CHAPTER - IV

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME
The Non-cooperation movement was not a mere fight for freedom. Gandhi envisaged it a three-tier movement to free the country from its bondage and regenerate the economic and social life of the people in accordance with their ancient spiritual values. Hence in formulating the programme of the movement, more emphasis was laid on its second aspect known as the constructive programme, which aimed to create an egalitarian society or 'Rama Rajya.' To create the necessary climate for the public acceptance of the constructive programme, Gandhi preceded it by the programme of boycott of foreign goods. The no-tax campaign—the final assault on the British Imperialism—was to be launched only after a considerable headway was made in the constructive programme. The constructive programme was popularly shaped as the kingpin of the entire Non-cooperation movement.
Gandhi felt that the entire edifice of the freedom stands on the foundation of the constructive programme.\footnote{D.G. Tendulkar, \textit{Mahatma...}, Vol. VI, p.16.} Further he made it clear that one's belief in non-violence would fall to pieces if there is no living faith in the constructive programme.\footnote{Ibid.} In other words non-violence and constructive programme should go hand in hand. Gandhi's advocacy of the constructive programme began with his entry into the Indian politics when he launched the Champaran Struggle\footnote{Gandhi led Satyagraha in 1917 for the first time in India in Champaran of Bihar against the grievances of Indigo cultivators of that place and succeeded in making the local government accept their demands.} and continued till the end of his life. The items in the constructive programme included National Education, Khadi, Anti-liquor campaign, Communal harmony, Eradication of untouchability, Upliftment of women, and Propagation of Hindi.

It is evident that through the constructive programme Gandhi wanted to involve almost all sections of the population in the freedom struggle and in the economic and social regeneration of the society. It is further evident that the constructive
programme aimed to preserve the dignity of the individual in society threatened by the onslaught of capitalism. Revival of cottage industries to resuscitate handicrafts was the panacea for the ills of capitalism which reduced the individual to the demeaning level of labourer—the proletariat. The emphasis on prohibition and eradication of untouchability was aimed to rouse the conscious of the society which tolerated evil and hoodwinked social exploitation. Gandhi wanted to highlight simultaneously both the economic and social problems of the country while launching the struggle for freedom.

Other items of the constructive Programme, like the upliftment of women, were intended to liberate the women from the narrow confines of their homes and harness their energy for well-being of the society. Finally, the propagation of Hindustani was intended to create a new *lingua franca* for the country beset with multiple of languages and dialects. Thus, as stated earlier, Non-cooperation movement was launched not merely for the liberation of the country from the foreign yoke, but also to restructure the Indian
society and economy on indigenous principles.

The public of Andhra evinced keen interest in the constructive programme following the visits of Gandhi to various Telugu districts during 1921 in the company of local leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, A. Kaleswara Rao and G. Harisarvothama Rao. The Telugu press particularly Andhra Patrika and Krishna Patrika educated its readers about the philosophy of the programme of the constructive work. As a result, Andhra became one of the active centres in the country to implement the constructive programme in the right earnest.

National Schools

As a result of the boycott programme many students gave up their studies. This hasty measure created a new social problem as many students sat idle at homes, becoming a burden to their parents. Then the Congress leaders realised the need to channel the energies of the young, energetic and volatile section of the population for constructive work.
But unfortunately many leaders had no idea of how to utilise the services of the youth in the reconstruction of the nation. So to engage the students in some avocation or the other they started 'National Schools' where the students were given instruction in Hindi and taught to spin and weave. By the end of June 1921 there were as many as 44 such schools in different Telugu districts with an enrolment of nearly 2800 students. 4

The concept of National Schools was not new to Andhra. As early as 1907 in the heyday of the Vandemataram movement 'Andhra Jateeya Kalasala' was founded at Machilipatnam. It was established to foster the creative genius of the youth whose talents did not find any outlet in the government-run schools which were intended to produce graduates to man the lower rungs of the bureaucracy. However, the so-called National Schools that mushroomed during the non-cooperation days were not modelled after Andhra Jateeya Kalasala. Most of these schools succeeded in producing half-baked patriots who turned out to be misfits in the society. But in districts like Guntur

4. The Hindu, 23 June 1921.
where the political awakening was high, the National schools were in a better shape since the leaders at the helm were socially motivated.

At the height of the Non-cooperation movement, as many as eighteen national schools were established in the Guntur district, in places like Ongole, Tenali, Bapatla, Repalle, Ponnur and Dullipudi. The school at Ongole was housed in the newly constructed building of T. Prakasam. The school was technically oriented and offered vocational courses like typewriting, short-hand and banking. An Industrial Training Centre was attached to the school which produced articles of daily use like pen-knives, scissors, locks, etc. Though the quality of these products was not high, yet they found ready market in various 'Swadeshi' fairs organized to instil patriotic fervour in the people to patronise the Indian goods.

Similar institution was established at Tenali also due to the efforts of Gullapalli Ramakrishnayya who resigned his position as a teacher in a Missionary College at the commencement of the Non-cooperation movement. The demand to replace the government-aided schools under the local bodies like the Municipalities and Panchayats by the National schools was voiced by the Guntur Municipality at the height of the Non-cooperation movement in July 1921.

In the Ganjam district two National schools were opened at Berhampur. One of the schools named as 'Arya Vidya Jateeya Vidyalaya'. Similarly, at Parlakimidi a National school with twenty-one pupils and twelve spinning wheels was started. In the Agency tracts of the district the District Congress Committee started seven schools with an initial strength of 150 students. In the Visakhapatnam

12. Ibid., 5 January 1922.
13. The Hindu, 30 August 1921.
14. Letter from A. Narayana Murti, Propagandist, Berhampur, to the Secretary, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, dated 7 February 1922 (History of Freedom Struggle Records(H.P.S. Records), A.P. State Archives, Hyderabad). These records are arranged in chronological order and did not contain any serial number.
district two schools—one at Visakhapatnam and the other at Anakapalli—were started. 15

In Krishna district a number of National Schools were started in places like Vijayawada and Tiruvur where lawyers of the district like A. Kaleswara Rao and Dasu Madhusudhana Rao conducted political classes to the students to propagate the ideology of the Congress. 16

From the above it is evident that the so-called National Schools were established without the proper spade work regarding syllabus and organisation. Naturally the mortality rate of these schools was alarmingly high and the few that survived failed to instil confidence in the pupil or the general public about their utility. In a word, the schools failed to provide alternative education to the students who left the traditional institutions in a huff in the emotionally surcharged atmosphere of nationalism during 1921-22. In Angalur and Kautavaram, centres

15. F.N.R., 2 February 1921; The Hindu, 2 April 1921.
16. Andhra Patrika, 11 and 31 January 1921 and 5 and 25 August 1921; The Hindu, 14 February 1921.
were started to train Congress workers to spin yarn for the production of Khaddar.\textsuperscript{17}

In the East and West Godavari districts national institutions were started at Ellore, Rajahmundry, Bhimavaram and other places. At Ellore the National College established by the Mothey family was inaugurated by Gandhi.\textsuperscript{18} At Rajahmundry and Bhimavaram the National schools tried to project Congress ideology in the far-flung villages in Konaseema and also the Agency areas.\textsuperscript{19}

The idea of vocational institutions to provide gainful self-employment to individuals caught the imagination of politically conscious individuals like Oruganti Venkatasubbaiah of Nellore district. As early as 1918 'Andhra Jateeya Vidyalaya' was established at Nellore. The institution which had an enrolment of eighty students and five instructors gave training to produce furniture from cane, and bamboo.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{17} Andhra Patrika, 24 November and 13 December 1921.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 23 December 1921.
\textsuperscript{19} The Hindu, 12 February 1921; Andhra Patrika, 9 and 18 February 1921.
\textsuperscript{20} Andhra Patrika, 2 July 1920.
In addition 'Tilak Jateeya Vidyalaya' was established in April 1921. It was inaugurated by Gandhi.

Besides these, National Schools at places like Kavali, Pallipadu, Gandavaram and Chejarla were also started.

In Chittoor district a number of National Schools emerged at places like Tirupati and Chavarambaka, while at Nandyal in Kurnool district 'Tilak National Spinning Institute' was established.

The aim of the Congress to harness the youth power to spread its ideology through the National Schools failed to click since the leaders, barring a few honourable exceptions, had no faith in them and considered it to be a useless fad of Gandhi. The government ignored these schools as the childish pranks of the muddle-headed Congressmen. But when the municipal councils like those of Guntur and other local bodies began to pass resolutions in favour of these schools the government issued an order prohibiting the local bodies from granting funds to these schools.

22. Andhra Patrika, 5 March 1921 and 5 May 1921.
23. Ibid., 2 February, 6 August and 23 December 1921.
24. Ibid., 8 and 15 December 1921.
Another item of the constructive programme was the creation of popular Panchayat Courts in the place of the regular courts of law. By the end of June 1921, as many as 37 such courts were established in Andhra. 26 Three Arbitration Courts were started in Ganjam district. 27 In Godavari district, Panchayat Courts were formed in the villages like Ilakurru and Ryali. The Ryali Panchayat Court was very active in disposing both civil and criminal cases. No one in the village took their disputes for settlement in the government courts. 28

In Krishna district, Panchayat Courts were established at Ninamadur, Mattalapalem, Tanuku, and Polumetla villages. 29 The Mattalapalem Panchayat Court disposed more than one hundred cases by the first week of July 1921. 30 Another court at Polumetla village settled a dispute in a family over the property

27. Andhra Patrika, 23 May 1921.
28. Ibid., 7 October 1921; T. Prakasham, Naa Jeevitha Yatra, pp. 192-93.
29. Andhra Patrika, 4 and 14 October 1921.
30. Ibid., 9 July 1921.
amounting to fifty thousand rupees.\textsuperscript{31}

The Panchayat Courts succeeded in solving disputes between the members of the same family as the arbitration by the village elders saved the litigants from incurring expenditure on stamp duty and payment of fees to lawyers. But in disputes between individuals from different families or disputes with local bodies, nobody came forward for settlement in the so-called Panchayat Courts as they did not have any legal validity. So the attempt of the Congress to replace the British Judicial system by reviving the old Panchayat arbitration doomed to fail as villagers though illiterate were shrewd enough to know the legal implications of their dealings.

The Congress to score a point in its propaganda against the government started a number of Panchayat Courts both in urban and rural areas. In Guntur a Panchayat Court was established with much fanfare.\textsuperscript{32} Similarly at Narasaraopet a 'Swaraj Court' came into existence.\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{itemize}
\item[31.] Andhra Patrika, 19 December 1921.
\item[32.] A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha..., p.339.
\item[33.] The Hindu, 22 August 1921.
\end{itemize}
Similar courts were established at places like Ongole, Ponukupadu and Chandavolu. At Nellore town a twenty-eight-member Panchayat Court was established on 8 February 1921 and it disposed both civil and criminal cases regularly. Similar courts were formed in the villages of Yellayapalem and Indupur. At Indupur a nine-member court functioned regularly. Likewise in the districts of Cuddapah and Bellary a number of such courts came into existence in September 1921.

As the Congress intensified its war of nerves with the government by establishing courts even in the remote villages in the far-flung districts, the latter retaliated by ordering the Collectors to prosecute persons who try to establish parallel courts. The Telugu press especially Andhra Patrika and Krishna Patrika supported the idea of the people's courts as against the government courts. But like the National Schools, the Panchayat Courts lost their novelty within few months and people ignored them. Of course, the Congress

34. Andhra Patrika, 11 and 14 March 1921, 1 December 1921, and 17 January 1922.
35. Andhra Patrika, 14 February 1921.
36. Ibid., 8 March and 5 December 1921.
37. The Hindu, 15 September 1921.
was not very serious about these courts, since many of its leaders were from the legal profession. They started these Panchayat Courts as propaganda gimmick to lower the prestige of the government in villages.

Promotion of 'Khaddar' or Swadeshi Cloth

Among the items of the constructive programme, the production of 'khadi' was given a place of honour. According to Gandhi:

"It (Khadi) means a wholesale Swadeshi mentality, a determination to find all the necessaries of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers".40

Khadi, in Gandhi's view, is the "symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality ..."41 So he toured the country explaining its importance and exhorted the people to hear themselves "the music of the spinning wheel"42 in every household.

As a result of virulent propaganda against the foreign

41. Ibid., pp.10-11.
42. C.W.M.G., Vol. XV, p.400.
textiles, great enthusiasm was generated in Andhra to promote Khaddar. The visits of Gandhi gave further stimulus to the propagation of Khaddar. So substantial progress was made in almost all the Telugu districts in the production of Khaddar.

In the Ganjam district the volunteers of the 'Swaraj Ashram' of Berhampur distributed spinning wheels among the people and propagated the use of Khadi in nearby villages. House to house sale of Khadi was undertaken by the volunteers.43 In Visakhapatnam the use of Khadi became a badge of honour. As noted earlier, the students of the Andhra Medical College were suspended for wearing Khadi dress.44 In Vizianagaram people took pledge to wear 'Swadeshi' clothes only.45 The fine varieties of Khaddar produced at Pondur and Srikakulam became famous throughout the country.46

43. Andhra Patrika, 5 January 1922.
44. Ibid., 1 November 1921.
45. The Hindu, 7 April 1921.
46. A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha..., pp. 327-28,
In the East Godavari district Brahma Josyula Subrahmanyam propagated the Khaddar with great enthusiasm. He established 'Gautami Satyagraha Ashram' to activise the Khaddar programme throughout the district. Goparaju Venkatachalapati Rao, Nitta Suryanarayana and his wife propagated the Khaddar in Rajolu taluk and several 'Charkas' or spinning wheels were distributed. In Mori village about one hundred charkas were distributed and every house actively concentrated in spinning. In Rajahmundry several shops sold Khadi flying aloft on the building the swaraj flag to attract the attention of both the people and government. In Pitapuram about one hundred volunteers were actively engaged in hawking Khaddar. The Kakinada Municipal Council, in spite of government's opposition, passed resolution to introduce spinning wheels in all the schools under its management. The Council felt that "the introduction of charka in schools is necessary and is conducive to the best interest of the country."

47. A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha, p.326; The Hindu, 23 June 1921.
48. Andhra Patrika, 3 May 1921.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 16 December 1921.
51. Ibid., 20 December 1921.
52. The Hindu, 28 October 1921.
In Krishna district due to the efforts of leaders like Pattabhi Sitaramayya, A. Kaleswara Rao, spinning wheels were introduced in about forty-five villages. The poor were given the charkas free of cost. The village, Bommidi, had to its credit a spinning wheel in every household which proudly unfurled the Swaraj Flag on its top. Gudivada taluk made rapid progress in Khaddar production and 'Swadeshi Fairs' were also conducted from time to time to sell the Khaddar clothes. One such fair was held in Pamarru village on 19 May 1921. Fairs were also organised in Machilipatnam due to the efforts of Kauta Ramasastri and on some occasions khadi worth twenty thousand rupees was sold.

Khadi produced in Andhra, noted for its quality, was in great demand in other parts of the country. Hence to train the weavers in the production of superior varieties of khadi, a Spinning and Weaving Institute

54. Andhra Patrika, 26 May 1921.
55. Ibid., 15 May 1921.
56. Ibid., 22 June 1921.
was established at Angalur. It attracted students from all over Andhra and functioned till 1946.\textsuperscript{57} Another such institute was opened at Kautavaram also.\textsuperscript{58}

Guntur district evinced great interest in the production and propagation of Khaddar.\textsuperscript{59} In Tenali there were as many as six wholesale depots for the sale of khadi.\textsuperscript{60} In the semi-arid Palnadu zone of the district, khadi production was an added attraction to the villagers as they were able to support to their meagre income by the sale of khadi which was in great demand throughout the district. In the village Rayapudi, Mallela Sivaramakrishnayya and Mallela Nageswara Rao established ‘Guntur District Weaving Industrial Institute’ and encouraged the down-trodden people especially Harijans to join the institute.\textsuperscript{61} T. Prakasam established a Khadi Development Centre at Guravareddipalem near Ongole under the supervision of

\textsuperscript{57} Andhra Patrika, 24 November 1921; A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha..., pp.327-28.
\textsuperscript{58} Andhra Patrika, 14 December 1921.
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ibid.}, 21 April 1921; The Hindu, 15 August 1921.
\textsuperscript{60} The Hindu, 22 December 1921.
\textsuperscript{61} Andhra Patrika, 16 December 1921.
Dhara Gopala Sastry. The All-India Khadi Board granted an amount of Rs. 10,000/- for the development of the Centre. Leaders of national eminence like Rajendra Prasad and Jamanlal Bajaj praised the centre for its efficient functioning. 62

Nellore district stole a march over the other Telugu districts including Guntur in promoting the Khaddar. By the end of June 1921 about 1072 spinning wheels were introduced throughout the district. 63 Under the dynamic leadership of Oruganti Venkatasubbaiah, Vissa Rajagopal, Bomma Seshu Reddy, Vennelakanti Raghavaiah and Komandur Parthasarathi Iyyengar, production of Khaddar made much headway in the entire district. 64 Poets like Duvvuri Rami Reddy composed songs exhorting the people to produce and use khadi. 65 The speciality about the Nellore district was the keen interest evinced by ladies like Ponaka Kanakamma and B. Sudersanamma hailing from affluent Reddi families, and O. Mahalakshamma of a middle class Brahmin family in the

63. The Hindu, 27 June 1921.
64. N. Chandrasekhara Reddy (ed.), Vikramasimhapuri Mandala Sarvaswam, p.401.
65. Andhra Patrika, 5 May 1921.
propagation of khadi. Breaking the shackles of tradition, which kept the ladies indoor, they came out in the open to sell khadi by moving from house to house.\textsuperscript{66} Kanakamma trained many women to spin on 'charka' and produce yarn for the manufacture of khadi at the Pallipadu Ashram established near Nellore on the banks of the Penna river. The Ashram played a notable role in implementing the constructive programme of Gandhi.\textsuperscript{67}

The khadi produced at places like Pallipadu, Marripadu, and Kandukur was in great demand in far off places like Nagpur, Bombay and Delhi.\textsuperscript{68} A central khadi office was established at Nellore and the All India Khadi Board advanced Rs. 10,000/- to the Centre to promote khaddar production in the district. The Khadi Board in its annual report described the Nellore district as the 'Manchester of India'.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{67} Andhra Patrika, 5 and 23 May 1921.
\textsuperscript{68} The Hindu, 27 June 1921; N. Chandrasekhara Reddy (ed.), Vikramasimhapuri Mandala Sarvaswamu, pp.408-409.
\textsuperscript{69} N. Chandrasekhara Reddy (ed.), Vikramasimhapuri Mandala Sarvaswamu, p.409.
The districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittoor also evinced great interest in the propagation of khadi. Leaders of the coastal districts like Konda Venkatappayya visited the khadi producing centres of these districts at Nandikotkur, Atmakur (Kurnool district) and Badvel (Cuddapah district) to supervise their working and exchange notes regarding the production of superior varieties. Five hundred 'charkas' were introduced in Nagalapuram (Kurnool district) to facilitate the people to earn their livelihood since they were under the stress of severe drought. The visits of G. Harisarvathama Rao and Medam Venkaiyya Chetty helped the villagers of Brahmanakotkur, Nandikotkur, Karivena and Atmakur to revive the spinning industry. At Nandyal, Elukuri Yellayya Sresti started 'Tilak Spinning Ashram'.

More than eight hundred spinning wheels were introduced in the several parts of Anantapur district by the end of May 1921. Gooty and Tadpatri became

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70. Andhra Patrika, 2, 13, 23 June and 29 July 1921; Krishna Patrika, 26 February 1921.
71. Andhra Patrika, 3 November 1921.
72. The Hindu, 8 June 1921.
73. Andhra Patrika, 12 November 1921.
74. The Hindu, 2 June 1921.
popular centres of the Khaddar programme. In Gooty several 'charkas' were introduced due to the efforts of Egoni Seshappa.\(^75\) At Tadpatri several shops sold khaddar.\(^76\) In Penukonda even toddy contractors like Siddappa took to the production of khadi.\(^77\) In the remote village of Kalyandurg 'Gandhi Weaving School' was established to train the people in the art of spinning and weaving.\(^78\) The visits of well-known Congress leader, K.C. Kelkar, to Bellary helped to start khadi producing units in many parts of the district.\(^79\) Likewise in Chittoor district, khadi became popular and the Chittoor District Nationalist Sub-Committee granted rupees one thousand for the purchase of spinning wheels for distribution in Tirupati.\(^80\)

From the above account it is evident that among the different items of the constructive programme it is the production of khadi that had caught the imagination of the general public both in the urban and rural

\(^75\). Andhra Patrika, 3 November 1921.  
\(^76\). Ibid.  
\(^77\). Ibid., 20 September 1921.  
\(^78\). U.S.S.F., No. 407, 6 May 1923 (Anantapur District Collector's Report, 3 March 1923).  
\(^79\). The Hindu, 15 September 1921; Andhra Patrika, 13 December 1921.  
\(^80\). Andhra Patrika, 13 June, 28 October and 3 November 1921.
areas. As the Collector of Krishna acknowledged:

"...this is the only form of Non-cooperation movement which had attained real life. The manufacture of Khaddar and encouragement of cottage industries are by themselves objects which will appeal to most people".81

Regarding the policy to be followed towards this movement he further observed:

"It is not altogether easy to deal with a movement which, while admirable in itself, is made the symbol of defiance of government. Generally speaking, the correct attitude to adopt in dealing with Khaddar is, as far as possible, to separate its economic from its political aspect and let it be seen that, as an economic question, government and its officers are always prepared to look with sympathy on the movement".82

Anti-Drink Campaign

Another item of the constructive programme that attained considerable success in Andhra was the anti-drink campaign. Though attempts were made in Andhra

82. Ibid.
earlier by the social reformers like Veeresalingam Pantulu and Raghupathi Venkataratnam Naidu to dissuade the people from the habit of drink, they did not make much headway. The campaign attained momentum only in 1920-21 when the picketing and boycott of liquor shops was taken up as a part of the constructive programme of the Congress.

The success of the movement in Andhra was mainly due to the inherent hatred of the caste Hindus and Muslims to alcoholic drinks. Another reason for the success of the movement was the involvement of women in the temperance campaign, since it was they who suffered most at the hands of the drunken husbands and sons. Further the people in the lower rungs of the social scale tacitly supported the movement as they were determined to improve their social status by abjuring drink which is regarded as the hallmark of the lowly.

The government looked at the movement with askance, in spite of its noble intention, as it deprived the state a large part of its revenue. It felt that Gandhi
was using prohibition as a political weapon to hurt the state. Thus the anti-drink campaign had political overtones. While it overtly aimed at improving the moral and material standards of the people, it covertly tried to embarrass the government by depriving its revenue.

The anti-drink campaign worked in two ways. First it made propaganda about the evils of drink, and exhorted the people to abstain from alcoholic drinks. Secondly it organised the boycott of 'abkari' auctions. The common alcoholic drinks consumed by the lower sections of the population were arrack and toddy. The former is prepared out of various ingredients and the latter is tapped from the Palm tree grown wildly in 'banjar' or waste lands of the government. The general mode by which government used to collect revenue is by conducting what is known as abkari(Excise) auctions. The highest bidder was given the right to sell arrack or toddy in the specified area. After paying the bid amount, the contractor, i.e., the successful bidder used to sell the product at high profit. The abkari contractors who thus amassed wealth were the loyal
supporters of the establishment. Along with the Zamindars they supported the British connection unabashedly.

Congress volunteers picketed the toddy and liquor shops and appealed the contractors in the name of patriotism and temperance to boycott akbari auctions. As the picketers included large number of women, the police hesitated to use strong-hand methods against them. The bidders fearing the wrath of the general public refrained from participating in the auctions. Thus in the early stages of the campaign the government suffered in two ways. First it lost the revenue and second and more important—prestige. The loss of prestige rankled the government as its very continuance depended on it. So it decided to oppose the temperance movement on political grounds and instructed the police and other law enforcing authorities to deal sternly with the picketers.

Like in other parts of the country all the Telugu districts were involved in the movement throughout the year 1921. At Berhampur in the Ganjam district, the non-cooperators like Varahagiri Venkatagiri,
Nyapathi Narayanamurthy, Jayanti Venkatanarayana and Nabhi Ramakrishna Rao succeeded in preventing the bidders from participating in the auctions.\(^{83}\) Similarly in Parlakimidi Nannaya Naidu and other volunteers organised picketing.\(^{84}\) The rate-payers of the place urged the Municipality to remove the liquor shops in the town.\(^{85}\)

In Visakhapatnam district abkari auctions were picketed even in the remote places like Narsipatnam and Sringavarpukota.\(^{86}\) The picketers adopted various persuasive measures and fell on the feet of the bidders and appealed to their patriotic sentiments.\(^{87}\) The Visakhapatnam Municipal Council passed a resolution urging the government not to permit the liquor shops within the town limits.\(^{88}\)

The anti-drink campaign was in full swing in both East and West Godavari districts due to the involvement of women under the leadership of Mrs. Yamini Purna.

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83. Andhra Patrika, 23 August 1921.
84. Ibid., 24 August 1921.
85. The Hindu, 30 August 1921.
86. Andhra Patrika, 10, 20 and 26 August 1921.
87. The Hindu, 28 October 1921.
88. Ibid., 27 August 1921.
Tilakam and others. 89 Even cooperators like Uppu Narayana Murti, a member of the pro-British Justice Party whole-heartedly participated in the campaign. 90 Only three bidders for thirty-nine shops had participated at Bhimavaram and they too later closed their shops. 91 At Peddapuram only two out of 150 shops were auctioned. 92 Though the liquor was sold in some shops at Narasapur, Ernagudem and Yalamanchili, the sales were meagre. 93 The labourers of Kakinada swore to abjure alcoholic drinks. 94

The campaign against drink received unexpected boost in the Krishna district, when the toddy tappers of Gannavaram and Nuzvid took a pledge to give up their profession and campaigned for the total prohibition. 95 In the neighbouring Guntur district from where the big-wigs of the Andhra Congress like Konda Venkatappayya, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya hailed, the

89. Andhra Patrika, 16 August 1921.
90. The Hindu, 11 August 1921.
91. Andhra Patrika, 10 August 1921.
92. Ibid., 4 August 1921.
93. Ibid., 24 and 31 August 1921; The Hindu, 14 September, 1921.
94. The Hindu, 31 August 1921.
95. Andhra Patrika, 9 August 1921.
anti-drink campaign was launched with much fanfare obviously with an eye for publicity. In places like Sattenapalle, Repalle, Narasaraopet the issue of prohibition became a question of prestige. Congress wanted to make sure that no bidder came forward on the day of auction, while the government tried to see that some how or other to conduct the auction. In this battle of wits, the Congress won the first round when no bidder ventured to participate in the auction for fear of public reprisals. Ultimately it was the government that had the last laugh when auctions were conducted in places other than specified centres. The notifications of the change of centres were issued at the last moment to the chagrin of the Congress leaders. The government officials responsible for the conducting of auctions were hand in glove with the contractors (bidders) and succeeded in hoodwinking the Congress. The anti-drink campaign which began with a bang ended in a whimper in Guntur district.

The anti-drink campaign in Nellore district had its own peculiarities and was a success from the

96. Andhra Patrika, 26 and 28 July 1921; The Hindu, 15 August and 2 September 1921.
point of view of the Congress which spearheaded the movement. The district is divided into two geographical zones, the coastal plain which is well irrigated and prosperous; the other is the semi-arid hilly area towards the west. In both the zones, the dominating caste was Reddies who wielded enormous influence because of their affluence and social status as the forward community.

Many of the leading Reddi families like Tikkavarapu, Bezawada and Ponaka supported the Congress even though some of their cognates were the pillars of the Justice Party which, as noted earlier, supported the British connection. As the Reddies from the countryside and the Brahmins from the Oruganti family in the urban areas endorsed the constructive programme of Gandhi, Congress found it easy to conduct the anti-drink campaign in Nellore district with a measure of success.97 Further the women of Nellore under the guidance of Ponaka Kanakamma, Mahalakshmmamma and others goaded their menfolk to make the campaign

an outstanding success. That is why, the government had tough time in the district to contain the campaign. There were some disturbances when the Congress workers in their anxiety to make the campaign a success cut-down a number of Palmyra trees.

As the movement intensified the government tried to conduct the auctions clandestinely; but the alert Congress workers foiled these attempts. So the authorities tried to outwit them by holding auctions simultaneously in twentyfour centres. But Bomma Seshu Reddy and his co-workers enlisted enough volunteers and prevented biddings.\(^98\) As a result in all three bids for the entire district only thirty shops were sold for a meagre income. Government incurred a loss of ten to twelve lakh rupees.\(^99\) Even the successful bidders could not commence their sales as they failed to get land to erect their shops.\(^100\) The Taluk Board of Nellore and the Union Board of Kavali passed resolutions urging the government not to allow contractors to open toddy or liquor shops in their jurisdiction.\(^101\)

In the Ceded Districts also the anti-drink campaign made some headway.  

98. Andhra Patrika, 25 and 26 August 1921.  
99. The Hindu, 9 September 1921.  
100. Andhra Patrika, 5 December 1921.  
101. Ibid., 12 May and 5 December 1921.
and Kalluri Subba Rao were the leading lights of the temperance movement. Due to their incessant propaganda, the habit of drink reduced to a considerable extent in the towns of Anantapur, Kadiri, Hindupur, Gooty and Tadpatri.  

In Kurnool district also the anti-drink campaign was launched with great enthusiasm by the devoted Congress workers like Medam Venkayya Chetty. Likewise in the Cuddapah district the campaign made a promising start in places like Jammulamadugu, Badvel and Rajampet. Here it may be stated that Cuddapah had the dubious distinction of having the highest crime rate in the Presidency and factional murders are the order of the day and consumption of arrack was not frowned upon. The anti-drink campaign in the Ceded

102. Andhra Patrika, 2 March 1921.


104. Andhra Patrika, 24 and 26 February, 26 May, 23 June, 14 September and 13 October 1921; Krishna Patrika, 26 February 1921.
Districts resulted in a substantial loss of income to the government.\(^{105}\)

In Chittoor due to the efforts of the leaders like Srinivasa Iyyengar, temperance movement attained considerable momentum in places like Chittoor, Tirupati, Narayanavanam, Palamaner, Punganur and Piler. At Chittoor and Palamaner government failed to auction toddy shops.\(^{106}\) The Municipal Council of Tirupati requested the government to ban the sale of toddy and arrack in the temple town.\(^{107}\) Similar request was made by the citizens of Narayanavanam.\(^{108}\)

To sum up, the anti-drink campaign in Andhra resulted in a substantial loss of revenue to the government.

\(^{105}\) 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 Rs. 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; See Sarojini Regani, Highlights of the Freedom Movement, p.81; Report on the Administration of the Abkari Revenue in the Madras Presidency for the year 1921-22 (Madras,1922), p.8.

\(^{106}\) The Hindu, 19 February 1921.

\(^{107}\) Andhra Patrika, 10 September 1921.

\(^{108}\) Ibid., 16 October 1921.
It had to initiate many measures of economy to balance the budget. By the end of June 1921, the people in more than 100 villages gave up their addiction to drink.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Another item of the constructive programme was the Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhi laid great emphasis on the Hindu-Muslim unity since his days in South Africa. He laid stress on communal harmony as he felt it indispensable for the freedom of the country and its prosperity. He felt that the Hindu-Muslim unity could be promoted by "a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows". The Khilafat issue and the Punjab wrongs and the demand for the Swaraj supplied the common goal for both the communities and brought them nearer during the Khilafat agitation. After the Khilafat agitation fizzled out, the concord between two communities also came to an end. Hence Gandhi tried to revive the Hindu-Muslim unity to achieve freedom.

110. The Hindu, 23 June 1921.
The Hindu-Muslim discord was more pronounced in the North than in the South. In Andhra both the communities lived in amity and there was no need to stress upon this point. However in tune with the All-India policy of the Congress, its workers in Andhra also talked of Hindu-Muslim unity. To demonstrate their solidarity with the Muslims during the Khilafat agitation, the Hindus refused to participate in the elections under 1919 Reform Act. At the height of Non-cooperation movement Muhammad Raza Khan Saheb Belgami was elected as Chairman of the Guntur Municipality to demonstrate that the Muslims will have more than their share under Congress dispensation.\textsuperscript{112}

The Khilafat meetings and those of the Congress were attended by both the Hindus and Muslims. There were such instances when the Congress meetings were presided over by Muslim leaders as for example the Eluru Taluk Conference was held under the presidency of Umra Ahisha Sahib, a well-known Telugu poet of Pitapuram.\textsuperscript{113} Similarly the Khilafat meetings were

\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Andhra Patrika}, 30 May 1921.
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{The Hindu}, 3 November 1920.
chaired by the Hindu leaders.

Many meetings attended by both the Hindus and Muslims were held to express their solidarity against the British. In all these meetings prayers were conducted both in Telugu and Urdu languages. Even in the meeting held in small villages like Balliparru in Gudivada taluk of Krishna district, the Congress workers made it a point to exhibit their solidarity with the Muslims by commencing the proceedings with prayers both in Telugu and Urdu. Similarly the Hindus participated in the Moharram festival of the Muslims at Narasapur where they pleaded with the Muslims to start a Khilafat Committee in the place.

In the anti-drink campaign the Congress made it a point to enlist few Muslims to their cause by stating that Holy Koran advocated temperance. At Piler in Chittoor district Attar Usaf Saheb highlighted the sayings of Prophet Mohammad against drink. In some areas like Rajampet in Cuddapah district where the

114. Andhra Patrika, 11 February 1921.
115. Ibid., 30 September 1920.
116. Ibid., 14 September 1921.
relations between the two communities were not cordial, the Congress workers tried to bring the two communities together by offering prayers in their respective places of worship.\(^{117}\)

Another method by which the two communities showed their common stand against the British was by participating in procession or hartals called by either community. When D. Narayana Rao, the Congress Secretary of Yadiki in Kurnool district, was arrested the Muslims of the place took the lead in continuing the Congress work.\(^{118}\) Even in Nellore where the relations between the two communities was not so cordial, they cooperated with each other during the visit of Gandhi.\(^{119}\) Throughout Andhra, the slogan "Hindu-Mussalman-Ki-Jai" became popular during the course of the movement and even the school students often raised the slogan to underline Hindu-Muslim Unity.\(^{120}\)

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117. Andhra Patrika, 15 September 1921.
118. The Hindu, 17 December 1921.
119. Andhra Patrika, 5 May 1921.
Anti-Untouchability Campaign

In the constructive programme Gandhi gave the primacy of place to the removal of untouchability, practised by the caste Hindus towards their own brethren. He regarded untouchability as the 'greatest blot' on Hinduism. At the Nagpur session of the Congress he called upon the people "to make special efforts to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability...(and) to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the supressed classes".\(^{121}\)

In the course of his tour of the country in connection with the Non-cooperation movement, Gandhi emphasised unfailingly on the necessity of wiping out the stain unmindful of the opposition from the orthodox quarters.

The AICC at its meeting held in Delhi during November 1921 made the eradication of untouchability a precondition to start Civil Disobedience movement. As all Congress workers were eager to start the Civil Disobedience movement, they readily agreed to work for the removal of untouchability.

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In Andhra sincere attempts were made to eradicate untouchability. Many of the so-called untouchables whom Gandhi called 'Harijans' or children of God, joined the movement as volunteers and suffered imprisonment along with other caste Hindus. In the public meetings held to propagate Non-cooperation, Harijans were allowed to sit by the side of caste Hindus. They were admitted as members of the Panchayat and Municipal Councils. Guntur district, took the lead in this regard also. The District conference at its meeting held in Ponnur on 12 June 1921 resolved to allow the Harijans to draw water from the wells reserved for the caste Hindus.\textsuperscript{122} Inter-dining with the Harijans was arranged in villages like Dulipudi.\textsuperscript{123} The entry of the Harijans into the temples was favoured. The Srikrishna Ashram of Pedapalem in Tenali taluk made its main aim to serve the Harijans. The secretary of the Ashram, Nallapati Hanumantha Rao, appealed to the Congress leaders to take up the propaganda work in the colonies of Harijans and to admit them into the Congress Committees.\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{122} The Hindu, 15 June 1921.  
\textsuperscript{123} Andhra Patrika, 14 December 1921.  
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., 4 October 1920 and 2 June 1921.
In Krishna, Nellore, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts also attempts were made to preach against the evil of untouchability. In a meeting held at Balliparru of Krishna district, many Harijans sat by the side of caste Hindus. The Pallipadu Ashram in Nellore became the centre for anti-untouchability campaign in Nellore district. The volunteers of the Ashram were able to convince caste Hindus to allow the Harijans to enter into the main village of Pallipadu. In Cuddapah district due to the efforts of Peddaraju Ramakrishnaiah many Harijans were enrolled in the Congress Committees. At Chittoor the District Nationalist Sub-Committee allowed the Harijans to sit along with the caste Hindus in its meetings.

A Harijan member of the Tirupati Municipal Council appealed the government to allow the Harijans to worship in the famous shrine of Venkateswara at Tirumala. He felt that the prohibition of the Harijans from worshiping

125. Andhra Patrika, 11 February 1921.
127. Andhra Patrika, 23 June 1921.
128. Ibid., 28 October 1921.
at the shrine is a mockery when the Western and the anglicised caste Hindus were allowed to enter the temple.129 M. Anantasayanam Ayyangar started the 'Harijan Sevak Sangh' and a hostel for Harijans at Tirupati on his return from the AICC session at Vijayawada.130

In spite of the fanfare of Harijan uplift and eradication of untouchability Harijans were not allowed to join the main stream of Hinduism. The government on its part tried to win over the Harijans by the promise of grants of banjar lands. But the Harijans of Nallapadu in Guntur district refused the offer of the government and sympathised with the Non-cooperation movement. Some Congress members paid only lip sympathy to it as evidenced by the fact that in some of their meetings separate enclosures were made for the Harijans so as to segregate them from the caste Hindus.131

The Civil Disobedience Committee while reviewing the progress of anti-untouchability campaign in Andhra observed that with the exception of Pedanandipadu taluk, it was not up to the mark and therefore recommended the suspension of No-tax campaign. Konda Venkatappayya, who was in-charge of the movement in Andhra, accepted the findings of the Committee and declared that the "Prejudice (untouchability) is still strong with many people in the country".

Tilak Swaraj Fund

Another item of the constructive work that received wider response from Andhra public was the raising of one crore of rupees towards Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. The Vijayawada session of the AICC called upon its workers to make collections towards this national fund. The main aim of the fund was to strengthen the Congress organisation financially.
and enable it to implement its programmes.  

The target amount fixed for Andhra was Rs. 6,82,000/- Gandhi launched the drive for the collection of the fund soon after the conclusion of Congress session at Vijayawada. The public response for the fund exceeded the expectations of the organisers. The women of Andhra especially those of Vijayawada and Nellore displayed utmost enthusiasm by donating the jewellery they wore to the fund. The trend in this regard was set by Maganti Annapurnamma of Vijayawada and Kalagara Ravamma of Nellore. At Eluru the gold and silver thus collected was publicly auctioned to raise further amount. During Gandhi's tour of coastal

134. The formula regarding the collection and distribution of the fund was as follows. Each district was given a target. Out of the amount collected the districts were allowed to keep fifty percent of the amount to promote constructive programme in their area. The balance was to be remitted to the provincial headquarters. The Provincial Congress Committees can keep half of the amount received from different district committees and remit the remaining amount to the AICC, the apex body of the organisation. See Krishna Patrika, 30 July 1921.

135. Andhra Patrika, 27 April 1921.

136. The Hindu, 11 April 1921.

137. Ibid., 28 June 1921.
districts an amount of about twentytwo thousand rupees was collected. Even the peasants came forward to contribute their mite. One K. Ramaswamy of Chataparru village in Nellore district announced that he would contribute ten bags of paddy for the fund every year till freedom is attained. Gandhi toured the Ceded Districts and Chittoor also, in the company of the Andhra leaders, in his drive to accelerate the collections. Gandhi proved to be a good fund raiser even in the semi-arid Rayalaseema region.

The APCC adopted various methods like the sale of one and two rupee coupons, door-to-door collections to achieve its target amount. By July 1921 it could collect about Rupees three lakhs, and exceeded its target by the stipulated date of 31 December 1921. At the National level also the targeted amount of Rupees one crore (10 millions) was collected without

138. Andhra Patrika, 19 April 1921.
139. The Hindu, 11 April 1921.
140. Andhra Patrika, 30 March 1921.
141. Ibid., 10 September 1921.
much effort. Even the British writers like Bamford admitted that the Fund (Tilak Swaraj) collected was sufficiently large and a notable achievement for the Congress, 142

**Village Congress Committees**

A part of the fund was utilised to strengthen the Congress organisation at the grass-root levels by forming Congress Committees in different villages so as to involve rural folk in the agitation and spread Gandhi's message of constructive programme to every nook and corner of the country.

The Telugu press by and large identified itself with the Congress and *Hitakarini*, a weekly journal, advocated the strengthening of the Congress Organisation by stating that "the attainment of Swaraj will be made easy if village, Taluk, District and Provincial associations are regularly organised with the National Congress at their head". 143

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Congress workers intensified their efforts to form Congress Committees in every village with a minimum of five members. The District Committees and the Provincial Committee identified the villages where they could form the local committee. The formation of the committees was followed by an intensive propaganda for Non-cooperation.\(^\text{144}\) The formation of village committees was facilitated by the fact that the villagers regarded Gandhi as a saint—a Mahatma and not a political leader. Thus the exploitation of religious sentiments for political purposes began as early as 1921 when Gandhi launched the Non-cooperation movement.

By the end of June 1921 about 2,204 village Congress Committees were established in Andhra with a total membership of 77,938 including 471 women.\(^\text{145}\) The number increased further in the course of the year. For example, in both the districts of Godavari 785 Committees were formed out of 861 villages. The

\(^\text{144}\) Andhra Patrika, 13, 18, 26 May, 13, 23 June and 9 July 1921.

\(^\text{145}\) The Hindu, 23 June 1921.
membership stood at 53,878 which included 1,800 Muslims and 3,750 women. Similar enthusiasm was witnessed in other districts also. Separate committees for ladies were established in places like Gudivada, Guntur, Ponnur and Ongole. Besides the village committees taluk and firka committees were also formed in places where they were not in existence. A District Congress Committee for Kurnool was formed under the presidency of Gadicherla Harisarvottama Rao in May 1921. Thus, during the years 1921-1922, the Congress organisation in Andhra was strengthened with the formation of Committees at all levels—District, Taluk, Firka and Village. These Committees became forums for carrying the message of Non-cooperation to the masses. They not only projected the Gandhian programme but also acted as the links between the masses and the leaders at the top.

146. The Hindu, 26 August 1921.
147. Andhra Patrika, 18 May, 9 July and 1 December 1921.
148. Ibid., 14, 18 February 1921; 5, 15, 24 March 1921; The Hindu, 7 April and 20 May 1921.
149. Andhra Patrika, 9 July 1921.
Volunteer Corps

Besides forming Committees at different levels, the Congress tried to strengthen its organisation by creating a Volunteer Corps to serve the masses in times of calamity and to propagate Gandhi's message of Non-cooperation. Prior to 1920 Congress created volunteer corps on adhoc basis to maintain law and order at its annual sessions. But the Calcutta session decided to create a permanent volunteer corps known as 'Seva Dal'. Government came heavily on the Dal when it tried to organise demonstrations against the visit of the Prince of Wales. It was only in 1921 the enrolment into the Seva Dal intensified when important leaders like Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das and Lajpat Rai were arrested. The Ahmedabad session asked the youth above 18 years of age to enrol themselves in the Seva Dal and participate in the Non-cooperation movement. 150

In Andhra prior to 1921 individual Congress leaders like Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya of Chirala,

Mamidipudi Devendrudu of Rajahmundry and Hanumantha Rao Naidu of Narasaraopet formed volunteer corps.\textsuperscript{151} As the Non-cooperation movement gained momentum by the middle of 1921 efforts were made to create a central organisation for entire Andhra to supervise and implement the various facets of the movement. By the beginning of 1922 efforts were made to create 'Santi Sena' or Army of Peace in places like Berhampur, Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Peddapuram, Vijayawada, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool and Cuddapah. Guntur was ahead of these places by enrolling about five thousand volunteers,\textsuperscript{152} due to the efforts of Konda Venkatappayya and Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri.

The volunteers of Guntur played active role in the No-tax campaign and succeeded in frustrating the efforts of the government to appoint substitutes in the place of village officers who resigned their positions enmass. In some villages all the eligible

\textsuperscript{151} \textit{Andhra Patrika}, 5 and 16 April 1921.
\textsuperscript{152} For details, see \textit{Andhra Patrika}, 1 December 1921 to 25 January 1922.
\textsuperscript{153} U.S.S.F. No. 407, 6 May 1923 (Report from A. Galleti, District Collector of Chingalput and former District Collector of Guntur District, 21 January, 1923).
members enrolled themselves as volunteers and made it impossible for the government to arrest them since it could not lodge them in jails for want of accommodation. 154

In Guntur and Cuddapah the mass enrolment of volunteers caused anxiety to the government and it contemplated to involve section 124-A of the C.P.C. (Criminal Procedure Code) to arrest them. 155 Andhra Patrika expressed its concern at the attitude of the government and commended the services of the Santi Sena to the society. 156


156. It (Andhra Patrika) observed thus: "One can see how shortsighted a policy it is to try to disband the voluntary associations which observe the vow of non-violence in thought, word and deed. We need not say that the work which the volunteers contemplate to accomplish will greatly help to achieve the well-being of the country. Sensible men cannot but feel that this work ought to be taken up even by people other than those who belong to the Congress Party. If the government had instead of obstructing the programme of volunteers, adopted it themselves, they would have done much good". see N.N.R., 1922, page 20, para 57.
It goes to the credit of Gandhi that he was able to involve women in large numbers in the freedom struggle of the country. He included 'Upliftment of Women' as one of the items of the constructive programme. As far as Andhra was concerned, the ground for the active participation of women in the political emancipation of the country was already prepared by the social reformers like Kandukuri Veeresalingam and Raghupathi Venkataratnam Naidu.

When Gandhi launched the Non-cooperation movement in 1921 the women of Andhra like their counterparts in Bengal and Maharashtra were quite aware of the developments in the country, but unlike them did not involve themselves in the freedom struggle. However the visit of Gandhi and other national leaders to Vijayawada to attend the Congress session in 1921 brought a sea of change in the Andhra political scene. Women who till then did not came into the open, suddenly came forward and began to play a conspicuous role in the freedom struggle, especially in the constructive programme.
As noted earlier Maganti Annapurnamma, Kalagara Ravamma donated their jewels to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Duvvuru Subbamma, Tallapragada Sundaramma and B. Kameswari Devi of Godavari played a unique role in propagating Khaddar and other items of the constructive programme. Duvvuru Subbamma gave 'best speech of the day' at the Andhra Mahasabha meeting held at Berhampur in September 1921. Yamini Purna Tilakam gave up her profession of dance and propagated the ideals of Gandhi.

Unnava Lakshmibayamma of Guntur was an institution by herself. Along with her husband, Lakshminarayana, she established Sarada Niketan at Guntur for the education of the girls. Besides participating in the constructive programme like propagation of khadi, she organised women volunteer corps at Ongole. She was also instrumental in making the students of the Andhra Medical College at Visakhapatnam to wear khadi caps, which as noted earlier, resulted

157. The Hindu, 26 August 1921.
158. Ibid., 27 September 1921.
159. Ibid., 15 June 1921.
160. Andhra Patrika, 1 December 1921.
in their expulsion.\footnote{161. A. Kaleswara Rao, \textit{Naa Jeevitha Katha...}, p.337.}

The role played by women of Nellore found mention in the fortnightly reports of the government.\footnote{162. P.N.R., 6 December 1921.} Ponaka Kanakamma was associated with all the activities of the Pallipadu Ashram, which as already noted, played a prominent part in the constructive programme.\footnote{163. N. Chandrasekhara Reddy (ed.), \textit{Vikramasimhapuri Mandala Sarvaswamu}, p.707.} Besides, she established the Kasturba Girls High School at Nellore, which at present is the leading institution of its kind in the district. Besides Kanakamma, O. Mahalakshmamma and Sudersanamma were the leading figures of the Nellore district in the freedom struggle. Women like Mangalamba and Sridevamma hawked khaddar in the villages and roused the patriotic instincts of the masses through their songs.\footnote{164. Ibid., pp.408-409.}

Women played a leading role in the anti-drink campaign and were responsible for its success during the heyday of Non-cooperation movement in 1921-22. The hand of women is also seen in making khadi popular in Andhra. Thus the Non-cooperation movement brought
political awakening among Andhra women which paved the way for their active participation in the freedom struggle of the next decade when Gandhi launched his Civil Disobedience movement popularly known as Salt Satyagraha.

**Propaganda of Hindi**

Gandhi realised the importance of developing Hindustani as the national language of the country. He felt that this move would help in bringing the people of different languages and strengthen the forces of nationalism. Hence he made it one of the items of the constructive programme.

In Andhra propaganda of Hindi was undertaken as early as 1918 when 'Hindi Prachara Sabha' was established at Madras under the presidency of Annie Besant. It functioned till 1927 and made efforts to propagate Hindi in Andhra and in other parts of the Madras Presidency. Moturu Satyanarayana and Harihara Sarma took lead to propagate Hindi in Andhra and
established the branches of Sabha in Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore and Cuddapah districts.\textsuperscript{165}

The first Andhra Provincial Conference for the propagation of Hindi was held on 20 August 1921 at Vijayawada under the presidency of Moulana Khaji Muhammad Raza Khan Saheb, the Chairman of Guntur Municipality. Delegates from various Andhra districts attended the Conference. The conference decided to establish 'Andhra Hindi Prachara Sabha' at Vijayawada under the presidency of Dasu Madhusudana Rao, to propagate Hindi throughout Andhra.\textsuperscript{166} The year 1921 saw the establishment of various Hindi schools in Andhra. One such school was opened at Eluru which functioned in three shifts from 7 AM to 9 PM.\textsuperscript{167} At Angalur in Krishna district 'Hindi Pracharashram' was established to train the Hindi Pandits to propagate the language.\textsuperscript{168} Another such Ashram was established at Guntur with the efforts of Konda Venkatappayya and Kauta Rama Sastri.\textsuperscript{169} The Secretary of the Ashram,

\textsuperscript{165} A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha..., p.328.
\textsuperscript{166} Andhra Patrika, 30 August 1921.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., 14 February 1921.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., 23 January 1922.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., 31 August 1921.
Ramananda Sarma, was given a cycle by the District Congress Committee to propagate Hindi in villages.\textsuperscript{170} In the National College of Machilipatnam and all the National Schools established during the Non-cooperation movement, Hindi was made a compulsory subject of study.\textsuperscript{171}

It is interesting to note that the Telugu journals did not oppose the propagation of Hindi. On the other hand they encouraged the study of Hindi by publishing in their issues lessons on Hindi. Andhra Patrika took lead in this regard by publishing the first Hindi lesson in its issue of 12 July 1920.

From the above account it is evident that there is no opposition to the propagation of Hindi in Andhra unlike Tamilnadu where the opposition to Hindi is widespread.

\textbf{Establishment of 'Ashrams'}

To preach and propagate the ideals of Gandhi, several 'Ashrams' or Hermitages on the lines of the

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{170} Andhra Patrika, 14 November 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{171} A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha..., p.328.
\end{enumerate}
one established by Gandhi himself on the banks of river Sabarmati in Gujarat, were opened in different parts of Andhra. These Ashrams concentrated mainly on anti-untouchability and Khaddar work of the constructive programme, which do not involve any violence.

The earliest and the best known of the Ashrams was the one at Pallipadu on the banks of the river Pennar in the Nellore district. The Ashram was inaugurated by Gandhi during his visit to Nellore in April 1921. Under the guidance of Digumarti Hanumantha Rao, the Ashram tried to promote Khaddar and eradicate untouchability. 172

Among the many Ashrams which functioned on the lines of Pallipadu Ashram were the 'Swarajya Ashram' of Berhampur, 'Gautami Satyagraha Ashram' of Sitanagaram and 'Srikrishna Ashram' of Pedapalem. The Swarajya Ashram concentrated on the propagation of khadi and distributed spinning wheels among the villagers. 173 Likewise, the Satyagraha Ashram at

Sitanagaram promoted khadi in the East Godavari district under the guidance of Brahmajosyula Subrahmanyan. 174 The Srikrishna Ashram of Pedapalem in Guntur district confined itself to the eradication of untouchability. 175

Other Ashrams like 'Sriram Ashram' of Visakhapatnam, 'Swarajya Ashram' at Rajahmundry and 'Sri Santhi Ashram' of Pattipadu in East Godavari district propagated the Gandhian ideas of truth and non-violence. 176 Thus the Ashrams became the centres for spreading of the Gandhian ideology.

To sum up, the constructive programme of the Non-cooperation movement caught the imagination of the Andhras who involved themselves in making its different items a success. Guntur district was in the forefront of the movement. The aim of Gandhi to integrate different sections of the society through constructive programme for a more unified action in the struggle for freedom was fulfilled in Andhra to a greater extent.

175. *Andhra Patrika*, 4 October 1920.