Palakodeti Syamalamba, Oruganti Venkateswara Sarma were arrested and sentenced for having participated in picketing.

### **Participation of women in the Freedom Struggle :**

Thousands of women participated in the 1932 Non-Co-operation movement. Smt. Vallabhani Sitamahalakshamma carried on picketing at Gvdivada in defiance of Sec. 144 along with her colleagues Digumarti Janakamma, Chukkamma, Vasireddy Hanumayamma, Kannagarti Nagaratnamma, Duggirala Kamalamba, Dasari Krishnavenamma, Arikepudi Manikyamma, Suguna, Mahalakshinamma, Cherukuri Sowbhagyamma, Kotamarti Kankamma, Tripuraneni Kausalyamma, Vedantam Kamaladevi, Khambampati Manikyamba and others. All these ladies were awarded one year's imprisonment. Smt. Manikyamba had to go to jail with a six months old baby in her arms. The women detenus in the jail were not treated properly. The married women detenus were not allowed to wear bangles or even to put on the auspicious *kumkum* on their forehead. Even oil was not supplied to the women detenus daily for dressing their hair excepting once in a week. They were served with par-boiled rice, the smell of which they could not bear. The denial of oil for applying to the hair sometimes caused severe headache. No butter-milk was given to them.

Another lady who played a prominent part during the 1932 movement was Smt. Bharati Devi Ranga who carried on a virulent campaign in the Repalle and Tenali taluqs and also at Kavur, Peddapalli, Mantenavaripalem. She was awarded one year's simple imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine, in default, a period of three months imprisonment.

The Government did not want to arrest the women. They were afraid that the number of jails to accommodate them would

not be enough. So in order to discourage the women from participating in the movement the Government decided to lathi-charge them by employing women volunteers from the tribal classes for that purpose. They also resorted to another novel method of deterrent punishment, i. e., to arrest the women volunteers, put them in a van and leave them in, out of the way, lonely places about 16 to 20 miles from the town, from where they had to walk back all the distance if they were to reach their homes. In spite of these hardships the spirit of the women Non-Co-operators was not crushed. All those Village Munsiffs who were giving either food or shelter to these women volunteers out of sympathy were strictly forbidden to do so. The women Non-Co-operators when they found that the Village Officers were put to trouble on their account, started taking shelter in ruined temples and *maths* and cooked their own food, and after taking rest, in these places they used to proceed to the next place for picketing. At Komaravolu the Government had seized the Gandhi Ashram. Smt. V. Sitamahalakshamma wanted to take possession of the Ashram, once again, so after informing the Government, she went with a batch of women volunteers, broke open the seals of the Ashram and occupied it. The police arrived in lorries and arrested Sitamahalakshamma and her colleagues and took them to the seacoast in the dead of night and left them in the sand dunes. Quite undeterred by such experiences the women Satyagrahis carried on the picketing with a renewed sense of dedication. So, now the police resorted to another uncivilised way of terrorising the women Satyagrahis. Whenever they found the women volunteers picketing before the liquor shops or foreign cloth shops, the police party used to come with pistons and buckets filled with coloured water or water mixed with dirt and mud and discharged the water through the pistons at the women Satyagrahis with such a force that they would become breathless on account of the force with which water was splashed on them. This inhuman treatment was applied against Sitamahalakshamma and her colleagues when they were picketing at Gudivada. The water directed through the pistons was applied at her with such great force and consistency that she became unconscious. In spite of this ill-treatment, she continued to carry on her activities. So she was arrested. The police *zulum* was such that they did not hesitate to hurl liquor bottles at the lady picketeers while they were picketing near toddy shops on account of which

some of them received injuries and were removed to hospitals. Even a leading leader like Durgabayamma was not treated properly in jail and for some time she was put in the Madurai jail in solitary confinement where only criminals were lodged.

Some Irish and English ladies like Mrs. Cousins and Miss Slade who were disciples of Mahatma Gandhi expressed their sympathy for the struggle carried on by the Indian ladies. Mrs. Gretta Cousins addressed the Women's Conference at the Madras Mahajana Sabha and openly expressed her sympathy for the Non-Co-operators.

The citizens of Madras started the 'Buy Indian League' on 11th March, 1932. Its branches were established at Masulipatam and Narasapur due to the endeavour of Madulla Satyanarayana and Bhaskarla Venkateswarulu. The League aspired to improve the economic condition of the country by encouraging indigenous industries.

Picketing of liquor and toddy shops was also revived at places like Sitanagaram, Buchireddipalem, Garikaparru, Ghantasala, etc. Defiance of salt laws was also carried on, but not on such a wide scale as it was in the year 1930. Distribution of pamphlets was one of the methods by which the ideals of the nationalist movement were spread among the people. The *Veera Bharati* leaflets were distributed appealing to the people to boycott foreign cloth and also to boycott the postal and telegraph departments. The Government, in spite of strenuous efforts, could not find out the location of the Press publishing the *Veera Bharati*.

#### **Seizure of books and pamphlets by the Government :**

The Government seeing the distribution of pamphlets becoming more and more, seized some of the pamphlets like the *Bardoli Satyagraha Vijayamu* in which the people were asked to join the Congress mass movement and to take up the vow of Satyagraha, to donate to the Satyagraha fund for the maintenance of the families of the Satyagrahis. Copies of the book "*Bharata Swarajya Yuddhamu*" written by Muduganti Jagganna Sastri and the booklet "*Daridra Narayaneeyam*" issued by the District Congress Committee of West Krishna were seized and proscribed. Other books that were proscribed during this period were "*Poorna*

*Swatantram*'' by K. Venkataraya Sarma and D. Pundarikakshudu's '*Navayuga Gandhi Vijayamu*'.

#### **Conferences held in defiance of Section 144 :**

The Andhra Provincial Conference was held at Guntur on the 5th June, 1932, in defiance of Sec. 144. Smt. Kamaladevi Chato-padhyaya presided over the meeting. About 60 delegates were arrested when they started in a procession led by the President. The Guntur District Conference was convened by Smt. Talla-pragada Viswasundaramma. The police arrested Viswasunda-ramma and 23 other delcates who attended the Conference.

#### **Collective Fines :**

The Government also resorted to levying collective fines on villages which took a prominent part in the Civil Disobedience Movement as a punitive measure. The inhabitants of Ventra-pragada had to pay a fine of Rs. 4,000. The properties of Pami-reddy Venkata Subbarao of Dokiparru were attached. Enduri Bapa-naiah's bank deposits were also seized.

#### **Police Excesses :**

In places like Peddapuram, Rajahmundry, Bhatlapenumarru, the police adopted terrorist methods. Two of the police officers who gained unsavoury reputation for their high handedness were Mustafa Ali Khan, the Deputy Superintendent of police at Rajahmundry, Sub-Inspector, B. Subbarao Naidu who became notorious as *Dappula Subbarayudu* because of the notorious tactics he adopted to disturb the meetings of the non-co-operators by loudly beating the drums. It was Subbarayudu who had lathi-charged B. Sambamurti at Kakinada so severely that his head was fractured and he became unconscious. Later when B. Sambamurti became the speaker of the Lagislative Assembly in Madras, he summoned Sub-barayudu and told him, "Now if I want I can crush you under my heels. But as a true Gandhian, I am forgiving you". The atrocities of Mustafa Ali were even more notorious. When Dr. Subrahmanyam of the Sitanagaram Ashram was carrying on the Non-co-operation movement at Rajahmundry and was staying at the house of Nalam Bhimaraju, Mustafa Ali along with his contingent went to the house of Nalam Bhimaraju and asked for Dr. Subrah-manyam to come out. As soon as he came out, without giving any reason, he started beating Dr. Subrahmanyam mercilessly

with a lathi all the while abusing "What is your Gandhi doing now? Why doesn't he come to your rescue?" Dr. Subrahmanyam was beaten and kicked so mercilessly that his ribs were broken and his lungs were also affected. Nalam Bhimaraju was also lathi-charged along with Dr. Subrahmanyam. After this severe lathi-charge Dr. Subrahmanyam was never able to recoup his health and died in the year 1936. It was the same Mustafa Ali who was responsible for the Vadamaluru riot case. Dr. Korrala Raja Rao, who was chosen by Bulusu Sambamurthi in 1930 Salt Satyagraha as the first volunteer to offer the Satyagraha, went to Ramachandrapuram for carrying on the Civil Disobedience movement. During the night the house in which he was sleeping was surrounded and Raja Rao was awakened from his sleep by the butt-end of a rifle and no sooner he got up than the police started lathi-charging him on the orders of Mustafa Ali. Dr. Raja Rao maintained a stoical silence which irritated Mustafa Ali so much that he kicked him with his military boots so violently that Raja Rao vomited blood and lost his consciousness. Rapaka Tirupathi Raju, a colleague of Korrala Raja Rao was also lathi-charged and was beaten severely on his knees and shoulders that one of his shoulder blades was broken. Later he was also sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. Another atrocity that was committed in the East Godavari district was against Kasibhatla Jagannatham. While he was carrying on picketing against foreign cloth shops in the villages, he was lathi-charged by the police. He was stripped off his clothing and he was asked to wear foreign clothes instead. But Jagannatham refused to do so. Thereupon they set fire to his 'khaddar' clothes and again lathi-charged him. But all the while Jagannatham kept repeating "Gandhi . . . . . Gandhi . . . . . Gandhi . . . . .". Mustafa Ali got exasperated at this. He rolled him over in the dust, kicked him and even went to the extent of pouring liquor into his mouth by forcibly opening his mouth with a Bayonet. The High Court later passed strictures and fined Mustafa Ali for his excesses. Poduru Perraju, a Satyagrahi, was a very short man with very big moustaches. The sergeant who was lathi-charging him during the Satyagraha movement caught hold of his moustaches and pulled at them saying, "You are a Lilliput, I am a Lilliput" and started beating him. Later he was sent to Vellore jail.



Even ordinary shop keepers dealing in Gandhi Caps and national flags were severely beaten during this period. The Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners like Shiv Varma, Vijaykumar Sinha and Jagdish Kapoor who were in the Rajahmundry jail were also ill-treated and, according to the statement of Kakani Venkataratnam on his release from jail, the three went on hunger strike demanding 'B' class treatment. But the Government would not hear them and tried to break their hunger strike by forcible feeding. One of the hands of Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya while he was an under trial prisoner in the Guntur sub-jail, was chained to his bed even though he was severely ill at that time.

Another notorious atrocity that took place during 1930-31 was the attack on private citizens when they went for a picnic at Peddapuram on 30th December, 1930. The picnic took place in the gardens of one Bokka Narayana Murthy, a leading member of the Peddapuram Bar, and the host was Vatsavaya Jagapathi Varma. The Picnic was arranged in connection with the celebrations of *Dhanurmasam*. Several prominent citizens of Peddapuram comprising of bankers, merchants, landlords, doctors, were invited to the party. They included among others K. V. R. Swamy Naidu, ex-M. L. C., Nalam Krishna Rao, banker and merchant of Rajahmundry, K. Seshagiri Rao, Bar-at-law, Peddada Kameswaramma, Kodati Rangacharyulu, V. Gopalakrishnayya, Lakkaraju Subba Rao, Nalam Bhimaraju, Y Venkateswarlu, Paida Venkatanarayana. All told, about 60 guests assembled in the garden. The guests were having tea in the afternoon when suddenly they were attacked by police party headed by Raju Pillai, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Kakinada, and B. Subbarayudu, Sub-Inspector, with a posse of 30 reserve constables armed with lathis and rifles formed a cordon round the guests and ordered them to disperse. But before they had time even to disperse, the police Circle Inspector shouted, *Maro* and the police started beating violently with their lathis. When the people attempted to run, they were chased and beaten mercilessly. In this attack Kodati Rangacharyulu of Tuni got his hand fractured severely and it could never be restored to its normal condition. Nalam Krishna Rao received a deep wound on the leg. The Chairman, K. V. R. Swamy Naidu, Dr. Gopalakrishnayya were severely beaten and kicked. Even the lady Miss P. Kameswaramma, President of the District Congress

Committee, was not spared. The only reason why the police were so severe with these people was that the party included among others, leaders of the Non-Co-operation movement and they were under the impression that the Non-Co-operators were secretly meeting to chalk out their plan of action taking advantage of the garden party.

In Berhampore also an incident took place on 15th January, 1932. On account of the *zulum* employed by the police, rioting took place. When the police started arresting the picketeers, some of the members in the crowd started pelting stones. Thereupon the police resorted to lathi-charge and the mob temporarily retreated but again gathered and started hurling stones at the police and even at the Joint and Sub-Magistrates who were present there. This led to the police opening fire on the mob in which several were injured.

On the 8th May, 1933, Mahatma Gandhi was released from jail and he, after consulting the leaders, decided to suspend the movement on the 14th July, 1933.

### **Revolutionary Activities :**

During this period several revolutionary societies came into existence. One such society was founded in the Godavari district by Prativada Bhayankarachari (Venkatachari) which resulted in the Kakinada Conspiracy Case. Revolutionary activities were started by Bhayankarachari soon after the conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. During the Salt Satyagraha movement, he had also carried on a raid against the salt wells near Kakinada along with Sadanandam. But the police beat them severely with rifle butts but did not arrest them. Bhayankarachari felt that the only way to end the British Rule in India was through violence and he thought that one of the methods by which he could bring this about was by using bombs against the British. Bhayankarachari had great influence among the student population in the coastal districts of Visakhapatnam and Godavari. He enrolled several students in his revolutionary society who took a pledge of loyalty to the cause of Revolution by signing with their blood. With their help and with the help he got from some sympathisers, he was able to collect some arms and ammunition from Bombay, Calcutta and

Pondichery. These transactions for acquiring arms and ammunition were carried on in the name of Ch. N. Chari & Sons, Jagannaikpur, Kakinada. Bhayankarachari was able to gather around him about seven young men, K. Kameswara Sastri, C. H. Narasimhachari, Oruganti Ramachandrayya (son of Oruganti Venkatasubbayya), who recently retired as the Professor of History at the Andhra University, C. H. Appa Rao, C. H. Ramamurthy, A. Sundaram, Nanduri Narasimhachari, etc. They planned to kill the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mustafa Ali, and the Inspector, Subbarao Naidu for the atrocities they had committed against the Satyagrahis. On the night of 6th April, 1933 and also on the night of 14th April, K. Kameswara Sastri and Bhayankarachari observed a vigil hoping to come across Mustafa Ali whom they wanted to kill by hurling bombs at him. But as they did not come across the latter, they decided to kill him in open day light on the next day. So, early on the morning of 15th April they tied up some bombs in a towel and placed the bundle in a boat in the Kakinada port, and then went to drink some coffee in a nearby hotel. One of the coolies, out of curiosity, opened the bundle and tampered with the bomb not knowing what it was, with the result that one of the bombs exploded, and he fell down unconscious. Later the police were able to come across a trunk box belonging to Bhayankarachari which contained some chemicals used in the preparation of bombs and also some letters written in code by Bhayankarachari, revealing his plans to kill Mustafa Ali. Bhayankarachari escaped to Hyderabad in disguise. While he was moving about in the Kazipet station, the Inspector, Subbarao Naidu (Dappula Subbarayudu) arrested him. Later his colleagues were also arrested and prosecuted along with Bhayankarachari and were awarded various terms of imprisonment; Bhayankarachari was sent to the Andamans. Oruganti Venkatasubbayya and his wife were in jail during the period and the Government in the case of Oruganti Ramachandrayya decided that on account of his young age, he should be sent to a Borstal school as a juvenile delinquent. Later, on the appeal of some friends, Ramachandrayya's sentence was reduced to six months simple imprisonment and he was put in an ordinary jail.

#### **Hindustan Socialist Republican Army**

Another revolutionary organisation known as the "Hindustan Socialist Republican Army" was founded in Madras on the 10th

March, 1933. The idea of starting this party was actually conceived by the non-co-perators while they were undergoing imprisonment in the Trichinopoli jail. The aim of this party was to attain Swaraj through revolutionary means, by collecting arms and ammunitions and committing dacoities and murders, if necessary. The Andhra members of this organisation were M. Sabhapati, B. Joseph, K. Arunachalam, K. Gopala Sastri, G. Balakrishna Reddy, B. Balarama Reddy, R. Adishesayya, B. Bapiraju, G. Dasaradharama Reddy, K. Ramanadha Choudari, etc. Ramanadha Choudari was the organiser in Andhra while for Tamil Nadu, Rangaraju and for Karnataka Krishna Kumar were the organisers. They made an unsuccessful attempt to loot the Mylapore Imperial Bank and also to kill Inspector Michael. They also made unsuccessful attempts to commit dacoities and to loot the house of the village Munsiff of Gundalamma. They were later rounded up and prosecuted by the police and awarded various terms of imprisonment.

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## CHAPTER V

### The Quit India Movement in Andhra and the Dawn of Independence

“Therefore ————— be ye lamps unto yourself —————  
————— look not for assistance to any one besides  
yourself”.

The suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement by Mahatma Gandhi caused great disappointment to his country men and it led to the formation of the Andhra Swaraj Party at Vijayawada on 24-8-1935. Prominent among those who took part in bringing about this party were Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao, V. Ramadas Pantulu, Kolli Satyanarayana Choudari, G.V. Subba Rao and others. These leaders wanted the agitation for attaining *Poorna Swaraj* to be continued. They also wanted to remove all communal disharmony by accepting the Poona Pact. They were keen on improving the economic conditions of the ryot by adopting such measures that would gradually remove his indebtedness.

#### The Andhra Socialist Party :

Another party that was formed during this period was the Andhra Socialist Party. It came into existence at Vijayawada on 23rd June, 1934. Professor N.G. Ranga was elected the President while Madduri Annapoornayya was elected as the Secretary of the party. Other prominent leaders of the Andhra Socialist party were Rangasai, C. Rajeswara Rao, Krovvidi Linga Raju, P. Sundarayya, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and K. Satyanarayana. This party aimed at forming labour and ryot associations in order to bring about a people's movement for the attainment of Swaraj and also for transforming the society on socialistic principles. One of the clauses of this party was that only those who were members of the Indian National Congress could become members of the Socialist Party and they were also expected to subscribe to the Marxist principles. From the very beginning the Socialist Party had two sections, viz., the right wing and the left wing. The left wing was represented by P. Sundarayya and C. Rajeswara Rao who were

actually affiliated to the Communist Party. The reasons why both the Socialists as well as the people with Communist leanings took shelter under the name of the Indian National Congress was that neither the Socialists nor the Communists were strong enough in Andhra at that time to carry on an independent movement of their own.

Acharya Ranga also started in 1938, a Political and Economic Summer School at Madanapalli in Chittoor district and Mantena-varipalem in Guntur district where socialistic ideas were propagated and lectures on anti-imperialism and capitalism were delivered. In 1939, A.K. Kameswara Rao started one more school of economics and politics at Thallur in Guntur district.

This period also saw the growth of popular "Paise" newspapers like the '*Janmabhoomi*', '*Navasakti*', '*Prajasakti*', which were started to bring about awakening among the masses in general and the labour class in particular. Songs based on the socialist ideology that people should awake and there should all be equal shares in the country's wealth were composed. One such song was, "*Maroprapancham pilichindi padandi munduku, samabhavam, sowhardham punaadulalo illuluchi Janavoliki subham poochi shanti javistundi*" (Let us march forward. A new world is beckoning, a world whose foundations are based on independence, equality, brotherhood and fraternity and a world that is auspicious and will bring peace to mankind).

Another political party known as the People's Party also came into existence under the Pithapur Raja, but it had no popular backing.

### **The First Popular Ministry :**

In the meanwhile the Government of India passed the India Act of 1935. This Act was an important landmark in the history of constitutional development in India. The Congress under this Act contested the election in 1937 while it had already contested the Local Bodies Elections in 1935. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru undertook a tour of the Northern Andhra districts in 1936 and Sarojini Naidu undertook a tour of the East Godavari district in 1937. The Andhra Congress Working Committee at its meeting on 9-3-1937, keeping in policy with the All-India Congress Party, decided to contest the General Elections and won a sweeping

victory. It completely routed the Justice Party as well as the People's Party. The members of the Andhra Congress Working Committee at this time were T. Prakasam, President, A. Kaleswara Rao, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, B. Sambamurthi, Sharanu Ramaswamy Choudari, Maganti Bapineedu, Bezawada Gopala Reddy, T. Viswanatham, Ramakotaiah, Pallamraju, R. Srinivasulu, K. Venkatramachari and Swamy Narayana. The first Congress Ministry in Madras was headed by C. Rajagopalachari on 14th July, 1937. From Andhra T. Prakasam, B. Gopala Reddy, V. V. Giri were taken into the Ministry.

From the year 1938 onwards Gottipati Brahmayya and N. Sanjeeva Reddy of Anantapur started taking part in the Congress movement in the State and Sanjeeva Reddy was elected as one of the Secretaries of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee in 1938 while G. Brahmayya was elected as the General Secretary.

Under the Rajagopalachari Ministry several Village Officers who lost their offices during the Civil Disobedience Movement were re-instated by T. Prakasam, the Revenue Minister. Political prisoners arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement were also released. The Ministry also took up welfare measures like the opening of rural dispensaries, water supply schemes and drainage, etc. It also appointed a committee in 1937 to enquire into the conditions prevailing in the zamindari areas and it passed the Madras Agricultural Relief Bill in 1938 by which it sought to give relief to the indebted agriculturists. Rural reconstruction work was also taken up avidly by the Government. The Prohibition Act was also passed.

But very soon differences began to grow between the India Government and the Indian National Congress. In the meanwhile, in 1939, Subbash Chandra Bose, a candidate supported by the leftist elements in the Congress, was elected as the President of the Tripura Congress against Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, supported by Gandhiji and the old guard. Gandhiji declared that the defeat of Pattabhi was his own defeat. Later, the Congress High Command tried to rectify matters by asking the President to constitute the Working Committee in consultation with Gandhiji. Subbash Chandra Bose and Gandhiji could not see eye to eye over the membership of the Working Committee. So, Subbash Chandra

Bose left the Congress Party and formed the Forward Bloc Party in April, 1939. In his place Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected as the Congress President. From Andhra, Madduri Annapoornayya joined the Forward Bloc Party.

### **Congress and the Second World War :**

The Second World War broke out in September, 1939 between the Allied Powers of which Great Britain was a leading member and the Axis powers comprising of Germany, Italy and Japan. The Viceroy in India, Lord Linlithgow declared through a Gazette Extraordinary on 3rd September, 1939, "I, Victor Alexander John Marquess of Linlithgow, Governor General of India, ———— being satisfied thereof by information received by me, do hereby declare that war was broken out between His Majesty and Germany". Thus India was automatically drawn into the war by virtue of the Viceroy's proclamation which was a great humiliation to the Indian National Congress and the popular Ministries that were formed in the States.

Commitment of India to war without consulting the popular ministries was resented by the Congress and when the Defence of India Bill was introduced on 5th September, the Congress members boycotted the Legislature. The Congress felt that without Britain conceding full independence for India it would be impossible for the Congress to co-operate in the war efforts. The India Government was prepared to concede to India only the attainment of dominion status after the war which naturally was not to the liking of the Congress. So, against this background of a constitutional deadlock, the Congress met at Ramgarh under the Presidentship of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad between 16th and 20 of March, 1940. The Indian National Congress declared, "Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism." Gandhiji declared, "Our internal policy must be guided by one consideration only—the freedom of India and the attitude of the British towards that freedom". So taking the overall picture into consideration, the Congress Working Committee declared, "Nothing short of complete independence was acceptable to the Indian people" and it resolved not to contribute to the war efforts or help in the war efforts by enlisting civil guards under official control. It also decided, if necessary, to launch once again the Civil Disobedience campaign, and issued instructions to the



effect that in anticipation of future action, Satyagraha councils might be formed all over the country for enrolling volunteers for the Non-Co-operation movement. While the Congress expressed its sympathy for democracy and freedom, it declared that, "India cannot associate herself with a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her and such limited freedom as she possesses taken away from her. If the war is to defend the *status quo* of imperialist possessions colonies and vested interests, then India can have nothing to do with it." It declared in October, 1939 at the A. I. C. C. session that India must be declared an independent nation. Lord Linlithgow called Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Vallabhai Patel and Rejendra Prasad for discussions apart from Jinnah and leaders of other political parties. But he could not promise anything beyond dominion status for India in future. This was resented by the Congress. The Congress Working Committee meeting in Wardha in October, 1939 called upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations.

In the meanwhile Mr. Churchill became the Prime Minister of Great Britain while Lord Amery became the Secretary of State for India. With Churchill, a die-hard Tory, becoming the Prime Minister, the possibility of any settlement between the Congress and the Government became remote. The Government also, after the resignation of the Congress Ministry, proclaimed Governor's Rule in the respective states and also 'Emergency conditions' in India and wherever they found people carrying on anti-war picketing, they arrested them. It used its emergency powers under the Defence of India Act in a very stringent manner and several warnings and arrests were made throughout the country. Subash Chandra Bose and the members of the Forward Bloc who had launched the Civil Disobedience Movement were arrested in April, 1940.

While matters were in such a state, Gandhiji was again empowered by the Congress Working Committee to lead the country. Gandhiji met the Viceroy and sought the permission of the Viceroy for Congressmen to make anti-war speeches. But as this request was not acceded to by the Viceroy, Gandhiji while asserting that, "we do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin", asked the Congress Party members to offer individual Satyagraha after all negotiations to effect a compromise with the Viceroy failed.

### The Individual Satyagraha

Gandhiji chose Acharya Vinoba Bhave as the first Satyagrahi to offer individual Satyagraha at Pallanar village near Wardha on the 17th October. Very soon Bhave was followed by Pandit Nehru and other leaders. The slogan raised by these individual Satyagrahis was, "It is wrong to help the British war effort with money or men. The only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance." The second stage of the Satyagraha called as "representative Satyagraha" started on 17th November, 1940, when the Satyagrahis were selected from members of the Congress Working Committee, All India Congress Committee and the Congress members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures. In the third stage which started on 5th January, 1941, all the local Congress Committees were asked to participate, while in the fourth stage all the 'four anna' members of the Congress were asked to participate.

Several arrests were made throughout the country. Some of those who were sentenced to imprisonment during this period in Andhra were Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya, Sreeramamurthy, Nagappa, Smt. Rukmini Lakshmipathi, Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu, Garapati Satyanarayana, Bhoopathy Raju Lakshminarsimha Raju, C. V. Krishna Rao, P. Rama Rao, Pappuri Ramachari, T. Nagi Reddy, Madabhushi Venkatachari, Aane Venkateswara Rao, Gottumukkala Venkatarama Raju, Dandu Narayana Raju, Gouthu Latchanna, Kalluri Subba Rao, Boya Venkatappa, T. Prakasam, A. Kaleswara Rao, Smt. Ammanaraja, Kambhampati Satyanarayana. Bulusu Sambamurti, M. Ananthasayanam Iyengar, D. Ramasubba Reddy, Krovvidi Linga Raju, Atmakuri Govindachari, V. Kurmaiah, K. Shanmugam, Maganti Bapineedu, M. Tirumala Rao, Kodanda Rama Reddy, V. V. Giri, Appayya Naidu, B. Gopala Reddy, Pallamraju, Narayana Raju, K. Chandramouli, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, K. Brahmananda Reddy, Bezwada LakshmiKanthamma, Kala Venkata Rao, N. G. Ranga, Madduri Annapurnayya (Forward Bloc), Darsi Chenchayya, Smt. Bharati Devi Ranga, Koti Reddy, Yagnanarayana, Sheikh Ghalib, Janab Sheikh Ali, B. Ramasastri, Satyamurthy, K. V. R. Swamy Naidu, Mallimadugulu Jagannatha Rao, B. S. Murthy and others. In Andhra altogether 882 persons were arrested and a sum of Rs. 76,553 was collected in forms of fines, in connection with the "Individual [10]

Satyagraha'. The lawyers who participated in the movement were deprived of their licences.

Subhas Chandra Bose secretly left India in January, 1941 to fight against the British, in alliance with the Germans and the Japanese. The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour on 7th December, 1941, it looked as though a Japanese attack on India was imminent. Seeing that the Indian unrest is growing day by day, the British Government tried to assuage their feelings by announcing what is known as the "August offer" under which the promise of dominion status was once again reiterated and also the right to frame a new constitution was conceded. But at the same time Winston Churchill made it clear that the principle of Self-Government and sovereign rights promised under the 'Atlantic Charter' did not apply to India. However, the British Government in order to win over the Indian public opinion to their cause released all the imprisoned Satyagrahis that were arrested during the 1940-'41 individual Satyagraha.

### **The Cripp's Mission :**

The Congress remained firm in its attitude that the British policy to continue the war without the Indian co-operation and without arriving at an honourable compromise with Indians was a deliberate insult to Indian nationalism. So the British Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps in March, 1942 for negotiations with the Indian leaders. The Cripps offer envisaged the granting of dominion status to India, with the right to secede from the British Commonwealth and also the framing of its own Constitution which was to be adopted, after the conclusion of the War, the right to conclude a treaty between the British Government and the constitution making body and till such time as the new constitution was framed, the British Government would retain control over the defence of India. Thus the Cripps Mission envisaged the creation of an Indian Union or a National Government with the liberty to secede from the Commonwealth. But it also envisaged the possibility of any province or Princely state to remain either as a member of the Indian Union or outside it, enjoying the full status of an independent State in the Indian Union.

This naturally did not meet with the approval of the Indian National Congress. So the Indian National Congress rejected it,

the Muslim League also did not find the Cripps proposals acceptable. Gandhiji termed the Cripps proposals as 'a post-dated cheque' because it did not envisage the granting of immediate independence to India. In the meanwhile C Rajagopalachari tried to make the Congress accept the idea of acceding Pakistan as per the demand of the Muslim League for the purpose of arriving at an agreement to install a national Government in India. Rajagopalachari's proposals were rejected by the Congress.

On the 6th April, 1942, Visakhapatnam and Kakinada were bombed by Japan. The All India Congress Committee met in Allahabad on 1st May and once again passed a resolution that it is, "on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations". After this Gandhiji started writing articles in the *Harijan* in which he asked the British to withdraw from India in an orderly manner. These articles were a forerunner of the Quit India resolution that was to be shortly adopted. Prior to the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay, the Congress Working Committee met at Wardha on July 6th and under the guidance of Gandhiji passed a resolution saying, "British Rule in India must end immediately —————  
— India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and saving the world from Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism". Gandhiji declared on the 14th July, "There is no room left for negotiation ———— Either they recognise Indian independence or they don't ———— There is no question of one more chance. After all this is open rebellion".

He appealed to the British, "Leave India in God's hands, in modern parlance to anarchy, and that anarchy may lead to internal warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From these a true India will arise in place of the false one we see". The All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on 8th August, 1942. Gandhiji declared in a speech that he was a greater friend of the British than he ever was. But at the same time he said, "We shall get our freedom by fighting; it cannot fall from the skies ———— The voice within me tells me I shall have to fight against the whole world and stand alone. I cannot wait any longer for India's freedom ———— This is the last struggle of my life". After this the Quit India resolution was passed by the Congress. It demanded the withdrawal of the British power from India and the

immediate recognition of Indian independence, the creation of a responsible Government to govern and defend India against foreign aggression along with the Allied powers. It also authorised the Working Committee to take all the steps "for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence; the starting of mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale under the leadership of Gandhiji". The Government retaliated by immediately arresting all the prominent Congress leaders who had attended the A. I. C. C session as well as those leaders remaining in the various provinces. The Congress leadership had anticipated this move on the part of the Government.

In Andhra the Provincial Congress Committee had issued a circular popularly known as the "Kurnool Circular" even in advance of the Bombay A. I. C. C. session. This circular was drafted by Kala Venkat Rao on 29th July, 1942 and was sent for the approval of the Congress Working Committee through Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, a member of the Working Committee. This seems to have received the approval of the Working Committee as well as the A. I. C. C. This circular was known as the 'Kurnool circular' because only in the Kurnool District Committee office the full text of the circular was available. Some of the prominent leaders who were taken as detenus during this period in Andhra were Pattabhi Sitaramiah, A. Kaleswara Rao, T. Prakasam, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, Maganti Bapineedu, Dandu Narayana Raju, T. Viswanatham, Shankar Reddy, B. Gopala Reddy, Kakani Venkatratnam, B. V. Subba Reddy. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy, Madduri Annapurnayya, Gottipati Brahmayya, Manthena Venkatapathi Raju, Kodali Anjaneyulu, Dr. Paturi Tirumala Rao, Pappuri Ramachari, Ananthasayanam Iyengar, M. Tirumala Rao, V. V. Giri. Acharya Ranga remained underground for some time but later on he was arrested. Another leader, Nivarti Venkatasubbayya of Kurnool succeeded in remaining underground throughout this period and surrendered himself to the Government only in 1944 on the advise of Gandhiji. Dandu Narayana Raju died while a prisoner in the Vellore jail during this period.

Originally the Andhra leaders thought that the fight should not begin until and unless Gandhiji were to give the signal for the commencement of the struggle. It clearly stated that "immediately after Mahatmaj gives the order, the Civil Disobedience

Movement must be begun and the German "blitzkrieg" pattern must be followed." It also laid stress on the spirit of non-violence and insisted that no established law should be violated in contravention of the first rule. But the sudden arrest of the leaders all over the country upset the non-violent nature of the struggle envisaged in the programme. The 'Kurnool Circular' envisaged a programme of defying prohibitory orders, lawyers to give up practice, students to leave colleges, picketing salt and foreign trade and industry, cutting of communications, cutting of spathe of the toddy yielding trees, travelling without tickets, pulling chains to stop trains and blow up bridges so that communications might be disrupted and the movement of the Army Personnel retarded; the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, non-payment of taxes excepting municipal taxes, picketing of recruitment offices, and hoisting of national flags on all Government buildings as a sign of independence. It also expected the Indian businessmen in particular to withdraw their deposits from the banks, to demand only Rupee payment (cash) and not to deposit fresh amounts in the banks so that there would be a drain on the British Economy. All sections of the people, including non-Congressmen, were asked to join in the struggle. The instructions were to carry on the struggle till the finish. "Do or die" was the slogan. The rule that one should wear 'khaddar' and spin khadi was also given up so that a real mass movement could be created.

But the sudden removal of the leaders at all levels-all-India, provincial, district, taluq, and firka-left the country without any experienced and responsible men to guide the popular movement. The Government thought that by arresting the leaders and by declaring the Provincial Congress Committees as unlawful assemblies they would be able to nip the movement in the bud, and that being leaderless it would fizzle out in a short time. But they very soon realised to their dismay that they were greatly mistaken in their estimates. When the people found that they were leaderless they grew intensely angry and it led to spontaneous mass upheaval where each one proved a leader unto himself. Groups of people in a frenzy of fury and anger resorted to acts of destruction and directed their anger against the symbols of British power with the intention of paralysing the entire administration in the country. They wantonly destroyed Government property and the security

forces incharge of protecting them were very often taken by surprise. In the beginning of the struggle peaceful demonstrations and processions were held but later on they took a very violent turn.

One of the main features of the plan of action according to the 'Kurnool circular' was to paralyse all means of communications and machinery of administration so that the Government would be brought to a dead stop. The 1942 movement in India as well as in Andhra was a country-wide movement in which all sections of the population participated. It was able to attract a large section of the student population and there were several student strikes during this period. Railway and Police stations were burnt at several places during the course of the movement. This was done when the revolutionaries realised that they could not blow up bridges due to lack of enough dynamite.

#### **The Tenali Disturbances :**

On the 12th August, 1942, the town of Tenali observed a complete *Hartal* as a protest against the arrest of the Congress leaders. The students of the Tenali Taluq High School and the Bharat Tutorial College, Tenali, convened a meeting on the night of the 11th August and on the instigation of Kottamasu Mohan Rao, Kaganti Venkatramayya, Dachepalli Subba Rao and Kolli Prasad, all students of the Taluq High School, decided to boycott the schools in the town and to see that a complete *Hartal* on the 12th August was observed by the closure of shops, hotels and other business concerns. On the same night the Congress workers under the leadership of Kalluri Chandramouli also decided to observe a complete *Hartal* on 12-8-1942 and this decision was communicated to all the shop-keepers and hotel proprietors. On the morning of 12-8-1942, batches of Congress volunteers and students went round the streets of Tenali to see that all the shop owners observed the *Hartal*.

Some people who were accustomed to taking their morning coffee in hotels, finding that the hotels were closed, went to the Railway Refreshment Room at the Tenali Railway Station and took their coffee there. When the students and Congress volunteers heard about this they marched from Morrispet to the railway station and demanded that the Railway Refreshment room should

be closed. The Manager of the Refreshment Room refused to close down the refreshment room without the orders of the Railway authorities. In the meanwhile, the Guntur bound train was about to leave the station. So, one section of the crowd demanded from the Station Master to stop the train from leaving the station and not to issue the tickets. In spite of their insistence the Station Master moved the train upto the North Cabin of Tenali station, when another section of the crowd rushed to the signal post and destroyed it. The crowd also attacked the engine driver and stoned him, upon which he left the train and ran away. The compartments of the train were completely smashed. The crowd tried to set fire to the Railway Station by pouring kerosene oil over the building. They also wanted to set fire to the Booking Office which was forcibly opened by them. The books, records and currency were destroyed while the staff in charge of the office fled. Another train from Madras was stopped by the crowd and after destroying the signals of the South Cabin assaulted the engine driver. By this time the Reserve police from Guntur arrived, accompanied by the District Collector and the Police Superintendent. The crowd started moving towards the Morrispet bus stand. The Tenali Deputy Superintendent of Police brought along with him an individual by name Chintamaneni Sivaramayya who was anti-Congress and was working as an agent of the Government and another by name Prayaga Veeraraghaviah who began to tell the crowd that the police would open fire if they would not disperse. The crowd on seeing Sivaramayya got infuriated and demanded that he should be asked to leave before they dispersed from the railway station. Thereupon the police opened fire and in this firing three people were killed, namely Bhaskaruni Lakshminarayana, Majeti Subba rao and Sripathi Panditaradhyula Srigriri Rao. Prayaga Veeraraghaviah was also killed in the firing while five others who received wounds in the firing died later in the hospital. Among them were Jasti Appayya, Ammineni Subba Reddy, Gali Ramakotayya. The crowd dispersed only after the firing was stopped. The damage caused to the Railways was Rs. 2,50,000/-.

#### **Chirala Railway Station Burnt :**

On the same day at Chirala, a procession of 500 students marched to the sub-Magistrate's court and asked him to close the court. Afterwards they raided the Office of the Sub-Registrar and



the Sales Tax Officer. The crowd went in a procession to the railway station by which time the number had swelled to 1,500. It then set fire to the station building after cutting off the telephone and signal wires. They even threatened the staff not to interfere on pain of death. The military recruiting officer and the railway permanent way officer who happened to be travelling on a trolley at that time were let off only when they shouted *Gandhiji ki Jar*. The crowd dispersed after the arrival of the police. The damage caused to the Chirala Railway Station was about a lakh of rupees.

### **Guntur Firings :**

At Guntur, on the 13th of August, a crowd of 2,000 gathered at the Gandhi Park. The police followed them and suddenly opened fire on them without any provocation, on account of which two people died while several were wounded. This created a great commotion and the Guntur Bar Association passed a resolution condemning the action of the authorities. Educational institutions were closed down for a week.

Palakonda Railway Station was also attacked and the goods shed was completely gutted. This was done by a gathering of students, coolies and labourers amounting to about 1,500. Several other stations like Akiveedu, Attili, Ongole, Nidubrolu, Dendulur, Undi, etc. suffered the same fate.

The Non-Co-operators also tampered with railway tracks in order to derail trains. A special train carrying police was derailed at Uppuluru on the 14th August on the Vijayawada-Masulipatam railway line. An engine and 80 empty wagons capsized on the 21st-22nd August while another passenger train derailed on the 23rd August between Panapakkam and Chandragiri due to the removal of fish plates. In most of these cases volunteers of the Quit India movement took part but in some cases there were some hired saboteurs.

### **Communications system disrupted :**

Telegraph and telephone wires were cut off in as many as 1,500 places in Andhra.

### **Attack on Police Stations :**

Police Stations also became targets of attack. On the 17th August a crowd at Palakol smashed the quarters of the Sub-Inspector and the Police Constable. They also assaulted the police

on duty in the sub-jail and the sub-treasury and caused grievous injuries to one of the policemen and took possession of the carbines from them. Seeing the situation getting out of control, the Reserve Police opened fire on the mob in which one person was killed.

At Akiveedu about 100 people gathered and overpowered two constables and after seizing their muskets and lathis, burnt down the records at the police station. The Allur police station was surprised on the 16th September by a crowd of 50. The three constables on duty were tied up hand and foot and the station records and furniture were set on fire and burnt. Chirala police station was also attacked on the 12th August, but the crowd retreated when the police arrived.

Several Post Offices like the ones of Akiveedu and Kalingapatnam were completely ransacked during this period. In Bapatla the Sub-Registrar's office was attacked by a mob on the 12th August.

### **The Bhimavaram Firings :**

On the 17th of August, 1942 Gokaraju Sriramaraju, Gottumukkala Ramachandra Raju, Ayyagari Subbarayudu and Kapilajogi Jagannatha Rao organised a meeting in which more than 2,000 people participated. At the meeting it was decided that the students should boycott schools and the local U. L. C. M. School should be closed down. When the school authorities refused to close down the school, the students broke the desks and chairs in the school building with the result that the school had to be closed. Then they started in a procession towards the main road where they were joined by Vegesina Narayana Raju, Pedda Subbarajulu and Bhoopathi Raju Subba Raju and all of them arrived before the Revenue Divisional Office. The Revenue Divisional Officer closed the doors of his Office but the crowd forced open the doors and insisted that the Divisional Officer should resign his job. Then dragging him out of his Office they forced him to hold a Congress flag in his hand and made him march some distance with them. Then suddenly the idea seems to have struck the crowd that the Magistrate's Office should be burnt. So they went and set fire to the Office of the Divisional Officer as well as to the building of the Deputy Inspector of Schools. From there they went to the Collector's Office. Seeing the crowd approaching the Collector and his

staff came out. The crowd insisted that the Collector should resign from his office and also made him hold a Congress flag. Then Gokaraju Venkatapati Raju hoisted a Congress flag on the Collector's Office. The records in the Office were burnt. From there they proceeded towards the police station where the police opened fire on them. While the firing was going on, a section of the crowd went and set fire to the police lines. In the firing four people died, among them were Gottumukkala Balarama Raju, a student aged about seventeen and Vegesina Narayana Raju. A section of the crowd marched also towards the Railway Station and set fire to a railway trolley while some others attacked the Sivaraopet station and burnt it down.

#### **Pentapadu Post Office Burnt :**

At Pentapadu, near Tadepalligudem, the people hearing about the death of Mahadev Desai held a condolence meeting on the 17th August. Then later they set fire to the Pentapadu post office. The police not only made a severe lathi-charge on the crowd and also arrested several people.

The Government adopted severe repressive measures against this phase of the popular movement by passing two special Ordinances, (1) The Penalties Ordinance of 1942, under which the District Magistrates were empowered to impose penalties of death and whipping for offences involving attacks on railways, canals, telegraph and telephone wires, etc. and also against Government property and (2) the Collective Fines Ordinance by which the Provincial governments were empowered to impose collective fines on the inhabitants of any area concerned in committing of offences prejudicial to the defence of British India or who prevented the efficient prosecution of war. Armed with these two ordinances it tried to intimidate the people. But the people refused to be intimidated, they not only refused to co-operate with the Government but also to give evidence against the offenders. The Government imposed punitive fines of Rs. 3, 21,681 on Guntur, Rs. 2, 48, 285 on West Godavari and Rs. 45, 250 on Krishna districts. Apart from them collective fines were also imposed on Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Nellore districts. But the determination of the people to fight and win Swaraj remained as firm as ever.

**Public Meetings :**

Side by side with this programme of disruption, a non-violent Non-Co-operation Programme was also maintained. From time to time leaders addressed gatherings and issued statements to conduct the struggle in a non-violent manner.

**Students' Role in the Quit India Movement :**

The students played a very commendable part in the Quit India Movement by trying to bring about an effective boycott of educational institutions as a mark of protest against the Government's repressive policies. In fact, the Bhimavaram and Tenali incidents had their origin in the student movement. During this period a large number of college and high school students abstained from classes. Students belonging to the colleges of Guntur, P. R. College, Kakinada, Eluru, A. V. N. College, Vizagapatam, Anantapur, Madanapalli and Nellore went on strike. The High School students of Chittoor, Penugonda, Hindupur also went on strike. A student gathering in Anantapur on 14th August was lathi-charged while 15 students were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in Vijayanagaram on 27th August. The College Principals were instructed by the Government to rusticate those students who were found to be irrepressible.

**Picketing of toddy and arrack shops :**

During this period some attempts were also made to picket the toddy and arrack shops. The arrack shops at Lankalakoderu and the toddy shops at Palakol were burnt down on the 17th of August when the owners of the shops did not respond to the appeals of the picketeers. In other places like Bapatla and Allur picketing was done in a peaceful manner. But the picketeers were arrested by the Government and were awarded three years Rigorous Imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50 each as a deterrent punishment.

**Appeal to the public servants to quit their Offices :**

Some of the Congress workers like C. Veerabhadra Rao wrote letters to the Personal Assistant to Collector, Visakhapatnam, the Revenue Divisional Officer, the Post Master of Visakhapatnam, and the Deputy Superintendent of Police of Vijayanagaram to give up their jobs and join the Quit India Movement. For this he was awarded six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500.

Similar punishment was meted to Dr. Korukonda Subba Raju of Anakapalli and K. Subbarao of Kalingaptnam for having written letters to one Major F. M. Colling, I. M. S., Madras, to leave India, and to the District Magistrate of Kalingapatnam to join the freedom struggle. The Government freely employed Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code for prohibiting meetings, processions, etc. It also vigorously acted against all those local bodies who expressed their sympathy with the resolutions taken by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay. The District Boards of East Godavari, Chittoor, Nellore and the Municipal Council of Palakol and Vijayawada were superseded for a period of six months.

### **Police repression :**

The police acted in a very high-handed manner and frequently lathi-charged or resorted to firing upon the crowds. In Guntur they fired upon a non-violent gathering on account of which four persons were killed while twelve others were wounded. The repressive measures adopted by the Government resulted in the growth of terrorist activities. When the District Magistrate of Krishna was witnessing a Telugu drama entitled '*Chintamani*' at Jaggayyapeta in aid of Red Cross fund on the night of 20th September, 1942, two crude country bombs were thrown at the audience on account of which six persons received minor injuries. Nine people were arrested in connection with this incident. In 1943 attempts were made at Ongole to manufacture explosives by three persons who were later tried, convicted and executed.

### **The Nature of the Quit India Movement :**

From the statistics available in the Government records we know that the number of times the police had to fire on the crowds was 21, killing 39 people and inflicting 177 fatal casualties, while the number of cases when the military was employed to fire against the crowds was 68, causing 297 casualties, 308 non-fatal, 14 fatal casualties. The number of military personnel who defected on account of the persuasion of the movement was 13 in the Madras Presidency while the number of police who defected was only one. The total number of police stations and outposts destroyed or damaged during the movement was 5, Government buildings 50 and buildings which came under Municipality 57

and 11 important private buildings. The number of bomb explosions was 17, number of bombs and explosives discovered 35 and the number of casualties to the public by means of bombs including 6 of the bomb-makers was 11, number of cases of sabotage 732 to roads, 41 to electricity supply installations, one to canals or tube well irrigation systems, and other types of sabotage 383. The number of cases in which collective fines was imposed was 71, and the amount of collective fines imposed and collected was Rs. 10,36,701, number of persons convicted during the movement upto 1943 by special criminal courts was 897 and the number of persons convicted by ordinary courts was 3,134 and the cases disposed off by ordinary courts was 1,644. Number of death sentences imposed was two, number of sentences of whipping 285, total number of arrests made 5,729. The total loss of property suffered by the Posts and Telegraphs was Rs. 3,34,875, other Departments Rs. 1,27,456. Collective fines during this period were imposed on the villages of Ganjam and Edupugallu in the Krishna district to the extent of Rs. 800 and Rs. 500 respectively. Hundred bags of paddy belonging to Prof. Ranga and his brother which were stored in the godown near the Peasants Institute at Nidubrolu were seized by the Government under the levying of punitive tax. Other villages on which collective fines were imposed were Boddapadu in Bezawada taluq, which was asked to pay Rs. 3,000 and Gudlavelleru in Gudivada taluq was asked to pay Rs. 500 while the inhabitants of Pasumarru village in the Gudivada taluq were asked to pay a fine of Rs. 700. Here also the Government strictly adhered to its policy of 'Divide and rule' and exempted the Muslims, the Christians, the Scheduled castes and all Government servants, title holders, families of the Indian Army Personnel, Railway and Local Board employees from paying these collective fines.

The National Youth League branch of Andhra at Vijayawada apart from making attempts to collect arms and ammunition also attempted to manufacture bombs. The police came to know about this when they discovered a letter addressed to one Potina Venkanna. On the discovery of this letter on 3rd February, 1943, they made a search of the bank of the Bandar Canal and were able to recover 15 rounds of live cartridges, one country made pistol and various kinds of bombs. The house of Rampalli Suryanaryana was also searched and a box containing a hand treadle press and

a match box bomb were recovered. Vadipena Maridaiah's house was also searched and the latter surrendered a muzzle laden country pistol. In this connection P. Nageswar Rao of Chebrolu, a member of the Youth League, was sentenced to 8 years Rigid Imprisonment. In spite of the evidence of these terrorist activities one must say that the people by and large believed in the creed of non-violence of Gandhiji to fight against the British. Hence the terrorist activities did not find as fertile a ground in Andhra as they were able to find in Bengal and elsewhere.

On account of the Quit India Movement the normal functioning of the administration was badly affected. The Government banned all student organisations like the National Students Union and the National Youth Organisation under the Defence of India Rules. On account of this stringent action of the Government the momentum of the Quit India Movement had to be slowed down. Gandhiji went on a fast from 10th February to 30th March, 1943, in order to repudiate the charge that he was responsible for the violence and destruction of the Quit India Movement. The whole country was thrown into a state of anxiety on account of the fast taken up by Gandhiji at the advanced age of 74. The atmosphere in the country became tense. Several students in Andhra and elsewhere in India undertook a sympathetic fast. Processions were taken out by college students and they demanded the release of Gandhiji. At Madanapalli, the police lathi-charged a student procession and injured 25. Several Bar Associations, students unions, merchant associations, agricultural labourers, nay one and all, passed resolutions demanding the immediate release of Gandhiji. At Guntur about 1,000 signatures were collected and sent to the Government urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi. The students of Mrs. A.V.N. College, Visakhapatnam, and the students of the women's hostel of the Andhra Medical College observed fast. The staff and students of the Andhra University met on 26th June, 1943, under the Presidentship of Prof. Mamidipudi Venkatarangayya, Head of the Department of History and passed a resolution urging the unconditional and immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi in view of his deteriorating health. The staff and students of the Andhra University also passed a resolution saying that the University authorities should send by telegram the resolutions adopted by them to the Viceroy. In Kakinada, the Pleaders' Clerks Association also passed a similar resolution.

The P. R. College students abstained from classes and went on fast. But the Government remained adamant. In protest against this attitude of the Government three Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council resigned their posts. Mr. Winston Churchill, in reply to the Non-Party Leaders Conference appeal to release Gandhiji said, "The Government of India decided last August that Mr. Gandhi and leaders of the Congress must be detained for reasons which are well understood. -----

There can be no justice for discrimination between Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders. The responsibility therefore entirely rests with Mr. Gandhi". Gandhiji was able to survive the ordeal of the fast and amidst the singing and chanting of his favourite hymns, "*Vaishnava Janatho*" and "*Lead kindly light*", he broke his fast. During this period, as the Congress was under ban, other organisations like the National Youth League and Grama Sevak Sanghams sprang up and started working among the masses. These organisations also made arrangements for starting a Rashtriya Sevak Dal for carrying on systematic political work. Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated with great enthusiasm on the 2nd October, 1943. *Hartal* was observed on 9th August commemorating the anniversary of the arrest of the leaders. However the political situation in the country was comparatively more quiet than it was in 1942.

Lord Wavell succeeded Lord Linlithgow as the Viceroy in October, 1943. Commenting about Lord Linlithgow Gandhiji wrote in a letter to him " . . . . . Of all the high functionaries I have had the honour of knowing, none has been the cause of much deep sorrow to me as you have been", while V. P. Menon says, "His regime was conspicuous by its lack of positive achievement".

By 1944 the momentum of the Quit India Movement was considerably slowed down, though the spirit to oppose the British was as strong as ever among the people. All over India, 26th January was celebrated as the Independence Day and on that day *Prabhat Pheris* were taken, national songs were sung, pamphlets were distributed and large sized Quit India posters were pasted on all public Buildings. The Government retaliated by arresting the agitators in large numbers and also by declaring the National Students Organisation and the National Youth League as unlawful organisations. On 22nd February the nation was plunged in



sorrow on the death of Kasturba Gandhi. Gandhiji had already suffered another irreparable loss in the death of Mahadev Desai in August, 1942. Throughout Andhra meetings were held to pay respects to the memory of Kasturba. The Government could not brook this. They banned the meetings that were to be held in Bhimavaram while in Guntur even some arrests were made when the volunteers went to ask the shop-keepers to close down their shops.

### **Release of Gandhiji :**

As days were passing, public opinion both in India as well as abroad began to feel that the only way to resolve the stalemate was by releasing Gandhiji. The British Government yielded to public pressure and released Mahatma Gandhi on 6th May, 1944 on grounds of health. This release of Gandhiji was greeted by a chorus of approval throughout the world. After recouping his health, Gandhiji once again tried to start negotiations with the Government to solve the deadlock. On 27th July, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy saying that he was prepared to advise the Congress Working Committee to give up Civil Disobedience Movement and to co-operate with the Government in its war efforts if a declaration of immediate Indian independence was to be made and a National Government responsible to the Central Assembly were to be formed. Lord Wavell did not immediately respond to Gandhiji's overture of friendship and raised several objections to the proposals put forward by him. The Government still continued its policy of oppression and even the holding of meetings by Congressmen to shape public opinion was forbidden while other parties like the Liberals, the Communists and the Swarajists were allowed to do so. The people in Andhra wanted to celebrate 9th August as the anniversary of the Quit India Movement and they sought the permission of Gandhiji to do so. Gandhiji replied that the Quit India resolution was as much valid in 1944 as in 1942. But under the altered conditions he said that it was advisable to avoid all risks by not discarding special police prohibitions. He asked all those who shared in his faith to observe the 9th August by fasting and prayer and appealed to all Congress workers who had gone underground to discover themselves. Gandhiji also opened negotiations with M. A. Jinnah for solving the communal problem in India. At the behest of Gandhiji, Nivarti Venkatasubbayya, a member of the All-India Congress Committee and

the General Secretary of the Kurnool District Committee, who had remained underground throughout the 1942 Movement, after having secretly met Gandhiji in August, 1944, surrendered himself to the police. He was put on trial for having incited students to boycott schools and Village Officers to resign, but later on the Government withdrew the case against him and he was freed. As a prelude to achieving an understanding with the Indian leaders to resolve the political deadlock, the members of the Congress Working Committee were released by Lord Wavell in June, 1945 with the consent of the British Government. In the meanwhile the discussions between Gandhiji and Jinnah did not bear any fruit and the whole political situation in the country was in a state of impasse. Under the circumstances the Congressmen in India turned their attention to constructive programmes in the villages. They tried to form District Congress Assemblies to carry on these constructive activities from which Communists and Royists were excluded. Before the starting of these Congress Assemblies in West Godavari, Guntur, Krishna and Nellore, Kalluri Subba Rao and Smt. Rukmini Lakshmi pathi toured all the districts in Andhra. Prof. Ranga who was also released by this time tried to reorganise his Kisan Sabhas in close co-operation with the Congress and fly the Kisan flag along with the national flag of the Congress. Lingaraju, Kalluri Chandramouli, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, who were released by this time, formed an organisation for carrying on constructive activities. Camps were opened in several places to train volunteers to go round the villages and do the village upliftment work. Special committees were formed to look after the problems dealing with the ryots, labourers and Harijans. This state of affairs continued till 1945.

Lord Wavell convened a Conference in Simla in July, 1945 and invited the prominent leaders representing the Congress and the Muslim League to resolve the political deadlock. He wanted to reconstitute the Viceroy's Executive Council whose members would be drawn from the political parties representing Indian public opinion. He also said that an Indian member would be placed incharge of external affairs and the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would be the only British members on the Council. The tasks of the Council were three-fold (1) To conduct the War till Japan was defeated, (2) to carry on the Government of British India until a permanent constitution was drawn up [11]

and (3) to explore the means by which such an agreement would be achieved. But the Conference failed on account of the insistence of Jinnah that he and the Muslim League alone should have the right to nominate Muslim members to the Viceroy's Council. Several Congress leaders reacted against this claim of the Muslim League. T. Prakasam questioned the claims of the League to be the sole representative of the entire Muslim community while Gopala Reddy and Kaleswara Rao spoke saying that the Congress was an all-India body and it had as much right to nominate Muslims to the Viceroy's Council as the Muslim League.

Shortly after the breakdown of the Simla Conference, Japan was defeated by the Allies and general elections were held in Great Britain. In these elections the Labour Party under Mr. Clement Attlee was returned to power. The viceroy of the Labour Party was hailed by the Andhra leaders. The Labour Government in Britain lifted the ban on the Congress Party, released all political prisoners and ordered that general elections be held in India to solve the political crisis. Lord Wavell announced on 16th September, 1946, that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to promote the early realisation of full self-Government in India and that general elections are to be held for the Central and Provincial Legislatures in order to ascertain the views of the people and also to bring about an Executive Council which would have the support of the main Indian parties. The Congress Party and the Muslim League decided to contest the general elections. In Andhra T. Prakasam toured the various districts, addressed several meetings and appealed to the people to vote for the Congress. He warned the people to be careful about the communists and other advocates of violence. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, Kalluri Subba Rao, Kala Venkat Rao and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy were the other leaders who actively participated in the election campaign.

### **The Indian National Army :**

While the general election campaign was at its full swing in India, the trial of the Indian National Army (I. N. A.) personnel that was constituted by Subhash Chandra Bose in Japan, was held by a military tribunal set up by the Government in the Red Fort at Delhi. The trial of these I. N. A. officers roused the emotions of the people. Processions, demonstrations and *Martals* were held

throughout Andhra as in other parts of the country for the release of these patriots. They also raised an I. N. A. Defence fund to defend the I. N. A. personnel. This trial once again roused the righteous anger of the people against the Government. The Government, realising the angry mood of the people, remitted the sentences awarded to the I. N. A. personnel. Subhash Chandra Bose had left India to organise a military revolt against the British in association with the Japanese. He was successful in raising an army known as the 'Indian National Army' or I. N. A. with the personnel of the Indian military Prisoners Of War taken by the Japanese. The news of the death of Subhash Chandra Bose was announced in the year 1945. After the conclusion of the Second World War, 20,000 personnel of the I. N. A. were repatriated to India. Three of its Officers, Shah Nawaz Khan, Shegal, and Dhillon were charged with having waged a war against the King and they were put on trial at Delhi. The trial of I. N. A. Officers roused the anger of the Indian people and there were country-wide student demonstrations against the trial. Several Municipalities and District Boards passed resolutions condemning the trial. The Congress Party raised a fund for the defence of the I. N. A. Officers and constituted a panel of lawyers consisting of such eminent legal personalities as Bhulubhai Desai, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Nehru. Though the accused were convicted, the Government hesitated to provoke the people and remitted their sentences.

**General Elections :**

General Elections were held to the Central Legislative Assembly in December, 1945. The Government also removed the ban imposed on meetings and processions under the Defence of India Rules. The Congress was returned with an overwhelming majority in almost all the general constituencies but the Muslim League also won a great majority of the Muslim seats that were demarcated for them. From Andhra, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Ananthasayanam Iyenger and Gangaraju were returned unopposed. Nine Andhras were returned to the Assembly.

**Revolt of the Royal Indian Navy :**

During the intervening period between the general elections to the Central Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures, a significant incident took place. That was the revolt of the Royal Indian

Navy personnel at Bombay. On 18th February the ratings of the Signals School of Bombay went on hunger strike as a protest against some of the regulations in their establishment and also against the derogatory remarks made by their Commander about the Indian national character. This strike was soon joined by other ratings from Naval establishment. They took hold of some of the ships, managed the guns and were even prepared to open fire on the military areas. The whole incident would have developed into a serious situation but for the efforts of Vallabhai Patel who was able to persuade the ratings to surrender. The occasion was taken advantage of by unruly mobs in Bombay who set fire to banks, shops, post offices and also looted the countryside. In this context the police had to open fire several times and also call the military to their assistance. As a result of these disturbances 200 people were killed. The mutiny of the ratings in Bombay had its repercussions in Visakhapatnam, Madras, Ahmedabad and other places. The Naval ratings at these places also went on strike. The ratings belonging to H. M. I. S. Sonavati removed the flagstaff and in its place inscribed on the masts of the Sonavati, *Jai Hind* and hoisted the National Tri-colour flag. About 600 of them marched in procession through the streets shouting national songs. Similar demonstrations were staged by the ratings in the Madras harbour also.

### **The Cabinet Mission :**

All these incidents made the Labour Ministry to decide upon granting independence to India and it is in this connection that the Cabinet Mission was sent to India on March 24, 1946. The special mission of Cabinet Ministers consisted of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Patric Lawrence, the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Stafford Cripps and the first Lord of the Admiralty, A.V. Alexander. This Mission held parleys with the Indian leaders. It did a constructive job in bringing about a better understanding between the Indian leaders and the British Government. Apart from the Congress they also met the leaders of the various parties like the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal, etc. It stayed in India for nearly two months. The Cabinet Mission also discussed the probability of an interim Government being established in India and handing over the administration to a responsible Indian leader. The Congress and the Muslim League could

not come to an understanding over the question of creation of a separate state of Pakistan.

**Interim Government :**

In the Provincial elections also the Congress Party swept the polls, in several instances the candidates being returned unopposed. In Andhra almost all the Congress candidates were returned with a great majority. On 6th August, 1946, Lord Wavell invited the Congress Party to form the Interim Government at the Centre and the latter accepted the invitation. The Muslim League fixed the 16th August, 1946, as the 'Direct Action Day' and in order to facilitate the action of the League, the League Ministry of Bengal declared 16th August as a public holiday. On that day communal frenzy was unleashed by the League Ministry in Calcutta and it led to an orgy of violence and bloodshed in Calcutta and Sylhet. The Calcutta killings were retaliated by violent incidents in Naokhali and Tippara. Amidst these scenes of violence and communal frenzy, the Interim Government was sworn in on the 2nd September, 1946. Lord Wavell later admitted five nominees of the Muslim League into the Interim Government. The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on 9th December, 1946. The Muslim League boycotted it saying that the resolutions of the Constituent Assembly were, "Ultra vires, invalid and illegal". Throughout this period riots took place in Bihar, Garmukteshwar, Lahore and Rawalpindi. The Muslim League threatened to revive the days of Hallaku and Chengiz Khan. Nothing was done to suppress the agitation of the League in the Punjab and there was a complete breakdown of law and order. It was in this atmosphere of lawlessness that Lord Attlee, the Prime Minister of England, declared that it was the intention of the British Government to transfer power into the hands of the Indians by not later than June, 1948. The Indian States also, through their representative body, the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, reiterated their willingness to extend their fullest co-operation in framing a Constitution and also in setting up of the Union of India. But the Muslim League wanted the partition of the country on the basis of the representation of the communities in each province. On 20th February, 1947, Lord Attlee envisaged the partition of India and the final transfer of Power to the Indian hands by June, 1948.

**The Mount Batten plan :**

This statement was followed by another on 3rd June, 1947, reiterating its previous decision and Lord Mount Batten was sent as the Viceroy to India to work out the final transfer of power and he announced on 3rd June, 1947, what was known as the 'Mount Batten Plan' which provided for the establishment of two separate Dominions of India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of the British Government from India on 15th August, 1947. The Provinces of Bengal and Punjab were to be partitioned on the basis of communal demarcation. The Congress accepted the scheme and on 3rd June, 1947 Nehru in a broadcast announced the decision of the Congress to accept the Mount Batten Plan for the division of India into India and Pakistan. On the 15th July the Indian Independence Bill was passed by the House of Commons and it received the Royal assent on the 18th July. The All-India Congress Committee accepted the Mount Batten Plan on the 15th June, 1947 and accordingly on 15th August, 1947, India became independent.

The freedom struggle in Andhra, as in most other parts of the country, reached its culmination with the elections of March, 1947. Throughout the Vande Mataram movement and particularly from the 1921 Civil Disobedience Movement the Andhras were in the forefront of the freedom struggle and their consistent enthusiasm for achieving the country's independence was unequalled. This final contribution to the cause of the Country's solidarity and independence could be seen in the elections of 1946 when they elected Congress Party members by an overwhelming majority.

The dawn of independence was received with universal rejoicing in the Andhra country, though, to a certain extent, it was mingled with a tinge of sadness that many of the old veteran who had participated in the earlier phases of the struggle were no longer there to see their beautiful dream come true.

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## CHAPTER VI

### The Telangana Freedom Struggle

While the people in the Andhra region were celebrating the Independence Day, their counterparts in Telangana had to wait for one more year for the realisation of their aspirations.

Hyderabad State did not agree to accede either to the Dominion of India or Pakistan and wanted to be an independent state. This decision of the Nizam and his advisors, led to a popular mass upsurge against the reactionary and autocratic regime of the Nizam which ultimately culminated in the "Police Action" by the Indian Union on the 13th September, 1948, and the accession of the State to the Indian Union.

The Hyderabad State, on the eve of the 'Police Action', comprised of a total area of 82,700 sq. miles, consisting of a population of 18½ millions. It was divided into four broad divisions as Warangal, Medak, Aurangabad and Gulbarga Subhas. Linguistically speaking, these areas came under three broad divisions as Telangana, Marathwada and Karnatak. Of the four Subhas, the two Subhas of Warangal, and Medak consisting of nine districts constituted the Telangana region with an area of 49,502 sq. miles thus forming more than half the area of the Hyderabad State. Of the total of 182 millions, the Telugu speaking people were about 10 millions. Marathi and Kannada speaking people were 4 millions and 2 millions respectively while the remaining 2 millions and odd comprised of the Hindustani and Urdu speaking people. The territory of the State was divided into Khalsa, Sarfe-Khas, Paigah and Jagir Sams-thanams. Of these the Khalsa lands which constituted 58% of the total area of the State were directly under the administration of the State Government while the remaining 42% of the land in the State was held by the Nizam, the Paigah nobility, the Jagirdars and the Zamindars as their private estates, where the maintenance of law and order was the exclusive prerogative of the respective Paigahs, Jagirdars and the Zamindars. In the villages, especially in the Telangana countryside where the land was owned by big landlords called the *Maktedars* or the *Pattedars*, serfdom and semi-slavery known as



the *Baghela* and *Vetti chakiri* (*Begari*) were the common features of the day. The agricultural tenants had no security of tenure and the agricultural labourers who were unable to pay the petty loans advanced by the landlords became their serfs.

The percentage of literacy in the entire state was only 4.8% ; Out of this the percentage among the non-Urdu speaking people was 3.3% though they constituted 89% of the total population. The State Government's policy of making Urdu as the medium of instruction in the middle and high schools was greatly responsible for the backwardness in education of the non-Urdu speaking section of the population. The Government also did not encourage the growth of private educational institutions and it took ample care to curb the initiative of the citizens to establish schools of their own. Apart from this obstruction to the growth of education in the State the people also found they could not improve even their physique and take lessons in physical education without hindrance because of the restrictive rules introduced by the Nizam's Government regarding the establishment of '*Akhadas*' or private gymnasiums. Before an '*Akhada*' was started, one had to obtain the permission of the Collector or the City Police Commissioner; for holding any function also a similar permission was necessary. It was also expected to give a detailed report to the Government regarding its scope, activities and the number of employees attached to it. In case the organisers failed to comply with these conditions, a fine not exceeding Rs. 500 or three months simple imprisonment was to be born by the manager of the '*Akhada*'.

### **Growth of Public Opinion :**

Inspite of this strangling atmosphere in the State, the people of Hyderabad could not remain unaffected by the events taking place in British India. The growth of public opinion in the State could be said to have started in 1883 with the agitation over "Chanda Railway Scheme" of the Nizam's Government started by some of the intellectual elite like Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya (father of Sarojini Naidu), Mulla Abdul Qayum, and a revenue officer by name Dastur Ausagi Hoshang. These intellectuals felt that the "Chanda Railway Scheme" was not in the interests of the Hyderabad State and they insisted that a committee should be set up to make an enquiry about the scheme. The fact that a certain section of its hitherto docile population should have

found the courage to question an act of the Government was resented by the autocratic rulers in the State, as a result of which Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and Ausagi Hoshang were dismissed from service and deported from the Hyderabad State to Sholapur and Poona respectively. However, after a lapse of two years they were allowed to re-enter the State and Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya became the Principal of the Nizam College. Mulla Abdul Qayum, who had left Hyderabad during the above period returned to the State and took an active part in moulding the public opinion.

When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885, a few citizens who were the intellectual elite drawn from the upper middle class strata of society, welcomed its formation. They were Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Ramachandra Pillai, a lawyer, Muthyalu Ramanna, Krishna Iyenger, Solicitor of the Madras High Court and member of the Residency Local Fund Board, Edulji Sorabji Chenoy, Haji Sajun Lal, Venugopal Pillai, Ismail Saheb, Dr. Nabi Khan, Chirconda Ramachandrayya, Ramanuja Mudaliar, Ganga Bhiham and Bezanji Adagi. Among these, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Ramchandra Pillai and Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya played a prominent part in building up public opinion among the educated few in the State. Mulla Abdul Qayyum, was the first Muslim leader in Hyderabad to join the Indian National Congress. He continued to be an active member and attended the Congress sessions at Madras and Benaras. He pleaded that all Muslims should join the Indian National Congress.

Some of the newspapers like the '*Hyderabad Record*' which came into existence during this period also played a creditable part in building up public opinion in favour of the nationalist movement in India. On account of its pro-nationalist leanings and also for having criticised the Resident as the 'Local Caeser', the '*Hyderabad Record*' incurred the wrath of the British Residency which dubbed the paper as a "rag" and stopped its publication in 1892. Seeing the spirit of independence displayed by the contemporary newspaper the State Government passed several restrictive orders which the "Shoukat-ul Islam" dubbed as "Halaku Khani orders". P. Ramachandhra Pillai as the correspondent of '*The Hindu*' did not hesitate to point out the loopholes and cases of injustice in the

administrations whenever there was an occasion. The Hyderabad Government instituted Government scholarships for bright young students in the State to go to England for prosecution of higher studies. While declaring that these scholarships were open to all the Hyderabad students, the Government wanted to appoint a committee consisting of Hindu sanatanists to give their opinion whether a Hindu student could cross the 'kala pani' (cross the seas), knowing fully well that the Committee consisting of orthodox and ill-informed men would decide against the student's going abroad. So, a "Hindu Social Club" was formed with Raja Murli Manohar as president, Krishna Iyengar as Vice President and Ramachandra Pillai and others as members, They agitated against the appointment of the enquiry committee. They also agitated against the decision of the Government that a Hindu student could not go abroad unless he had studied Urdu or Persian. They pointed out the anomaly, saying that for going to England knowledge of Urdu and Persian was not necessary and that after a candidate comes back he can pick up the language of the area in which he was posted.

The extent to which the restrictions on freedom of speech were imposed could be gauged not only from the case of the "*Hyderabad Record*" but also from the case of Barrister Rudra who had come down to Hyderabad for setting up practice in 1889. Rudra as an educated and enlightened man was at first welcomed with open arms by the social elite of Hyderabad. He was greatly lionised and was made a member of the Nizam's club. But when he started criticising the Nizam's Government in his capacity as the correspondent to '*The Pioneer*' the feudal coterie that surrounded him not only cold shouldered him but also debarred him from his membership of the Nizam's Club and they persecuted him to such an extent that he was forced to leave Hyderabad.

### **Beginnings of Cultural Revival :**

Amidst this suffocating atmosphere the Arya Samaj was established in Hyderabad city in 1892. The Arya Samaj leaders were prosecuted by the Government for being non-Mulkis and alleged anti-Muslim activities. Arya Samaj leaders like Nityanand Brahmachari and Vishwananda Saraswati were not only thrown into prison but even their pleader Ramachandra Pilli was placed

in police custody for two hours when he came to visit them in prison. In spite of these irksome restrictions the Arya Samaj carried on its activities in the State and some of the notable people who joined the Arya Samaj movement in 1896 were Keshav Rao Koratkar, Damodar Satvalekar Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya also gave great encouragement to the Arya Samaj movement. Falling in line with the all-India pattern set up by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Ganesh Utsav celebrations were also started in Hyderabad in 1895.

### **Sri Krishna Deva Raya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam :**

About this time several cultural institutions came into existence. Leaders like Komarraju Lakshmana Rao, Gadhicherla Harisarvothama Rao, A. Kaleswara Rao, inspired by the renaissance movement in Andhra during the Vande Mataram period, wanted to forge strong cultural links with the people of Telangana. Their dreams could take a practical shape due to the patronage they received from Sri N. Venkata Ranga Rao, the Raja of Munagala, under whom Komarraju Lakshmana Rao was working as Diwan. Due to the efforts of Komarraju Lakshmana Rao and Ravichetty Ranga Rao, a Mansabdar of Hyderabad, the first Telugu library namely Sri Krishna Devaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam was started in 1901. In 1906 they established a literary association called the Vignana Chandrika Grantha Mandali to promote the publication of popular books in Telugu on science and literature. Later, when Gadhicherla Harisarvothama Rao was arrested in British India for his part in the Vande Mataram movement, the Nizam's Government became suspicious of the activities of the Vignana Chandrika Grantha Mandali and it had to be shifted to Madras in 1908. Apart from this, two other Telugu libraries namely Sri Raja Raja Narendra Andhra Bhasha Nilayam and the Andhra Samvardhini Library were founded in 1904 and 1905 at Hanumkonda and Secunderabad respectively. Due to the efforts of Komarraju Lakshmana Rao, examinations in Telugu were conducted by the Vignana Chandrika Parishad.

The Maharashtrian leaders in Hyderabad like Pandit Keshav Rao Koratkar, Vaman Ramchandra Naik and Ganpat Rao Hardikar founded the *Vivek Vardhini Patasala* in 1906 which later on developed into a leading education society in the State known as the Vivek Vardhini Education Society.

In 1907, Vithal Rao Deulgaonkar, Keshav Rao Koratkar and Garuda Rao started the Nutan Vidyalaya High School in Gulbarga. The Nutan Vidyalaya played a prominent part in spreading education in the Karnataka regions of the Hyderabad State.

The founding of the above institutions marked the beginning of the cultural revival in Hyderabad.

#### **The Swadeshi movement :**

The spreading of the Swadeshi movement was also carried on through institutions like the Arya Samaj and the Ganesh Utsav celebrations. They also started slowly establishing gymnasiums to improve the physique of the young men. Apart from Arya Samaj, lectures on Swadeshi were also arranged in the house of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya where leaders like Keshav Rao Koratkar, Pandit Damodar Satvalekar, Vaman Naik, Appaji Tuljapurkar used to discuss the pros and cons of the Swadeshi and Boycott Movements. The activities of these gentlemen were soon brought to the notice of the Government, which thought in terms of deporting them from the state. On hearing about the intended move of the Government, Damodar Satvalekar and Appaji Tuljapurkar on their own accord left Hyderabad and settled down in Haridwar and Bombay respectively. With their departure active lectures on the Swadeshi Movement came to an end.

The off-shoot of the terrorist activity during the Vande Mataram movement was felt in Hyderabad also in what was known as the 'Jackson Murder Case'.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was awarded 6 years imprisonment in 1908 for his extremist writings and was sent to Mandalay. The Collector who awarded this sentence was one Jackson, who, in 1909 was the Collector of Nasik. The Maratha districts of the Hyderabad State were fertile grounds for the starting of secret societies against the British and several such societies were formed in places like Osmanabad, Aurangabad and Nasik.

Jackson was shot dead by a student named Anant Lakshman Kanare who was a member of the secret society at Nasik. Following the murder of Jackson several people were dismissed from service and expelled from the State on the grounds of their being pro-nationalist in their sympathies. Yadhav Rao, Head Drawing Master of Industrial School at Aurangabad, Narahar Triambak

Ghorpore, ex-Assistant Commissioner, Survey and Settlements, Vinayak Govind Tikke, Dharab Bhogle, and Kale were dismissed from service.

The Government also came down heavily on innocuous cultural associations like *Bhajan Mandals*. One Chinna Kistiah, a pleader, and Sheshagiri Rao, a Contractor of the Excise Department, started a '*Bhajau Koot*' at Mahabubnagar. The Government asked the '*Bhajau Koot*' to be dissolved basing their order on Firman No. 46 of 1311 Fasli, i.e. 1920 in which it was stated that no new places of worship could be started in the State without the permission of the Government. Basing their authority on this circular the Government prohibited the starting of new *Bhajan Mandals* in the State. It also looked at askance at the sale of pictures of Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, and other articles like carton boxes, lockets, buttons with the slogan Vande Mataram inscribed on them, that were being sold in the various parts of the State, lest the people might be affected by the Swadeshi spirit. Some leaders like Vaman Naik and Keshav Rao Koratkar kept themselves in close touch with the all-India developments by attending the sessions of the Indian National Congress.

#### **Founding of the Osmania University :**

The first Hyderabad Educational Conference was organised in 1915 by a band of young graduates, notable among whom were Mir Akbar Ali, Editor and Proprietor of the local Urdu daily the "*Sahifa*", Mirza Mohammed Baig, Abdul Basit and Moulvi Mohammed Murtuza. Later Akbar Nazar Ali Hyderi also joined the movement. As a result of this Conference, the Osmania University came into being on the 28th August, 1919.

Yielding to the general spirit of renaissance, the Nizam introduced in 1919 administrative reforms under which an Executive Council was introduced and Sir Ali Imam was appointed as the first President of the Executive Council. These reforms also envisaged the formation of a Legislative Council based on qualified voting.

The other features in evidence of a cultural and social renaissance during this period were the starting of the Humanitarian League by Rai Bal Mukund, a retired High Court judge, Lalji Meghji, a timber merchant, and Bhagya Reddy Varma, a great

Harijan leader and a social reformer. They wanted to carry on the upliftment of the Harijans through the Social Reform League. Keshav Rao Koratkar and Vaman Naik started the Hyderabad Social Service League in 1915 and held annual Social Conferences in different parts of the State at different times when they passed resolutions on the necessity of promoting primary education, women's education and opening of libraries in the State. They also formed an association known as the Hyderabad State Reforms Association with Keshav Rao Koratkar as the Vice-Chairman and Raghvendra Rao Sharma as the Secretary to fight for the political rights of the people.

Two Telugu journals namely the '*Nilagiri Patrika*' from Nalgonda and the '*Telugu Patrika*' from Warangal and another Marathi weekly the '*Nizam Vijay*' were started during the period for building up public opinion in the State.

The Congress movement which was spreading in British India had its repercussions in Hyderabad also and Vaman Naik formed the first Congress Committee with himself as the President in 1918. One Pandit Taranath of Raichur played a great part in bringing about political consciousness among the people of the Karnataka region. He not only started the National High School at Raichur known as the Hamdard High School but also carried on a virulent attack against the Nizam's Government as well as the British Government by writing articles to '*The Hindu*'. Taranath wrote an article to '*The Hindu*' on the Nizam entitled "The Indian Dyer" which was published in the name of his student Raja Bahadur. On account of this the Nizam's Government interned Raja Bahadur at Monanoor district while Taranath was externed from the State in 1921. Moulana Shoukat Ali wanted Pandit Taranath to take up the work of the Indian National Congress and the cause of the Khilafat Agitation in Hyderabad. So, Pandit Taranath accompanied Moulana Shoukat Ali and Mahatma Gandhi to Madras when they were on their tour of the South before the launching of the Non-Co-operation movement in India. Taranath started a journal entitled the *Prema* through which he propagated the ideals of nationalism and swadeshi. Pandit Diwakarji was greatly inspired by the writings of Taranath and he started a weekly journal known as the *Nava-shakti*. Pandit Taranath was also noted for having started the new National Education which later came to be known

as the *Nai Taleem*. He also did pioneering work in establishing Hindu-Muslim unity on which he used to address the people from the pulpits of the mosques.

### **Khilafat Agitation and the Swadeshi spirit :**

Gandhiji's decision to start the Non-co-operation movement combined with the Khilafat Agitation found a great response in Hyderabad. The Gandhian influence began to seep through inspite of the insular barriers set up by the Nizam's Government. The propagation of Swadeshi caught the imagination of the people and soon people took up to the spinning of Khadi and installing 'Charkhas' in their houses. They also took to the wearing of 'Khadi' shirts and Gandhi caps. The widowed sister of R. V. Pillai started a Charkha spinning factory while one Narsoji of Mahabubnagar started a small factory for spinning yarn. Two people by name Bhima Rao and Bhujanga Rao openly sold home spun yarn in Hyderabad. Badrul Hasan and Jaffar Hasan, who later became a Professor of Sociology in the Osmania University, along with Barrister Sri Kishan and Padmaja Naidu spread the Khadi movement among the people. Badrul Hasan bought Charkhas from Bombay and introduced them in Hyderabad. They also assisted Keshav Rao Koratkar and Vaman Naik in raising the Tilak Swaraj Fund in the State. Badrul Hasan after collecting Rs. 23,000/- went to Bombay and remitted the amount to the Tilak Swaraj Fund there. Another Excise contractor, Nerla Narasimha of Warangal, also started a factory for manufacturing Charkhas at Warangal and sent them to Vijayawada for sale. The 2nd October, 1921, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, was celebrated with great eclat, by the Hyderabad leaders. On this occasion several speeches were made wherein Gandhij's birth was compared to that of Adam, by Abdul Ali. Inayat Ahmed spoke on the Khilafat Agitation comparing it with Haj and Umra, while Vaman Naik and Keshav Rao Koratkar spoke paying tributes to the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the eradication of untouchability. A movement for the study of Hindi was also started during this period by Rai Bisweshwar Nath, Barrister Sri Kishan, Madapati Hanumantha Rao. Raghavendra Sharma and Vaman Naik.

Some of the Hyderabad students studying outside the State in places like Poona, Bombay and Aligarh, gave up their studies under the influence of the Non-co-operation Movement. Dr. Jaisoorya



gave up his studies at the Grant Medical Collage at Bombay in the year 1921. Some Hyderabad students studying in the Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh left that College and joined the National College started by Mohammed Ali. Among those who left their colleges during this period were Mir Mahmood Hussain of Karimnagar who had to undergo imprisonment for six months at the Vellore jail. He later became the Director of the Central Record Office in Hyderabad. Akbar Ali Khan, who later became barrister and an M. P. Maqbool Ali, who became a civil Surgeon, and Syed Mohammed Ansari, who became an advocate, left their studies during this period. The politically conscious students and the intellectuals in the State were greatly inspired by the spirit of Swadeshi. Badrul Hasan and Jaffar Hasan discarded wearing *pyjamas* and instead wore *Khadi dhoties* and Gandhi caps, much to the annoyance of the reactionary authorities. Jaffar Hasan even today dons a Khadi cap. Several meetings were held all over the State criticising the British Government for bringing about the 'dis-integration of the Turkish Empire and appealing to the Nizam to take up the cause of the Khilafat agitation, which, of course, the latter as a faithful ally of the British, did not do. Youm-e-Khilafat (Khilafat Day) was observed in the months of March and April, 1920 in several places in the State like Hyderabad city, Gulbarga, Aurangabad, Raichur, Karimnagar, Janagaon and Medak. The Khilafat agitation brought the Hindus and the Muslim together and several leaders like Barrister Asghar, Asghar Hasan. Mohammed Murtuza and Humayun Mirza arranged meetings which were also addressed by Hindu leaders like Pandit Keshav Rao Koratkar Vaman Naik, Raghavendra Rao Sharina, Pandit Digambar Das Choudhary and M. Narsing Rao. When Shoukat Ali was on his way to Madras in April, 1920, he was given a rousing reception at the railway stations of Gulbarga and Raichur. On 23rd April, 1920 a mammoth meeting was held in the Vivek Vardhini grounds to celebrate the Youm-e-imtihan (A day of trial). This meeting was adressed by both Muslims and Hindus. Moulvi Syed Jamat Ali Shah of Sialkot was in the chair and when he had to leave suddenly in the midst of the meeting, Pandit Keshav Rao Koratkar was asked to occupy the chair. On the spot a contribution of Rs. 12,000 was made for carrying on the Khilafat agitation. Dr. Mohammed Hussain Efandi donated his motor car and half of his property to carry on the Khilafat agitation.

Apart from Keshav Rao Koratkar, this meeting was addressed by other leaders like Vaman Naik and Raghavendra Rao Sharma. Thus we see that Hyderabad was greatly affected by the crescendo of the Khilafat agitation. A *Hartal* and a Unity Day was observed in the city on the 5th May, 1920. On the 17th May, 1920, a public meeting was held which was attended by more than 15,000 people who heard speeches of leaders belonging to both the Hindu and Muslim communities like Keshav Rao Koratkar and Moulana Abdul Hai. The Nizam's Government perturbed by these developments, issued a Firman on the 14th September, 1921, forbidding the holding of political meetings in the State and the entry of British Indian political leaders. It also insisted that the agenda of any meeting that is to be held in any part of the State should be approved by the Chief Secretary in advance. This was notified in a Gazette Extraordinary No. 52.

Seeing the strength of the Swadeshi Movement growing day by day, the Government also imposed stringent rules restricting the establishment of private schools and *akhadas* (gymnasiums) as a result of which, the number of private schools which stood at 4,053 in 1924 fell to 1,082 in a couple of years. Several newspapers and periodicals like the *Kesari*, the *Swarajya*, the *Hitawad*, published from British India were banned in the State.

### **The founding of the Andhra Jana Sangh**

Amidst this suffocating atmosphere in the State, the Nizam's States' Social Reforms Conference was held in Hyderabad on 11th and 12th November, 1921. This Conference was presided over by Maharshi Karve. The proceedings of the Conference for the most part were conducted in English, Urdu and Marathi as a greater part of the social and political leaders in Hyderabad up to this period happened to be mostly Maharashtrians. But one of the delegates at the Conference, Alampalli Venkatarama Rao wanted to move a resolution in Telugu. His attempts to move the resolution in Telugu were hooted down by the audience and more vociferously so, by the Maharashtrian section. To see that a resolution in Telugu was hooted down in the very capital of the Telugu people was taken as a great affront by those Telugu members who happened to be present at the Conference. So, that very night they formed an association called the 'Andhra Jana Sangh'

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with an initial membership of only twelve members, prominent among them being Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Ramakrishna Rao, M. Narsing Rao and Adiraju Veerabhadra Rao. Very soon the membership of the Andhra JanaSangh rose to hundred and its first meeting was held at Hyderabad under the chirmanship of Konda Venkat Ranga Reddy on the 14th February, 1922. At this meeting the name of the Andhra Jana Sangh was changed to that of the Nizam's State Andhra Jana Sangh and Madapati Hanumantha Rao was chosen as the Secretary. From this time onwards Madapati Hanumantha Rao proved to be the guiding spirit of the movement for the social and cultural upliftment of the Telangana people. This was the beginning of the Andhra movement in the Hyderabad State. This movement decided to follow the example set up by Komarraju Lakshmana Rao. It stood originally for the social and cultural upliftment of the people of Telangana by bringing about a general enlightenment among them and having once achieved that object in its cultural field, it merged itself in the main political organisation in the State, namely, the Hyderabad State Congress.

The Andhra Jana Sangh decided to achieve its aim of promoting the social, economic and cultural revival of the people of Telangana by adopting measures that would bring about a general enlightenment among the people, namely, by establishing Telugu libraries, Reading Rooms, and Private Schools; secondly by encouraging Telugu scholars and by collecting epigraphical inscriptions and books of historical value that would throw light on the ancient history of the Andhra people; thirdly by publishing tracts and pamphlets on burning issues of the day, and lastly by appointing itinerary workers to spread these ideals among the people. Some of the books that were published by the Andhra Jana Sangh were *Nizam Andhra Rashtra Prasamsa*, eulogizing the ancient glory and History of the Andhras, *The Nizam Rashtra Andhras*, *Ways of Improvement*, etc. Due to the encouragement it gave to Telugu scholars and historians, a conference was also held on the "History of Kakatiyas" at Warangal in 1930 and a journal entitled the *Kakatiya Sanchika* containing valuable research articles on the history of the Telugu people was brought out. It also brought out small booklets entitled the *Vartaka Swatantriyamu* (freedom of the merchants) to bring about a general awakening among the merchant community (*Komatis* or the *Vaishyas*) who were greatly exploited by the State officers and other officials while on tour in the districts

and villages. On account of the encouragement they received from the Andhra Jana Sangh, the merchants in Telangana formed an association known as the Merchants' Association to protect themselves from being exploited by the bureaucracy and thereby indirectly joined hands with the Andhra Jana Sangh in its fight against the autocracy of the Government. The Andhra Jana Sangh also carried on a campaign against *Vetti Chakiri* and for the emancipation of the *Balu'adars*. On account of this the Nizam's Government issued a Firman in 1923 forbidding the employment of *Balu'adars* by the people in general. To encourage the efforts of the Andhra Jana Sangh, newspapers like the *Nilagiri Patrika*, the *Telugu Patrika* and the '*Golconda Patrika*' also came into the field. The library movement started by the Andhra Jana Sangh spread rapidly and its first conference was held in Madhira in 1925. Seeing the popularity of the movement the Government at first attempted to close down the libraries on the pretext that the prior permission of the concerned district officers was not obtained for starting the libraries. They also, in 1927, tried to prevent the convening of the Suryapet Andhra Jana Sangh Conference along with the Second Library Conference saying that the permission of the executive Council had to be obtained for these conferences. The Reception Committee of the Suryapet Jana Sangh had to file an appeal to the court to get the permission for the conference. The Andhra Jana Sangh from 1928 onwards took up the cause of women's education. Due to its efforts the Andhra Balika High School was founded in 1928 and the first batch of girls studying in the Telugu medium were made to appear at the matriculation examination in 1934. In the beginning the Osmania University refused to recognise the Andhra Balika High School saying that the policy of the Osmania University was no doubt to encourage the pursuit of education in the mother tongue, but according to their statute mother tongue meant Urdu. However, Maharshi Karve came to the rescue of the Andhra Jana Sangh and the first batch of girl students in the Telugu medium appeared for their examination in the Karve Institute.

### **The Andhra Maha sabha :**

By 1930 the movement started by the Andhra Jana Sangh spread rapidly gaining in strength day by day. So, in 1930 at the Jogipet Conference in Medak the Andhra Jana Sangh converted itself into the Andhra Maha Sabha. One of the special features

of the first Andhra Maha Sabha was that a women's conference called as the Andhra Mahila Sabha Conference was held along with the Andhra Maha Sabha. This feature of holding the Andhra Mahila Sabha Conference side by side with the Andhra Maha Sabha Conference was continued upto the year 1942 when, during the 9th Conference at Dharmavaram the women members felt strong and confident enough to have their own separate conference.

With the assumption of the name of Andhra Maha Sabha, resolutions having a wider import on social and cultural matters such as the protection of the ryots in the Jagir lands, women's education, abolition of prostitution, Harijan upliftment, abolition of Purdah system, introduction of elections in local committees, introduction of Primary education, promotion of private schools, advocating Telugu as the medium of instruction in girls schools, revival of, *Ayurveda* demarcation of Telangana borders, introduction of co-operatives, etc., were adopted. The people responded with great enthusiasm to the Andhra Maha Sabha Conferences, much to the annoyance of the Government which began to look with apprehension at its growing popularity. Seeing its influence increasing day by day, the Nizam's Government passed in 1929 a special *Gasti* No. 53 which declared that any person holding a public meeting should not only give ten days prior notice to the Police Commissioner or to the Collector, but also send in advance the agenda of the meeting so that the Government would decide whether the meeting is of a political nature or not and then give the permission. Owing to the moderating influence of Madapati Hanumantha Rao, the office bearers of the Andhra Maha Sabha always took great care to see that their meetings did not come under the gagging order. In one of the interviews with the Deputy Secretary we find B. Ramakrishna Rao explaining that the Andhra Maha Sabha movement was primarily a non-political and a library movement upon which the Police Commissioner, Armstrong, who was present at the meeting, exclaimed, "Sir, I know from my experience in Bengal what a library movement means. It is nothing but a revolutionary movement". While in another context we find Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, Secretary for Constitutional Affairs, asking Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, "Why the name Andhra Maha Sabha? When it could as well be called the Telangana Maha Sabha". The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party which was formed in 1927 also warned

the Nizam's Government that the Andhra Maha Sabha was throwing dust in the eyes of the Government by its apparently modest demeanour while in fact heading a subtle and dangerous movement in the State. Seeing the activities of the Telugu people under the aegis of the Andhra Maha Sabha, their counterparts, the Maharashtrians and the Kannadigas also founded the Maharashtra Parishad and the Karnatak Parishad in the year 1937.

### Political Conferences :

On account of the efforts of leaders like Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Vaman Naik and Raghavendra Rao Sharmā, political conferences were held outside the territories of the Nizam, asking the Nizam's Government to introduce a popular and representative Government in the State. Owing to the initiative taken by M. Hanumantha Rao, the first Hyderabad Political conference was held in Kakinada in 1923 under the Presidentship of Madhav Rao Aney. These meetings had to be conducted outside the Nizam's Dominions on account of *Gasti* No. 53, which made impossible for any political meeting, however peaceful it might be, to be convened in Hyderabad. Similar conferences were held later in Bombay, Poona and Akola in 1926, 1928 and 1939 respectively. Seeing the growing spirit of political unrest the Nizam's Government announced the constitution of a committee in 1937 under the Chairmanship of Diwan Bahadur Aravamudu Iyengar to recommend to the Government the type of constitutional reforms to be introduced in the State. The Andhra Maha Sabha, which confined itself upto this time to mostly social and political affairs, passed its first political resolution in 1937 at the Nizamabad Conference demanding the introduction of responsible Government. It also empowered K. V. Ranga Reddy to present a memorandum to the Government on behalf of the Hyderabad People's Convention.

Upto 1941 the leadership of the Andhra Maha Sabha was confined to the moderate elements among the leaders comprising of B. Ramakrishna Rao, K.V. Ranga Reddy, M. Narsing Rao and M. Ramchandra Rao. But from 1941 onwards, with the Chilkalur Andhra Maha Sabha Conference held in the Nalgonda district, the leftist movement began to gain in strength under the leadership of Ravi Narayana Reddy.

Ravi Narayana Reddy was able to capture the Andhra Maha Sabha leadership in 1944 at the Bhuvanagiri (Bhongir) session. At the Bhongir session the Communist party members of the Andhra region were also invited to participate in the deliberations of the Andhra Maha Sabha. This naturally led to a split in the organisation of the Andhra Maha Sabha. K. V. Ranga Reddy along with M. Ramchandra Rao denounced the 11th Andhra Maha Sabha held in Bhongir as a purely Communist Party meeting. They formed a separate association called the Nationalist Andhra Maha Sabha and tried to retrieve the leadership of the Andhra Maha Sabha. M. Narsing Rao, as the editor of the Urdu daily the *Ryat* carried on a vigorous campaign against the subversive policies of the Communist leaders. With the efforts of leaders like K. V. Ranga Reddy, B. Ramakrishna Rao, Madiraju Ramakoteshwara Rao and P. Srinivasa Rao, the Nationalist Andhra Maha Sabha conferences were held in 1945 and 1946.

However, in 1916 the Nationalist Andhra Maha Sabha decided to merge itself along with its counterparts, the Maharashtra Parishad and the Karnataka Parishad in the Hyderabad State Congress and carry on a united struggle under the banner of the State Congress against the Nizam's Government for bringing about the merger of Hyderabad with the Indian Union. Even prior to this the Andhra Maha Sabha the Maharashtra Parishad and the Karnataka Parishad leaders were participating in the activities of the Hyderabad State Congress that was formed in 1938 but was banned by the Government even before its inception. So, from 1938 onwards the activities of these respective organisations were also a reflection of the State Congress policies, which could not be carried on in the name of the State Congress on account of the ban imposed on it by the State Government.

### **The 1938 Satyagraha ; The Dawn of Political Awakening :**

The year 1938 is of great significance in the history of the Hyderabad State because it marks the birth of the first popular political struggle in the territories of the Nizam. It also marks the emergence of an all round political awakening and the launching of the first Satyagraha movement in the State. The 1938 Satyagraha was of a unique nature ; several organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Hindu Maha Sabha, Praja Mandals, under the Hindu Civil

Liberties Union and the Hyderabad State Congress undertook the Satyagraha from their various platforms and carried on the struggle for the basic civil rights of the people. The Vande Mataram Movement in the State was also an off-shoot of these days of political awakening and unrest.

### The activities of the Arya Samaj :

The Arya Samaj movement, though essentially of a religious and social character, had perforce to take a political colouring in the Hyderabad State on account of the exigencies of the situation then existing. The Hyderabad Government looked with great disfavour on the proselytising activities of the Arya Samaj leaders like Mahatma Narayan Swamy, Keshav Rao Koratkar, Pandit Vinayak Rao Vidyalanekar and Pandit Narendarji. The Arya Samaj carried on its cultural activities in the State against great odds.

In 1929 a movement known as the "Deendar Movement" was started in the Karnatak districts of the Hyderabad State. One person by name Siddique Deendar called himself as an incarnation of Chenna Basaveshwara and began to preach that Islam was the modern form of Lingayatism, and as such people should embrace Islam. He also belittled the incarnations of Rama and Krishna. The Arya Samaj in order to counteract the Deendar Movement used to invite enlightened scholars from outside Hyderabad like Pandit Ramachandra Dehlavi, Chandrabhan and others to come and address the people. But the Arya Samaj leaders of British India were not allowed to enter the State. Stringent orders were enforced by the Government prohibiting the Arya Samaj from holding meetings. It also forbid them to carry on literary activities, to conduct schools, to hold *Havan Kunds* and to unfurl the *OM* flags. It also proscribed the Arya Samaj Urdu journal *Vedic Adarsh* in 1935. Copies of the *Satyartha Prakash* were confiscated wherever found. Arya Samaj leaders like Pandit Narendarji, and Shyamlal were arrested when they tried to take a *Nagar Kirtan* party.

The Arya Samaj leaders defied the Government ban and tried to conduct *Havan Kunds* and processions at personal risk. This naturally led to riots in the State particularly in Gulbarga and Dhoolpet. While several Arya Samaj leaders were arrested and imprisoned, some like Dharma Prakash were murdered by fanatics.



When leading advocates like K. F. Narriman tried to enter the State for defending the Arya Samaj leaders, they were forbidden. The *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha* appealed to the Nizam's Government to hold enquiries into the Dhoolpet, Gulbarga and Udgir riots but the Government turned down their requests. Upon this the Arya Samaj leaders decided to offer Satyagraha not only to get their grievances redressed but also for religious freedom. On the 24th October, 1938, Mahatma Narayan Swamy was elected as the leader of the Satyagraha movement in Hyderabad. A 'Hyderabad Day' was observed all over India and several leaders from British India decided to enter the Hyderabad State from different sides. Camps were established on the four sides of the Hyderabad State at Vijayawada (Andhra), Sholapur (Karnataka), Barsi, Ahmednagar, Manmad, Poona (Maharashtra) and Chanda. Mahatma Narayan Swamy entered Hyderabad on the 21st January, 1939 but was driven back to Sholapur. He entered Hyderabad at Gulbarga on 4th February, 1939, along with a batch of twenty volunteers. He along with the volunteers was arrested and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. Similar batches under dictators like Sri Kumar Chandrakaran Sarada, Ananda Swamy, Veda Vratha, Sessa Rao, Nivritti Reddy of Ahmedpur, entered Hyderabad from different places. Altogether nearly 12,000 people participated in the Arya Samaj Satyagraha out of which 5,000 were Hyderabadis. Pandit Vinayak Rao Vidyalkar was nominated as the 8th dictator; while he was about to offer Satyagraha along with 1,000 volunteers on 21st July, 1939, the Government announced certain administrative reforms and the Arya Samaj Satyagraha was called off.

Arya Samaj Satyagrahis were ill-treated and severely beaten in jails. They were not provided with proper food and medical aid. One of the Satyagrahis arrested and imprisoned during this period was "Vande Mataram Ramchander Rao" who used to sing the song "Vande Mataram" at prayer times. This was regarded as a great offence by the jail authorities. So they took him into the yard and severely flogged him. Sri Ramchander Rao used to shout "Vande Mataram" at every lash. The lashing continued mercilessly in spite of severe bleeding till Sri Ramchander Rao became unconscious. But, till the last Ramchander Rao went on repeating "Vande Mataram". Hence he earned the popular prefix "Vande Mataram" to his name. Later on, he along with his

brother Veerabhadra Rao and Narasimha Rao played a notable part on the eve of the Police Action in the Hyderabad State. At great risk they obtained information regarding the Gun running by Sydney Cotton and passed on the information to K. M. Munshi, the Agent General of India.

Another Arya Samaj worker Radhakrishna was stabbed on the 29th August, 1939, in front of the police station at Nizamabad by an Arab. In spite of provocations like looting of shops and houses belonging to Arya Samajists, shooting down of Arya Samaj leader, Shivachandra of Hoomanabad, the Arya Samajists maintained perfect discipline. The Arya Samaj, after the withdrawal of the 1938 Satyagraha, devoted itself to constructive activities. Arya Samaj missionaries like Gangaram, Dattatreya Rao and Ganpat-Rao were murdered. Arya Samajists like Gopal Rao Kalyani, Sessa Rao Waghmare, Govind Naik, Krishna Datta and others set up border camps and offered resistance to the Nizam's forces on the borders at Osmanabad, Sholapur, Pandharpur, Buldhana, Amravati, etc. Arya Samaj members like Narayan Pawar, Gandiah, Jagdish, Premraj Yadav were also involved in the throwing of the hand grenade at the motor car of the Nizam. Pandit Vinayak Rao Vidyalkar an Arya Samajist as the President of the Lawyer's Protest Committee collected authentic information about the Razakar activities in the State and sent them to the India Government for which he was arrested.

#### **Students of the Osmania University and the Vande Mataram incident :**

The Hindu Students of the 'B' Hostel of Osmania University were found singing the Vande Mataram song in their prayer hall on the eve of the Dasara celebrations in 1938. This was not liked by the hostel authorities who promptly closed down the prayer hall. The students were not deterred by this and they conducted their prayers in the corridors of the prayer hall and sang the Vande Mataram song. Upon this the University authorities issued a circular saying that the University was purely an educational institution and the students should not sing songs of a political and controversial nature in the University precincts. The students appealed to the University authorities to withdraw the ban on the singing of the Vande Mataram song which was promptly turned down. In spite of this the students offered their prayers by singing the Vande

**Mataram** song upon which the Pro-Chancellor on 29th November, 1938 issued a notice to all the Hindu students saying that they should vacate their rooms by that evening and suspended them from the college. Harsh methods were employed in compelling the students to leave their rooms at night. This led to a sympathetic strike by the other Hindu students who happened to be day scholars. The students started picketing at the bus stops. Such was the intolerance of the reactionary authorities that one of the leading Chemistry Professors of the Osmania University who was also a Proctor, seeing the students picketing near the bus stop, went to remonstrate with them. When the students refused to give up their agitation and lay before his car, he ordered his driver to drive the car over the bodies of the students. The driver however had better sense than his master and did not comply with the orders. The Hindu students also did not like to wear the college uniform of a *pyjama* and a blue *Sherwani* and they instead went to college in a white shirt and a *dhoti* upon which the then Pro-Vice Chancellor is reported to have said, "You must adopt this culture or quit the hostel". They also wanted that Professorships should be created for teaching Post graduate classes in Sanskrit, Telugu, Marathi and Kannada languages, the regional languages of the people just as there were professorships for Persian, Arabic and Urdu. The Osmania University students' strike continued continuously from 29th November till the 10th December, 1938. In this strike, the students of the schools and colleges belonging to the districts also joined. So the University authorities on 10th December, 1938, announced that the striking students should apologise and return to their colleges lest their names be struck off from the rolls of the University. But the students did not heed the orders of the University. So the names of 350 students from the Osmania University Colleges, 70 students from the City College, 310 students from Gulbarga college (including high school) and 120 students from the Mahabubnagar High Schools were struck off on 12th December, 1938. During this period there was continuous strike in Aurangabad, Bidar, Nanded and the Parbhani districts. The Osmania University also took care to see that these dismissed students were not given seats in any other University in India by appealing to the Inter-University Board. But the Nagpur University came to the rescue of these students and admitted them. Nookala Ramchandra Reddy and Achyuta Reddy were among those students who were expelled

from the University. P. V. Narsimha Rao, Hayagrivachari, D. Venkateswara Rao, Arutla Ramchandra Reddy, B. Dharma Biksham also took an active part in the Vandemataram Movement. During the student movement over the "Vandemataram" question, Subhash Chandra Bose, Savarkar and Jawaharlal Nehru wrote sympathetic letters to the students and encouraged them not to give up their just struggle. Gandhiji also sent a message to them saying, "You have every right to sing this national song in the prayer hall".

During this period under the leadership of Y. D. Joshi and Jukkalkar the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Praja Mandals and the Civil Liberties Union offered Satyagraha on the 20th October, 1938. This led to several skirmishes and riots near the Rama Mandir and communal elements in the State stoned the processionists who were carrying the photographs of Vaman Naik and of the deity Hanuman. The Procession which was headed by one Sriramulu and Devdas was welcomed by the people and it was received with the cries of *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*, *State Congress Zindabad*, *Vaman Naik zindabad*, etc. The Hindu Civil Liberties Union offered its first Satyagraha near the Ram Mandir on the 30th October at 3. 15 p. m. amidst a very tense atmosphere and the probability of a serious communal riot in the State. However, on account of the tact shown by the Government officers and the organisers of the Satyagraha, the riots were avoided. The Hindu Civil Liberties Union later used to offer Sayagraha on every Friday at Ram Mandir. The Government ill-treated the Sayagrahis in jail by not providing them with proper amenities and when they went on hunger strike in protest against the ill-treatment they were forcibly fed.

### **The Hyderabad State Congress :**

Seeing that any agitation on the part of the Hindu population for responsible Government and for popular reforms was being dubbed as "communal", some of the political leaders felt that it would be better if they were to bring into existence a political organisation on secular lines for carrying on the struggle for responsible Government.

Swami Ramanand Tirtha after the Latur session of the Maharashtra Conference decided to go to Hyderabad and take up

the work of organising the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress. He came to Hyderabad on the 9th June, 1938, and by July 1938 he constituted a provisional committee and was able to enrol about 1,200 primary members. It was decided to hold a general body meeting of the Hyderabad State Congress on 9th September, 1938 for adopting a constitution, for electing the office bearers. The Government, which was under the Prime Ministership of Sir Akbar Hydari on hearing of this, issued a Gazette extraordinary on 8th September, 1938, in which it declared that His Exalted Highness's Government had no objection to the starting of a political organisation strictly on a [non-communal basis in the State provided that it had no affiliations with bodies outside the State. It also declared that the Hyderabad Government after having made enquiries regarding the composition of the future Hyderabad State Congress had come to the conclusion that inspite of outward professions it was going to be in reality a communal and subversive body and as such the Government had decided to prohibit the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress and to declare it as an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulations of Hyderabad. Prior to the promulgation of this order, Sir Akbar Hydari sent for some leaders like G. Ramachar for discussions but even while the discussions were underway, the ban on the State Congress was promulgated and Ramachar was informed by the Kotwal Saheb that the provisional committee should not convene the general body meeting that was scheduled to take place on the 9th September, 1938. Accordingly the provisional committee decided to postpone the general body meeting and continue the negotiations with the Government. M. Narsing Rao also carried on discussions popularly known as the 'Unity Talks' with Bahadur Yar Jung, the Ittehadul Muslimeen leader. On the basis of these discussions he met Nawab Ali Yavar Jung on 22nd September and appealed to him to lift the ban on the State Congress in order to create a calm atmosphere for the success of the "Unity" Talks. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, who was then the Secretary for Constitutional Affairs, took him to Sir Akbar Hydari who agreed to lift the ban on the State Congress provided leaders like Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Kasinath Rao Vaidya, B. Ramakrishna Rao, Janardhan Rao Desai and Vinayak Rao Koratkar would give an undertaking that they will postpone the convening of the general body meeting. B. Ramakrishna Rao tried to

convince the authorities that the State Congress was not a communal body and that it had no outside affiliations. Then the authorities, through Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, insisted that the word "Congress" should be dropped and that the details of the discussions between M. Narsing Rao and Bahadur Yar Jung should be submitted to the Government. The provisional committee of the State Congress pointed out that they could not bring about a change in the name of State Congress without referring it to the General Body. But Government said that the convening of the General Body should be postponed until such time as the "Unity Talks" conclude. Upon which Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Kasinath Rao Vaidya and M. Narsing Rao took a draft application to Nawab Ali Yavar Jung asking the Government to lift the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress in order to create a favourable atmosphere for carrying on the "Unity Talks" with the Ittehadul Muslimeen Party. The Government strangely insisted that B. Ramakrishna Rao, Ramachar and Janardhan Rao Desai should give an assurance to the Government saying that the "Unity Talks" are going to succeed. As the members of the provisional committee were not in a position to give such an undertaking, the Government refused to lift the ban on the State Congress. Finding that all doors for reasonable negotiations were closed against them, the Hyderabad State Congress decided to offer Satyagraha and it constituted a working Committee with Govind Rao Nanal as the President and Ramakrishna Dhoot as the General Secretary, the other members of the working committee being Ravi Narayana Reddy, Sriniva Rao Borikar and Janardhan Rao Desai. The Working Committee appealed to the people to remain calm while it told the Satyagrahis to offer Satayagraha individually adhering strictly to the principle of nonviolence.

Govind Rao Nanal along with his colleagues Ravi Narayana Reddy, Ramakrishna Dhoot and Janardhan Rao Desai offered Satyagraha on the 24th October, 1938, and they were arrested. Swamy Ramanand Tirtha who was nominated as the first dictator of the Hyderabad State Congress offered Satyagraha on the 27th August, 1938. The Government declared the State Congress and its Council of Action as unlawful bodies on the 24th October, 1938.

Satyagraha was offered twice or thrice a week from different localities such as Sultan Bazaar Clock Tower area, Kachiguda

Railway station, Abid Shop Police Station and Pathergatti. Along with Swamy Ramanand Tirtha other colleagues who were arrested were Raja Reddy, Appa Rao Shelkar, Capt. Joshi, Raghavendra Rao, Srinivas Rao, etc. Apart from these, Baddam Yella Reddy, N. K. Rao, Digambar Rao Bindu, P. Venkat Rao, M. H. Kulkarni of Hyderabad, Allur Narasimhan of Khammampet, Sriramulu, K. Mukund Reddy of Atraf Balda, G. Rama Reddy, Ratna Reddy, Konda Reddy, R. V. Ranga Reddy of Bhongir, Sheikh Nabi Saheb, Sheikh Moinuddin, Venkat Reddy of Mahabubnagar, Anant Govind Kulkarni, M. Venkiah, Motilal, Durgaiyah, Malla Rao, Narasiah, Shanker Rao Khanapurkar, Gopal Shastridév, M. Ramachandra Rao, Yellapragada Sita Kumari, Premraj Yadav, Mallayya Yadav, Arutla Lakshmi Narsimha Reddy, Vecra Reddy and Kaloji Narayan Rao offered Satyagraha and underwent various terms of imprisonment. Altogether 18 batches comprising of 400 Satyagrahis participated in the Satyagraha. The last batch was led by Kasinath Rao Vaidya. The Congress Satyagraha that was started on the 24th of October, 1938, was suspended on the 24th December, 1938, by Kasinath Rao Vaidya, the 18th dictator of the Satyagrahis on the advise of Mahatma Gandhi. The Satyagraha of the Hyderabad State Congress took place side by side with the Satyagraha offered by the Arya Samajists, the Hindu Parishad and the Civil Liberties Union.

The Nizam's Government accused the Congress Satyagraha movement also as being communal. In order to avoid such misunderstanding, Mahatma Gandhi advised the Hyderabad State Congress to call off the Satyagraha Movement. He also wrote to Sir Akbar Hydari asking him to recognise the Hyderabad State Congress and to release the Satyagrahis. Sir Akbar Hydari, an enlightened administrator released the Satyagrahis in deference to the wishes of Gandhiji but with regard to the lifting of the ban on the State Congress he would not change his attitude.

Gandhiji also pleaded for a better treatment of the Arya Samaj leaders. He said that they should be allowed to conduct *Havan Kunds*, build Arya Samaj Mandirs without the Government's permission, and to preach the Vedic culture. Sir Akbar Hydari did not respond favourably to these suggestions and he replied to

Mahatma Gandhi on 4th April, 1940 saying that the greatest problem in Hyderabad was communal tension and unless that was removed, nothing could be achieved.

On hearing about these developments, and that the State Government had not allowed Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah and Narsiman to enter the State. Sardar Patel wanted to visit Hyderabad in order to study the situation. When Sir Akbar Hydari happened to meet him in Bangalore in June, 1938, the latter asked Sardar Patel to visit Hyderabad once. So, taking advantage of that invitation Sardar Patel wrote to Sir Akbar Hydari asking if he could visit Hyderabad and see things for himself. But Akbar Hydari cleverly evaded the issue on the ground that he was busy with his proposed visit to Dacca where he had to deliver the Convocation Address, and that at a later stage he would fix the visit according to their mutual convenience, which of course was never done. Apart from Sardar Patel, Seth Jammalal Bajaj exerted himself on behalf of the State Congress and addressed several letters to Akbar Hydari, advising him to lift the ban on the State Congress and also to see that the services are not over-whelmingly dominated by the Muslims. Dismissing the latter as due to accident of history, Akbar Hydari on the other hand requested Jammalal Bajaj to see that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah would not take the decision to visit Hyderabad and further complicate the issues. He appealed to Jammalal Bajaj to see that the extremists in the Indian National Congress would not take up the discussion on Hyderabad during their ensuing Session and give a chance to the Nizam's Government to introduce the contemplated reforms (based on the Aiyangar Committee Report). After conveying this to the Congress Working Committee Jammalal Bajaj wrote to Akbar Hydari from Wardha saying that he should allow at least some of the Congress leaders like Rajendra Prasad, Moulana Azad and C. Rajagopalachari to visit the Hyderabad State, but this suggestion was also turned down by the Hyderabad Government.

Throughout the year 1939-40 negotiations were carried on by Kasinath Rao Vaidya as the spokesman of the Congress to get the ban lifted. The State Congress showed its willingness to change its name from Hyderabad State Congress to that of "Hyderabad National Conference" so that the Government would feel satisfied that it had no affiliations with the Indian National Congress.



Upon this the Government raised the strange objection that the use of the word "National" was a misnomer as the Hyderabad State Congress had not made any attempt to get the support and co-operation of the other communities in the State. As such, it said, it felt that the State Congress was more a communal body than a national body. Naturally Kasinath Rao Vaidya took umbrage and he pointed the constructive activities of the Congress such as the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, drive against illiteracy, Harijan upliftment, etc. But all these reasons would not change the attitude of a prejudiced Government. Upon this Kasinath Rao Vaidya declared, "It fills me with shame and sorrow that in order to support an untenable decision you should have seen fit to resort to misrepresentation .... Events of Bidar are an eye-opener.—There is no security of life or property in the State for those who will not be practically slaves. Bidar in our opinion makes the case for responsible Government irresistible."

#### **Individual Satyagraha :**

While these negotiations were still being carried on, Swamy Ramanand Tirtha once again decided to offer individual Satyagraha to force the issues to a clinch. This was also the period of Individual Satyagraha in British India. So, after obtaining the necessary permission from Mahatma Gandhi at Sevagram, he arrived in Hyderabad and offered Satyagraha on 11th September, 1940 for which he was arrested and imprisoned. Besides him Praneshacharya, Hiralal Kotecha, Motilal Mantri and Achuta Rao Deshpande were among the others arrested. While giving reasons for offering the Individual Satyagraha Swamiji declared, "Organisationally the State Congress does not exist. But those of us who hold fast to the ideal and the spirit of the organisation claim the right to propagate the ideal in our individual capacity and we will not tolerate any limitation on the right. Our minimum demand today is for conceding the right of this political organisation to function normally by lifting the ban imposed on it and to grant full civil liberties."

When the Government was negotiating with the State Congress over the issue of changing the name, the local Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen paper the "*Rahbar-e-Deccan*" wrote saying, "Ravi Narayan Reddy, Yella Reddy and Vasant Rao who were the members of the Hyderabad State Congress have issued a statement in which they

convinced the people that the change does not effect the spirit of the Congress in any way——— The proposal to change the name of the Congress was suggested by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru——— If the objective of the association was to be the same Responsible Government, then its formation and career under any appellation are strongly detrimental to the Muslim interests. Our aim regarding the political goal of Hyderabad is to maintain permanently the Islamic state of Hyderabad as it is. Government should have insisted on the change of the spirit and not the appellation. The Hindus of the State shall have to place perfect trust on the Mussalmans and banish the idea of their being in a majority. Any action of theirs which will endanger the Islamic character of the State will prevent the Mussalmans from joining the National Conference and consequently the National Conference cannot be National." It also struck an ominous note in the general body meeting of the Anjuman Ittehad ul-Muslimeen on the 1st December, 1940 by passing the following resolution : "If the Hyderabad Government lifts the ban, so wisely and prudently clamped on the State Congress, only because a change is made in its name, the Anjuman makes it manifest to the Government that the Anjuman shall resort to every such step as will make the existence of the State Congress and its formation abortive." The Nizam also issued a Firman during this period supporting the views expressed by the newspaper the "*Rahbar-e-Deccan*."

### The Cripps Mission :

In the meanwhile the Cripps Mission arrived in India on the 22nd March, 1942. It envisaged the granting of Dominion Status to India with the right to secede from the British Commonwealth and a Constitution making body with the provision that any Province or State could remain outside the Union. The Cripps proposals were turned down by the Indian National Congress and Gandhiji himself declared, "I shall never be a party to the sale of rights of the people of the States for the sake of the freedom of the ~~people~~ in British India———". He called the Cripps plan, pertaining to the representation of the Indian States, as an all extensive disintergrating factor. The Hyderabad Government, apart from the stand taken by the Chamber of Princes, wanted that the Hyderabad State should be given a special status and it should be placed in a separate category. From henceforth Hyderabad began

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to put forward the claims of becoming more or less an independent state saying that its position or status was not in any way inferior to the Union or Unions of India and it demanded the right to make treaties with the future Government of India on all-India matters, the free use of Masulipatam Port and the right not to contribute to the defence expenditure of India. It also expressed its unwillingness to join any future Federal Union. From now onwards we find the Nizam's Government adopting an unrealistic attitude regarding its status and adopted a chauvinistic tone in its utterances, Sir Mirza Ismail, who became the Prime Minister of Hyderabad in 1946, became so disgusted with the intransigence of the ruler and the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party that he commented, "Genius, it is said, has its limitations, but stupidity is not thus handicapped."

After the rejection of the Cripps proposals the Indian National Congress decided to launch the Civil Disobedience movement once again in August, 1942, which became famous in history as the Quit India movement.

#### The Quit India Movement in Hyderabad :

The Quit India Movement had its repercussions in the Hyderabad State also. Swamy Ramanand Tirtha met Mahatma Gandhi a day before the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee who, explained to him and his colleagues the implications of the Quit India Movement. Swamy Ramanand Tirtha obtained from Gandhiji the necessary permission for Hyderabad people to participate in the Quit India Movement, though it might not be as spectacular as in the other parts of India. The decision to participate in the Quit India struggle was adopted not only by the State Congress in Hyderabad but by the various Praja Mandals in the Princely states. Swamy Ramanand Tirtha left Bombay via Sholapur for Hyderabad and anticipating that he might be arrested, sent a letter to Dr. Melkote envisaging the demands of the Hyderabad State Congress so that it could be signed and sent to the Nizam. As anticipated, he was arrested as soon as he got down at the Nampalli station. Dr. G. S. Melkote duly signed the letter on behalf of the State Congress demanding the immediate grant of Civil Liberties, the lifting of the ban on the State Congress, and the release of all political prisoners, Reactionary elements in Hyderabad tried to take advantage of the slogan "Quit India" saying that

the British withdrawal from India would automatically mean the Independence of Hyderabad and raised the slogan, "Azad Hyderabad". Thereby seeking to confuse the two issues.

Among persons who were arrested during this Quit India Satyagraha in Hyderabad were Pandit Narenderji, Harishchandra Heda, Gyankumari Heda, Vimalabai Melkote, G. S. Melkote, Jethandra Rashtravadi, Padmaja Naidu, Smt. and Sri Ramaswamy, B. Ramakrishna Rao, G. Ramachari, Gangadhar Krishna, Ganpat Rao, Krishna Dube (Kothagudem Trade Union leader of Singareni Collieries), L. Narayana, Rajeshwar Rao, Somyajulu, D. Narasiah, Komaragiri Narayan Rao, M. S. Rajlingam, Sridhar Rao Kulkarni, Kodati Narayan Rao, Vande Mataram Ramchandra Rao, Prem Raj Yadav and Mallayya Yadav, Kaloji Narayan Rao, etc. Apart from the Satyagrahis in the city several volunteers participated in the Satyagraha movement from Osmanabad, Parbhani, Aurangabad, Nanded, Umri, not only on behalf of the State Congress but also on behalf of the Maharashtra Parishad and the Karnataka Conference. Govindas Shroff, the Secretary of the Maharashtra Parishad was placed under detention in Aurangabad. Padmaja Naidu was arrested for placing the Congress flag on the Residency building. Before the Quit India movement was launched in Hyderabad, several nationalist leaders like Kasinath Rao Vaidya, Sirajul Hassan Thirumiji, Vinayak Rao Vidyalkar, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Fataullah Khan, Janardhan Rao Desai, Hanumanth Rao Kakkere, appealed to the Nizam to form a Ministry consisting of duly elected ministers. Seeing the demand for the restoration of civil liberties and Responsible Government growing day by day, the Nizam's Government engaged the services of Prof. Rushbrook Williams, who at this time was an employee of the B. B. C., on a honorarium of 200 pounds per annum to carry on propoganda on behalf of the Nizam's Government by writing articles in different news papers and journals saying that the people in the Indian States more particularly so in Hyderabad enjoyed political and civil rights to the same extent as the people in the neighbouring Indian provinces.

During the 1942 movement two Hyderabadis, Abid Hasan Safrani and Prof Suresh Chandra joined the I. N. A. of Subhas Chandra Bose.

**Ban on the State Congress lifted :**

G. Ramachar, after the negotiations carried on by Kasinath Rao Vaidya, on behalf of the State Congress carried on correspondence intermittently with the State Government for the recognition of the State Congress as a legal body and for the lifting of the ban by withdrawing the Defence of Hyderabad Regulations. But his efforts did not meet with success. However, finding that the situation in India was fast changing, the Hyderabad Government in September, 1946 gave an indication to Ramachar that it might consider the lifting of the ban on the State Congress. The reason that prompted the Hyderabad Government to do so was that the Cabinet Mission had visited India and made certain proposals regarding the transfer of power to the Indian hands. Apart from that the Communist party in Hyderabad under the leadership of Ravi Narayana Reddy had launched its "anti-feudal struggle" in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad which later came to be known as the "Telangana Movement". Taking all these factors into consideration, the President of the Executive Council, the Nawab of Chattari, invited M. Narsing Rao, G. Ramachar and Kasinath Rao Vaidya for discussions on the 24th November, 1945. Even then the Government insisted that the Hyderabad State Congress should not use the appellation "Congress" and that the members of the association should profess loyalty to the ruler and that no non-mulkis should be elected as the office bearers of the proposed association and that it should not affiliated itself with any outside organisation. On behalf of the Hyderabad Government the Nawab of Chattari, Zahid Hussain, the Finance Member, Ali Yavar Jung ; Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, the Political Secretary, Savidge, the Revenue and Police Member ; and Razvi, the Home Secretary, carried on the negotiations.

The Hyderabad State Congress was prepared to drop the word "Congress" in 1939-40, but now under the changed circumstances, finding that its strength had risen refused to change its name, by dropping the word "Congress". However, it assured the Government that it would be loyal to the ruler, and see that only Mulkis were taken on the Working Committee, but if Non-Mulkis were to become the members of the Hyderabad State Congress, they would not prevent them from becoming so. Pandit Nehru, who happened to be the President of the State People's

Conference sent to Sir Mirza Ismail, who was shortly to take charge as the President of the Executive Council in place of the Nawab Chattari, copies of the resolutions passed at the All-India State Peoples' Conference in which it was declared that Swamy Ramnand Tirtha would be the President of the newly constituted State Congress Committee and that this committee would work for the attainment of civil liberties in the State. The resolutions further said that the General Council of the Standing Committee of the All-India State Peoples' Conference was amazed to learn that the ban on the State Congress was still continuing in Hyderabad and it declared, "The State of Hyderabad will have to change its ways completely before it can entitle itself to any consideration in Assemblies determining the future of India and in the event of the ban on the State Congress continuing and other civil liberties being denied, it will be the right of the State Congress to function inspite of this ban and assert their rights to civil liberties". The letters of Panditji along with the resolutions were duly forwarded by Sir Mirza Ismail to the Nawab of Chattari who after prolonged negotiations, lifted the ban on the State Congress in April, 1946.

In the meanwhile the Cabinet Mission came to India on the 16th March, 1946. The Mission had several interviews with the representatives of certain States like Hyderabad, Travancore and Jaipur. A delegation headed by the Nawab of Chattari, President of the Executive Council; Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, Constitutional Affairs Member; and Sir Walter Monctan, Constitutional Advisor to the Hyderabad Government; met the members of the Cabinet Mission, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and prominent political leaders in India including Mr. Jinnah. After discussions the Hyderabad Government came to the conclusion that it would remain an independent State outside the Indian Union. The Nizam's Government appealed to the British Government that when the latter withdrew from India and if it found difficult to exercise its Paramountcy and fulfil its treaty obligations towards States, atleast to put sufficient pressure on India to ensure that Hyderabad can face the future with reasonable security.

#### **Visit of Jaya Prakash Narayan :**

While these negotiations were still going on, Jayaprakash Narayan, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of India, came to Secunderabad on the 7th May, 1947. Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan

addressed a largely attended public meeting at the Karbala Maidan in which he told the people of Hyderabad to see that the Nizam joins the Indian Union and falls in line with the popular wishes of the people. This had a great impact on the minds of the people. Jayaprakash Narayan was also to address another meeting on the 8th at Raghunath Bagh. The Nizam's Government took objection to his speech delivered on the 7th May and asked him to leave Hyderabad under clause 25 (A) of the Defence of Hyderabad Rules. The externment of Jayaprakash Narayan created great anger and excitement among the people. Trade Union leaders like B. S. Mahadev Singh and Narendra Prasad Saxena addressed mammoth gatherings of Congressmen on 8th May, 1947, in connection with the flag salutation ceremonies and strongly criticised the Government. Bands of Congressmen wearing tri-colour flags and black bands or ribbons went round the city shouting *Jayaprakash Narayan Zindabad, State Congress Zindabad*. This inevitably led to certain incidents between the police pickets and the Congress workers. Stones and brickbats were thrown at the police in localities like Kingsway, Market Street and Subric Street in Secunderabad, Sultan Bazar, Begum Pazar and Gowliguda in Hyderabad. Notwithstanding the ban, on the 8th, as scheduled, a meeting took place at Raghunath Bagh due to the efforts of Ramamurthi, an enthusiastic Congress worker, which was addressed by Swamy Ramanand Tirtha and Narendra Prasad Saxena. The crowds in the meeting raised slogans like "*Zimmedaran Hukumat ley ke rahenge*" (We will see that Responsible Government is given), "*Inqilab Zindabad*", *State Congress Zindabad*. In the evening a batch of five Congressmen led by Ramakrishna Rao and consisting of R. V. Bedab, Ramamurthi, V. B. Raju and Eashwariah offered Satyagraha by addressing the people in contravention of the rules pertaining to the holding of public meetings. These leaders spoke in protest against the externment of Jayaprakash Narayan. All these events caused great excitement and it led to the mob attack on a public bus and setting fire to it. In the general rampage street electric lamps, traffic island sun-shades, the Nizam's post office at Hasmatgunj were damaged. The railway workers under the leadership of Raghavendra Rao and Krishna Dube also passed resolutions protesting against the externment of Jayaprakash Narayan. One event leading to another, at Nallagutta in Secunderabad communal riots also brokeout in which

two Hindus and one Gaffoor Miya, President of the local branch of the Anjuman Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, were killed and the Government had to promulgate Section 145 from 8th May to 11th May, 1947, in certain areas like Sultan Bazaar, Afzalgunj, Musheerabad, Kingsway, Subric Street, Market Street and General Bazaar. Several police constables also received injuries. Altogether 317 arrests were made in this connection and four people died.

### **India becomes Independent :**

While the negotiations for an independent Hyderabad were still going on, Lord Mountbatten arrived in India in June, 1947. The Mountbatten Plan was accepted by the Indian leaders and the independent Dominion of India came into existence on the 15th August, 1947. The Nizam's Government declared that it was its intention to remain as an Independent State outside the Indian Union as well as the Dominion of Pakistan. This decision naturally was not liked by a great majority of the people who wanted Hyderabad to join the Indian Union.

### **The "Join Indian Union Movement" (1947-48) :**

Soon after the lifting of the ban, Swamy Ramanand Tirtha was elected as the President of the Hyderabad State Congress. At this time there was a rift in the State Congress circles between the group led by Swamy Ramanand Tirtha who was supported by Jamalapuram Keshav Rao, Kodati Narayan Rao, Komargiri Narayan, K. V. Narsing Rao from Telangana, G. M. Shroff, S. K. Vaisampayan, Baba Saheb Paranjape and A. K. Waghmare from Marathwada, Jagannatha Rao Chandarki, A. K. Praneshacharya and Krishnachari Joshi from Karnataka and the other group led by B. Ramakrishna Rao, K. V. Ranga Reddy, Chenna Keddy, J. V. Narsing Rao, Kasinath Rao Vaidya, Janardhan Rao Desai and others. However in the open session held in May, 1947, Swamy Ramanand Tirtha was duly elected as the President. This session was attended by all-India leaders like Acharya Ranga from Andhra, Shanker Rao Dev from Maharashtra and Nijalingappa from Karnataka and Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay representing the Congress Socialist wing. In the open session a resolution for launching the freedom struggle was moved by Digambar Rao Bindu and supported by Burgula Ramakrishna Rao. Prior to the holding of the session Swamy Ramanand Tirtha had visited Delhi and consulted



the national leaders regarding the future plan of action. At this session, two points of view emerged. One was to carry on a non-violent Satyagraha movement by courting arrest, cutting of Sendi and toddy trees, resorting to the no-tax campaign, defying of forest and excise laws, defying the rules in force regarding public meetings and by sabotaging communications in order to obstruct the movements of the Razakars and the Nizam's police, etc. The second view was to remain underground to fight the Nizam's Government and the Razakar Organisation. The moderate sections in the Congress opted for the non-violent Satyagraha movement while the younger sections represented by Govind Das Shroff, Vaisampayan, D. Venkatrama Rao, K. V. Narasing Rao and others went underground to carry on a struggle on the lines of the 1942 movement conducted by Jayaprakash Narayan. A Working Committee consisting of Jamalapuram Keshav Rao, Mukund Rao Pedgaonkar, Digambar Rao Bindu, G. S. Melkote, Krishnachari Joshi, Praneshacharya, Govind Das Shroff, S. K. Vaisampayan, Murlidhar Rao Kamtekar, K. V. Narsing Rao and A. K. Waghmare was constituted. Praneshacharya was the General Secretary. Apart from this a Committee of Action with Digambar Rao Bindu as the President, Madapati Ramachander Rao as Secretary, Govind Das Shroff, Jamalapuram Keshav Rao, J. K. Praneshacharya, and K. V. Narsing Rao as members was also constituted. It was also decided to establish the Central Office in Bombay where they were able to win over the sympathies of S. K. Patil who accommodated them in the building of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. Zonal Offices were established in Vijayawada for Telangana region and at Gadag for the Karnataka region. V. B. Raju was made responsible for running the Vijayawada Zonal Office and he was ably assisted in this task by Bommakanti Satyanarayan and Hayagrivachari. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee appointed a sub-committee for Hyderabad and also observed a 'Hyderabad Day'. The Working Committee members visited different parts of India. M. Ramachander Rao went to Madras where he held discussions with N. G. Ranga and Kaleswara Rao. Govind Das Shroff undertook a tour of Maharashtra and Dr. Melkote carried on active work in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. In Karnataka, Praneshacharya carried on the work of winning over public opinion while Swamy Ramanand Tirtha undertook intensive tour of the Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Berar.

**Border Camps :**

The Action Committee set up several border camps to carry on propaganda and to organise the struggle. The border camps at Vijayawada was run by Hayagrivachari, Paritala by Kodati Narayan Rao, while the camps at Sholapur, Manmad, Chanda and Adilabad were under K. V. Narsing Rao and P. V. Narasimha Rao. Apart from these there were also camps in the Telangana region at Nellamarri for Nalgonda and Miryalgudem taluqs, Kokkireni camp for Huzurnagar taluq and part of Miryalgudem taluq, Singavaram camp for part of Huzurnagar and Khammam taluqs, Sripuram camp for part of Khammam and Mahabubabad taluqs. Repalle was the headquarters for the entire Nalgonda district and part of Khammam district. V. B. Raju, Hayagrivachari and Bommakanti Satyanarayana were made responsible for carrying on the propaganda and publicity and keeping up the moral of the freedom struggle in Telangana in general and Warangal and Khammam in particular. Kodati Narayan Rao was looking after the movement in Nalgonda while K. V. Narsing Rao and P. V. Narasimha Rao were looking after the underground movement in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts with Chand as their headquarters.

Swamy Ramanand Tirtha began to mobilise the political workers, students and youth under the banner of the State Congress and demanded from the Hyderabad Government that it should join the Indian Union and also participate in the Constituent Assembly. The first Working Committee of the Congress was held in Sholapur. The Hyderabad State Congress realised that the struggle might be hard and prolonged and perhaps might lead to a possible clash of arms between Hyderabad and the Indian Union. Swamy Ramanand Tirtha planned his strategy well in advance. In Hyderabad he decided to launch the Satyagraha movement on a mass scale. While the bulk of the Congressmen were courting imprisonment, it was felt desirable to keep a few Congress workers outside the State to maintain contacts with their sympathisers and co-workers in the Indian Union and to win sympathy for the cause of the Hyderabad Freedom Struggle. So with this object in view he decided to hold the first Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress at Sholapur. Andhra leaders like Kaleswara Rao, T. Prakasam, Patabhi Sitaramiah, Kakani Venkatratnam,

P. V. G. Raju, N. G. Ranga, Obul Reddy took a great interest in mobilising public opinion in favour of the Hyderabad State Congress and also for supplying them with the necessary funds and amenities for carrying on the future struggle. Kaleswara Rao allowed his residence to be used as the zonal office for the Telangana area. Apart from these Andhra leaders who supplied the necessary funds and other amenities for carrying on the struggle, Jayaprakash Narayan also came to the help of the Central office of the Committee of Action at Bombay in a very big way by giving them all the monetary help that they required to carry on the struggle. The Socialist party of India set up its own Committee of action for the Hyderabad Freedom Struggle. Aruna Asaf Ali also undertook a secret tour of the Nizam's Dominions particularly the Telangana region to study the situation created by the Razakar and Communist activities before forming the Committee of Action. After setting up the respective Committees of Action in the three Zones Swamy Ramananda Tirtha came to Hyderabad and launched what is known as the "Join Indian Union" Satyagraha on the 7th August, 1947. Processions were taken out and they went through the main thoroughfares of the Hyderabad city like the Sultan Bazaar area. The police lathi-charged the processionists. On the 15th August, the Hyderabad State Congress hoisted the Indian Union Flag, that was personally given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Swamy Ramanand Tirtha, in a public place at Sultan Bazaar. The flag was hoisted by Motilal Mantri at 10-00 A. M. on the 15th August. In this connection Swamy Ramanand Tirtha, Dr. G. S. Melkote, Krishnachari Joshi and Jamalapuram Keshav Rao were arrested.

By this time the State Congress movement in Hyderabad had become a mass movement and in a couple of months the Central Action Committee was able to see that 21,000 people participated in this Satyagraha. Among others who were arrested during this period were Harishchandra Heda, Vimalabai Melkote, Gyan-Kumari Heda, Kamalamma, Ahalya Bai, Sumitra Bai, Lakshmi, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, K. V. Ranga Reddy, Mahadev Singh, Ramakrishna Dhoot, Krishna Dube, Kaloji Narayan Rao, Arutla Chandrasekhar Reddi, Veera Reddi, Raghunath Rao Kache of Manthani, Ramapati Rao of Karimnagar, Dasarathi Krishnamacharya Heeralal Moria, K. C. Narasimha Rao, Jalagam Vengal Rao, Achyuta Reddi, B. Venkat Swamy, Amruthlal, Madhav

Reddy, Pati Sudarshan Reddy, S. Babu Rao, Murlidhar Rao of Sirulla, M. S. Rajlingam, Brij Rani Goud, Bhoj Reddy, Srinivas Lahoti, S. B. Giri, Jainendra Jain, Srinivas Rao Ekliker, Hanumantha Rao of Sirsilla, Lakshminarayana of Mettapalli, Keshav Reddy of Parkal, Sitaram Naidu of Huzurabad, Smt. Rajeshwari of Khammam, K. S. Narayan and L. Narayana of Secunderabad, Lakshminarayana Katam of Hyderabad, Kakkeri Hanumanth Rao and his colleagues were arrested at Gulbarga and Mukund Rao Pedgaonkar and his colleagues were arrested in Marathwada. Konda Lakshman Bapuji, who had played a prominent part in the 1942 movement also but had contrived to escape from being arrested, participated in the 1947 "Join Indian Union" movement on the side of the revolutionary side. He was involved in a case in which hand grenade was thrown at the Nizam. Among the students, Gautham Ram contrived to escape from the Aurangabad prison and once again joined his colleagues in the underground. Vithal Rao Nanduri was arrested. M. R. Sham Rao and Babu Rao Varma, President of the Hyderabad Students' Congress, participated from the Arya Samaj and the students' wing. Baquer Ali Mirza was kept under house arrest.

The "Join Indian Union" Movement was also accompanied by mass meetings, hoisting of Congress flags, cutting of 'sendi' and todday trees in Adilabad and Karimnagar districts. Baddam Yella Reddy and P. Hanumaiah maintained close contacts with the Communist leaders in British India especially at Vijayawada and they were in touch with leaders like P. Sundarayya, Devulapalli Venkateswar Rao and others.

The Nizam's Government through out this period was trying to negotiate an understanding with the Indian Union. It declared that it wanted to remain on good relations with both the Dominions of India and Pakistan. While attempting to arrive at an understanding with the Indian Union, it had always to reckon with the opinion of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen organisation, which by this time had evolved a body of volunteers now as the Razakars.

### **The Razakars :**

The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party was established in the year 1927 at a time when political consciousness was gaining rapid

grounds among the Hyderabad people. British India had already seen the Khilafat agitation, the Civil Disobedience movement of 1921—22, and the agitation against the Rowlatt Bill and the Simon Commission was just about to be launched. At this juncture some of the intellectuals in Hyderabad, secretly encouraged by the State, decided to form an Anjuman for the Muslims of the State, and a meeting was held at 'Tohed Manzil' in Hyderabad under the Presidentship of Nawab Sadar Yar Jung, the Director of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Government of Hyderabad. This organisation came into existence by a resolution sponsored at the meeting. Though established in 1927, it remained comparatively quiet till about the year 1938 when another meeting was held under the Presidentship of one Moulvi Abdul Quader Siddiqui, who was a Professor of Islamic Theology and Religion at the Osmania University. At this meeting a resolution was adopted saying, "The Ruler and the Throne are the symbols of the political and cultural rights of the Muslim community in the State. The status of the Muslims must continue for ever — — — — — All laws, privileges and rights derived by the Muslim community traditionally shall remain as such, as they are meant for safeguarding the political rights of the Muslims and also for maintaining their economic and cultural status." After this statement was adopted it was not surprising that the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen organisation always opposed any reforms that paved the way for a democratic government. The Anjuman-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen received a further fillip due to the paternal advice given by the Nizam through his Royal Firmans from time to time. As a matter of fact, on the day of the Independence when Hyderabad was declared an independent State, the Nizam made the announcement not only on his behalf but also on behalf of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. With Nawab Bhadur Yar Jung becoming the President of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party, this body gained a great stature during the years 1939—40, and it even began to challenge the sovereignty of the Nizam. They raised the slogan "Anal malik" (we are the rulers). The extremist Muslims were not only made to believe that they were the ruling race but also that the sovereignty of the ruler was nothing but a reflection of their sovereignty. As a matter of fact, in 1940 when the Hyderabad State Congress was negotiating with the Nizam's Government for the lifting of the ban and the introduction of Responsible Government for the State, we find Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung severely warning the Nizam, "The Muslims hear with extreme surprise and

resentment that with a mere nominal change the so called Hyderabad State Congress will be permitted to carry on propaganda for Responsible Government, and disseminate its mischievous views— — — — — With the full realisation of my own responsibility I warn the Government from this platform that an act like this cannot be conducive to the traditional peace and harmony of Hyderabad and that the responsibility of the disastrous consequences that may ensue will rest entirely with the officials of the State ———— Every Constitutional change in Hyderabad involves two considerations which deserve special attention of the Muslims; firstly, whether the powers and responsibilities of the Ministry are perfectly safe in the hands of the King and secondly, whether the position of the Muslims is quite secure in the legislative body which has been appointed. ———— It is apparent that the Muslims cannot support any Constitutional change which does not satisfy these two conditions——— — — The *Sadar Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen* is the sole representative of the Muslims of the Deccan. He also said, “The Muslims of Hyderabad cannot tolerate any democratic system or even its demand or mere thought which lends in the guise of democracy to augment the power of the Hindu majority”.

It was during the Presidentship of Bahadur Yar Jung that a plan for raising a corps of volunteers was suggested by one Syed Mohd. Hasan in September, 1940. According to this plan, branches of the Razakars or volunteers were to be opened throughout the Dominions of the Hyderabad State. The local leader was to be called as *Salar* and he was to head a branch of 30 volunteers known *Jaish*. A “Salar-c-Saghir” was to be appointed for every taluq while for each district there would be a *Salar-e-Kabir*. A central organisation would be located in Hyderabad under the Presidentship of an officer known as *Afsar-e-Ala*. Military training was given for those volunteers selected by the *Afsar-e-Ala* by a *Markaz*. Every *Salar* was made responsible for the discipline and regular parade of the volunteers. The uniform of the volunteers was to consist of a ‘Khaki’ military shirt, ‘Khaki’ pant, belt and a black fezz cap while that of the officer was to consist of a Khaki military coat, Khaki pant, belt and a black fezz cap. Each volunteer was to be armed with a sword and a dagger uniform pattern while the *Afsar-e-Ala* was entitled to use muzzle loading guns,

bayonet, sword, dagger, pistol, etc. This para-military volunteer organisation was brought into existence against the background of a speech delivered by Bahadur Yar Jung on 27th October, 1940 while addressing the Jagirdar Association wherein he said that Hyderabad would be a free Kingdom and that it should start building ammunition factories, machine guns, etc. Bahadur Yar Jung also wanted to start, if possible, an All-India Association in order to safeguard the rights of the Muslims in general and he felt that the Muslims of Hyderabad were the legal and rightful heirs to the past glory of the Mughals. He said that the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen was even higher than that of the Muslim League under the Presidentship of Mohammed Ali Jinnah and that the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen is bringing about a general awakening among the Deccani Muslims. In order to give a sound economic footing for the running of the Organisation, he wanted to raise a fund by donations and even envisaged the possibility of compelling the Muslims to pay "Zakat" and "Bait-ulmal" to the Organisation apart from collecting such inter-State duties as 'Mash' which normally went to the "Milat-e-Islamia".

Thus we find the roots of a para-military organisation for the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen was laid as early as the year 1940 during the time of Bahadur Yar Jung. With Kasim Razvi taking over the Presidentship of Majlis-e-Ittehad ul-Muslimeen in 1946, this organisation began to take more and more the features of a private militant body. The decision to give regular military training to the volunteers known as the Razakars was taken in July, 1947. They were given fire arms., uniforms and were made to parade in the streets to cow down the people. All these activities were in violation of Rule Nos. 57 and 58 of the Defence of Hyderabad Rules. By 3rd November, 1947 the number of Razakar volunteers, even according to Government sources was 50,000 while Kasim Razvi himself declared that he wanted to raise a 5,00,000 strong volunteer corps. Regular military training camps were set up; students were enrolled and written pledges were taken from them to the following effect "I, ————, volunteer to the Razakar corps of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, do hereby solemnly pledge myself to dedicate my life for the cause of the party to which I belong and to Hyderabad when called upon by my leader. In the name of Allah I will fight to the last to maintain the supremacy of the Muslim power in the Deccan." These Razakars also

maintained a close liaison with the military and police personnel of the State and as days passed by, it was very difficult to distinguish between the Razakars and the Nizam's police. With their combined activities the people in the State were held in a state of terror, and later on as law and order began to break down in the State, they took things in their own hands and started committing loot and arson. Commenting about the Razakar activities, Laik Ali in his book, "The Tragedy of Hyderabad" writes that most of the weapons carried by these Razakars had only a show value and he cries to justify the raising of this para-military force saying, "Nevertheless the movement had an amazing psychological effect on the masses. People in the outlying areas who had been scared and afraid for some time past now felt more confident of themselves at least psychologically were better prepared to face any trouble-----Despite the fact that most of the fire arms could never fire a shot, the Razakars used to carry them about with a great sense of confidence and pride". But he himself admits in the same book, "Nevertheless the strict orders to the Razakars to protect the life and property of all regardless of the caste and creed were not always adhered to and instances were reported of the high-handedness of the Razakars with the local population." A women's wing of the Razakars was also organised but its value was more in name than in actual reality. Ali Yavar Jung in his book, "Hyderabad in Retrospect" humourously depicts these women volunteers as, "It had its own pockets of fanaticism and false enthusiasm-----Some army personnel instructed to teach society women how to pull a trigger and handle a gun-----protective exercises which were occasionally attended by the dictator himself who, the story goes, came one day in plastic shoes and nearly lost his life by stepping in to line of firing. These lady Razakars had their own fanatics. But they contented themselves with giving vent to their husbands spleen or prejudices." In the beginning the Nizam and his Government, thinking that it might be a source of strength to them seem to have welcomed the Razakar organisation. But later on they found that they were reduced to the position of being helpless spectators of the atrocities committed by the monster of their own creation. The Razakar organisation also tried to enroll some of the depressed classes into their organisation to show that it was not a purely Mus-



lim body and these depressed classes in a mis-directed frenzy created a great havoc in Bidar. Ali Yavar Jung in "Hyderabad in Retrospect" clearly says, "The Razakars collected money forcibly from villagers and from the well-to-do in towns. They also collected the signatures of Hindus forcibly on petitions requesting the Government to maintain the force as it gave them protection— -- — It is true that there were many cases of Hindus giving protection to Muslims and Muslims protecting Hindus against violence. But that was due to the long tradition of unity which still lingers rather than any thing done by the Government which soon began to lose control over law and orders."

### **The Communist Party :**

While such was the type of activities carried on by the Razakars, the Communist Party in Hyderabad State, which had its origins towards the later half of 1939 and the beginning of 1940 with the founding of the "Comrades Association", also began to spread its tentacles among the rural population of Telangana. The Communist Party of Telangana operated as a wing of the Andhra Communist Party which had a very powerful base in Andhra with its headquarters in Vijayawada. The leading members of the Communist Party in Hyderabad were Ravi Narayan Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy, P. Hanumiah, Moqdoom Moinuddin, Raj Bahadur Gour, V. Alwar Swamy, Hemadri and D. H. Desai. They were in close touch with the Andhra Communist leaders like Sundarayya and Devulapalli Venkateswar Rao, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy and P. Hanumiah also attended the "School of Politics" conducted at Kankipadu in 1939 by Acharya Ranga. The Communist Party had also struck deep roots in the Marathawada Area where it worked from the platform of the Maharashtra Parishad. As early as 1944, the Communists started their anti-feudal agitation but from October, 1946 they intensified their activities in the Janagaon and Bhongir taluqs of the Warangal and Nalgonda districts and carried on a violent struggle against the local landlords in places like Balimella and Huzurnagar. They were mainly responsible for the strikes of the Nizam's State Railway Employees, Osman Shahi and the Azam Jahi mills.

Originally the Nizam's Government placed the Communist Party under a ban but later when the ban was lifted, the Communists entered into a pact with the Hyderabad State Congress

and formed what was known as the "United Front". Under the guise of this United Front the Communists along with the Hyderabad State Congress workers raised voluntary squads among the villagers and employed them in demolishing customs houses, in the collection of levy, etc. Whenever they occupied a village, they took care to see that they planted the Communist Party flag side by side with the Congress flag and in villages where their influence predominated they did not allow the Congress to work. On account of their activities the people did not know whom they should obey because the Razakars harrassed them in the day time while the Communists came and pestered them in the night time and we find people calling themselves as being under "*Din ki Sarkar*" and "*Raat ki Sarkaar*". Between these two opposing forces their lives had become intolerable. Commenting about the subtle and delicate nature of the situation K.M. Munshi shrewdly observed in "*The End of an Era*", "The so called Satyagraha which was conducted by the State Congress was scarcely of the Gandhian variety. In view of the ruthless manner in which the Razakars behaved it was well nigh impossible to practice it in Hyderabad. Villagers, harrassed by the Razakars needed the power to resist, not the joy of martyrdom. More often than not, therefore, the Communists as partners of the United Front assumed control of the violent movement of resistance organised by the volunteers against the Nizam's Police and the Razakars. As the depredations of the Razakars increased in intensity, the villagers invited the Communists to take the lead and supply them with the arms. The village squads soon established centres of resistance, gave battle to the armed forces of the State and the Razakars." But the United Front between the Congress and the Communists broke down by the beginning of 1948, when the State Congress, realised that the Communists were trying to take undue advantage of the situation and entrench themselves in the village for which they committed several acts of violence

#### **The Stand Still Agreement:**

While conditions were deteriorating to such a level in the State, the Nizam still dreamed of becoming an independent power and in spite of the best efforts of Lord Mountbatten, the

Viceroy, to accede to the Indian Union, declared himself as an independent ruler and sent delegation after delegation to Delhi to reach an agreement with the India Government which ultimately resulted in the conclusion of the "Stand Still Agreement". Surrounded on all sides by the Indian Union, it was highly impractical of the Nizam and his Government to dream of remaining an independent power. Their persistence to acquire such a status by sending delegation after delegation reiterating the same demand was again and again so ridiculous that Campbell Johnson says that the scene reminded him of a "comic opera". The Nizam deputed the Nawab of Chattari, his Prime Minister Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, Sultan Ahmed and Sir Walter Monctan to reach an agreement with the Dominion Government of India. After protracted negotiations and after Jinnah made it plain that Pakistan would not come to the help of Hyderabad either in the shape of men or arms, the Chattari delegation decided that it would be advisable to enter into a Stand Still agreement with the India Government for one year. One of the secret clauses of the Stand Still Agreement was that the Nizam promised not to accede to Pakistan and that Hyderabad would remain neutral in case of a war between India and Pakistan. The draft agreement was finalised on the 18th October, 1947 and it was decided that the delegation consisting of the Nawab of Chattari, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Ali Nawaz Jung, and Sir Walter Monctan would leave for Delhi on the 27th October, after obtaining the signature of the Nizam. When the delegates went to obtain the signature of the Nizam, he said that he would sign on the next day. In the meanwhile, three members of the Ittehad-ul Muslimeen left for Karachi by air for obtaining the advise of Jinnah. The next morning at about 3' O' Clock a huge gathering of the Razakars surrounded the residences of the Nawab of Chattari, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Walter Monctan and Ali Nawaz Jung and did not disperse till the members came out and gave an assurance that they would not leave for Delhi. The crowd not only prevented the Nawab of Chattari from leaving for Delhi but also entered his house and helped themselves with the food available in his pantry. While this scene was going on, neither the police nor the army came to the rescue of the honourable members of the delegation. This period was the period of the

Indo-Pakistan war over Kashmir. So the reactionary elements in the State wanted to take ample advantage of the situation. In the same afternoon the Nizam summoned the delegates to take stock of the situation and told them that he was determined to sign the agreement and also to make Kasim Razvi accept it. But Kasim Razvi, when he later joined the discussion, remained adamant and he wanted the Nizam to allow him to carry on the negotiations. Kasim Razvi also wanted the members of the delegation to be changed and new members, namely Moin Nawaz Jung and Abdur Rahim, who were pro-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen in their sympathies, to be nominated on the delegation. Upon this the members of the delegation offered their resignations and the Nawab of Chattari even resigned his Prime Ministership. For some time Mehdi Yar Jung was made the Prime Minister but later due to the continued pressure of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party and after consulting Jinnah, Laik Ali was installed as the Prime Minister on 18th December, 1947. Laik Ali constituted a new Ministry in which four Hindus were taken on the cabinet, namely Pingal Venkat Rama Reddy, Deputy Prime Minister, B. S. Venkat Rao, representing the depressed classes, Mallikarjunappa, representing the Lingayats and J. V. Joshi. Later on G. Ramachar was also joined the cabinet.

In the meanwhile, the new delegation under Moin Nawaz Jung met Lord Mountbatten on the 22nd November. The Nizam also threatened that he would accede to Pakistan if the negotiations with the India Government were to break down. Kasim Razvi mounted his propaganda against Sardar Patel who was greatly instrumental in bringing about the accession of the Indian States with the Indian Union. Ultimately the Hyderabad Government concluded the Stand Still Agreement with the Dominion Government of India on the 29th November, 1947. According to the Stand Still Agreement, Defence and External Affairs came under the control of India.

Before the conclusion of the Stand Still Agreement all the Congress leaders who were in jail, including Swamy Ramanand Tirtha, were set free as a token of goodwill. Even while Swamy Ramanand Tirtha was in jail, the Hyderabad Government tried to win him over to by sending feelers through the Home Secretary.

Laik Ali also had some personal discussions with him. The Hyderabad Government envisaged to have a legislature with 75% Muslim representatives and 25% non-Muslims for the first three years while the party of Muslims to non-Muslims would be gradually decreased stage by stage. Swamy Ramanand Tirtha did not agree to these proposals. From the beginning the Congress opposed the predominantly Muslim nature of the legislature and the Executive Council as envisaged even under the Aiyangar Committee Report. It even linked down the 50 : 80 ratio as suggested during the days of the "Unity Talks".

Soon after his release he went to Madras, where the Central Action Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress was shifted from Bombay to contact the members of the Action Committee. At Madras he met Bulusu Sambamurthi and other Congress leaders who assured him of their support and sympathy. From Madras he proceeded to Delhi where he met Indian national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Secretary of State V. P. Menon. When he met Gandhiji, Swamy Ramanand Tirtha explained to him that perhaps in view of the extraordinary situation prevailing in Hyderabad in the shape of the para-military force of the Razakars and also the violent methods adopted by the Communists it might be necessary for the State Congress also to resort sometimes to violence in self-defence. From Delhi, Tirtha went to Bombay where he met Sardar Patel and K. M. Munshi, who was very shortly to take over the office of the Agent General in Hyderabad. In consultation with Munshi, Swamy Ramanand Tirtha addressed a letter to the Nizam exhorting him to grant full Responsible Government to the people and to accede to the Indian Union. He also said that the Laik Ali Ministry was a reflection of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party politics and that the Nizam should not allow the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen to dominate the State. After despatching this letter, for which he did not receive any reply, Swamy Ramanand Tirtha proceeded to Hyderabad and decided to launch the Satyagraha movement once again.

#### **Violation of the Stand Still Agreement:**

The Nizam's Government began to violate the Stand Still Agreement even before the ink was dry on the paper on which it signed by declaring the Indian currency as not legal tender. It

also banned the export of gold and other metals from Hyderabad and started placing restrictions on the working of Indian banks and insurance companies. It also sent a high official to Karachi, as a result of which the Finance Minister of Pakistan, Ghulam Mohammed, paid a visit to Hyderabad on the pretext of congratulating the Nizam on his escape from a bomb that was thrown at his car. During his visit the Hyderabad Government secretly agreed to give away rupees twenty crores worth of Indian securities to Pakistan by way of loan at 3% or at such higher rate as the Pakistan Government might fix for the loans. The transfer of these securities was to be done gradually through the Habib Bank. It also maintained a publicity officer in Karachi who acted as the agent of Hyderabad. It also appointed a trade Agent in U. K.

Normally the tone adopted by almost all the newspapers in Hyderabad excepting the national newspapers like the Imroze, Payam, the Deccan Chronicle, Hyderabad Bulletin and the Telugu nationalist press, was pro-Pakistan. The Hyderabad Government through its press always gave a pro-Pakistan biased commentary of the Kashmir war. The Laik Ali Government also tried to purchase Goa through some British agents but when the India Government brought it to the notice of the British Government, the latter warned Portugal against entering into this deal. It also tried to buy arms and ammunition by directly negotiating with the trade representatives of United Kingdom, the United States of America and Portugal and also tried to acquire port facilities at Goa. El Edroos, one of the prominent members of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party was sent to Europe with a sum of rupees five crores to purchase arms. He visited Czechoslovakia, but he could not secure arms from Czechoslovakia though was able to get some transmitters and other equipment. He tried to buy aeroplanes also. The Hyderabad Government actively helped the Pakistan Government with money. It despatched large sums of money ostensibly to buy food grains from Pakistan but the underlying motive was to finance the Government of Pakistan. The Nizam's Government insisted on acquiring the Hakimpet Airport which, according to the Stand Still Agreement, came under Union property, as communications were treated as a Union Subject. It tried to completely own the Deccan Airways by trying to buy the shares from the Tatas. It smuggled arms into Hyderabad through

the ports of Goa, Bombay, and the State of Savanur. It renovated its Raif Airfield at Adilabad and made huge purchases of military equipment in the form of trucks, motor cycles and petrol tankers from the Atlas Trading Corporation and Mohindra and Mohammad. For manufacturing arms and rifles, certain local factories were set up. The State acquired the Praga Machine Tools and the Praga Steel factory. One Salamatullah was given a loan of rupees twelve lakhs for renovating an old factory for manufacturing guns. Through the Press and radio it carried on anti-Indian campaign. Arms and ammunition factories were set up at Khadir Bagh and Motimahal near Golconda fort for manufacturing of 303 rifles, hand grenades, etc. Butts and top of 303 rifles were manufactured at Debonar's furniture shop at Nampalli. The Hyderabad Government also employed the services of one Sydney Cotton, on a false pretext for smuggling arms and ammunition into the State. Sydney Cotton regularly made flights from Karachi to Bidar and Mauanoor in Warangal taking a circuitous route. This was brought to the notice of the India Government by Vande Mataram Ramachander Rao and A. Rama Rao. They took great risks in tracing the movements of Sydney Cotton. On receiving the information the India Government sent a note of protest to Great Britain, Canada and Australia, upon which the British Ministry of Aviation suspended the flying licence of Sydney Cotton. The Indian High Commissioner Sri Prakasha also took up the matter with the Pakistan Government, which formally cancelled the flight permit granted to Sydney Cotton in June, 1948. The Hyderabad Government employed every possible method to see that arms were smuggled into the State and tried to increase the strength of its army slyly. It started collecting and keeping a reserve of essential commodities like petrol, diesel oil, spare parts, cloth, yarn, motor vehicles and arms and ammunition and also started strong foodgrains in large quantities. All these acts of the Hyderabad Government amply prove that it entered the Stand Still Agreement only to gain time till it was sufficiently strong to take up a stand against India diplomatically and if necessary militarily also.

The Razakar activities also began to increase day by day and there were several border incidents between the Razakar forces and the Nizam's police on the one side and the villagers on the

other as well as in the camps set up by the Hyderabad State Congress where the trained Kisan Dal workers resisted the Razakars. Arson and loot become a common feature and several villages were burnt down by the Razakars.

While matters were in such a state, K. M. Munshi was appointed as the Agent General in Hyderabad by the Government of India. He reached Hyderabad on 3rd January, 1948. A demonstration was made against the arrival of Munshi and he was not allowed to occupy the British Residency or in any other building belonging to the Government of Hyderabad. Hence Munshi decided to stay at Bolarum in a building belonging to the Government of India which he designated as "*Dakshin Sadan*". Soon after the Stand Still Agreement was concluded, the Nizam's Government also wanted the India Government to withdraw its forces from the Cantonment areas of Secunderabad, Bolarum and Trimulgherry, to which the latter agreed. But as the Indian forces were gradually withdrawing, Hyderabad tried to increase its own forces by various methods. It also invited the Muslims of the provinces of C.P., U.P., Madras and Bombay to come and settle down in Hyderabad. Considerable numbers belonging to the Muslim population of these provinces came to Hyderabad during this period.

### **The demand of the Congress:**

Soon after his arrival in Hyderabad from Bombay, Swamy Ramanand Tirtha declared in a Press Conference that the Nizam should hold a plebiscite over the question of accession to India and he should also take measures to introduce popular Government in the State. He declared, "If accession is postponed according to the Stand Still Agreement, there must be an unequivocal declaration that the issue would be decided by a plebiscite before the expiry of the Agreement and there must be a declaration also of the establishment of Responsible Government and the setting up of a Constitution making body to frame a Constitution on the basis of Responsible Government within eight or ten months." His declaration was in line with the original stand taken by the Government of India in August, 1947, that the Government of India was willing that a plebiscite or referendum should be held in Hyderabad over the question of



accession under international supervision. He also said that the Congress would participate in the Interim Government of Laik Ali only if these demands were met. For this speech Swamy Ramanand Tirtha was once again thrown into prison.

Munshi, soon after his arrival in Hyderabad, began to take stock of the situation. He repeatedly drew the attention of the India Government to the gravity of the situation and the urgency of getting the Razakar organisation disbanded. In the meanwhile, Laik Ali visited Delhi in March, 1948 and tried to get some concessions from the India Government and also to persuade the India Government to allow them to buy large stocks of ammunition, medicines and other materials, quite disproportionate to the needs of Hyderabad. The India Government, realising the gravity of the situation, addressed a letter through V P. Menon, the Secretary to the Ministry of States, to the Hyderabad Government drawing its attention to the repeated violations of the Stand Still Agreement on the part of Hyderabad and told them that it was as a special case that they agreed in the case of Hyderabad to the conclusion of a Stand Still Agreement which gave her the position of a State in association with India, pending its decision to accede to the Indian Union, and as such the Hyderabad Government must reciprocate by showing goodwill towards India. On the other hand the Hyderabad Government carried on an insistent propaganda against India through its Press and radio which must be stopped forthwith. It also pointed out to the illegal activities of the Razakars who were virtually terrorising the border areas of the three neighbouring Indian provinces of C. P., Bombay and Madras by their violent acts and insisted that this organisation must be declared illegal. It pointed out that though Hyderabad had suffered a lot at the hands of the Communists, strangely enough the Government had lifted the ban on the Communist Party at this juncture. It also pointed out that so far the Hyderabad Government had not taken any step to summon a Constituent Assembly and to usher in a Responsible Government even though it was promised under the Stand Still Agreement. The letter ended striking a slightly ominous note, "The Government of India have responsibility to their own citizens and therefore have taken effective steps for safeguarding the security and essential

interests both of India and of her people." For this Laik Ali declared in his reply of 23-8-1948 that as a sovereign State, Hyderabad reserved its right to purchase arms and ammunition and that it does not accept the status of a State in association with India, though the India Government stand under the Stand Still Agreement implied such an interpretation. He said that the India Government and Hyderabad should submit themselves to arbitration to settle their disputes and that the Razakars would be disbanded only when the root cause for their actual emergence (meaning provocation from the neighbouring Indian provinces) was removed. Regarding the lifting of the ban on the Communist Party, he tried to explain it away glibly saying that the Government of Hyderabad did not believe in placing any restriction on political ideologies. Though the real motive of the Hyderabad Government in lifting the ban on the Communists at this juncture was to woo them and wean them away from joining the freedom struggle.

#### **Razakar Atrocities and the Break down of Law and Order:**

Meanwhile attacks even on passenger trains by the Razakars were becoming frequent. On the 22nd May, the 'Ten Up' Mail from Madras to Bombay was attacked at Gangapur station in which two people were killed and several injured. Another train from Avadi to Poona was also attacked. When the Government of India sent protest notes against these attacks, the Nizam's Government provided military escort to the Grand Trunk Express.

The India Government again remonstrated to the Hyderabad Government as late as April 1948 that there should be a plebiscite in the State. The Nizam's Government rejected the proposal saying that the very announcement of the intention to hold a plebiscite would result in the deterioration of law and order in the State.

In the meanwhile several atrocities and armed encounters between the Razakars and the Nizam's Police on the one side and the people and Kisan Dals on the other side were increasing day by day. Some of the incidents that took place during this period were :

**THE BIBINAGAR INCIDENT:** On 10th January, 1948, the village and station of Bibinagar were the scene of arson. At about 5.00 P.M. on that day, five lorry-loads of armed Razakars in helmets were returning to Hyderabad from a rally at Bhongir. While these lorries were passing by, a few young urchins seeing them just shouted "Jai, Jai". On hearing these words, the Razakars immediately stopped the lorries, caught hold of the boys and belaboured them. They then entered the Railway Station at Bibinagar where the Assistant Station Master was on duty. They aimed their guns at the Assistant Station Master who pleaded that he had nothing to do with the raising of the cry "Jai Jai". So they let him off. But they mercilessly beat the three Hindu Pointsmen and also attackdd the houses of the Station Master and the Assistant Station Master and forcibly removed gold ornaments from the bodies of the wife and daughters of the Station Master. They also attacked the Pointsmen Narasaiah Chandraiah with a sword and injured him severely. Then they entered the house of the Assistant Station Master, whose aunt was hiding in the bath-room with her children, dragged her out and forcibly removed her jewellery including her "*Mangal Sutram*" at the point of sword. A hotel keeper was also attacked. Then they joined another band of Razakars who had gone in advance to terrorise the people in the village. Several houses in Bibinagar were ransacked and the jewellery of the women forcibly taken from them. One Komati Rajaiah who was running away from the back door of his house was spotted by torchlight and after removing the gold chain from his neck, he was belaboured and thrown into a well nearby, on account of which he was severely injured in the back and abdomen. On the whole the number of persons who were injured by the Razakars was 28 of whom six received injuries of a serious nature while the damage done by looting and arson came to nearly Rs. 40,000/-

The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen President pleaded an excuse for this outrage saying that slogans disrespectful to the Nizam were raised which the Razakars could not tolerate and as such they took their vengeance on the villagers of Bibinagar. This plea was a mere concoction because it was known from the enquiries made by Dr. Jaisoorya, V. Lakshma Reddy and B. Ramakrishna Rao,

Kasinath Rao, and N. K. Rao that when looting and arson were taking place in Bilinagar, Kasim Razvi was personally present and also he sent reinforcements from Ghatkesar.

Similar such atrocities of looting and arson took place at Motakodur, Mazra Sikander Nagar, Chandanpalli, Somavaram, etc. In the Somavaram incident which took place on the 7th January, 1948, the Razakars seem to have even applied paint to their faces and tied cloth to their chins to avoid identification. At Chandanpalli, the entire village was set on fire. Fourteen tiled houses, 5 palmyra roofed houses and ten hay-stacks were completely burnt along with the stocks of grain. The house of Goranti Kankiah, a local grain merchant which contained 20 Khandis of groundnut and castor seed kept burning for nine days. Whenever the villagers heard about the anticipated attack of the Razakars, they ran away. The money that was collected by the Razakars went towards the maintenance of the Razakar organisation and also partly towards the maintenance of the Hyderabad Army. The Razakars attacked the villages on the pretext of searching for the leaders of the Kisan dals who through their Dalams in certain areas of the State prevented the collection of levy by the State Officers.

Similar instances also took place at Vardhamankota, Palleshahad, Suryapet in Nalgonda and at Chennaram and other villages in the Khammam taluq. Naturally these events created panic among the middle class families and a large number of them started migrating to the Indian Union. The Kisan dals and other volunteers in the Border camps sometimes retaliated Customs 'Nakas' on the Border areas were made completely ineffective. For example, 28 Customs 'Chowkies' on the borders of Nalgonda District were closed down because 13 of them were said to have been destroyed by Congressmen and Communists while the remaining were closed down by the Government itself. Seeing the Customs Department thus paralysed, the Government resorted to unusual methods of collecting duties from the people. For example, at Tammare village 75 cartsmen were held for not paying the duty at Kocharam Chowki; their carts and bullocks were seized and a fine of Rs. 250/- was imposed per cart and the cartsmen were put in prison. But the most remark-

able fact was that the carts and the bullocks seized from them were distributed among the local Razakars and other members.

**Karimnagar-Resistance in the Mandapuram Hills:**

In certain parts of Karimnagar in the villages of Garipalli, Moosakhanpet and Sirsilla taluqs, houses were burnt down and pitched fights took place between the Razakars and the followers of Andhra Maha Sabha. In January, 1948, at Mandapuram hills, eight Andhra Maha Sabha workers including Bhoopathy Reddy and V. Prabhakar Rao were killed.

**Khammam-Resistance at Meenabolu:**

In Khammam also skirmishes took place between the Razakars and the Nizam's Police on the one side and the Kisan Dals and Village Guards on the other side at Meenabolu in Madhira taluq on 15-1-1948 in which six village guards were killed.

**Nalgonda-Armed Resistance:**

Near Renikunta in Bhongir taluq of Nalgonda District, on 4-3-1948, the local villagers numbering 80 under the leadership of one Renukunta Rami Reddy fought for twelve hours with the Nizam's military and the Razakars. While they inflicted severe casualties on the Nizam's Police and the Razakars, 26 of these brave villagers died in trying to protect their village from the marauding Razakar elements.

**Patarlapahad:**

At Patarlapahad in Suryapet taluq on 28-8-1948, in a fight that ensued between the people and the Razakars and the Nizam's police over the No-Tax Campaign, 17 people were killed.

**Gundrampalli Atrocities:**

In Gundrampalli village on 19-7-1948, the Razakars as an act of vengeance against the activities of a Communist Dalam leader, indiscriminately attacked the villagers, caught hold of 21 of them and after driving away their women folk who tried to plead with the Razakars took the hapless villagers to the out

skirts of the village, made them stand in a line and shot them. Then their bodies were thrown in a pit near a mosque and burnt.

### **Warangal District—Kootigal Atrocities:**

At kootigal in Janagaon taluq of Warangal District also on 25-8-1948, 23 Kisan Dal members were shot dead when they refused to pay contributions to the Razakars.

### **Behrampalli:**

The village of Behrampalli was raided on/25-8-1948 by an armed body of Razakars, the Nizam's Police and military of 1,500 strong in which 76 villagers including women and children were killed.

In Katkonda, Janagaon taluq, Warangal District, in February 1948, 13 villagers were shot dead when they refused to pay contribution to the Razakars. During this raid one villager by name Ankaiah and his wife Veeramma were tied together and thrown into burning flames by the Razakars after setting fire to the houses and hay-stacks in the village. In Ankanoor, Konapaka, Choutapalli, several villagers were killed when they refused to pay the levy to the Razakars. In Suryapet, Warangal District, a harmless procession was fired at in which six people were killed including one Kodiluri Latchiah who died holding the Congress flag aloft.

### **Mahabubnagar:**

In Mahabubnagar, the Tahsildar of Gadwal taluq himself raided the village when the villagers refused to pay the levy and opened fire on the villagers during the course of which four people were killed. Bhisma Dev of Mahbubnagar received bullet injuries at the hands of the Razakars. Narsiah, a Nizam's Railway Union worker was assaulted by the Razakars as a result of which his right arm was broken.

In the Marathwada and Karnataka regions also border camps were set up and there were clashes between the trained Kisan Dal volunteers and the Nizam's Police and the Razakars.

There several ammunition Depots were raided by the people as well as by the Kisan Dals.

### Mass Upsurge:

The village of Paritala which was an enclave of the Nizam near the vicinity of Vijayawada declared itself as a Union territory and refused to pay taxes. Kohli village near Berar, Hadgaon, Wakodi also declared themselves as independent. In the Marathwada and Karnataka regions several villages hoisted the Union flag and refused to pay taxes. Thus the 1947-'48 struggle in Hyderabad marks the emergence of a mass upsurge against the autocracy of the Nizam's Government. Laik Ali in his book "The Tragedy of Hyderabad" justified the Role of the Razakars. Strangely enough he seems to have not realised the fact that this total identification of the Government with a highly communal body that stood for a sectarian ideology would alienate a large section of the people who resented the partisan attitude of the Government.

On the 31st of March, the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen party celebrated the Hyderabad Weapons Week at Darusalam when Kasim Razvi in one of his arid speeches declared, "Power has come to the hands of the Indian Union after thousand years —————They are not capable of ruling——that is the reason why they lost it to the Muslims ——Their method of coercing Hyderabad to be a mere vassal is the typical example of the Baniya rule. The only answer to them is the naked sword——Brethren! stop not till the goal is reached." This speech of Kasim Razvi was greeted with the cries of "Chalo Delhi". He also declared in another speech that very soon the Asafia Flag would fly over the Red Fort in Delhi while on the 8th April he declared, "Hyderabad will shortly recover the ceded districts and the day is not far off when the waves of the Bay of Bengal will be washing the feet of our Sovereign who will not only be called the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar but also of the Northern Circars." These provoking speeches of Kasim Razvi naturally made Pandit Nehru, Lord Mountbatten, Sardar Patel, and other Indian leaders angry. Questions were raised even in the Parliament. When Sir Walter Monctan went to Delhi he was asked to give an explanation. Provoked by such speeches of Kasim

Razvi, Pandit Nehru spoke in a stern manner saying that Hyderabad should try to make up its mind regarding the accession to the Indian Union. The Government of India from now onwards kept a closer check on the goods and other material that were being imported into Hyderabad in the name of medical supplies and stores. The Hyderabad Government was now planning to appeal directly to the United Nations Organisation on the grounds that it was an independent State. It wanted to file this appeal before the term of the Stand Still Agreement expired. So it raised the cry of an "economic blockade" being applied against the Hyderabad State and said that India was depriving her of essential commodities like trucks and chemicals. It also started a vicious propaganda saying that the Government of India wanted Hyderabad to surrender its sovereignty unconditionally without ascertaining the wishes of the people, though the India Government itself had proposed the idea of plebiscite as early as 27th August, 1947. Seeing the rapid deterioration of law and order and the atrocities committed by the Razakars who reduced the State to a war camp and seemed to have held the Nizam at bay. The Hindu Ministers like J. V. Joshi, G. Ramachar, Mallikarjunappa, besides several members of the legislature resigned their posts in protest. Some Muslim officials also resigned their posts in protest against the deplorable state of things.

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State. The Razakars intruded into the Indian Union territories to assert their authority in the enclaves belonging to the Nizam in places like Burgampad, Budivada, Jaggaiyapeta, Munagala, Seethampet village in Nandigama taluq, Honsal village, Kosagaon and Tandulwadi in Sholapur taluq, Devagaon etc. At Lakkavaram village in Huzurnagar and Velangi village of Ramachandrapuram taluq near Burgampad, atrocities were committed on women pilgrims on their way to Bhadrachallam. The women were not only molested but were threatened that they would be shot if they were to reveal the mishap that befell their lot. Several incursions of the Razakars and the Nizam's police took place in the Marathwada and Karna'aka regions where the people in self-defence organised village civic guards who not only attacked the customs offices belonging to



the Nizam and stopped the paying of levy, but also attacked several Banks, one of them being the Umri State Bank.

One of the incidents for which the India Government took great umbrage and asked the Hyderabad Government for an explanation was the incident at Nanaj where on the 24th July, 1948; a body of Indian military personnel while proceeding to the village of Barsi with their convoys was attacked by a party of Razakars, Arabs, Pathans and the Nizam's police without any grounds. On account of this wanton attack five Indian soldiers were wounded, two of them seriously. Naturally the Indian army returned the fire on account of which seven persons among the Nizam's Civic Guards and the police were killed, whom Laik Ali calls as the Immortal Seven, while at the same time admitting that it was the Nizam's Police that had provoked the attack. Nanaj was occupied by the Indian army. This was of great significance that it pointed to the deteriorating relations between the Nizam's Government and the Indian Union. Ali Yavar Jung describes the incident as a signal showing that the storm was gathering.

Seeing the deplorable conditions in the state some of the prominent citizens of Hyderabad including eminent Muslim leaders appealed to the Nizam to give up his short sighted policy and accede to the Indian Union. Some of the muslim leaders like Baquer Ali Mirza, Nawab Manzoor Jung, Ahmed Mirza, retired Chief Engineer, Afzal Munim, retired Accountant-General of Hyderabad, S.N.A. Jafri, retired Director of Public Instruction, sent an appeal to the Nizam on the 13th August, 1948 to disband the Razakars and also to dissolve the Laik Ali Ministry which was dominated by the Razakars. But their well reasoned appeal fell on deaf ears. In an emotionally charged atmosphere, the motives for the appeal were questioned and Ali Yavar Jung says, "They were brave men to have defied danger." These enlightened Muslim leaders were declared as "treacherous" and some of them were threatened with the suspension of their pensions.

### **India Government's attitude**

Seeing that the Hyderabad State was fast becoming a fascist State, the India Government became perturbed. V. P. Menon,

the Secretary to the Ministry of States, addressed letters to the Nizam's Government drawing their attention to the seriousness of the situation and telling that if things allowed to go on in the same manner, it would endanger not only the security of Hyderabad but also the security of the Indian Union. He further said, "The peculiar position of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen in Hyderabad and the Communists on the border cause the gravest concern to the Government of India. They consider that in the interest of peace inside the State and on both sides of the border, the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen should be banned and its organisation wound up. If the activities of the Ittehad are not immediately stopped, it is comprehended that a very grave situation will develop involving the security not only of the Hyderabad State but also of the adjoining provinces of C.P., Bombay and Madras." The Government of India also suggested that a Joint Commission should be appointed to examine matters relating to defence. It also suggested the reduction of strength of the Nizam's police and asked the Nizam's Government to submit a detailed report pertaining to the strength and the organisation of the Nizam's police. It wanted the Nizam's Government to repeal the ban on the export of gold and also on the export of groundnut and other oil seeds to the Indian Union, to cancel if there were any Agreements with the United Press with regard to the transmitting or receiving stations for foreign news.

The Nizam wrote to Lord Mountbatten complaining that this letter of the States Ministry was more or less in the form of an ultimatum. Laik Ali, the Nizam's Prime Minister wanted that a Committee of arbitration be appointed for settling disputes between the two Governments.

Pandit Nehru protested to the Hyderabad Government against the 'Jehad' speech of Kasim Razvi delivered during the Hyderabad Weapons Week. The Hyderabad Government denied that such a speech was ever made upon which Sardar Patel informed Laik Ali that he had ample evidence to prove that the speech was delivered. Sardar Patel wrote, "The Hyderabad problem will have to be settled as has been done in the case of other States. No other way is possible. He cannot agree to the continuance of an isolated spot which will destroy the very unity [15]

which we have<sup>4</sup> built up with our blood and toil. At the same time we do wish to maintain friendly relations. That does not mean that we shall ever agree to Hyderabad's independence". Lord Mountbatten who had a soft corner for the Hyderabad State in view of its long association with the British Government tried to bring about an amicable settlement between Hyderabad and India and he deputed his Press Attache, Alan Campbell Johnson to meet the Nizam and other leaders. Campbell Johnson went to Hyderabad on the 15th May. After studying the situation there he came to the conclusion that it was the Nizam who was "the key man to the situation" and any agreement that was to be reached in Hyderabad would go through only if the Nizam agreed with it. In the meanwhile, the Ministry of States sent another letter to the Government of Hyderabad drawing its attention to the deteriorating situation in the State and it said that it would agree to arbitration if the Nizam's Government were to agree to declare the Razakars as an illegal body and disband them and also put an end to the hostile propaganda against India. Regarding the disbandment of the Razakars it said "The Government of India are convinced that this is the only way in which peace and normal conditions can be re-established in Hyderabad and its neighbourhood and cordial relations restored between the Government of India and Hyderabad. H. E. H. the Nizam will also appreciate that the Government of India have responsibility to their own citizens and must therefore take effective action for safeguarding the security and essential interests of both India and of her people." Laik Ali tried to evade the issue once again by saying that various forces were responsible for the continuance of the Razakars.

### **Negotiations :**

However, mainly due to the initiative and the interest taken by Lord Mountbatten who was anxious that a settlement of Hyderabad should be reached before he left India another conference was convened towards that end of May between the Hyderabad delegation consisting of Laik Ali, Sir Walter Moncton, P. Venkat Rama Reddy, Abdul Rauf and Zahir Ahmed and the representatives of the India Government. Certain common heads of agreement were drawn up according to which it was agreed that the Nizam's Government should in respect of defence,

external affairs and communications must enact such legislation as the Government of India might ask them to enact and in case the Hyderabad Government does not do so, the India Government would have the right to enact such laws, secondly, Hyderabad should disband all irregular forces and other forces of a para-military nature, thirdly, India Government would not station its armed forces in the Hyderabad State excepting on the declaration of a state of emergency, fourthly, the Nizam's Government should not maintain any political relations with any other country in the world though it would be permitted to establish trade agencies for the purpose of building up commerce, fiscal and economic relations, fifthly, the Nizam's Government would introduce Responsible Government in the State and would also summon a Constituent Assembly by 1st January, 1949, and that the proportion of representation in the Cabinet would be 40 : 60 between the Muslims and non-Muslims while in the Constituent Assembly the proportion of representation of non-Muslims would not be less than 60%. The India Government also wanted that sufficient representation should be given to non-Muslims in the Nizam's armed forces and by 1954 not less than 60% of the State services be given to non-Muslims. Laik Ali agreed to all these conditions including the clause pertaining to the lower over-riding legislation by the Government of India. The Government of India also wanted that Laik Ali, an Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen sponsored candidate be replaced by a more suitable candidate.

On the basis of these draft heads of agreement a draft Firman was also prepared for the Nizam to sign. But once the Hyderabad delegation left Delhi and arrived in Hyderabad, the Nizam's Government started raising difficulties over the question of over-riding legislation and the composition of the proposed Constituent Assembly with a majority of non-Muslims. But Lord Mountbatten anxious to bring about a settlement before his departure persuaded the Government of India to agree to the deletion of the clause which provided for over-riding legislation. That particular clause was substituted by another clause which said that if the Nizam's Government fails to pass the required legislation, the Nizam will forthwith pass the necessary ordinance under his own powers. He was also able to persuade the India Government to omit from the draft of the Firman any

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reference to the composition of the Constituent Assembly and to the parity between Muslims and non-Muslims in connection with the Interim Government. The India Government showed its accommodative spirit by accepting these changes.

Even after these points were accepted on the 14th June, the Hyderabad delegation asked for some more amendments in the draft agreement saying that the India Government should ask the Hyderabad Government to pass only such legislation that was applicable throughout India and that no law was to be enacted exclusively for Hyderabad alone. Secondly, that apart from 20,000 regular troops another 8,000 irregulars are to be maintained and that the Razakar organisation was to be disbanded in gradual stages and not all at once. Laik Ali insisted that Hyderabad should be given complete economic and fiscal freedom and also that a clause providing for arbitration should be inserted in the new heads of agreement. From these demands put forward by Laik Ali it was obvious that the Hyderabad Government was not reconciled to accept the Indian paramountcy and that it aspired to keep Hyderabad on an equal par with the Indian Union. After returning to Hyderabad, Laik Ali raised some more issues namely that the Nizam would consider only at a later stage the question of calling a Constituent Assembly.

The Nizam wanted with regards to the Interim Government the words "in consultation with the leaders of the major political parties" to be omitted. The Nizam at this juncture went to the extent of alleging, though he later withdrew the allegation, that these words were inserted originally in the draft Firman without the knowledge of Laik Ali and as such they should be dropped. The Nizam also insisted that complete freedom in trade, economic and fiscal matters should be granted to Hyderabad. The India Government obviously would not agree to give complete freedom to Hyderabad in trade, economic and fiscal matters nor could they agree to the idea of arbitration under the new draft agreement which envisaged the accession of Hyderabad to India. Lord Mountbatten categorically wrote to the Nizam, "If this is your serious intention, I cannot help thinking that the world would regard your Councils reasons as a disingenuous subterfuge to avoid honestly admitting that they are

*unwilling to undertake the other steps for which the agreement provides including, for instance, the disbandment of Razakars."*

Pandit Nehru in a Press Conference held on 17th June, also declared, "We will pursue an open door policy as far as these proposals are concerned and the Nizam is welcome to accept them any time he chooses."

Lord Mountbatten left the shores of India on the 21st June, 1948. With the departure of Mountbatten, the Nizam realised that the most sincere friend they had at Delhi was no longer there. Realising the gravity of the situation he appealed to Lord Attlee, the Prime Minister of England on 4th July, 1948, to intercede between India and Hyderabad, which he claimed was an independent State. Lord Attlee advised him to come to an understanding with the India Government. The Nizam also requested the President of the United States of America to arbitrate between the India Government and Hyderabad. The request was turned down.

In the meanwhile, the situation in the State was becoming worse day by day.

The representatives of the mercantile community of Hyderabad and Secunderabad made representation to the Government to restore law and order and said that if the Government failed to take firm action, they might have to close down their business. They also observed a complete 'Hartal' in the State for three days. Professor Bansali of Wardha who undertook a tour of the border areas and appealed to the Nizam to give up his blind and short-sighted policy.

#### **Pleaders Protest Committee :**

Many lawyers in the State boycotted courts as an act of protest against the misdeeds of Razakars. In April, 1948, a Pleaders' Protest Committee was constituted to draw the attention of the Government to the grievances of the public with Vinayak Rao Vidyalkar as the Chairman. This Committee had a Vigilance Sub-Committee which took upon itself the difficult task of going round the various places in the districts and collecting evidence of the various atrocities that were perpetuated by the Razakars. They took great risks and pains to collect the

evidence. Notable among the lawyers who took an active part in collecting the evidence and submitting it to the Agent-General, K. M. Munshi, were J. V. Narasinga Rao and Sadasiv Rao. Maha Vasant Rao Mukhdekar, another lawyer gave his house as an office for carrying on the work of the Pleaders Protest Committee. Ambadas Rao and Arya Samaj workers, Narayan Rao and his friends went round the countryside and collected statements of atrocities from the people.

#### **Murder of Shoebullah Khan :**

In the meanwhile, the atrocities were mounting up and we know from the statement of J. V. Joshi before his resignation from the Cabinet that there was a complete reign of terror in Parbhani and Nanded districts. There were instances of Brahmins being killed and their eyes raked out. Several women were molested in the villages and houses were burnt in large numbers. On the 19th August, 1948, Kasim Razvi commemorating the 'Nanaj Day' in the Zamarrud Mahal condemned the Indian leaders and uttered threats at the so called puppets of India. In the course of his speech he declared, "The hand that rises against the the Muslims should either drop down or would be cut off". This speech was literally taken by one Munim Khan and his associates who on the 21st August, 1948 shot down Shoebulla Khan, the editor of the nationalist paper, "*Imroze*" which criticised the Razakars, and when he fell down attacked him with swords and cut off his hands. The Hyderabad Radio carried on incessant propaganda saying that in case an attack was made against Hyderabad, thousands of Pathans would march into India. While El Edroos, the Commander-in-Chief of the Hyderabad forces, exhorted the people in a radio talk to be ready for any emergency, Kasim Razvi appealed to the people to march forward with the *Koran* in one hand and the sword in the other to hound out the enemy and he further declared that 45 million Muslims in the Indian Union would be their fifth columnists in any show down. His harmful harping on communal lines and appealing to the sentiments of the Indian Muslims was greatly disliked by India which believed in a secular ideology.

#### **Nizam appeals to the U. N. O :**

In the meanwhile Laik Ali came forth with the idea that the Hyderabad issue should be taken to the United Nations. The

Nizam at this period tried to carry on negotiations with the India Government through Sir Mirza Ismail. But Mirza Ismail's efforts to bring about a reconciliation between Hyderabad and the India Government did not fructify due to policies of the Razakar dominated Ministry of the Nizam. C. Rajagopalachari, who was then the Governor-General of India wrote a letter to the Nizam on 31st August, 1948 asking him to restore order in the State by banning the Razakar organisation and that the Indian Union be allowed to repost its military in Secunderabad till such time Law and Order were restored in Hyderabad. Strangely enough, the Nizam replied to this letter saying that a very wrong impression of insecurity of life, honour and property in Hyderabad prevailed in India. He refused to allow the Indian troops to be stationed in Secunderabad saying that his own troops were adequate to safeguard the life and property of his subjects.

While matters were in such a state, Laik Ali paid a secret visit to Karachi where he consulted the Pakistan leaders like Liaquat Ali Khan, Ghulam Muhammed and Zafarullah Khan. He anxiously asked if Pakistan would come to the help of Hyderabad in case of a conflict between India and Hyderabad. M. A. Jinnah was seriously ill at this time. So the Pakistan leaders could not give any definite answer to Laik Ali. However Zafarullah Khan advised Laik Ali to take the Hyderabad case to the Security Council and gave an assurance that he would use his good offices in getting the case admitted. After receiving this advise Laik Ali returned to Hyderabad. After coming back to Hyderabad Laik Ali sent Moin Nawaz Jung at the head of a delegation to represent the Hyderabad case before the Security Council. The delegation left on the night of the 10th September hoping that they would succeed in getting the Hyderabad case admitted before the outbreak of an armed conflict taking place between India and Hyderabad. Strangely enough, Moin Nawaz Jung though going on a serious political Mission took along with him not only his family but all his belongings with the result that the plane had no place to accommodate even Rahim, one of his fellow delegates to the U. N. O. M. A. Jinnah passed away on the 12th September, 1948.

The Nizam, in the meanwhile, once again wrote to C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General, to bring about an amicable



settlement between India and Hyderabad on the basis of Hyderabad's right to enjoy complete economic and fiscal independence. C. Rajagopalachari pointed out that it was impossible for India to resume negotiations for a settlement unless the Razakar Organisation was banned and the Nizam Government agreed to the re-posting of the Indian army at Secunderabad at least for a temporary period till such time as Law and Order were restored in Hyderabad. Growing disgusted with the situation the Prince of Berar gave up his position as the Commander-in-Chief of the Nizam's forces, while the second son of Nizam, Prince Moazam advised him to be on good terms with India. How serious and critical the times were could be gauged from the letter written by Rev. W. Le. Cato Edwards from Secunderabad to the Christian Missionary Societies in London and Australia. Rev. W. Le. Cato says in one of the letters that "a village evangelist in Siddipet because he stood by his people was suspected of being a communist and was ordered to be shot. But as he was found praying, the assassin stopped from shooting him. Then the concerned evangelist Dommala John was taken to a secret meeting when the the State Police Officers were present and was mercilessly beaten. All this took place without any enquiry on the grounds of mere suspicion."

Rev. Cato also reports of another instance in the Singareni area where a servant of the presbyter on mere suspicion was way laid, beaten and tortured by having his head forced into a hole in a wall. Later the authorities realising their mistake extricated the man by breaking down the wall.

Taking all these things into view and after carefully evaluating the pros and cons of the situation, the India Government decided on the 9th September that it had no other alternative except to despatch Indian troops into the Hyderabad territory in order to save Hyderabad and its neighbouring provinces from complete chaos. So an ultimatum was delivered by V. P. Menon, the Secretary to the Ministry of States, to the Nizam on the evening of 10th September.

### **The Police Action :**

In the early hours of Monday, the 13th September, the Indian ~~forces~~ marched into Hyderabad. They were commanded by

Maj. Gen. J. N. Choudhary under the direction of Lt. Gen. Maharaj Sri Rajendrasinghi, who was then the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command. Besides Maj. Gen. Choudhary, Major General D. S. Brar was the Commander of the Operations in the Bombay Sector. Major Rudra was the Commander of the Operations on the Madras border. Brig. Shividatt Singh was the operational Commander of C. P. and Berar Sector. Air Vice Marshall Mukherjee was also there to assist them.

The operation against Hyderabad was named as "Operation Polo" by the Army Headquarters. It was a two pronged attack, the main force moving along the Sholapur-Hyderabad road covering a distance of 186 miles while another division marched along the Vijayawada-Hyderabad road. Four subsidiary columns from Ahmednagar and the border provinces of C.P. and Mysore also crossed the frontiers. This operation against Hyderabad became famous in history as the "Police Action". The moment the "Police Action" was started K. M. Munishi, the Agent General, was placed under house arrest and he was shifted from "*Dakshina Sadan*" to the Lake View Guest House. There was some stiff resistance on the part of the Hyderabad forces only on the first two days after which the resistance completely collapsed and a complete demoralisation set in. How inadequate and inefficient the preparations on the part of Hyderabad could be seen from the statements of Laik Ali who wrote in his book "The Tragedy of Hyderabad" that, "All their attempts to blow up the bridges at Naldurg and Hoomanabad and the defences on the western bank of the Musi causeway had proved ineffective." They could not even guess why the Indian Army after crossing Naldurg suddenly turned towards Kalyani when they had expected it to proceed to Humnabad. It was only when they discovered that the Indian Army had taken the highway road from Kalyani to Bidar that the Commander-in-Chief of the Hyderabad forces El. Edroos as well as Laik Ali came to know that there was a 'pucca' road from Kalyani to Bidar and that was the motive behind the Indian troops veering towards Kalyani instead of Humnabad.

In a most unrealistic and pathetic manner the Hyderabad Government, as Laik Ali admits, pinned all its hopes on the

United Nations, which admitted the Hyderabad case on the 16th September. By the 17th September all resistance to the Indian forces was completely broken down and the Nizam sent word to K. M. Munshi, the Agent-General, through his Commander-in-Chief that he had asked Laik Ali to resign and that he proposed to form an Interim Government.

#### **Resignation of Laik Ali—the Nizam Surrenders :**

Laik Ali tendered his resignation on the morning of the 17th September and at about 1.00 P.M. the Nizam sent a message through Munshi to the India Government that he had ordered a cease-fire and the disbandment of the Razakars. On the same evening the Nizam in a broadcast to the people declared that he had not only ordered a cease-fire but also gave instructions for the withdrawal of Hyderabad case from the U.N.O. On the same evening the Hyderabad army also surrendered. On the 18th morning the Indian troops entered Hyderabad City under Maj. Gen. J. N. Choudhary amidst great joy and rejoicing of the people. Maj. Gen. J. N. Choudhary took charge as the Military Governor of Hyderabad.

The Nizam also sent a cable on the 23rd September to the U.N. Secretary General withdrawing the Hyderabad case and it was finally dropped. Maj. Gen. Choudhary continued to carry on the administration in Hyderabad till December, 1949, when a civil administrator, M. K. Vellodi, I.C.S., was made the Chief Minister in 1950, and the Nizam was given the status of a Raj Pramukh. For the first time, four representatives of the Hyderabad State Congress were associated in the administration of the State by Vellodi. In March, 1952 the first popular general elections were held in the State and a Ministry under B. Ramakrishna Rao was formed. With the formation of the first popular ministry, the people of the Hyderabad State were also brought into the main stream of Indian national life.

## APPENDIX I

### List of Students Expelled from the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry (Vide G. O. No. 864 Public dated 16-11-1907)

Sl. No.	Name of Student	Name of Father or Guardian	Residence	Period for which debarred from Government Employment
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		<b>Fourth Year Class</b>		
1.	D. V. Subba Rao	Satyavolu Lakshmiapati Garu	Rajahmundry	Up to end of Dec. 1908
2.	K. Lingamurti	Kancherla Kamiseti	do	do
3.	M. V. Subba Rao	Machirazu Venkatappayya	do	do
4.	Ch. Chinapurnayya	Chatti Venkatanarasu Pantulu	Chicacole	do
5.	G. Sitaramayya	Gadepalli Pallayya	Mandapeta, Godavari Dt.	do
6.	D. V. Suryanarayana	...	Vizianagaram	do
7.	T. Vaidyanadham	T. Jagannadham	Kovvuru,	do
8.	U. Bhanumurti	U. Ramamurti	Godavari Dt. Nidamarru, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	Up to the end of Dec. 1907

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

9.	S. G. V. L. Narasimha- swami	Godavarti Sobhanadri Ayyavaru Garu	Tuni, Godavari Dt.	do
10.	Venneti Satyanarayana	V. Narasimham	Rajahmundry	do
11.	B. Narasimham	B. Bangaraya	do	do
12.	K. Venkatasubba Rao	K. Venkaya	Amalapuram	do
13.	V. Narasimha Rao	Vadurumudi Ramdas	Rajahmundry	do
14.	P. Sarabharazu	P. Venkappa	Kakinada	do
15.	D. Venkata Rao	D. Paradesi	do	do
16.	S. Satyanarayanamurti	S. Venkaya	Korumilli.	do
17.	V. Achayya Sastri	V. Subbayya Sastri	Godavari Dt	do
18.	D. Ranga Rao	D. V. Krishna Rao Garu	Kakinada	do
19.	U. Narayanamurti	U. Venkatarayudu	Rajahmundry	do
20.	P. Subrahmanyam	P. Rajyogi Sastri	Vizagapatam	do
21.	P. A. Tiruvenganathan	Aramuttu Aiyangar	Innespeta,	do
22.	V. Kesava Rao	V. Subba Rao	Rajahmundry	do
23.	T. Seshagiri Rao	...	do	do
24.	N. Kameswara Rao	...	Amalapuram	do
25.	P. Lakshmi Narasimham	P. Bhogaya	do	do
26.	V. V. K. Subrahmanyam	Varanasi Venkatanarasaya	Poduru, Narsapur Tq.	do
27.	G. Bala Kameswara Sarma	G. Kamayya Pantulu	Tiruvuru, Krishna Dt.	do
			Chipurupalli	do
			Vizagapatam Dt.	do
			(Now Srikakulam District)	do

(ii)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
28.	G. Ramachandra Rao	G. Narasimha Rao	Kakinada, now Innespet, Rajahmundry	do
<b>Third Year Class</b>				
1.	S. K. V. Ranga Chari	A. V. Narasimha Chari	Perupalem, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
2.	Chaganti Sambayya	Ch. Virabhadrayya	Guttinadivi	do
3.	C. Govindaswami	C. Narayanaswami	Rajahmundry	do
4.	Y. Purushottam	Yellapragada Jagannadham	Narsapur, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
5.	K. Kamarazu	Kesavarapu Bhadrappa Garu	Veeravasaram, Krishna Dt (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
6.	G. Annappa Somayajulu	Durvasula Suryanarayana Garu	Rajahmundry	do
7.	N. Madhava Rao	Nori Ramamurti Pantulu	Tanuku, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
8.	M. Satyanarayana Sarma	M. Venkanna Garu	Kirlampudi, Peddapuram Tq., Godavari Dt.	do
9.	M. Nagayyalingam	M. Basavayyalingam	Mangalavarapupeta, Rajahmundry	do

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
10.	K. Virabhadraswami	K. Viranna	Rajahmundry	do
		<b>Second Year Class</b>		
1.	A. Seethagiri Rao	A. Venkatarayudu	Pithapuram, Godavari Dt.	do
2.	G. Sundaram	G. Ramalingam	Vizianagaram, Now at Yella- manchili, Vizaga- patam Dt.)	do
3.	K. Papurazu	Ch. V. Subba Rao	Pithapuram, Godavari Dt.	do
4.	G. Appa Rao	G. Thammayya Naidu	Rajahmundry	do
5.	N. Balasurya Bhimarazu	N. Rajalingam	do	do
6.	G. Krishna Rao	G. Venkatakrishnayya	do	do
7.	J. Satyanarayana	Janamanchi Vankataramayya	Tanuku, Krishna Dt., (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
8.	K. Viyyanna Sastri	Kommu Venkata Subbarayudu	Ellore, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
9.	G. Venkatreddi	G. Ramamurti	Rajahmundry	do
10.	Bhamidipati Ramayya	...	do	do
11.	Andoli Narasimham	A. Krishnavenamma	do	do
12.	Pragallapati Suryanarayana	...	do	do

(1)	(2)	(8)	(4)	(5)
13.	J. Satyanarayanamurti	Jayanti Suryanarayanabhukta	Sri Kurmam, Ganjam Dt. (Now Srikakulam District)	do
14.	Chintalapudi Venkatakrishnamraju	Chintalapudi Suryanarayanarazu	Narayanapuram Yellamanchili, Vizagapatam Dt.	do
15.	T. Kalika Prasada Rao	T. Venkatasubba Rao	Kakinada	do
16.	G. Suryanarayana	Gadicherla Pantulu	Retired Amin, Rajahmundry	do
17.	N. Sobhanadri	Nilam Narasayya	Ogidi, Tanuku Taluk, Krishna Dt., (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
18.	S. Punneyya	Sripati Janakiramayya	Innespeta, Rajahmundry	do
19.	B. Umasuta Rao	Bhattiprolu Kajasekharudu	Bhattiprolu, Tenali, Guntur Dt.	do
20.	J. Kamaraju	Jidigunta Ramakrishnamma	Kanuru, Tanuku, Tq. Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
21.	S. Sriramulu	Surikunchi Narasimha Somayajulu	Innespeta, Rajahmundry	do
22.	Chilukuri Venkata Subba Rao	C. V. L. Narasimham Garu	Ellore, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
23.	M. Chinaseshayya	Mantravadi Ramakrishnayya	Dadamudi, Krishna Dt.	do



(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
24.	Yellapragada Venkateswarulu	Y. Ramaya	Kakinada	do
25.	Chundur Sitaramayya	...	Chodavaram, Vizag Dt.	do
26.	T. Panakala Rao	Duggirala Rajayya	Sanivarapupeta, Ellore	do
27.	E. Subbayya	Emani Ramayya	Mandapaka, Krishna Dt.	do
28.	K. Jaggarayudu	Earumilli Pattabhiramayya	(Now E. G. Dt.) Attili, Krishna Dt.	do
29.	Vissa Viranna	Mooherla Sundararamayya	(Now W. G. Dt.) Innespeta, Rajahmundry	do
30.	Irewanti Narasimha	I. Rama Rao	Rajahmundry	do
31.	C. Venkataramanayya	Chella Sanayya	do	do
32.	P. Venkatanarasimham	Pangidimarri Ramakrishnamma Garu	Mogallu, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
<b>First Year Class</b>				
1.	M. Venkatakrishna Rao	M. Kondala Rao	Guntur	do
2.	R. Ramakrishnayya	Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham Garu	Rajahmundry	do
3.	Surampudi Sriman narayanamurti	S. Venkata Hanumanulu	Attili, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
4.	Boda Ranganaikulu	B. Venkataratnam	Thapeswaram, Godavari Dt.	do
5.	K. Satyanarayana	K. Venkatasubbarayudu Garu	Kopparru, Narasapur Tq.	do
6.	Garimella Bapanna	G. Sarvesam	Amalapuram, Godavari Dt.	do

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
7.	K. Venkata Mutyalu	Kaki Pedasubbarayudu Garu	Ellore, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
8.	Bendapudi Narasimha Rao	B. Chinapadmarazu	Valluru, Krishna Dt.	do
9.	V. Vyasamurti	Vema Ramayya	Polavaram, Godavari Dt.	do
10.	Pakala Venkata Kameswara Rao	P. Gopala Rao Patrudu Garu	Berhampur, Ganjam Dt.	do
11.	Duvvuri Gopala Krishnamma	D Ramasubbayya	Ramachandrapuram, Godavari Dt.	do
12.	Baru Raja Rao	B Narasimha Rao	Rajahmundry	do
13.	R. Vekatapaya	Adavikolanu Kanakarazu	do	do
14.	S. Subba Rao	Jajala Kasipati	do	do
15.	Solasa Hanumanulu	Nanduri Ramachandrudu Garu	do	do
16.	P. Viranagayya	Pandiri Viranna	do	do
17.	L. Lakshminarayana	L Buchirazu	Nuzvid, Krishna Dt.	do
18.	Pisapati Venkateswarulu	P Subbarayudu	Bezwada	do
19.	G. Kasi Viswanadham	G Ganapatilingam	Rajahmundry	do
20.	M. Subramanyam	M Peraya Sastri	do	do
21.	B. Mahadevudu	Kuchimanchi Somasundaram	Palevela, Godavari Dt.	do
22.	K. Suryanarayanamurti	Venka Sitaramayya	Inapuram, Amalapuram Tq., Godavari Dt.	do
23.	S. Venkatasubbarayudu	Somanchi Annappa Garu	Rajahmundry	do
24.	M. Kanaka Durgaprasada Rao	Mandavilli Bhanumurti Somayajulu	do •	do
25.	P. Udayachala Rao	Parimi Suryanarayana	Kottapeta, Godavari Dt.	do

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
26.	J. Ramakrishnayya	Josyula Venkayya	Bhimavaram. Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
27.	T. Satyanarayana	Ryali Subba Rao	Ellore, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
28.	M. Venkata Chari	M. Venkata Charyulu	Tapeswaram, Godavari Dt.	do
29.	B. Ramayya	Bommakanti Kannayya	Nuzvid, Krishna Dt.	do
30.	K. Satyanarayanamurti	Kakarla Venkata Narasimham	Pulicikurru, Krishna Dt. (Now W. G. Dt.)	do
31.	Kopalli Rama Rao	K. Lakshminarayana	Tenali, Guntur Dt.	do
32.	V. Satyanarayanamurti	Vepa Venkata Kamadas	Pentakota, Vizagapatam Dt.	do
33.	K. Ramakrishna Rao	Dochlebotla Venkata Ramavadhanulu	Rajahmundry	do
34.	Gangarazu Venkata Narasimham Rao	G. Ramabrahmam	Kankipadu, Krishna Dt.	do
35.	Mullapudi Venkataratnam	Sattirazu Appa Rao	Rajahmundry	do
36.	T. Durgaprasada Rao	D. Narayana Rao	Postmaster, Innespeta, Rajahmundry	do
37.	J. Sambasiva Rao	Josyula Gurumurti	Rajahmundry	do
38.	S. Sitaramayya	Suri Sitaramayya	Bapulanenigudem Innespeta,	do
39.	Nanduri Venkataramayya		Rajahmundry	do
40.	M. Vireswara Sastri	Maganti Subbarayudu	Malleswaram, Krishna Dt.	do

## E R R A T A

<b>Page</b>	<b>Lines</b>	<b>Instead of</b>	<b>Read as</b>
1	19	teachings	teaching
77	16-17	Ramachandriah, Venkatappa	Ramachandruni Venkatappa
79	18-19	Ballepalli Ramasubbiah	Rallapalli Ramasubbiah
82	12	Banda Vinnayya	Banda Viyyanna
89	16	Sangavaru Subbayya Sastry	Sangavarapu Subbayya Sastry
105	11	Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee	Andhra Provincial Congress Committee
121	9-10, 11	Vedavanam	Udayavanam
148	27-28	Manthena Venkatapathi Raju	Manthena Venkata Raju
167	19	182 millions	18½ millions
201	20	Chand	Chanda

















