CHAPTER II

THE GENESIS OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT AND ANDHRA
The Emergence of Gandhi

The advent of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, popularly known as Mahatma (Great Soul) Gandhi or Gandhiji into the freedom struggle of India was an epoch making event in the country's history. He altered the character of the national movement by giving it a new ideology and a mass base. Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in early 1915 when the freedom struggle was at its lowest ebb. His name was then familiar only to the English knowing elite who read about his successful campaigns of 'Satyagraha' in South Africa.

Gandhi did not begin his public life in India on a note of confrontation with the British. On the other hand he supported the Government of India in its war effort and felt that it would be unethical to turn
British difficulties into India's opportunities. Further he took only a nominal part in proceedings of the Indian National Congress though he attended its annual sessions from 1916 onwards. He kept himself aloof from the factional quarrels of the leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Surendranath Benerjee and Annie Besant, and declined the invitation of Besant to join the Home Rule Movement. Gandhi decided to steer clear of the factional politics in the Congress on the advice of his political mentor Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The great Indian liberal leader Gokhale advised Gandhi in 1915 to watch the Indian political situation for one year, without committing himself in one way or the other and travel through out the country to see and understand its problems first hand.

Gandhi visited South India in April 1915 along with his wife Kastur Ba. His visits particularly to Madras city and Nellore town made great impact on the Andhras. Gandhi and his wife were accorded an enthusiastic reception at the Madras Central Station where an immense crowd of students had assembled. The reception was followed by a procession in which Annie Besant,
B.N. Sarma and other prominent leaders participated. On 21 April 1915, he addressed a meeting presided by S. Subramanian Iyer. In the course of his address Gandhi remarked that he was inspired by "the simple minded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward..." These words show that Gandhi assessed the political situation correctly and decided to make the freedom struggle more broad-based. His subaltern approach to politics was in direct contrast with the elitist approach of the leaders like Besant and Surendranath Benerjee.

Gandhi addressed several other meetings in Madras which were attended by lawyers, students, teachers, women, prominent Muslims and Christians. From Madras he proceeded to Nellore to attend the Madras Provincial Conference held from 4-5 May 1915. It was at this Conference several Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya were introduced to Gandhi. The impact of Gandhi on

1. Madras Mail, 19 April 1915.
2. Ibid., 22 April 1915.
4. Ibid., pp.50-51.
Andhra leaders was so profound that Andhras accepted his leadership without any reservation when he launched the Non-cooperation movement in 1920.

The next visit of Gandhi to Madras in February, 1916 created great enthusiasm among people particularly the students. He addressed the students of the city under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). In the course of his lectures he dwelt on various topics like 'Ashram' life, truth and non-violence, promotion of 'Swadeshi', role of students in politics, and eradication of untouchability. The students of Victoria Hostel presented an address of welcome to him. 5

The two visits of Gandhi to the South within a year shows the importance he attached to Madras Presidency for his future plan of action to free the country from the British rule. It is no secret that other leaders of the Congress had a low opinion of the South and derided Madras as benighted Presidency.

Gandhi, on the other hand, felt that the conservative South is in tune with his unorthodox approach to politics with the emphasis on truth, non-violence and constructive programme which are anathema to the city-bred elitist Congress leaders. As expected, Gandhi's visits to the South had profound impact on the citizens of Madras who for the first time celebrated Gandhi's birthday on 2 October 1917 in the Gokhale Hall. The participants included many prominent Andhra leaders like Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao Pantulu, the Editor of *Andhra Patrika*, a Telugu Daily which popularised Gandhian ideology in Andhra. Another noteworthy feature was the participation of women in the proceedings of the day.

While treading cautiously into the arena of Indian politics Gandhi embarked upon many schemes of social experimentation. In May, 1915 he started on the banks of river Sabarmati near Ahmedabad an 'Ashram' or Hermitage on the lines of the Phoenix settlement in South Africa. He hoped to develop the Sabarmati Ashram into a self-sufficient colony for his dedicated followers. As in Africa, the Ashram admitted people
from all sects and castes including the so called untouchables who were later on named by him as 'Harijans' or Children of God. To enrol in the Ashram one has to take a number of vows—to speak truth; observe chastity; and eschew violence. Further one has to spin cloth, raise crops, tend cattle and live in a spirit of communal harmony. Through these experiments of corporate living Gandhi tried to coalesce the fragmented Hindu society and uplift the depressed groups socially and economically. Sabarmati Ashram exerted profound influence all over the country. In Andhra several Ashrams on the model of Sabarmati were established from 1920 onwards at places like Pallipadu (Nellore District), Sitanagaram (East Godavari District) and other places.

Though Gandhi decided not to embarrass the Government of India during the period of war, he could not remain silent when the bureaucracy trampled on the basic fundamental rights of the people. When the government imprisoned without trial Shoukat Ali, Mohammad Ali and Abul Kalam Azad in 1915-16 for their pan-Islamic activities, Gandhi protested. This
shows that he is very sensitive towards the Muslim susceptibilities. He wanted to project himself as the champion of the Muslim rights all over the globe. This aspect of Gandhi's personality became all the more glaring during 1920-21 when he supported the Khilafat agitation. No wonder Gandhi decided to attend uninvited the annual session of the Muslim League at Lucknow in December 1916 wherein he declared that unity between the two communities (Hindu and Muslim) was essential precondition for securing self-government.

During 1917-18 Gandhi involved himself in a number of local agitations in places like Champaran in Bihar, Kaira and Ahmedabad in Gujarat. In these agitations he experimented with 'Satyagraha' to remedy the grievances of peasants against landlords in Champaran, farmers against revenue officials in Kaira.

6. This aspect is dealt at length later in the chapter.
7. Gandhi called his movement 'Satyagraha', the force born of truth and love or non-violence. It is a soul force pure and simple which overcomes brute force. Gandhi felt that brute force had absolutely no place in the Indian movement in any circumstance; no matter how badly they suffered, the Satyagrahis never used physical force. They tried to convert the opponent to their point of view by their adherence to non-violence and self-suffering. Gandhi emphasized that the Satyagraha could be practised by even common people for achieving their political ends.
and mill-workers against their employers in Ahmedabad. Though these disputes had no national significance, yet they paved the way for the emergence of Gandhi on the national scene as an unchallenged leader. On the outcome of the Satyagraha in Gujarat, Gandhi commented that it created a sense of fearlessness among the peasantry.  

By supporting the causes of the small peasants and workers, Gandhi enlarged his constituency and at the same time brought to the notice of the elitist leaders of the dangers of ignoring the issues concerning the new emerging pressure groups like industrial workers, who are concentrated in the megalopolis like Bombay and the emerging industrial centres like Ahmedabad. Gandhi was well aware of the impact he had created on the Congress workers and the general public. He succeeded in impressing the people that their salvation depends on themselves and their capacity to withstand suffering and readiness for sacrifice.  

It is interesting to note that Gandhi by supporting the cause of the industrial workers was able to win over the capitalists to his side. The emerging Gujarati capitalists found in Gandhi a fellow Gujarati on whom they could depend for resolving their industrial disputes. The oft declarations of Gandhi that the capitalists are the trustees of the workers pleased them so much that they contributed funds to varied activities of the Mahatma.\(^\text{10}\)

Despite his triumphs at Champaran, Kaira and Ahmedabad, Gandhi could not get admission into the inner echelons of the Indian National Congress which still remained a close preserve of the metropolitan elite of Bombay and Calcutta. They looked with disdain the activities of the briefless barrister of Gujarat who is yet to attain the halo of the 'Mahatma'. Being an astute judge of men and matters Gandhi was well aware of his position in the hierarchy of the Congress. This was evident by his reaction to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. When Srinivasa Sastri

\(^{10}\) Apart from the Gujarati industrialists Gandhi received financial support from the Birlas (Marwadis of Rajasthan), one of the top industrial groups of the country.
pressed Gandhi to comment on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the latter declared that he was not a keen politician and had not studied the proposals in great detail, and therefore hesitated to give opinion on them. At the same time he declared that the proposals deserved "sympathetic handling rather than a summary rejection."\(^{11}\) Gandhi emerged on the national scene on his own right after the publication of Rowlatt Report\(^{12}\) on 19 July 1918. His reaction to the report was sharp. He correctly guessed that the time has come for him to take over the leadership and guide the masses in the struggle for freedom.

At Andhra momentous developments were taking place. By the end of First World War the Telugu Districts became more politicised and even women were evincing interest in the developments in the country and elsewhere. The agitation for creation of separate Andhra province and forays of the national leaders into Andhra to enlist support for their activities made

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12. This aspect is dealt at length elsewhere in the chapter.
Andhra, like Bengal, the Punjab and Maharashtra, the hotbed of political activity in the South.

After the publication of Montagu-Chelmsford Report many meetings and special conferences were held in various Andhra towns to express disappointment on the report. Even in a place like Cuddapah in the politically dormant Rayalaseema region a public meeting was held on 21 July 1918 to express resentment over Montagu-Chelmsford Report.13 At the special conferences of the districts of Krishna, Nellore, Chittoor and Ganjam similar resolutions were passed.14 But in the special session of the Andhra Mahasabha divergent views were expressed. Some delegates favoured a total rejection of the scheme, but others including B.N. Sarma favoured the acceptance of the scheme with certain modifications and additions. Finally a resolution on the above lines proposed by B.N. Sarma was passed.15

Many Telugu journals opposed the scheme on the
ground that it did not bring about any real transfer
of power into the hands of the Indians. Krishna Patrika
in its leader of 13 July 1918 observed thus:

"A mountain has been dug and a rat has
been caught. What the country has so
long demanded is one, and what has been
offered is another."16

Government did not take the criticism on the Report
with good grace. Hundreds of people were arrested for
opposing the Report. This created bitterness against
the government. Among the arrested included Darsi
Chenchaiah.17 These repressive measures affected the


17. Report on the Native Newspapers of Madras Presidency
(N.N.R.), 1918, page 191, para 142.
He figures in the Gaddar conspiracy case. While in
the U.S. during the first world war he had contacts
with the Gaddar party of Secret Revolutionary Society
which worked for Indian independence. Soon after
his return to India after the end of the war
Chenchaiah was arrested on the suspicion that he
had contacts with Indians who clandestinely supported
the Indian revolutionaries abroad. As Chenchaiah
was arrested on mere suspicion many meetings were
held to demand his release. The press also took up
his cause but nothing came out of it. See for
details, Darsi Chenchaiah, Nenu-Naa Desamu (I and my
Country) (Telugu), (Vijayawada, 1952).
recruitment to the army and the raising of war loans. The lawyers of Ramachandrapuram in East Godavari district refused to subscribe to the war loans until the reforms were introduced. 18

As the days passed on, the relations between the government and the people further deteriorated with the publication of the Rowlatt recommendations. The apprehension of the people that their basic rights are endangered even in times of peace came true. As a result the Andhras like the other Indians supported Gandhi's call to protest against the Rowlatt Bills through Satyagraha.

**Rowlatt Satyagraha**

During the First World War the Defence of India Act was promulgated in 1915 which empowered the government to intern people without trial. Special tribunals were created to try people for sedition and those found guilty are liable to be sentenced to death or imprisonment for life in the penal settlement of

Andamans. These measures were aimed to curb the growing activities of the revolutionaries during the war.

As the Defence of India Act would lapse after the end of the War, the Government of India appointed a Committee in December 1917 headed by Justice Rowlatt to review the situation. The Committee in its report of 19 July 1918 recommended the government to arm itself with special powers to deal with any emergency in areas officially proclaimed as disturbed. Further the executive was vested with powers to imprison persons without trial. 19

The publication of the report evoked protests all over the country. But the government ignored the protests and introduced a bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on 6 February 1919 to arm itself with emergency powers. The bill popularly known as 'Rowlatt bill' was opposed by the Indian Members in the Council and G.S. Khaparde commented that for the first time all Indian members of the Council voted en bloc. 20

20. Ibid.
The Telugu press also opposed the Bills and moulded public opinion in Andhra against them. The Andhra Patrika observed thus:

"If the new bills were to become law, it may be said that even the nominal freedom now enjoyed will totally disappear in future. It is very regrettable that the present time when the bond of mutual good will between the rulers and the ruled should become stronger, new repressive measures should be under preparation. What the authorities want to do cannot but come to pass. Still it is the duty of the government to foresee the future condition of India under such laws and withdraw them now at least." 21

Krishna Patrika commented thus:

"The government of India are determined to pass the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee into law. In the past they gave the Minto-Morley Reforms with one hand and the Press Act with other. While Mr. Montagu is busy in England in preparing the scheme of self-government for India, the Government of India are trying here to enact repressive laws which cut at the root of the fundamental rights of man." 22

Another journal *Deshabhimanii* commented:

"The reading of such religious and devotional works as the Bhagavadgita has been condemned in the report. National education has been similarly treated; and patriotism has been regarded as seditious... No self-respecting Indian can give his consent to these bills ... It is the duty of the people to carry on agitation in the country and see that these are not passed into law."23

Other journals also opposed the bills in a similar strain.

Here it may be pointed out that the journals like *Krishna Patrika* and *Andhra Patrika* played a very significant role in formulating the public opinion in Andhra. It may be recalled that in 1907 Mutnuri Krishna Rao, the Editor of *Krishna Patrika* invited Bipin Chandra Pal, to tour Andhra at the heyday of the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements. The *Andhra Patrika*, like *Krishna Patrika*, was in the vanguard of the freedom struggle and its editor Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao was hailed as 'Desoddharaka' or benefactor of the country by Gandhi.

It was however the reaction of Gandhi opposing the introduction of Rowlatt bills that transformed the whole situation. Illness prevented Gandhi from participating in the early discussions on the Rowlatt recommendations, but once the bills came before the Imperial Legislative Council he opposed them. As early as February 1919 Gandhi told Srinivasa Sastri of his intention to oppose the bill as it was not just "a stray example of lapse of righteousness and justice" but "evidence of a determined policy of repression." He announced that he would lead a Satyagraha movement if the bill was passed into law. Two days later on 26 February 1919, Gandhi addressed an open letter to the 'People of India' urging them to join the Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Act. He then


drafted pledge for those who were prepared to offer Satyagraha against the Act.26 The pledge shows Gandhi's legal acumen and also conveys succinctly his political ideology and sense of mission towards the country.

After announcing his decision to offer Satyagraha Gandhi decided to tour the country to educate the people of the modalities of the Satyagraha. During the course of his tour he visited the Andhra also. The response of the Andhras to Gandhi's call for Satyagraha was overwhelming. Gandhi first visited Secunderabad and from there he proceeded to Vijayawada.

26. The pledge ran as follows:

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the concepts of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary right of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself 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 such 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."

where he explained the nuances of the satyagraha to a mixed audience comprising of the illiterate villagers, who gathered to have a 'Darshan' of Gandhi and the English educated urban elite comprising mostly of the professionals like lawyers and doctors. Gandhi's speech was translated into Telugu by Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao. One of the important moves of Gandhi to make his movement broad-based was his insistence to address the gathering in Hindustani in place of the prevailing practice of English. By this move Gandhi not only succeeded in bridging the gulf between the illiterate rural folk and the English educated urban elite but also highlighted the need to develop Hindustani as the *lingua franca* of India.

Gandhi then proceeded to Madras. Even before Gandhi's arrival at Madras, a mammoth public meeting was held on 17 March 1919 on the Marina beach under the chairmanship of Tanguturi Prakasam, where the audience took a pledge to fight the repressive Rowlatt legislation. The Madras meeting brings to the fore
two important facets—first its cosmopolitan outlook and second its political awareness. Being the capital of multilingual presidency, the city of Madras attracted people of all the linguistic groups, who wanted to make good in life. Secondly, due to the availability of tele-communication facilities it became the seat of journalistic activities. Almost all journals in English, Telugu and Tamil were published from the Madras city. The Madras meeting was presided over by T. Prakasam who later became very popular leader of the Andhras. The meeting was also attended by Sarojini Naidu.

Public meetings were the order of the day. Another meeting was held on 18 March under the Presidency of S. Kasturi Ranga Iyyengar, a well-known leader of Tamil Nadu. The meeting was attended by many Andhra leaders like G. Harisarvatham Rao. During the course of meeting the message of Gandhi exhorting the people to oppose the Rowlatt Act through Satyagraha was read out.

While Gandhi was in Madras the Rowlatt Act was passed on 21 March 1919. All the Indian Members of the
Imperial Assembly, both elected and nominated, voted against it. Therefore on 23 March 1919 Gandhi issued an appeal asking the people to observe 6 April 1919 "as a day of humiliation and prayer."

Andhra responded to Gandhi's appeal by observing 6 April as a day of national mourning and humiliation. There was complete 'hartal' or cessation of work "the first of its kind in all towns and even some villages". The outward manifestations of the protest were community bathing in the morning followed by 'Sankirtan' parties marching in the streets singing devotional songs; offering prayers in temples and mosques; stopping all work in factories, business houses, shops and other places of work; monster meetings in the evening and passing resolutions calling on the government to repeal the Rowlatt Act.


28. The Hindu, 2 April 1919.

One of the disturbing features of the Gandhi's programme of 'hartal' was his insistence on prayer and fast, which gave the political movement a religious colouring. Gandhi in order to make the movement broad-based and unique tried to appeal to the religious sentiments and cultural ethos of the masses. He did not foresee its adverse impact on the Muslims who viewed the movement as one of Hindu fundamentalism.

The towns which observed 'hartal' included Vijayawada, Rajahmundry, Guntur, Narasapur, Ellore, Visakhapatnam, Nellore and Chittoor. Vemavarapu Ramadas Pantulu who later became famous as one of the leading lights of the Cooperative Movement presided over a large public meeting at Madras and explained why the country adopted passive resistance to get the act repealed. Gadicherla Harisarvathama Rao also spoke on the occasion.

From urban centres the movement spread to villages also. The ryots of Vijayawada Taluk gathered at Kolavennu village to protest against

30. The Hindu, 7-9 April 1919; See also G.O. No. 222, Public (Confidential), 24 April 1919; Kodali Anjaneyulu, Andhra Pradeshlo Gandhi, pp.120-29.
31. Kodali Anjaneyulu, Andhra Pradeshlo Gandhi, P.120.
The movement spread to the neighbouring Guntur district also and the government had to admit its impact on the shop-keepers thus:

"In Guntur shop-keepers were induced to close their shops as they were told that under the Rowlatt Act any officer could imprison any person without trial for any offence..."  

The movement though professed to be non-violent showed signs of taking a violent turn. Hence the army was instructed "to keep in closest touch with the Civil Authorities as regards danger to be expected from the Satyagraha movement."

The Rowlatt Satyagraha has two unique aspects. First it was truly national in character since it was offered throughout the country, and secondly it was mass-based. People both in urban areas and villages who had hitherto stood outside the nationalist agitations participated in the movement. Further the movement overcame the racial and linguistic barriers and

33. F.N.R., 21 April 1919.
34. G.O.No. 223, Public (Confidential), 25 April 1919.
united under one banner, the rich and the poor and the middle classes in its opposition to the British colonial domination.

The agitation however took a violent turn particularly in North due to the forceful reaction of the local administrators to suppress the movement. The Rowlatt Satyagraha marked a turning point in the history of the Indian freedom struggle. The days of submitting petitions and passing resolutions at the annual session of the Congress are over. The movement became more articulate and mass-based. For the first time the rural masses including women began to evince interest in the political developments of the country.

**Jallianwalabagh Massacre**

While the 'hartal' passed off peacefully in Andhra, it took a violent turn in Delhi, the Punjab, Ahmedabad and other places in the North. The trouble in the North was due to confusion regarding the date of hartal. Originally it was intended to observe hartal on 30 March 1919, but later the date was changed to
6th April. Unfortunately the change of date was not given wide publicity, with the result the over enthusiastic local leaders in places like Delhi observed hartal on 30th March, without following the guidelines issued by Gandhi. When the hartal took a violent turn, police opened fire resulting in the death of five persons.

In the surcharged atmosphere, the hartal was observed again on 6th April. Meanwhile, Gandhi started for Delhi to study the developments in the capital and the Punjab and restore the non-violent character of the movement. But on the way Gandhi was arrested and brought to Bombay. The arrest of Gandhi coincided with the arrest of the Punjab leaders like Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal.

The arrest of the Punjab leaders and Gandhi and the emotionally surcharged atmosphere of the country disturbed the volatile Punjabees. In Amritsar they reacted spontaneously by organising a procession to the Deputy Commissioner demanding the release of their leaders. Unfortunately the crowd was fired upon resulting in the
death of five persons. The mob retaliated and killed five Englishmen and injured one lady Missionary, Dr. Sherwood. The death of the Englishmen unnerved the local British officials who dreaded the repetition of 1857 carnage at Kanpur and other centres of the 'Sepoy Mutiny'. General Dyer who commanded the local garrison took stock of the situation on 11th April and unleashed ruthless repression on the people. Other Punjab towns like Gujranwala and Kasur were also affected by the Amritsar disturbances.

In this tense atmosphere a meeting was held on the 'Vaisakhi' or Punjab New Year's Day (13 April 1919) at the Jallianwalabagh in Amritsar to protest against the atrocities of the police and the military. The meeting was attended by about twenty thousand people. General Dyer entered the venue of the meeting at the head of one hundred Indian sepoys and fifty British soldiers and blocked the only exit of the place which was enclosed on all sides by a wall. While a local leader Dr. Hansraj was addressing the gathering, General Dyer ordered his men to open fire on the people. The firing went on for about ten minutes till the entire
amunition of 1650 rounds was exhausted. As a result four hundred people were killed and two thousands wounded. The attack on the unarmed mob was further compounded by the callous attitude of the administration which did nothing to render medical aid to the injured women and children. The Jallianwalabagh massacre at one stroke revealed the true face of the British colonialism which boasted of its civilising mission in India.

After the massacre, Martial Law was clamped in Amritsar, Lahore and other places in the Punjab. The massacre left a deep scar on the Indian psyche. Even the moderates were revulsed at the over reaction of the administration. Presiding over the Conference of the Moderates, P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer observed that a reign of terror prevailed in the Punjab. This remark coming from a person known to hold views favourable to the establishment speaks volumes of the change that has come over the people in their attitude towards the British government.

Information about the Punjab atrocities slowly perculated to different parts of the country in spite of censorship of the press. In Andhra people felt that the happening in the Punjab was a national humiliation worse than the passing of the Rowlatt Act. District Associations of the Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna and Nellore condemned the repression in the Punjab and elsewhere. At the Ganjam conference some members wanted to table a resolution requesting the British Prime Minister to recall Chelmsford. At a public meeting held in Madras city both Konda Venkatappayya and T. Prakasam condemned the action of the Punjab government. A joint meeting of the Divisional Congress and the Home Rule League was held at Rajahmundry which felt that the crisis could be defused only by the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the withdrawal of the harsh and repressive measures in the Punjab and other places. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee (APCC) at its meeting held at Vijayawada on 13 July 1919 demanded the release of the persons

38. Ibid., pp.138-39.
arrested under martial law. The Guntur Bar Association went a step further and demanded the impeachment of General Dyer.

The resolutions of the various District Associations and other public bodies clearly indicate that Jallianwala Bagh massacre has opened the eyes of English educated elite as to the true nature of the British imperialism.

Several Telugu journals like Desabhimani, Desamata, Andhravani, Andhra Patrika and Krishna Patrika sternly criticized the repression of the government. Desabhimani questioned the need for repression as the Indians exhibited their loyalty to the British during the First World War. Krishna Patrika said that a cup of sorrow was full and another drop would make it overflow. Andhra Patrika felt similarly and stressed


42. Ibid.
the need to save the life, honour and property of our brethren. Andhravani criticised the authorities for not providing the medical aid to the wounded at Jallianwalabagh.

Gadicherla Harisarvathama Rao's article entitled 'Cult of the Bullet' condemning the Jallianwalabagh tragedy published in The Nationalist was proscribed. The Editor of the Godavari Patrika, Ch. Narasimha Rao, was warned for an article on Michael O'Dwyer. The atrocities of Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab became the theme of Damara Punidarikasshudu's play Panchala Parabhavamu. It created revulsion in the minds of the people when it was enacted.

The Government of Madras soft-pedalled the violent criticism of Telugu journals on the Punjab situation as

43. N.N.R., 1919, Page 1172, para 50.
44. G.O.No. 101, Public (Ordinary), 14 February 1920.
46. G.O.No. 308, Public (Confidential), 29 May 1919.
47. B. Seshagiri Rao, History of Freedom Movement in Guntur District (Ongole, n.d.), p.43.
it felt that the over reaction of the Punjab Government was responsible for the tragedy of 13 April 1919. This shows that the Punjab Government mishandled the situation. Had it been more balanced like the Madras Government, the history of the Indian freedom struggle would have been different. In this connection one must remember that it was the Punjab which stood behind the British in the critical days of the Mutiny of 1857.

One important reaction to the imposition of the Martial Law in the Punjab was the demand for a declaration of fundamental rights. T. Prakasam while presiding over the Nellore district conference in September 1919 made a pointed reference for the need of fundamental rights.48

The public outcry against the Punjab repression forced the Viceroy to appoint a Committee under the Chairmanship of Hunter to enquire into the happenings in the Punjab. But the public was not satisfied and demanded that the enquiry must be entrusted to a Royal Commission independent of the control of the Government.

of India and reporting directly to His Majesty's Government in England. Krishna Patrika questioned the propriety in appointing a Committee by the Viceroy when the dispute was between his government and people, and said that only the British Parliament which exercises control over the both had the power to appoint a Committee. 49

Soon after the constitution of the Enquiry Committee, government introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council a bill to indemnify the Punjab officers for acting under Martial Law. The press and the public in Andhra condemned the bill as the Enquiry Committee was yet to submit its report. The A.P.C.C. felt that the action of government in introducing the indemnity bill betrayed its guilty conscience and demanded the withdrawal of bill from the Imperial Legislature. 50

The Telugu journals also held a similar view. In spite of these protests the bill was passed into a law.


50. N.N.R., 1919, page 1464, para 100.
It was against this background that the annual session of the Congress was held at Amritsar in December 1919 under the Presidentship of Motilal Nehru. He made a touching reference to the Punjab tragedy and said that he had been assigned the "role of chief mourner". By then Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were announced and the political prisoners were released to create a favourable atmosphere for the reception of reforms. C.R. Das and Tilak felt that the reforms were "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and demanded their rejection. However Gandhi and Malavya felt otherwise and wanted that they should be given a fair trial. Ultimately a compromise was effected and the resolution stating that though the Reforms were inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, yet they should be given a trial was passed. The British Parliament was urged to take early steps to establish full responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination.51

Many Andhras including Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao and Pattabhi Sitaramayya attended the conference and participated in the deliberations. They also participated in a private meeting of the Madras delegates which sought the punishment of the Punjab officials responsible for the atrocities. Regarding Montagu-Chelmsford reforms they felt them to be unsatisfactory but at the same time wanted that they should be given a fair trial.\(^52\)

Jallianwalabagh became an hallowed spot and the delegates visited it to pay their homage to the martyrs of freedom struggle.\(^53\) Thus by the end of the year 1919, Andhra Public was fully politicised and geared itself to play a significant role in the coming struggle for freedom.

**Khilafat Agitation**

Another factor that helped in the emergence of Gandhi as a national leader and facilitated the birth

\(^{52}\) G.O. No. 569, Public (Confidential), 7 September 1920 (See C.I.D. Report, 26 December 1919).

of Non-cooperation movement was the Khilafat agitation. From the beginning of the First World War the Muslims of India were agitated over the fate of the Turkey which ranged itself against England and its allies. Since the ruler of Turkey was regarded as the religious head (Khalifa) of the Islamic world, naturally the Muslims of India were worried about the fate of Turkey and the holy places of Islam concentrated in the Ottoman empire in the event of the defeat of Germany and its allies. But the British government assured the Muslims that no sacrilege would be permitted to their holy shrines in the Ottoman empire. Satisfied with this assurance the Muslims supported the British government during the war. But on the conclusion of the war in November 1918 it became evident that the Ottoman empire would be dismembered and the Sultan deposed. The Muslims of India were agitated at this development and started what was known as Khilafat agitation for the retention of the Turkish Sultan. The leaders of the agitation were Mohammad Ali and Shoukat Ali, popularly known as Ali brothers.
Gandhi identified himself with Khilafat movement since its inception. On 18 September 1919 he addressed a meeting in Bombay which adopted a resolution expressing anxiety over the dismemberment of Turkey and demanded the fulfilment of British promises.\textsuperscript{54}

In championing the agitation of the Indian Muslims Gandhi saw an opportunity to unite Hindus and Muslims which would not arise in the years to come.\textsuperscript{55} By his experience in South Africa Gandhi felt that a united front of Hindus and Muslims against the British would be effective. So he declared:

"If twenty-two crores of Hindus intelligently plead for the Muslims on the Khilafat issue, I believe that they would for ever win the vote of the eight crores of Muslims."\textsuperscript{56}

To forge Hindu-Muslim unity, Gandhi presided over a joint Hindu-Muslim conference held at Delhi on 24 November 1919. It was at this conference he expounded for the first time his doctrine of non-violent Non-cooperation to solve the Khilafat issue.\textsuperscript{57} But he

\textsuperscript{54} C.W.M.G., Vol. XVI, p.153.


\textsuperscript{56} C.W.M.G., Vol. XVII, p.61.

\textsuperscript{57} Asha Rani, Gandhian Non-Violence and India's Freedom Struggle, (Delhi, 1981), p.137.
opposed the clubbing of the Punjab issue with Khilafat agitation and advised his followers to wait for the findings of the Punjab Enquiry Committee. With regard to the Khilafat agitation he was not, however, prepared to wait for the peace settlement and stated thus:

"We cannot wait regarding the Khilafat question as its decision is in view and we must place our feelings before the world before final settlement."58

It is evident from the above that Gandhi was prepared to go to any extent to appease the Muslims in their agitation which has no relevance to the country. Though many Congressmen did not agree with Gandhi on the Khilafat question, yet they supported him in the public. It was these Congressmen who lacked the courage of conviction were responsible for the fissures in the Indian nationalism.

After conceiving the idea of Non-cooperation, Gandhi took immediate steps to get it ratified by the

Congress so as to give it a stamp of respectability and national support. He succeeded in making the Congress pass a resolution in its annual session at Amritsar in December 1919, extending support to the Muslims on the Khilafat question. On 9 March 1920 he issued a manifesto on Khilafat question and advocated non-violent Non-cooperation agitation to solve the Khilafat problem. 19 March 1920 was to be observed as the Khilafat Day and also the day of national mourning.

In Andhra too Khilafat Day was observed by both Muslims and Hindus in all important towns like Berhampur, Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Machilipatnam, Vijayawada, Guntur, Nellore, Bellary and Cuddapah. Gandhi's appeal to observe Khilafat Day received wide support since the people began to come under his magic spell.

Khilafat agitation received a boost when the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were made public on

14 May 1920. As apprehended by the Muslims the treaty was severe on Turkey. Two weeks later the Hunter Committee Report on Punjab disturbances was published. Gandhi characterised the report as "thinly disguised official white-wash" and confessed that it gave a 'rude shock' to his belief on the moral basis of the British rule. He declared that it would be immoral for him to associate with the government so long as the Punjab wrongs are left unremedied.

While Gandhi was expounding his reaction on Khilafat and the Punjab issues, Muslims of India worked themselves into a hysterical pitch and regarded Britain as villain of the piece. To register its resentment against Britain the Central Khilafat Committee met at Bombay on 28 May 1920 and announced its decision to launch non-violent Non-cooperation movement. In an another meeting held at Allahabad in June, the Committee chalked out four-tier programme which included the surrender of titles, resigning positions in the civil


service, police and army and non-payment of taxes. Gandhi began to press the Congress to adopt a similar plan of campaign concerning the three issues of the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj. On 2 June 1920 the Congress named a sub-committee with Gandhi and six Muslims "to give practical effect to the movement without further delay."

On 7 July 1920 the Khilafat Committee announced that its Non-cooperation movement would begin on 1 August 1920. At the same time Gandhi informed the Viceroy that he would also launch Non-cooperation movement on 1 August 1920. As the Viceroy ignored the Gandhi's letter, the latter had no option but to start his much publicized Non-cooperation movement on 1 August 1920. He did this by surrendering his decorations and titles conferred on him by the government.

64. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India, 1885-1947, (Delhi, 1983), p.196.
65. R.C. Majumdar, History of the Freedom Movement..., p.72.
After formally launching the movement Gandhi toured the country “to popularise the new gospel and to feel the pulse of the masses”\(^\text{68}\). In the course of his tour he visited Madras on 12 August and addressed a public meeting attended by Andhra leaders like Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Puranam Nagabhushanam, Challa Seshagiri Rao, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya.\(^\text{69}\)

On his return journey to Calcutta Gandhi along with Shoukat Ali visited Vijayawada on 23 August and stayed there as guest of A. Kaleswara Rao. The press gave wide publicity to the visit of Gandhi and Congress leaders from different Telugu districts met him to express their support to his movement. Kaleswara Rao withdrew his candidature to the Legislative Council, while Ghulam Mohiuddin of Vijayawada resigned his position of Honorary Magistrate.\(^\text{70}\)

\(^{68}\) Asha Rani, *Gandhian Non-Violence...*, p.148.


When Gandhi launched the Non-cooperation movement, elections to the Provincial Legislative Assemblies under the reforms of 1919 were announced. Andhra leaders like A. Kaleswara Rao, Konda Venkatappayya were busy in the electioneering campaign. Ranged against the Congress was the pro-government Justice Party which favoured the British connection with India. The Telugu press displayed a considerable interest in educating the electorate as direct elections were held for the first time. Journals like Andhra Patrika, Krishna Patrika, Deshabhimani and Hitakarini appealed to the voters to vote for the Congress candidates. 71

But interest in the elections slackened when Gandhi announced his Non-cooperation movement. As noted earlier one of the planks of the Non-cooperation movement was boycott of elections to the Legislative Councils and other representative bodies. The Telugu press which by and large toed the line of Gandhi suddenly changed its stance on the elections and propagated for its boycott. But journals like

Krishna Patrika, Desabhimani were critical of Gandhi's involvement in the Khilafat agitation. They felt that Swaraj was more important than the Khilafat or remedying the wrongs done to the Punjabis.

The Telugu press, though showed commendable zeal in educating the public on the various issues confronting the nation, was unwilling to highlight the damage Gandhi has done to the nation, by hob-nobbing with the Muslim communalists and the fundamentalists, for the fear of becoming unpopular among its readers. The Andhra public being highly emotional was carried away by Gandhi's saintly appearance and failed to assess the damage he has done to the Indian nationalism. It perpetuated the myth that the nation had no other alternative than to follow the path of non-violent Non-cooperation shown by Gandhi for achieving Swaraj and for redressing the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

It was in this atmosphere surcharged with emotion that

the special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta to discuss the Gandhi's call for Non-cooperation with the government.

**Special Session of the Congress—Calcutta, September 1920**

The special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta during 4-9 September 1920 under the presidency of the Punjab leader Lala Lajpat Rai. Gandhi introduced a lengthy resolution concerning Khilafat and the Punjab atrocities. The crux of the resolution enumerated the different facets of Non-cooperation like the surrender of titles, boycott of elections and councils, schools and colleges, law courts and finally the foreign goods.

While propagating Non-cooperation with the government, Gandhi gave economic dimension to his movement by insisting the Congress workers to abjure the use of mill-made textiles of England and in their place wear khadi or khaddar, i.e., handwoven cloth. Gandhi hailing from Gujarat, the important centre of textile
industry in India, correctly assessed the role of textiles in the Indian economy. After agriculture, it was the textiles which provided employment to large number of people. But after the industrial revolution in England, the Indian textiles was unable to withstand the competition of the cheap mill-made cloth of England. As a result a large number of weavers lost their means of livelihood and became destitutes. Gandhi by insisting on the wearing of khadi hoped not only to revive the Indian handloom industry, but also hurt the interests of the British capitalists, the main pillars of British imperialism.

Initially Gandhi did not include in his resolution the demand for Swaraj and confined himself to Khilafat and Punjab wrongs only. But on the suggestion of Salem Vijayaraghavachari and also of Motilal Nehru, he incorporated Swaraj in the resolution. After a prolonged discussion the resolution was passed with 1886 votes in favour and 884 against. The Andhra


delegates who supported the Gandhi's resolution included A. Kaleswara Rao, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya and Bulusu Sambamurti while thirty others including Konda Venkatappayya and Tanguturi Prakasam opposed it. Another Andhra leader B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the future Historian of the Indian National Congress and a close confidite of Gandhi, remained neutral. 76

One Andhra delegate, K.B. Madhava Rao of Nellore suggested two amendments to Gandhi's resolution—one regarding the creation of peasant councils all over the country and the second concerning the non-payment of taxes by the peasants. But he was persuaded by the President not to press for the amendments since the first would be viewed with suspicion by the government because it was after the model of such councils in Bolshevik Russia. Regarding the second, the President clarified that Gandhi deliberately dropped it from his original programme because he wanted to approach the masses to refuse to pay the taxes after the leaders had set an example of carrying out Non-cooperation as far as it affected them. The amendments were withdrawn and

Madhava Rao supported the Gandhi's resolution. 77

One of the important Andhra delegates Konda Venkatappayya opposed Gandhi's resolution as he felt it to be impracticable and cause much hardship to the middle class professionals like the lawyers and doctors but he was persuaded by the fellow Andhra delegates like Sitarama Sastri and Kaleswara Rao to join the Non-cooperation movement. Venkatappayya who ceased to practice as a lawyer by the end of 1915 and devoted himself to public causes, resigned his membership in the Madras Legislative Council and joined in the Non-cooperation movement. 78

The action of Konda Venkatappayya in joining the Non-cooperation movement against his own convictions shows how the Andhra intelligentsia like its counterparts elsewhere in the country surrendered independent thinking and mortgaged its conscience at the behest of the one who could rouse the masses to his way of thinking.

Venkatappayya played an important role in the Non-cooperation movement and won encomium of Gandhi. Another important Andhra leader who in spite of his reservations about Gandhi's programme joined the Non-cooperation movement was T. Prakasam.

After the Calcutta session Gandhi's control over the Congress party was unchallenged. In Andhra, Congressmen vied with one another to express and exhibit their loyalty to the 'Mahatma' as Gandhi was now addressed. Elections for Legislative Council scheduled to be held in the last week of November 1920 were boycotted. Throughout Andhra Gandhi's message of Non-cooperation was received with wide acclaim. People readily believed that Gandhi was their Messiah who would lead the country into freedom in the course of a year or two. No wonder leaders like Venkatappayya

79. Prakasam later became the Chief Minister of Madras state as well as Andhra. It is interesting to note that in 1946 Prakasam had a confrontation with Gandhi when the latter opposed Prakasam from seeking election as leader of the Congress Legislature and to become Chief Minister. In spite of Gandhi's opposition, Prakasam was elected as the leader of Congress party in Legislative Assembly of Madras and became the Chief Minister. This clearly indicates that towards the end of his career Gandhi lost his grip over the Congressmen and could not impose his dictates on them.
and Prakasam were carried away by public expectations and fell in line with Gandhi. As the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee Konda Venkatappayya toured several districts in Andhra to mould public opinion in favour of Non-cooperation. The Telugu press did its best to bolster the image of Gandhi and gave wide publicity to his call of Non-cooperation and reminded its readers of the necessity of boycotting the elections for the Legislative Council. As a result a large section of the electorate abstained from voting. Following Gandhi's call the lawyers gave up their practice in the courts and the students discontinued their studies.

Nagpur Congress, December 1920

When the Non-cooperation movement was gaining momentum, the Congress met at Nagpur for its annual session on 26 December 1920, under the Presidentship of Salem Vijayaraghavachari. The session was attended by about 16,000 delegates and among them were several lawyers who gave up their profession and students who discontinued their studies.

80. This is dealt in detail in Chapter III.
The first resolution passed at the session had an important bearing on the ideology of the Congress. The resolution laid down that "the object of the Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means" instead of "by constitutional means", the phrase previously used. This change had to be made in order to provide legitimacy to Gandhi's call of Non-cooperation. 81 The session, while endorsing the call of Non-cooperation passed at Calcutta session, did not commit itself about the date of the commencement of the movement. From the resolution of the Nagpur session it is evident, how the venerable organisation was bulldozed into accepting unconstitutional methods of political agitation at the behest of one individual who could rouse the passions of the illiterate masses in the manner of a demagogue. None of the delegates questioned the propriety of playing with the careers of young students by asking them to discontinue their studies in the name of Non-cooperation with the government. The ill-conceived move of Gandhi not only played havoc with the careers of the students of 1920-22 but also sowed the seeds of campus unrest for all the

time to come. Other decisions taken by the Congress were the raising of Tilak Memorial Fund of Rupees One crore (Ten millions) and the reorganisation of Congress circles on the basis of language.

The Nagpur session has demonstrated that the Congress organisation is no longer the forum of the intellectuals. It has become the pocket borough of one individual who would not tolerate other's point of view. From 1920 till the attainment of independence in 1947 many intellectuals and leaders like Subhas Chandra Bose had to leave the Congress for opposing the views of Gandhi. Gandhi's domination over Congress was made possible due to the sudden death on 1 August 1920 of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the colossus among the Congress leaders. Another interesting fact that emerged from the Nagpur session was the ability of Gandhi to discern the likely impact of his programme in different regions of the country. He rightly guessed that the emotional Andhras would support his call for Satyagraha vociferously unlike the cool and calculating Tamils. So he made the Andhra leader Konda Venkatappayya the member of the Congress Working Committee
and for some time its General Secretary.  

From 1920 onwards Andhra became an important centre of Gandhian experiments under the guidance of leaders like Konda Venkatappayya. The government of Madras in its Annual Administration Report summed up the impact of the Nagpur session thus:

"The return of the local delegates from the Nagpur meeting of December 1920 marked the beginning of an intensified campaigns. Persistent propaganda in the rural areas throughout the Presidency however... produced results"  

This assessment is more true of Andhra than the other regions of the Presidency.

The A.P.C.C met at Vijayawada in January 1921 and decided to constitute district, taluk and village congress committees to propagate Gandhi's triple boycott and the constructive programme. The gullible public supported the programme as they were carried away by the Gandhi's promise to get Swaraj within a year.

All kinds of propaganda gimmicks were tried to popularise the Non-cooperation movement. Public meetings were addressed by leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, T. Prakasam, A. Kaleswara Rao, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya and Unnava Lakshminarayana as well as rabble rousers like Mathampalli Balasubrahmanyam Gupta. 85

Songs like "Makoddee Telladoratanamu" (we don't want this white man's rule) written by Garimella Satyanarayana became popular as they were set to music by litting tunes. Besides the songs with catchy tunes, 'Prabhatha Pheris' or early morning processions led by groups of musicians took the movement to the grass-root levels. 86


86. 'Harikatha', 'Bhajan', and 'Sankirtan' performances were also utilised for the purpose. Even the mendicants going about in traditional fashion from house to house took to the singing of national songs to attract public attention and some of them like Appayya Bhagavathar of Kakinada suffered imprisonment for persisting in singing them in spite of police prohibition. See M. Venkatarangaiya (ed.), The Freedom Struggle in Andhra..., Vol. III, p.7.
The Congress workers devised various methods to propagate the Non-cooperation movement. The festivals like 'Mohodayam' and 'Pushkaram', during which large number of people congregate near the sea-shores and river banks, were used as forums to propagate the message of Non-cooperation. Similarly the birthdays of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Gandhi were celebrated with great eclact. Another method adopted to propagate the message of Non-cooperation was the display of Gandhi's photo along with images of Gods and Goddesses while observing the Hindu religious festivals. Another method which made the movement popular was the enactment of the stage plays like Swarajya Sopanamu and Tilak Vijayamu.

88. Andhra Patrika, 7 April and 6-14 October 1921; see also The Hindu, 15 October 1920 & 6 August 1921; F.N.R., 3 May 1921.
89. For example at Antarvedi 'Car festival', photos of the leaders like Gandhi were displayed on the car which had a powerful appeal; see Andhra Patrika, 21 May 1921; F.N.R., 3 May 1921.
90. F.N.R., 2 February 1921; See also G.O.No. 28, Public (Confidential), 26 January 1921; G.O. No. 360, Public (Confidential), 6 June 1921.
The Non-cooperation movement soon developed into a mass movement due to the above propaganda devices. Government was forced to admit the impact of the movement in its fortnightly reports. The Report of 18 April 1921 stated thus:

"There is no doubt that anti-British and anti-Government sentiments are being preached extensively up and down the country, and that the preaching is having some effect." 91

Another unique feature noticed by the Government was active participation of women especially those belonging to Nellore district in the movement. 92 Women like Duvvuru Subbamma, Ponaka Kanakamma and Unnava Lakshmirayamma excelled men propagandists by their ability in swaying the masses. 93

It was when Andhra was agog with the Non-cooperation movement that the Congress decided to hold the All India Congress Committee (AICC) session at Vijayawada.

91. F.N.R., 18 April 1921.
92. Ibid., 6 December 1921.
The AICC Session—Vijayawada, March-April 1921

The Vijayawada session of the AICC, which met on 31 March-1 April 1921, decided to launch what is known as constructive programme to propagate the production of hand-woven cloth—Khaddar, and eradicate untouchability. The other items of the constructive programme were 'Prohibition' of liquor and propagation of Hindustani as the 'Rashtra Basha' or the National language. The session is important as an Andhra youth Pingali Venkayya designed the tri-colour flag for the Congress which Gandhi approved with slight modification. Subsequently the flag with other modifications became the National Flag of free India.

The Vijayawada session of the AICC is an unique event in the history of Andhra. For the first time an Andhra town played host to the conclave of the national leaders like Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Lajpat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, Abul Kalam Azad and Ali Brothers. Naturally people from all Telugu

94. D.G. Tendulkar, Mahatma..., Vol. II, p.37;
A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha..., p.320.
districts converged at Vijayawada to have a glimpse of their leaders. In those days of poor communication facilities people trekked the long distances on foot to attend the session, which wore a look of a 'mela' or religious festival; and not a political gathering to discuss the serious issues confronting the nation. 96

The visit of Gandhi to Vijayawada gave a further boost to the Non-cooperation movement in Andhra. The vast gathering of nearly two lakhs of people who came mainly to have a glimpse of the 'Mahatma' became unmanageable and a stampede was feared. But thanks to the splendid work done by 'Ramadandu', the volunteer corps of D. Gopalakrishnayya, the situation was saved. 97

It was these people who carried on the message

96. To get over their fatigue, visitors used to sing national ballads on their way. It was during this particular session that the 'Kesari Samajam' of Rajahmundry went to great Gandhi with the song "Dandalu Dandalu Bharatamata" on their lips while another group from Ramachandrapuram sang songs like "Mamubrova Mahini Velasitivi Mahatma Gandhi", and "Mahatma Gandhi Darshaname Pavanam(Punyamu)". See A. Kaleswara Rao, Naa Jeevitha Katha..., p.319 and 321; Sarojini Regani, Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, p.71.

of Gandhi to the remote corners in Andhra. The Madras government rightly guessed the impact of Gandhi's visit thus:

"The expected visit of Gandhi and the Congress leaders to Vijayawada can hardly fail to give impetus to the movement in that part of the Presidency." 98

**Gandhiji's Tour of Andhra**

After the conclusion of Vijayawada session, Gandhi accompanied by Konda Venkatappayya undertook a tour of Andhra visiting places like Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Eluru, Machilipatnam, Guntur, Vetapalem, Bapatla, Chirala, Nellore, etc. 99 In all these places he explained to the gatherings the significance of the constructive programme of promotion of Khaddar, Hindu-Muslim unity, anti-untouchability, anti-drink campaign and promotion of Hindi language. Gandhi also made an appeal to the people to contribute liberally to Tilak Swaraj Fund. He made a great impact on women who came

98. F.N.R., 17 March 1921.
99. Ibid., 18 April 1921.
forward to donate their jewellery.\footnote{100}

It is of interest to note that all the facets of the constructive programme were not endorsed by the women. They gave whole-hearted support to the anti-drink campaign since they suffered most from drunken brawls of their husbands and sons. They also supported the propagation of khadi since it enabled them to earn money of their own. But the campaign for the eradication of untouchability did not find favour with them since they are very conscious of their rank in the social hierarchy of the villages.

Gandhi visited Andhra again in September-October 1921 and toured the Rayalaseema region accompanied by Shoukat Ali, Konda Venkatappayya and others. He addressed the gatherings at Bellary, Tadpatri, Kurnool,\footnote{100. For details, see Kodali Anjaneyulu, Andhra Pradeshlo Gandhiji, pp.198-240; One of the first woman who came forward to donate all her jewellery, to discard foreign cloth and wear khaddar was Maganti Annapurnamma. In another incident Yamini Purna Tilakam, a lady belonging to the Professional dancing community (Devadasi) left her profession to dedicate her life to the cause of the nation. See Sarojini Regani, Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, p.72.}
Cuddapah, Tirupati and other places. The visit of Gandhi to the drought-prone semi-arid Rayalaseema region (South and West) of Andhra helped to spread the Non-cooperation movement to the districts where political consciousness is almost nil. Many municipalities of the region like Anantapur, Adoni, Kurnool, Chittoor and Tirupati resolved to present addresses of welcome to Gandhi. This was also the case with some of the municipalities of coastal region like Kakinada, Machilipatnam and Nellore when he visited those places in April 1921. By these visits of Gandhi to coastal districts and the Rayalaseema region of Andhra, the people's "feelings were inflamed" and they resolved to make the Non-cooperation movement a success.

To sum up, the Non-cooperation movement of Gandhi caught the fancy of the Andhras and they supported the movement and its constructive programme. Besides, for the first time, the Andhra masses including women became politically conscious and decided to work for the emancipation of the country from the British rule.

102. The Hindu, 26, 29 and 30 September, and 5 October 1921.
103. Ibid., 5 and 6 April 1921; F.N.R., 18 April 1921.