Till 1905, the activities of the Congress were confined to the submitting of petitions to the government seeking constitutional reforms, holding of examinations for Indian Civil Service simultaneously in England and India, relaxation of Arms act etc. But the younger members of the Indian National Congress represented the 'mendicant' attitude of the elders and began to oppose the established leadership. The outstanding spokesman of this new spirit of challenge was Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra who branded the old guard as politically impotent and intellectually incompetent. He adopted unorthodox measures to stimulate the national spirit and exploited the religious sentiments of the people and also their regional pride. He organised 'Ganesh festivals' annually and revived the cult of Shivaji to instil the spirit of patriotism and nationalism among the
masses.

The developments in Maharashtra reverberated in Andhra also as the Andhra intellectuals like Komarraju Lakshmana Rao, who had his education at Nagpur, formulated the Andhra public opinion through various associations like 'Krishnadevaraya Basha Nilayam' and 'Vignana Chandrika Mandali' established at Hyderabad. The Mandali through its scholarly publications of books in Telugu including those on Indian history and Andhra history created a new awakening among the public about India's past glory and contemporary humiliation of foreign domination.

At the time when the Indians began to question the legitimacy of the British rule over India, the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904 created a new sense of confidence among the people. Indians realised that they can also overthrow the Western domination and redeem the national pride. This confidence in the ability of the people to set aside the foreign domination sustained the freedom struggle in the next four decades.
In Andhra the news of Japan's victory created a great sensation. Adipudi Somanatha Rao, a well-known reformer of the day, wrote the History of Japan in Telugu and dedicated it to the Rajah of Munagala. Siriram Veerabrahmam wrote a play in Telugu called 'Japaneeyamu'. The Rajah of Munagala named his two sons as 'Togi' and 'Nogi' after the Japanese Commanders of Army and Navy respectively.

It was at this stage when the Indians regained confidence in themselves that the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements attracted the attention of Andhra public and made them to articulate forcibly for the freedom of the country.

VANDEMATARAM MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA

The event that gave a new dimension to the Indian struggle for freedom was the partition of Bengal in 1905 by the Viceroy Lord Curzon on the pretext of administrative convenience. The obvious reason was to break the solidarity of the Bengali intelligentsia which

was spear-heading the Indian National movement and to create Hindu-Muslim discard.

Curzon's action recoiled against the government in the shape of the Swadeshi and Vandemataram movements in Bengal under the leadership of Surendranath Benerjee. The speedy and spontaneous response of the people to these movements overwhelmed the leaders and the government was taken aback. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Arabindo Ghosh who held extreme views, i.e., full freedom of the country from British domination, as opposed to constitutional reforms desired by moderate leaders like Gopalkrishna Gokhale, appeared on the national scene and placed before the people the ideal of 'Swaraj' or freeing the country from foreign yoke. The 'Vandemataram',

2. 'Vandemataram' is a Sanskrit word meaning 'Hail Mother'. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the outstanding Bengali novelist before Rabindranath Tagore, in his novel 'Anandmath' composed the song 'Vandemataram'. The novel, incidentally, deals with a movement to free Bengal from Muslim rule in the medieval times. After India became independent 'Vandemataram' was elevated to the status of National Song. The National Anthem of India is 'Jana Gana Mana' composed by Rabindranath Tagore.
The Andhra public especially the youth responded to the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements with great fervour. Andhra students of Madras city organised a meeting in September 1905 under the presidency of G. Subramanya Iyer, to show their solidarity with the nationalist cause. A. Kaleswara Rao, Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao and Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri who later became prominent leaders of freedom struggle in Andhra attended the meeting which decided to raise a national fund to support the Swadeshi movement. The participation of students in political movements became an important feature in Andhra from then onwards. The coastal districts due to their geographical proximity with Bengal responded to the movement spontaneously.

Along with the Vandemataram movement another movement known as the Swadeshi for the revival of the indigenous industries was started. 'Swadeshi' means Indian as against 'videshi' or foreign. The inspiration for the movement was Japan which by the beginning of this century emerged as the leading industrial power of Asia.

In Madras an Industrial Association and a Swadeshi League were formed in 1906. The Swadeshi League deputed N. Subbarao Pantulu and K. Venkataramana Rao to tour in Andhra districts to propagate Swadeshi. C.Y. Chintamani, the Assistant Secretary of the Indian Industrial Conference, toured the northern Telugu districts along with N. Subbarao Pantulu and delivered lectures in towns like Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada, Guntur and Nellore.

The Swadeshi movement created a new awareness among the youth and the students on the need to industrialise the country on the lines of Japan by giving primacy to small scale industries and handicrafts. Some students from Andhra proceeded to Japan to acquire the technical knowhow of various consumer oriented industries. Those who proceeded to Japan included Malladi Venkatasubba Rao of Kakinada, S. Rama Rao of Bellary and Gobeti Janakinramayya of Rajahmundry.

4. C.Y. Chintamani later became the Editor of 'Leader', the well-known English Daily of Allahabad. For some years he was the Minister of Education in U.P. (United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), the present Uttar Pradesh.
To encourage the sale of the local industrial products a number of retail sale outlets known as 'Swadeshi Stores' were established in places like Vijayawada, Rajahmundry and Guntur.

The Vandemataram and the Swadeshi movements began to loose much of their momentum by the end of the year 1905. But the arrest of Surendranath Benerjee at Barisal (now in Bangladesh) gave new fillip to the movements. As in other parts of the country in Andhra also several protest meetings were held in towns like Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Vizianagaram and Gooty. It was these meetings that made the slogan 'Vandemataram—Manade Rajyam' (Hail Mother—we will rule the country) a popular one in Andhra. The Congress session held at Calcutta in December 1906 accepted the programme of Swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods to hasten self-government or Swaraj. Several Andhras like Nayani Venkata Ranga Rao, the Zamindar of Munagala, K.V. Lakshmana Rao, G. Harisarvatham Rao and P. Anandacharyulu attended the session. The resolution on the 'Swadeshi' was moved by Anandacharyulu. The fact that even an avowed British loyalist like Anandacharyulu sponsored the
resolution on Swadeshi shows the great change that had come over the Congress in the post-1905 period. The Congress no longer met at its annual sessions to reaffirm its loyalty to the British. The Andhra delegates after their return from the session began to galvanize the countryside by intensifying the movement.

The Vandemataram movement was popularised in Andhra by *Krishna Patrika* the well-known Telugu journal from Machilipatnam. Its editor Mutnuri Krishna Rao, who wielded a facile pen, cast a magical spell on the Andhra intellectuals and students. To give further momentum to Vandemataram agitation, Krishna Rao invited Bipin Chandra Pal to tour the coastal Andhra towns in April 1907.

**Bipin Chandra Pal's Tour**

Pal commenced his tour of Andhra by addressing public meetings at Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Vijayawada, and Machilipatnam. He spoke on varied topics like Vedanta, Swadeshi, boycott, national education and swaraj. While Pal was addressing a public meeting at Rajahmundry, Chilakamarti
Lakshminarashimham, the noted blind poet, composed his well-known poem in Telugu which compared India to a 'gentle milch cow' and the Indians to 'starved calves'.

Pal's visit to Andhra was a great success. He created a new awareness among the students and intellectuals on the need for intensifying the agitation for freedom. People became more militant and self-assertive than they were before. A Christian Missionary of Rajahmundry remarked:

'...Pal had no doubt sown a powerful and bad seed which has fallen on fertile ground and is beginning to grow at some places more rapidly than one is inclined to think'.

As apprehended by the missionery, the government encountered serious troubles in places like Rajahmundry, Kakinada and Kotappakonda (Guntur).

5. "India is a gentle milch-cow
And the starved calves are Indians
The subtle cow-herds muzzle them
To snatch the entire store of milk"

The Rajahmundry College Incident

Pal visited Rajahmundry, the premier centre of higher education in Andhra, on 19 April 1907 and stayed there for five days and delivered five lectures. His addresses at the public meetings created a great impact on the youth of Andhra and made coastal Andhra the hot-bed of extremist agitation in South India. Two months prior to the visit of Pal, i.e., in February 1907, the youth of Rajahmundry established an association called 'Bala Bharathi Samiti' to intensify the Swadeshi movement. By the time Pal visited Rajahmundry, the atmosphere of the town was surcharged with nationalist ideas. Students attended the classes wearing Vandemataram badges and greeted each other by shouting 'Vandemataram'. Mark Hunter, the Principal of the Arts College, forbade the students from wearing Vandemataram badges or shouting the slogan. The students, however, defied the

7. Rajahmundry is the cultural centre of Andhra and the home of Veeresalingam, the great social reformer.

8. As early as 1873, the Government of Madras established a college at Rajahmundry. Later a Teacher Training College was also established at the place to cater the needs of the Telugu districts. These two institutions became the active centres for the dissemination of liberal and nationalist ideas throughout Andhra.
orders of the Principal and also presented an address of welcome to Pal. Mark Hunter thereupon suspended 138 students out of 222 students of Arts College.9 Gadicherla Harisarvatham Rao, a student of Training College who read the welcome address to Pal was expelled from the college and debarred from entering the government service.10 He later played a key role in the freedom struggle and the library movement.

Several prominent Andhras like B.N. Sarma, N. Subbarao Pantulu pleaded with the government to rescind its order. The government, however, remained adament as it wanted to put down the nascent students' agitation with a firm hand. Journals like Desabhimani and Krishna Patrika condemned the action of the government.

Thus the Rajahmundry college incident unleashed a new force of student community to play a vital role in the country's struggle for freedom.


The Kakinada Riot, 31 May 1907

The visit of Pal to Rajahmundry which had given much boost to the Vandemataram movement in the East Godavari district found a ready echo in Kakinada, located 40 Km north-east of Rajahmundry.

Kakinada, being the headquarters of the district, had a number of British officials like the Collector, Superintendent of Police, and District Medical Officer. The British officials of the district like their counterparts in the rest of the country, developed an allergy to the slogan 'Vandemataram'.

On 31 May 1907, when Capt. Kemp, the District Medical Officer, was proceeding in his buggy, a young boy named Krishna Rao, shouted 'Vandemataram'. Kemp reacted violently at this childish prank of the boy and beat him causing bleeding injuries. He then dragged the boy to the police station and left him there without any medical aid. No hospital assistant came forward to give any medical aid to the child due to fear of Kemp.11 The inhuman conduct of a grown-up man

towards a child infuriated the public and they showed their resentment by attacking the European club to where Kemp proceeded. In the melee that followed the furniture of the club was destroyed. When the Collector proceeded to the club to rescue Kemp, he was hit by a stone. He however succeeded in pacifying the agitated mob. The Collector felt that it would be risky to send Kemp to his residence. Other European officials in the town were not prepared to give shelter to Kemp as they feared attack from the infuriated mob. With great difficulty Kemp was smuggled out the town, under the cover of darkness, to Rajahmundry. From there he was sent to Madras. 12

Next day fifty persons suspected to be involved in the riot were arrested and a punitive fine was imposed on the town. The indiscriminate arrests and the imposition of fine increased the resentment of the people against the government. The Collector while conveying to the government the feelings of the citizens on the issue informed it that imposition of punitive

fine generated sympathy towards the arrested.\textsuperscript{13}
Government failed to prove the charges of inciting the riot against the persons arrested. So most of the accused were acquitted. On the other hand, Kemp was fined Rs. 30/- for assaulting the boy. Later he was transferred to Cuddapah.\textsuperscript{14} Kakinada riot was the first criminal offence in Andhra with political overtones. Many questions regarding it were raised in the Legislative Assembly of Madras.

The Kotappakonda Riot, 18 February 1909

One incongruous incident which was given political colouring was the Kotappakonda riot of February, 1909. Kotappakonda is a small hillock in the Guntur district having the temple of Shiva on it. Thousands of people used to visit the temple on the holy occasion of 'Sivaratri'. For the entertainment of the people congregating in such large numbers, bull fights and cattle fair are generally arranged which attracted the peasants from all over the district. On 18 February 1909, as


\textsuperscript{14} Document No. 64, in M. Venkatarangaiya (ed.), The Freedom Struggle in Andhra..., Vol.II, pp.300-301.
usual, the cattle fair was held to which one Chinnappa Reddy came to sell his two bulls. The police were rude and rough in controlling the large gathering of the illiterate mob. While controlling the mob, the police manhandled Chinnappa Reddy. Thereupon Reddy caught hold of a constable and beat him severely. Thereupon Reddy was arrested and taken to nearby police out-post erected especially for the occasion. The arrest and confinement of Reddy in the police out-post infuriated the gathering and they set fire to the police out-post. While attacking the police, the mob raised the cry 'Vandemataram'. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Subba Rao, rushed to the spot but he was hit by a missile hurled by the mob. As he received bleeding injury he had to retreat from the scene. The mob next attacked the nearby government offices and 'sheds' erected for the cattle fair. In the melee a peon and a constable of the Salt Department and two boys were killed. Thereupon fortyfive persons including Chinnappa Reddy were arrested and


charge-sheeted. Chinnappa Reddy was sentenced to death and twentyone others were given various terms of punishment. 17

The Kotappakonda Riot is simply a case of mob violence and had nothing to do with the Vandemataram movement or agitations connected with freedom struggle. However the riot was given a political colouring by the Anglo-Indian Press which questioned the integrity of the Indian officials. The Madras Times criticised Subba Rao, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and Kershasp, Sub-Collector, for deserting their posts of duty in times of danger and opined that British officials would not have done so. 18 The action of the Madras Government in suspending these two officials added insult to their injury. The Indian members of the bureaucracy felt that the government is very sensitive to the criticism of the Anglo-Indian Press and did not bother to understand the viewpoint of the Indians. Thus the Kotappakonda Riot succeeded in creating fissures in the bureaucracy and Indian members began to sympathise with the national aspirations of the people.

The Vandemataram movement lost its momentum by 1910 with the arrest of leaders like Tilak and Pal. In 1911 when the partition of Bengal was annulled the movement had completely fizzled out. In Andhra public opinion was focussed more on the formation of a separate state for the Telugus than on the national problems.

ANDHRA MOVEMENT

The annulment of the partition of Bengal and the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911 created a lull in the national movement. At the same, in Andhra, the sub-nationalism gained ascendancy. Andhras realised that in the Vandemataram movement, the leaders from Bengal and Maharashtra played a leading role and Andhras had to follow them. They also realised the need to assert their individuality in order to play conspicuous role in the national politics. So from 1911 onwards, the Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya turned their attention for the creation of separate Andhra Province. In the national
affairs they toed the line of the moderates.

The Andhra sub-nationalism registered its first victory when it succeeded in making the Indian National Congress to create a separate Andhra circle to supervise the affairs of the Congress in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. Leaders like Annie Besant and Gandhi opposed the proposal but Tilak supported the case for the creation of branches of the Congress on linguistic lines. In January 1918, the Andhra Congress Circle came into existence with Vijayawada as its headquarters.19

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

In 1916, the attention of the Andhras was drawn once again towards the national affairs when Annie Besant launched the Home Rule movement. At the same time Bal Gangadhar Tilak started a separate Home Rule League at Pune. Again in the same year, the national politics took another turn when the two factions of the Congress, Extremists and the Moderates, composed

their differences and united again at the Lucknow session of the Congress.

Both the Home Rule Leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant worked in close cooperation and understanding. While Tilak confined his activities to Bombay and Central Provinces, Besant covered her work in the rest of India.

Andhra responded enthusiastically to the Home Rule Movement. The members of the Theosophical Society joined the Home Rule Movement since Besant happened to be the President of both the organisations. Harisarvoothama Rao became the Secretary of the Andhra branch of the League and its centres were established in all important towns like Kakinada, Vijayawada, Machilipatnam, Guntur and Nellore. By 1917 there were as many as 52 centres in Andhra out of 132 in the entire Madras Presidency. Many prominent Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, A. Kaleswara Rao, K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Gutti Kesava Pillai, K.V. Reddi Naidu, Unnava Lakshminarayana,

Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, N. Subba Rao Pantulu and Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham joined the League.  

From the above, it is evident that the League had succeeded in attracting the erstwhile moderates of the Congress into its fold. But it had no grass- root organisation and the masses had no inkling of its programme and policy. Only in places like Madanapalle and Machilipatnam, it could make some impact. As Madanapalle happened to be the birth place of Jiddu Krishnamurthy, whom Besant regarded as the future Messiah of the humanity, the League established the National College (presently known as Besant Theosophical College) to implement its National Education Programme.

Besant toured Andhra in 1916 and addressed meetings at places like Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Guntur. In her address at Chittoor she said:

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22. A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevithakatha..., p.117.

"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."24

The district conferences of Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna and Guntur passed resolutions favouring Home Rule.

To counteract the growing popularity of the movement among the students and intellectuals, Madras Government issued a circular prohibiting the students from attending the political meetings. Obviously the circular could not be enforced.25 Government was embarrassed by the activities of Besant at a time when England was in the midst of a war with Germany. So it interned Besant and her colleagues Wadia and Arundale at Ooty in June 1917.26 The arrest of Besant infuriated the public and the movement was intensified. Protest meetings were held in many towns of Andhra. Telugu journals like Deshabhimani and Desamatha protested against the internment.


26. Ibid., pp.113-14.
Besant was released in September 1917 following the announcement of Montague on 20 August 1917 that British Government will initiate talks to solve the Indian problem. After her release the Home Rule phase ended and it soon merged itself into a greater movement of all India importance, namely the Non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi.

To sum up, during the years 1905-1918 great change had come over Andhra and it became highly politicised. In the following chapter we will note how Andhra reacted to the political developments elsewhere in the country and emergence of Gandhi as the sole leader of the Congress.