The Idea of Non-cooperation

In the previous chapter we have examined the events that led to the Non-cooperation movement. In this chapter we will examine the course of the movement in Andhra. Before proceeding with that it is worthwhile to examine Gandhi's concept of Non-cooperation and the ethical principles on which it was based.

Gandhi's concept of Non-cooperation was based on the notion that cooperation with evil is sinful and its removal is possible by non-violence. He believed that the British rule in India was 'satanic'. He, therefore, emphasized the need to end that rule, unless the system undergoes a radical change and there is definite repentence on the part of rulers. From this it is evident that the end of the Non-cooperation movement is not merely the independence of India, but repentence in the British for "all they had perpetrated". In other words, Gandhi wanted to emphasize that his movement is not an ordinary political
struggle to get rid of the alien domination of the country, but one that is based on higher principles of morality and aimed at bringing a feeling of remorse in the minds of the rulers. At the same time he characterised the movement as one of "self purification".

Gandhi by repeatedly using the words 'repentence' in the rulers and 'self purification' of the participants bamboozled the people. They failed to understand the purport and significance of his 'Satyagraha'. The halo of 'Mahatma' or Great Soul surrounding the name of Gandhi further confirmed the gullible illiterate masses of the country that Gandhi was a great religious leader with a political mission to liberate the country from foreign yoke. Gandhi did nothing to dispel this popular impression of him.

The main prop of the Non-cooperation movement was non-violence. Gandhi gave primacy to this aspect. In his article 'The Doctrine of the Sword' in Young India, Gandhi expounded this principle thus:
"Non-violence is the law of our species as the violence is the law of brute... I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its offshoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering... Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means putting one's whole soul against the will of tyrant."

Gandhi's emphasis on non-violence stemmed from his perception of Indian history and the character of the people. He is well aware that due to the centuries of foreign domination Indians acquiesced in the British rule. He also knew that the events of 1857, when the sepoys made a futile attempt to overthrow the British by force, are still fresh in the minds of the people. Hence Gandhi's emphasis on non-violence resulted out of ideological and practical consideration.

Non-violence is possible if there is no direct confrontation with the government. Hence Gandhi termed the movement as Non-cooperation. He visualised

that the movement would not only lead to India's freedom but also ring the death knell of British imperialism. He felt that the British wanted "India's billions and manpower for their imperialistic greed." He, therefore, wanted India to refuse to supply British with "men and money", so that it can achieve "Swaraj, equality, manliness."

The three aspects of the Non-cooperation movement were boycott, constructive programme and civil disobedience. In the following pages we will discuss these aspects as related to Andhra.

PROGRAMME OF BOYCOTT

The first aspect of the Non-cooperation movement, namely 'Boycott', was widely welcomed by the Andhras. Boycott was a multifaceted programme which included in its fold renunciation of government titles, boycott of legislatures, law courts, government schools and colleges, and foreign goods. The last item of the boycott

was demonstration against the visit of Prince of Wales to India.

Renunciation of Titles and Honorary Offices etc.

The Non-cooperation movement was formally launched by Gandhi on 1 August 1920 when he renounced the titles and decorations conferred on him by the government. This was done in pursuance of the policy adopted by the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1920. Notable among those personages who surrendered their titles and decorations was Rabindranath Tagore who renounced his knighthood in protest against Jallianwala Bagh massacre. In the Madras Presidency where the national movement was on a low key only six out of 682 title holders surrendered their titles and decorations. About fifty persons resigned their honorary positions in various local bodies. Though small in number, the renunciation of titles and decorations created a new sense of self-respect among the people. Hitherto the 'title-holders' used to flaunt their decorations

as a mark of distinction. But overnight the titles and decorations became badges of slavery. Many holders of titles, though unable to renounce them for fear of incurring the displeasure of government, realy felt uncomfortable and gradually the display of the so-called honours and their recognition as such was confined to government functions.

In Andhra, none of the well-known title holders renounced their titles. Only some insignificant persons, mostly Muslims, resigned their honorary positions like Bench Magistrates. They took this step not due to patriotic considerations or attraction for Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement. They were more concerned with the fate of Turkey and its Sultan. To express their resentment against British for its role in the disintegration of the Ottoman empire,

5. The Hindu, 26 August 1921.
6. G.O.No. 332, Public (Confidential), 25 May 1921; The Hindu, 27 November 1920; Sarojini Regani, Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, pp.76-77. Appendix-II gives the list of persons who renounced the titles in Andhra.
they resigned their positions. Muslim participation in the Non-cooperation movement was only skin deep. To sustain the Khilafat agitation they showed lip sympathy to Gandhi and his Non-cooperation movement.

The boycott programme gained momentum in October-November 1921 after the arrest of Muhammad Ali and Shoukat Ali. In Andhra like elsewhere in the country petty government officials in the lower rungs of bureaucracy resigned. Their resignation indicate that with the advent of Gandhi nationalist sentiments percolated to the lower middle class also. As a matter of fact it is only the lower middle class that sustained the Non-cooperation movement. Prior to 1920 only professionals especially the well-to-do lawyers and affluent barristers dominated the Congress. But with the advent of Gandhi and the inauguration of the Non-cooperation movement in 1920 the social complexion of the national movement has changed.

7. In Vijayawada eight government clerks and five acting clerks had resigned their jobs. See F.N.R., 1 November 1921; U.S.S.F. No. 407, 6 May 1923 (Report of the Krishna District Collector, 9 February 1923); Appendix-III contains the names of some individuals who resigned their government jobs.
In Andhra especially in the relatively well-off central coastal districts, the Non-cooperation movement could make headway as it had well articulated middle class. But this is not the case with the drought-prone southern and western districts, where there was no middle class and the social set up was feudal. Further in these districts even the lower rungs of the administration was manned by non-Telugus, mostly Tamils who did not evince much interest in the movement.

As noted earlier, only few Andhras renounced their titles. But the insignificant few who surrendered their titles were held in high esteem by the common people. Naturally those who still had association with the government became unpopular and were regarded as the lackeys of the British. Hence the government did not notify the renunciation of the titles in the official gazette.8

Another unique feature of the Non-cooperation movement in Andhra was the participation of the

8. G.O.No. 678, Public (Confidential), 23 October 1920.
village officials in the boycott programme. One of the chief aspects of the Non-cooperation movement was the no-tax campaign. The main aim of the movement was to sabotage the government from within by making it impossible to collect land taxes, the main source of its revenue. Gandhi felt that the government cannot sustain itself with crippled finances. Government collected its land revenue through the village officials known as 'Karnam' and 'Village Munisiff' in the south, 'Patwari' and 'Patel' in the north.

In Andhra especially in Guntur District the village officials supported the Non-cooperation movement not out of conviction but to settle their own scores with the government. The Andhra Congress leaders exploited the situation to their advantage and gave a political colouring to the movement of the village officials to redress their grievances.

The position of the village officials was anomalous. They were not strictly speaking, government officials since their positions were hereditary. But,

9. This is dealt in detail in Chapter-V.
at the same time, they were paid nominal salaries by the government. They were the kingpin of the village administration. During the early twenties, the Board of Revenue which was the apex body of the revenue administration of the Presidency wanted to streamline the village administration by retrenching the surplus village officials like Assistant Karnams. This measure led to great discontent among the village officials since they wielded great prestige in the villages. By this unimaginative measure the government struck at the vulnerable point of the village officials. These officials, whose social standing in the village is very high, retaliated by aligning themselves with the non-cooperators. They openly supported the Non-cooperation movement. Many village officials like B. Venkataratnam, Khaja Venkataramaiah, Banda Vinnayya, Banda Bayyanna, Marutkumara Venkata Rao were suspended.10

In this atmosphere of confrontation the Andhra-
desa Village Officers' Association met at Rajahmundry.

10. Andhra Patrika, 3 September 1921; Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, p.82.
and urged its members to resign their positions by 1 October 1921. Several village officers of Krishna and Godavari districts responded positively. The response in Guntur district was overwhelming. At Poosalur a Conference of the village officers was held and the village Munisiffs and Karnams of sixteen villages announced their resignation on the spot. Several resignations also came from Pedanan-dipadu firka. As a result no-tax campaign became successful and the government was unable to collect the land tax. The no-tax campaign put the government in double disadvantage. Firstly its prestige received a battering. Secondly it lost revenue at a time when it needed funds urgently to face the challenge to its very existence.

The resignation of village officials was a great blow to government, as these officials were the ears and eyes of the government. The government was unable to collect not only the revenue but also the information at the grass root levels.

11. Sarojini Regani, Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, p.82.
12. Ibid.
The Non-cooperation movement in Andhra shook the very foundations of the British government due to the involvement of the village officials. Once the government succeeded in re-establishing its rapport with the village officials, the Non-cooperation movement lost much of its momentum.

**Boycott of Councils**

Though Andhras were not satisfied with the Government of India Act of 1919, as it did not provide for the creation of separate Andhra Province, still they were prepared to accept them for what they were worth and participate in the elections for the Madras Legislative Council. Leaders like Konda Venkatappayya and A. Kaleswara Rao announced their candidatures for the seats allotted to Andhra. But, as noted earlier, they withdrew from the contest when the Congress made the boycott of elections as one of the planks of its Non-cooperation movement.

The withdrawal of the Congress from the contest helped the Justice Party to capture power. Andhra
Congress leaders were not very happy to withdraw from the contest as they would have no chance to press for the creation of Andhra Province in the Madras Legislature. The Justice Party was not favourably inclined for the creation of a separate Andhra Province since it had no following in the Telugu districts, which were under the spell of Gandhi and supported his Non-cooperation movement.

The first Andhra to respond to the call of Non-cooperation and the boycott of the Council was Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao who withdrew his candidature to the Legislative Council on the advice of Gandhi. He did this even before the Congress session at Calcutta endorsed Gandhi's call for Non-cooperation. The example of Kaleswara Rao was emulated by others like N. Narisimha Rao, V. Bhavanacharyulu, J.K. Raja Rao and S. Ramaswami Gupta.

However, it must be noted that many Andhra leaders did not favour boycott of elections. At the

Calcutta session of the Congress, most of the Andhra delegates including Konda Venkatappayya opposed the move. But when the resolution was accepted they decided to abide by it and withdrew their candidatures.¹⁵ C. Narasimha Raju and B. Venkatapati Raju, the sitting members of the Madras Legislative Council resigned their seats.¹⁶ Though the boycott was meant mainly for the Legislatures and other quasi-government bodies, some Congress leaders like V. Ramadas Pantulu refrained from contesting to the autonomous bodies like University Senate.¹⁷

Congress wanted to make its call of boycott broad-based by asking the voters not to exercise their franchise. Meetings were organised in places like Rajahmundry to convince the voters to refrain from voting. Here it may be stated under the Government of India Act of 1919, the franchise was restricted on

¹⁶. Sarojini Regani, Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, p.76.
¹⁷. The Hindu, 13 October 1920.
the basis of property and education. Only a limited number of people enjoyed the right to vote. As the electorate was mostly middle class, its sympathies were with the Congress. Hence the appeal for the boycott of elections fell on the willing ears and Congress did not have much difficulty in making a majority of the electorate to boycott the election. By boycotting the elections, Congress made things easier to the Justice Party whose candidates won on a minority vote cast in their favour. The decision of the Congress to boycott the election was shortsighted. Had it contested the elections in 1920-21, it could have easily formed the ministry in Madras. It had to wait for nearly sixteen years to form the ministry in 1937 when the elections were held under the Government of India Act, 1935.

Many meetings were conducted to give publicity to the boycott of elections. The meetings held at Peddapuram and Nellore in October 1920 were styled as District National Conferences. The proceedings

of these conferences were conducted in Telugu instead of English as the audience was mostly from the rural areas. This indicates that the base of the Congress has widened. Prior to 1920 it was only the English educated elite who attended the conferences of the Congress. Gandhi, however, roped in the villagers as well as women into his campaigns. Further the growth of vernacular journals politicised the rural folk also.

Among the Congress propagandists included Mattampally Balasubramanyam Gupta who made Vijayawada the centre of his activity and toured many towns and villages appealing the voters to boycott the elections. He vehemently attacked the Justice Party; and his lectures were well received as they were in popular idiom. When he was arrested there was a spontaneous popular protest. Another powerful non-cooperation propagandist was Cherukuvada Venkatarasimham, a teacher of National College, Machilipatnam, popularly known as Demosthenes of Andhra. In the Rayalaseema /

area, A.P. Kavi, the Editor of Balabharati toured Anantapur and Chittoor districts and urged the people to boycott the elections.21

The Telugu journals toed the line of Gandhi and supported the boycott of Legislative Councils. They pointed out the futility of the nationalists participating in the Legislative Councils.22 When some Andhra leaders questioned the propriety of boycotting the elections, Krishna Patrika took them to task stating that the leaders like Prakasam and Venkata-ppayya should not hesitate to withdraw from contesting the elections and emulate the example set by C.R. Das of Bengal and Vijayaraghavachariar of Tamil Nadu who decided to boycott the elections.23

As a result of this sustained propaganda, majority of the electorate did not exercise their franchise. At Baruva in Ganjam district not even one vote was cast.24 In Rajahmundry, noted for its political awareness, only one out of 120 voters exercised his vote.

franchise. In Krishna district the entire electorate at Murari, Ghantasala and Kambhampadu boycotted the elections, while in Tiruvur only 40 out of 4000 voters cast their votes. Of these, half the voters were officers. In urban areas like Vijayawada, only 12 percent of voters and that too government employees participated in voting.

The voters of Guntur District responded overwhelmingly in favour of boycott. In Chebrolu, Emani, Vinukonda and Narasaraopet the boycott was complete.

25. The Hindu, 2 December 1920; Figures of voting in some villages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polling station</th>
<th>No. of voters</th>
<th>Votes cast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alamur</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandapeta</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaparti &amp; Kummara Palli</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadiam</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapeswaram</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopavaram</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajahmundry (Rural)</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Ibid.

In other areas like Uyyuru, Parchuru, Duddukuru, Inkollu, Annaparru, the voting varied from 1 to 10 percent. At Chirala only two voters exercised their franchise in favour of Jagarlamudi Kuppuswamy Chowdary, a Justice Party candidate. These two voters happened to be his clerks.

The same is the case with Nellore district also. The successful candidates like K. Adinarayana Reddy and A.S. Krishna Rao could get 12 and 7 percent respectively of the total votes in Nellore district. Referring to this, The Hindu commented:

"It is very surprising that the two successful candidates who have secured only 12 and 7 percent of votes in the district have not thought it fit to resign their seats on the council, when it has been clearly proved that the District does not desire to be represented in the Council at all."

In Kavali taluk only 14 percent of voters exercised their franchise. Out of the electorate of 3,520 only 501 exercised their franchise.

27. Andhra Patrika, 1-3 December 1920; The Hindu, 2 December 1920.
The same pattern was repeated in Cuddapah and Anantapur districts also. In Gooty none out of 90 Muslim voters had participated in voting. In Chittoor district 135 out of 534 in Chittoor town, and 60 out of 500 in Greamspet Rural Constituency had recorded their votes. At Tirupati only 7 percent had exercised their votes.

It is evident that the boycott of election was fully endorsed in all the Telugu districts. The percentage of votes recorded in the Ceded Districts (Rayalaseema region) was higher than those recorded in the coastal districts. This was due to lack of political awareness and organisation. However, after the visit of Gandhi to Rayalaseema in September-October 1921, the five districts of the region became fully politicised like their counterparts in the coastal region.

30. Andhra Patrika, 3 and 6 December 1920.
31. Ibid., 7 December 1920.
32. The Hindu, 2 December 1920.
33. Andhra Patrika, 2 December 1920.
34. Appendix-IV gives the district-wise figures of voting.
Boycott of Educational Institutions

Another plank of the Non-cooperation movement was the boycott of schools and colleges. The misgivings of parents and the intellectuals about evil consequences of this programme on the impressionable minds of the students were brushed aside by Lala Lajpat Rai, when he presided over the All-India Students' Conference held at Nagpur on 25 December 1920.

Here it may be mentioned that the students had no organisation of their own to discuss their problems, and ventilate their grievances. But the politicians like Bipin Chandra Pal realised the inherent potentialities of the students to embarrass the government by championing the national causes. Even as early as 1907, the students of the Rajahmundry college by giving unprecedented ovation to Bipin Chandra Pal during his tour of Andhra, demonstrated their capacity to give trouble to the government. So Gandhi who wanted to embarrass the government by his Non-cooperation gave primacy of
place to the boycott of schools and colleges by the students. Farsighted individuals who visualised the disastrous consequences of this move, could not make their voice heard in the rodomontade of the Gandhi's admirers.

In Andhra where the admiration of Gandhi became a passion, the opposition to boycott of educational institutions by the students was branded blasphemous. No wonder at the Andhra Students' Conference held at Cuddapah on 23 December 1920, Gandhi's call for the boycott of schools and colleges was endorsed.\(^3^6\) It is of interest to note that the Conference was presided over by G. Harisarvottama Rao, who was debarred from Rajahmundry college in 1907 following his involvement in presenting the welcome address to Bipin Chandra Pal when the latter visited Rajahmundry to propagate Vandemataram movement. In that meeting and the other conferences of the students held at places like Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Machilipatnam, and Guntur consequences of students'

withdrawal from the educational institutions were not discussed. They were held simply to show that the public including the students vociferously endorsed the entire Non-cooperation programme chalked out by Gandhi.

The lead in organising the students' conferences was taken by leaders like T. Prakasam, B. Pattabhi Seetaramayya, Konda Venkatappayya who have past their prime atleast by two or three decades. The students simply followed the prompting of the public leaders, who incidently were lawyers by profession and hurled themselves headlong into the Non-cooperation movement, unmindful of the consequences of their action or their future career.

It is interesting to note that the 'public leaders' knew that they may encounter some opposition from students who could think for themselves. To enrope such recalcitrant students into the movement women leaders of the Congress like Unnava Lakshmibayamma and Ponaka Kanakamma attended the students' conferences.

37. Andhra Patrika, 8 January 1921; The Hindu, 17, 28 January and 15 February 1921.
and personally distributed Gandhi caps. In a word, the Congress leaders indulged in various gimmicks to involve the students in their 'unique' movement for the freedom of the country.

The Telugu press also took the lead in 'educating' the student community. In its issue of 10 February 1920 Andhra Patrika observed that "the help of the college students will be much needed in the work of election to the enlarged councils...If students take to the Swadeshi movement, it will have speedy success." The comment of Andhra Patrika, owned and edited by K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, a leading Congress leader reveal the motives behind the boycott of the educational institutions.

Krishna Patrika in its leader of 29 January 1921 made an emotional appeal to the students:

"Oh! students, in your college you do not learn anything better than self interest, dependence etc. Give them up and devote one year to the attainment of freedom, to thoughts about the country and the worship of popular force. Then yourself and your country will be liberated".

40. N.N.R., 1921, page 192-93. para 43
Likewise, another journal *Desabhimanii* in its issues of 6th and 13th February 1921 appealed to the students not to think of advantages and disadvantages of boycott of schools, but to have faith in Mahatma Gandhi and implement his programme of boycott of schools.\(^{41}\)

*Andhra Patrika* played upon the emotions of the students by extolling Sridhar B. Tilak (son of Bal Gangadhar Tilak) for giving up his studies to join in Non-cooperation movement.\(^{42}\)

As a result of the incessant propaganda indulged by the press and the Congress leaders like D. Gopalakrishna\(^{\text{a}}\) many students gave up their studies and plunged themselves into the movement.\(^{43}\) One such student was Nyayapathi Narayana Murthy of Kallikota College, Berhampur,\(^{44}\) who later became the first editor of *Andhra Prabha*, the foremost Telugu daily of the forties and fifties. Even some parents like T. Ranganna were carried away by the rhetoric of the

\(^{42}\) *Andhra Patrika*, 25 September 1920.
\(^{43}\) *Appendix-V* contains the names of some students who participated in the boycott.
Congress leaders and withdrew their wards from the schools.\textsuperscript{45}

The students of Municipal High School\textsuperscript{46} and the Maharajah College, Vizianagaram\textsuperscript{47} gave memorandum to their respective managements demanding that these institutions should be 'nationalised', meaning thereby they should act as forums of Congress propaganda to build up the image of Gandhi, the 'Mahatma'.

The fall out of Congress propaganda on the students was disastrous. The students of the Andhra Medical College, Visakhapatnam flouting the dress regulations of their profession sported 'Gandhi Caps'. As a result, thirty two medicos who refused to apologise and adhere to outfit of their profession were rusticated. These expelled students joined Congress volunteer corps called 'Ramadandu' for about a year.\textsuperscript{48} After the corps was disbanded they were left high and dry to tend for themselves. The Hindu commented that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{45} Andhra Patrika, 2 February 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{46} The Hindu, 5 February 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{47} The Hindu, 8 February 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{48} The Hindu, 27 October 1921.
\end{itemize}
the students were repenting for their past conduct and were ready to apologise and seek readmission into the college. The government did not oblige the students. However, the students clarified that they were not inclined to retract the position they had taken earlier.49

About twenty 'brightest' students of government college, Rajahmundry, gave up their studies and decided to work for the Congress. To brain-wash the students the Congress conducted a political school where D. Gopalakrishnayya, B. Subrahmanyam and other leaders of the Congress delivered lectures on Gandhian ideology.50

In almost all educational institutions in Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts, students boycotted classes as a result of sustained propaganda made by Congress leaders like D. Gopalakrishnayya, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri and others.51 However, many students

49. The Hindu, 22 December 1921.
50. Ibid., 2 February 1921.
rejoined the institutions after some time. For example, the students of Taluk High School at Tenali boycotted the classes on 2 February 1921 but changed their mind and rejoined the classes within a week. So is the case with other institutions also. The boycott of the classes resulted in the disruption of the academic year and fall in educational standards.

The call for boycott of educational institutions was made without any preparation to harness the youth for constructive activities. As a result within a short time the students became disillusioned and tried to rejoin the schools. But some students, who had complete faith in Gandhi's declaration that the freedom of the country is round the corner, did not rejoin the classes they left. But when Gandhi suddenly called off the movement, they felt frustrated and developed cynical attitude towards life. Thus, the boycott of classes had adverse impact on the psyche of the youth.

In the southern and western districts the call for the boycott of schools did not evoke much response.

52. The Hindu, 11 and 12 February 1921.
The reason for this is not far to seek. In these semi-arid districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittoor, economic development was very slow. The peasantry which had to struggle very hard to send their children to schools were not prepared to see their studies disrupted and lose the chance of securing government employment.

Thus, throughout Andhra a large number of students gave up their studies. By March 1921, 820 students of the Presidency had boycotted the educational institutions. The impact was felt mainly in the districts of Krishna, Guntur and Nellore. The Government of India advised the Madras Government to counter the movement by forming the 'Committees of Parents'. The move succeeded to a large extent as the parents themselves were alarmed to see their children vegetating before their eyes.

The reinduction of the students into the educational institutions by the parents alarmed the Congress

53. G.O.No. 249, Public (Misc.), 25 April 1921.
and it tried to find gainful occupations to the students by enrolling them in 'Seva Samithis' or Service Squads and 'Sankirtan Parties' or musical groups to carry the message of Non-cooperation to remote villages. Further, the students were encouraged to take up the constructive programme of the Congress like spinning, weaving and production of 'Khadi' or handspun cloth.

Besides the students who left the educational institutions, there were also some teachers who resigned their positions and joined the Non-cooperation movement. When Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya was arrested at Berhampur in November 1921, Unnava Ramalingam and Burra Sarveswara Rao resigned their positions in Kallikota College. The other teachers who resigned their positions included J.V. Krishna Rao, G. Subba Rao. In almost all Telugu districts many teachers resigned their positions out of conviction in the movement. Some of the teachers, like P. Satyanarayana of Rajahmundry, had put in nearly seven years of

56. Appendix-VI gives the list of some Teachers who resigned their positions in the wake of the movement.
service and were held in high esteem for their commitment to the profession. Teachers like Kalluri Subba Rao of Anantapur, resigned their positions to carry the message of Gandhi to the masses and played prominent role in the affairs of the State in the post-freedom years. By the end of June 1921 altogether 47 teachers had resigned their positions in Andhra.

Boycott of Law Courts

It is interesting to note that in the freedom struggle most of the leaders in the vanguard belonged to the legal profession. Apart from Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das and Vallabhai Patel who made their mark as the leaders of outstanding abilities, there were hundreds of others who left the bar at the call of Gandhi and took leading part in the liberation of the country.

In Andhra also the outstanding leaders of the Non-cooperation movement came from the legal profession.

58. The Hindu, 27 January 1921.
60. The Hindu, 23 June 1921.
They included persons of great stature like T. Prakasam, Konda Venkatappayya, A. Kaleswara Rao and M. Anantasayanam Ayyangar. When Gandhi decided to launch the Non-cooperation movement the APCC which met at Rajahmundry on 9 October 1920 made an appeal to the lawyers in Telugu districts to give up their practice in courts and bring into existence what is known as "arbitration courts." These arbitration courts were to be non-statutory and their decisions have no legal binding. The Congress, however, hoped that the affected parties accept decisions of the court in good grace. Needless to say arbitration courts became a nonstarter and no one took the proposal seriously.

Prior to this, the Guntur Bar Association had resolved to request its members to suspend the practice for a period of three months beginning from 15 January 1921. The period was subsequently enhanced to eleven months beginning from 1 February 1921.

The Telugu press headed by Krishna Patrika goaded the lawyers to give up their practice. In its

61. The Hindu, 16 October 1921.
62. Ibid., 7 October 1920.
63. Ibid., 31 January 1921.
editorial it pleaded thus:

"The time has come when the lawyers have to make great sacrifices. By their power they can make the bureaucracy helpless. Moreover the present courts are a nuisance and promote immorality and the lawyers will see the necessity of boycotting such institutions" 64

Andhra Patrika felt that the days are over when "lawyers can spend their time by playing billiards" and wanted that they should come forward to "sacrifice for the sake of the country." 65

Guntur district which was in the forefront of the Non-cooperation movement throughout 1921-22 took the lead in implementing the boycott of law courts. After the conclusion of the special session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in 1920, Unnava Lakshminarayana, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastrl, M.V. Narasimhacharlu, N.V.L. Narasimha Rao and Polisetty Hanumayya Gupta, the prominent members of the Guntur Bar gave up their profession.66

64. Krishna Patrika, 25 December 1921.
Andhra Congress leaders Konda Venkatappayya retired from the profession as early as 1915 to devote himself for social service of the community. The lawyers of Guntur like N.V.L. Narasimha Rao and Gollapudi Ramanadhayya persuaded their counterparts in Ongole to give up their practice.

Many of the lawyers who gave up their profession took leading part in the Non-cooperation movement and underwent various periods of imprisonment. Outstanding among the lawyers of Andhra in the freedom struggle was T. Prakasam who hailed from Ongole and enrolled himself at Rajahmundry Bar. Subsequently he proceeded to London to qualify himself as Barister-at-Law. On return to India, he set up his practice at Madras and soon became one of its luminaries. In 1921 he responded to the call of Gandhi and withdrew from the profession to engage himself whole time in the service of the nation. In his long public life

68. Andhra Patrika, 4 February 1921.
extending over a half a century he emerged as the outstanding leader of Andhra and became the Chief Minister of Madras in 1946 and of Andhra in 1953.

Among the lawyers of Berhampur who gave up practice included V.V. Giri who subsequently became the President of India. In the ceded Districts the outstanding lawyer to give up the profession at the call of Gandhi was M. Anantasayanam Ayyangar of Tirupati. Later in free India he rose to the position of Speaker of Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament) and Governor of Bihar.

70. The Hindu, 17 March 1921; Giri was the foremost organiser of the Trade Union Movement in the Railways. In the thirties he successfully led the strike of Bengal-Nagpur Railwaymen. In the General elections of 1936-37, he defeated Rajah of Bobbili, the premier of Madras in his home town. He was the Minister for Labour, Government of Madras, in the Cabinet of Rajagopalachari in 1937-39. After the attainment of freedom he was the High Commissioner of India in Ceylon(Sri Lanka) and later Minister of Labour, Government of India. He resigned his position due to difference of opinion with Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, on certain legislation pertaining to Bank employees. Afterwards he acted the Governor of Uttar Pradesh and Mysore. Finally he was elected in 1969 as the President of India, defeating a fellow-Andhra, N. Sanjiva Reddy.
By the end of June 1921 as many as 103 lawyers of Andhra withdrew from their professions and took leading part in the Non-cooperation movement.\textsuperscript{71}

Like their counterparts in the rest of the country, the lawyers of Andhra also were in the forefront of the freedom struggle and inspired the younger generation by their legal acumen, spirit of service and strength of character.

**Boycott of Foreign Goods**

One of the important aspects of the Non-cooperation movement was the boycott of foreign goods especially textiles. Gandhi hit upon this plan to achieve two-fold objective. Firstly to revive the village handicrafts which provide gainful employment to a large number of people after agriculture. Secondly to cripple the British textile industry which sustained the British Imperialism in India and elsewhere.

The AICC which met at Bombay on 28 July 1921 endorsed Gandhi's call for boycott of foreign goods and

\textsuperscript{71} The Hindu, 23 June 1921; Appendix-VII contains the list of some lawyers who gave up their practice at the bar.
fixed 30 September as the deadline for eradication of foreign goods throughout the country. At the conclusion of the session, Gandhi inaugurated the bonfire of foreign goods worth millions of rupees. The bonfire was watched by the large number of delegates and other visitors. The delegates from other parts of the country, after their return home re-enacted the scenes of bonfire they witnessed at Bombay by appealing to the people to dump their foreign goods especially textiles in a central place of the locality to burn them publicly.

The boycott of foreign goods was not opposed by any one. But the wanton destruction of the valuable goods simply because they happen to be of foreign-make was condemned by thoughtful individuals like Rabindranath Tagore. The bonfire of foreign goods was not Gandhi's original idea. During the Swadeshi movement of 1905, following the partition of Bengal, bonfire of foreign goods became common feature throughout the country. The leaders of the time, especially Bipin Chandra Pal, extolled this feature of the Swadeshi movement. Tagore, taken aback at this senseless
destruction of foreign goods, wrote the novel 'The Home and the World' (Ghaire Bhaire) to highlight the impact of evil consequences of the measure on the society.

When Gandhi revived this obnoxious practice, Tagore opposed it tooth and nail. But Gandhi refused to be convinced and stated thus:

"After considering every argument advanced against it, I cannot help saying that destruction is the best method of dealing with foreign cloth." 72

Many followers of Gandhi in their heart of hearts agreed with Tagore's opposition to bonfire of foreign goods, but they lacked the courage of conviction to oppose the move that has emanated from the 'Mahatma'.

The Telugu Press which kowtowed every move of Gandhi was, however, divided on this issue. The Andhra Patrika's opposition to boycott stemmed from the fear that the move would create racial animosity.

72. C.W.M.C., Vol. XX, (Delhi, 1966), pp.301-82.
which is against the spirit of non-violence. It therefore suggested that foreign textile may be sent as gift to the needy residents of Smyrna. One need not attribute motives to the opposition of Andhra Patrika, but at the same time it is worthwhile to remember that it was owned by an industrial house which made a fortune by exporting its famous brand of ointment to other countries of Asia.

Krishna Patrika endorsed the move and stated thus:

"If we have any self-respect, individual or national, we have no alternative, but to reduce to ashes our foreign clothes which are a bondage of our slavery...we cannot have sleep while there is foreign clothes in our house. In this, it is to be seen only 'self-repentence'and not a hate against others."74

Further Krishna Patrika believed that the boycott of foreign goods would hasten the freedom of the country, as its economic consequences on Britain would be staggering.75

73. N.N.R., 1921, page 900, para 49.
74. Ibid., page 1038, para 36.
75. Ibid., page 1137, para 41.
It must, however, be conceded that the boycott of foreign goods, and their bonfire in public places caught the fancy of Andhras. Telugu poets like Garimella Satyanarayana, Basavaraju Appa Rao, Duvvuri Rami Reddi, welcomed the move and composed poems extolling the virtues of Khadi, the home-spun cloth. In their poems the poets highlighted that the miserable plight of artisans was due to their inability to face competition from foreign mill-made textiles sold at cheaper rates. They questioned the public whether it is not ashamed to wear foreign cloth and let the local artisans die of starvation due to their inability to sell their products in the face of foreign competition.  

When the press and the poets made Andhras receptive to the idea of boycott of foreign goods, Gandhi commenced his visit to the region in October 1921. He was accompanied by the local leaders like Konda Venkatappayya and A. Kaleswara Rao. In his meetings

Gandhi emphasized the need to boycott foreign cloth and promote the production of khaddar. The meetings ended with the bonfires of foreign goods with great eclat.

The bonfire of foreign goods spread like a wild fire even to remote villages. In places like Cuddapah, Rajampet and Tanuku both the rich and the middle class vied with one another to burn their foreign goods in a public square.\(^7\)

It is interesting to note that the lead in bonfires was taken by women. Leaders like Ponaka Kanakamma of Nellore and Konda Parvati of Guntur moved from village to village to make the movement a success. The spectacle of the women of the higher

\(^7\) The Hindu, 3 October 1921; A typical scene of bonfire was as follows. Congress workers, mostly comprising of young student volunteers used to go about the countryside asking the people to give up their foreign clothes. They used to go about the streets singing the national songs and 'bhaajan' (religious) songs appealing to the people to burn their foreign clothes. In response to their appeal people used to discard their clothings like shirts, towels of foreign origin. The discarded clothes were burnt in a public square accompanied by group singing of the songs composed for the occasion like—"Sima Guddalunte Bhumilona Penta," (Treat the foreign clothes as worthless rags and burn them), see Sarojini Regani, Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh, p.78.
strata of society coming into the open and offering their valuable sarees and other goods for destruction created great impact on the public.\textsuperscript{78} The menfolk who were aghast at the senseless destruction of their foreign goods could do nothing except to applaud their women.

Some psychologists attribute the lead taken by the women in public bonfire of foreign goods to their ingrained mental attitude to self-immolation or 'Suttee' on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Whatever may be the reasons the bonfire of foreign goods became an outstanding success.

As noted earlier, Gandhi refused to be dissuaded from this move even by his 'Gurudev' (revered teacher), Tagore. After the recall of Non-cooperation movement in 1922, once again the Indian markets were flooded with the foreign goods especially the textiles produced by the mills at Lancashire. But the fact remains that the boycott gave fillip to the decaying

\textsuperscript{78} The Hindu, 5 October 1921.
handicrafts. In Andhra the production of khadi gained momentum and Pondur near Srikakulam became famous throughout the country for its fine variety of khadi.

In addition to the bonfire of foreign cloth, shops selling foreign goods were picketed. The Madras Government took a serious view of the picketings of shops as they gave rise to spurt in prices and create problems of law and order. One of the consequences of the picketing was the disruption of business. Further it created a fear psychosis among the merchants who apprehended that picketing may lead to looting of the shops by the anti-social elements. Therefore, on 1 October 1921 about 75 merchants of Vijayawada took a pledge to boycott foreign cloth and not to import or deal even in Indian mill-made cloth till 1922. The Guntur cloth and yarn merchants decided not to import foreign goods. The weavers pledged not to weave with foreign yarn. The merchants of Chirala and other places emulated the example

80. The Hindu, 3 October 1921.
81. Ibid.
of their counterparts in Vijayawada and Guntur and decided not to sell foreign goods till the end of December 1921.82

The decision of the merchants not to trade in foreign goods was trumpeted as the success of picketing. But the fact remains that the merchants felt that discretion is the best part of valour and not to risk their properties in the emotionally surcharged atmosphere. It is worth noting that the merchants decided to stop their trade in foreign goods till the end of December 1921, as they knew fully well that the movement against foreign goods would lose its momentum in matter of months if not weeks. As the merchants showed restraint and did not take the position of confrontation with the picketers, there was no violence and the situation was defused. Congress workers were enthused at the success of boycott.

As the merchants rightly guessed, public enthusiasm at the boycott of foreign cloth vanished in the course of few months. Gandhi’s appeals had little

82. Andhra Patrika, 27 October 1921.
permanent effect as the most of the merchants suspended the sales of foreign cloth for a temporary period. However, boycott of foreign cloth gave the necessary impetus to the production of khadi.

Boycott of the Visit of Prince of Wales

The purpose of the visit of the Prince of Wales was originally to inaugurate the new legislatures in India, both central and local, constituted under the Reforms Act of 1919. The Indian public and press generally interpreted the royal visit to India as an attempt to exploit the traditional sentiments of loyalty of Indians towards their rulers. Another view generally held was that the visit was deliberately planned as a counterpoise to Non-cooperation movement. 83 The Viceroy, Lord Reading, tried to convince the public that the visit of the Prince of Wales has no political implications, but the Congress felt otherwise and decided to boycott the visit.

83. Andhravani, 5 November 1921 observed that "the chief object of the Prince's visit to our country is to kill Non-cooperation movement"; see N.N.R., 1921, page 1385, para 49.
As the visit of the Prince of Wales coincided with the Non-cooperation movement, the Telugu press took cudgels against the government and decided to mobilise public opinion against the visit. The Government of Madras which was keen to make the visit a success felt that "a section of Telugu Press headed by Andhra Patrika has been particularly virulent... about the Prince of Wales' visit and the British Rule." 84

Even before the AICC took the decision to boycott the visit at its meeting in Bombay on 28 July 1921, the Andhra students resolved at their conference held at Cuddapah on 23 December 1920 to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. 85 Similar resolutions were passed at various District Committee meetings in Andhra. 86

84. F.N.R., 4 August 1921.
86. For example the Chittoor District Nationalist Sub-Committee which met on 19 October 1921, passed resolution to observe hartal, see Andhra Patrika, 28 October 1921.
'Hartal' or cessation of work, was observed in various Andhra towns on 17 November 1921 protesting against the visit. In places like Vijayawada and Machilipatnam the hartal had great impact. Normal life was disrupted and in the evenings public meetings were held expressing opposition to the visit. Hartal was also observed in villages like Chodavaram in Guntur district where a large number of ryots from nearby villages assembled at the public meeting held in the evening under the presidency of Kavilipati Prakasa Rao. In the Nellore district meetings were held in Zamindari towns like Venkatagiri which were attended even by the servants of the Zamindar. At Berhampur the call for hartal was given both by Andhra and Utkal Congress Committees and at the public meeting held in the evening a resolution was passed protesting the visit of the Prince of Wales.

87. The Hindu, 19 November 1921.
88. Ibid.
90. The Hindu, 19 November 1921.
In almost all the towns of Ceded Districts and Chittoor hartal was observed on 17 November 1921. At Anantapur, A.P. Kavi, was arrested in connection with the hartal. At Kurnool as section-144 was clamped the public meeting was held at the outskirt of the town. In Nandyal under the leadership of Madam Venkaiah Chetty, hartal was observed and a big procession was taken culminating in a public meeting where Swadeshi pledges were taken and foreign cloth was set on fire.

At Chittoor in spite of clamping of section-144 a public meeting was held outside the municipal limits addressed by Rangaswamy Aiyer and others, but M. Anantasayanam Ayyangar was not allowed to address the meeting. In Tirupati also, section-144 was clamped on the day of hartal. In the evening the public meeting addressed by T.K. Narasimhacharyulu was

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92. Andhra Patrika, 19 November 1921.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., 22 November 1921.
well attended. Several Municipal Councils like those of Rajahmundry passed resolutions protesting the visit of the Prince of Wales and also ordered their schools to be closed on 17 November 1921 as a mark of protest. 'Hartal' in Andhra towns led to no untoward events. But in Bombay violence broke out and more than fifty persons were killed.

To sum up, Gandhi's call for triple boycott evoked great response in Andhra; and demonstrated that it is the strong bastion of the Congress in the South.

95. Andhra Patrika, 22 November 1921.
96. F.N.R., 6 December 1921.