THE AWAKENING AND GROWTH OF POLITICAL AWARENESS IN RAYALASEEMA

REFORM MOVEMENTS

The impact of socio-religious reformatory movements, spread of modern education, the 1857 revolt, rise of various associations, modern means of transport, and the role of the Press were all instrumental for the awakening and growth of political awareness in the 19th century. The first aproutings of Indian nationalism were visible in the beginning of that century with the emergence of the Brahma Samaj in 1828 A.D., with the introduction of western education, and the western democratic ideologies.¹

Macaulay had first thought of giving training to clerks in their offices. It was for this purpose that the English education was introduced, but it proved to be realise a Pandora's box. Western education also introduced western political ideologies, philosophies etc., responsible for significant political events like American Independence, French Revolution, Birth of States, Italy and German Federation, and so on.

The spread of modern education and also raise of Journalism resulted in Political awakening in Andhra also. The Satyadoot was the first journal in Telugu published by

¹ Desai, A.R: Social Background of Indian Nationalism. (Bombay, 1986) p. 308.
the Christian missionaries of Bellary. But, this journal aimed more at religious propaganda and conversions. To counteract such missionary propagation, a few more newspapers and journals were started, the most notable among them being Tatvabodhini, by the Veda Samaja of Madras, in 1864. Vivekavardhini was the publication of Veeresalingam Pantulu, started in 1874. It was a weekly journal devoted more for the upliftment of women. Satishabodhini and Haayavardhini, also edited by him, advocated the abolition of certain social evils like child-marriage and caste system. The first political news weekly in Telugu, Andhra Prakasika, was started in 1885. Others like Sasilekha and Krishnapatrika, highlighted the evils of British administration and criticised the Government's failure to fulfill the needs of the common man. These journals were mostly aimed at evils reforming the society and weeding out the social which had clouded its beading to irrational tradition and customs. This also made the literate realise their political bondage. This awakening grew steadily and brought about political awareness among the people. It also helped in propagating new ideas of nationalism, democracy and social change.1

Besides the publication of journals more enlightened the literate giving details of a number of political associations founded in the 19th century. The associations like the

British Indian Association (1851), the Bombay Association (1852) and the Madras Native Association (1852) discussed matters of public interest. These Associations educated illiterates educated them with about current political conditions, through hearing. Gajula Lakshminarasu Chetty (1806-69) organised 'Chennapatnam Swadeshi Sangam' and founded the first Indian-owned newspaper in Madras, the *Crescent*, in 1844.¹ The Madras Mahajana Sabha, another political organisation, was started with Sri. P. Rangaiah Naidu as the President and P. Anandacharyulu as the Secretary (1844 A.D.). The latter, hailing from Chittoor in Rayalseema, was a great patriot who took prominent part in founding The Madras Mahajana Sabha. He played a crucial role in the public awakening in Madras Presidency. These and such others roused national consciousness among the people.

Andhra was fairly well represented in the first session of the Indian National Congress held in 1885 in Bombay. P. Rangaiah Naidu, P. Anandacharyulu, S.N. Narasimhulu of Chittoor, Gooty Kesava Pillai of Anantapur, S.V.G. Panthulu and S. Venkatasubbarayudu, both from Machilipatnam were some of them. There were 21 delegates in the Calcutta Session P. Anandacharyulu presided over the Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1891. The other Andhras who participated actively

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1. Anil Seal: *The emergence of Indian Nationalism* (New Delhi, 1982) pp. 197-198.
in the debates in this session were A.C. Parthasarathi Naidu and Nyapathi Subba Rao. ¹

In Rayalaseema, Gooty P. Kesava Pillai and others in Gooty town of Anantapur district launched the 'Gooty People's Association' in 1882, to foster political activity and ventilate their grievances. ² It was later affiliated to the Madras Mahajana Sabha. ³ Kesava Pillai took a leading part in bringing to the notice of the Government the public grievances through discussions in the sessions of the Assembly. Kesava Pillai had associated himself with the Indian National Congress right from its inception, till 1917, when he resigned. ⁴ Through the press and public meetings Kesava Pillai highlighted the case of Hampanna who sacrificed his life fighting against European soldiers, near Guntakal, who assaulted two Indian Women. A regiment of soldiers arrived on 4th October, 1893 at Guntakal, on their way from Wellington to Secunderabad, and stayed near the present Travellers' Bungalow which by then had been occupied by the military. One day the evening hours the soldiers went strolling about, probably after their evening sip of beer. The road from the

3. ibid.,
Railway Station to Guntakal town runs through the fields by the side of the camp. An elderly shepherd woman, and also a widow of a respectable Lingayat Kapu family, both had been to watch the jowar crop of the latter, and were returning home by that road. As they passed by the camp, a group of six young soldiers followed them. The women afraid of soldiers sought protection from the railway gatekeeper, Hampanna, a shepherd (kuruba) by caste. He asked them to get into his shed and bolt the door from inside. The soldiers went to the shed and attempted to open the door forcibly by kicking it. Hampanna made gestures of protest against their violence. Then he threatened to beat them with the bamboo sticks. Thereupon, the soldiers hastily retreated but one of them drew a revolver and fired a shot hitting Hampanna on the right thing and died. Thus, Hampanna sacrificed his life protecting the honour of two Indian women and became a martyr. A stone tableau was raised by the people in memory of the heroic deed of Hampanna on the side of Sri Thomas Munroe's Choultry at Gooty. It is this incident that was narrated by Kesava Pillai in the Golden Jubilee Number of The Hindu dated 7th October, 1928.

The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 gave a fillip to many District Associations. Krishna District was the first among the 21 districts established in 1872.

So far as Rayalaseema was concerned, the people of Penukonda in Anantapur district launched a Penukonda Agricultural Association in 1907 to discuss, with concern, the agricultural and political issues. It was the first of its kind in the Madras Presidency.¹

The modern means of transport played an important role in the spread the exchange of ideas leading to the rise of nationalism and fostering unity and integrity among the people.² For the first time, in 1853 the Railway was introduced in India. The introduction of Railways and the setting up of a transport system with well-laid roads resulted in great economic and social change in society. The original intention of the British in introducing Railways and constructing highways was only to quicken the means of transportation of their army, although, now and then, some administrators claimed that it was meant for the convenience of the public. The immediate result, however, was the shrinkage of distance due to quicker means of transport. There was transportation not only of men and material but also of communication, of knowledge and of thought. News now spread faster and repercussions were quicker and deeper.

¹ The Hindu, dated January, 24, 1907.
² Desai, A.R: op.cit., pp. 131-133.
In Rayalaseema, the first railway line to be laid was between Puttur and Renigunta in 1862 A.D. This was, in fact, the first railway line in Andhra. It promoted a sense of unity and brotherhood and helped the growth of nationalism. As noted above, the press played a vital role in moulding public opinion and it came to be glorified as the Fourth Estate. The Telugu Press played an important role in the Madras Presidency during the national movement.

In Rayalaseema, the Pinakini Patrika was published from Anantapur. Mr. Kaiph Subramanyam Sastri and Mr. Mahanandayya were both inspired by the national movement and planned to start a paper in the name of Swarajya Udyamam. But, on the advice of Pappuru Ramacharyulu, a great freedom fighter, they named it as Sri Pinakini Patrika, because the great river Pinakini flows in this region. Thus, the first issue of Sri Pinakini Patrika appeared on 16th September, 1922. Pappuru Ramacharyulu was one of the partners and he was also its editor. Almost at the same time, another paper, Balabharathi was published by Narlakavi. But it was shortlived. Gadicherla Harisarvottama Rao commenced the publication of Matru Seva from Tadipatri. Later, it was shifted to Nandyala and disappeared from the scene. Due to differences of opinion, at a later date, in the management

3. ibid.,
4. ibid.,
of *Sri Pinakin Patrika*, Pappuru Ramacharyulu came out of it and started another paper, *Sri Sadhana Patrika* in 1926. The first copy of *Sri Sadhana Patrika* appeared in the market on August 14, 1926. These papers represented the public grievances of Rayalaseema.

**NATIONAL AWAKENING AMONG MUSLIMS**

We have seen above how the Muslims who settled on the Indian soil in the 7th Century slowly grabbed power and finally came to rule over the whole of India. But, the British dealt them the final blow. From imperialism they now fell into the humiliating position of subordination and now became the ruled lot. Whether they were Mughuls, or the Nizams, or Chieftains of principalities, all of them were subjected to similar humiliation.

Thus the position of Muslims was awkward under the British rule and were let down. The British were interested in the expansion of their empire and they preferred to exploit both the Hindus and the Muslims by their policy of 'Divide and Rule', by putting one against the other in different situations. Gradually this led to a clear cleavage, which was evident more in the north than in the south.

There were some Muslim chiefs, more prominent of them being Tippu of Mysore, who followed the policy of religious

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toleration. Had Tippu revolted against the British, other Muslim chiefs, could not have followed him. The greased cartridges affair might have sparked off the revolt. But, the normally nonviolent Hindus became tumultuous with Dalhousie's theory of Doctrine of Lapse. For the Muslims, this was an opportunity to give vent to their feelings. So, they too participated in the Revolt of 1857. But, uncoordinated effort and lack of coordination resulted in its failure. However, for the British it was an eye opener. For one thing, the Muslim participation was not deep. They were influenced by the Hindus greatly. They adopted local languages like Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam. The Muslim traders mostly settled in Kerala which they found to be a fertile soil, also for conversion of people into Islam. But, even here, it was more a quantitative rather than a qualitative conversion. By the end of the 19th century there was so much amalgamation of the two communities that the religious rifts were practically non-existent. Whenever and wherever such riots occurred, they were more because of personal or group animosities, and economic-based and not religious. Religion was used only as a ruse.

When the national movement later on took a definite shape under the leadership of S.N. Banerji, Gokhale, Tilak etc., the people in the south also participated in it, but with a difference. While in the north, people had oppression and repression, in the south the despotism of the rulers, the
Nawabs and the like, was less severe. The main grouse of the Muslims was that they had lost their political power with the establishment of the British rule, and naturally, the national movement in the south was not intense in the early stages.

Earlier, the higher posts in administration in the army and also in the learned professions were in the hands of Muslims. But, they were replaced by either their own men or the Hindus. This resulted in deterioration in the economic status of the Muslims. These who were once opulent were now reduced to penury. Even intellectuals, the poets and philosophers were no exception, and what munificence they were obtaining from the kings were all being withdrawn by the British authorities of the East India Company and later, the Crown. This created a sense of disgust among the Muslims against the British. As far as possible they avoided any contact with the British. The administrative, social, educational and economic reforms that the British were bringing about were found by the Muslims to be dubious as a plan to further unnerve the people at large. The did not accept the western system of education as earnestly as the Hindus did. On the other hand, they suspected that it was only to undermine their religious faith.

EFFECTS OF REFORM MOVEMENT ON MUSLIMS

Like the Hindu reformatory movements the Muslims also launched a number of socio-religious reforms in India. But, these reformatory movements were more superficial than intense. Besides, most of them lacked the national spirit.

The Wahabi movement was the first organised movement of the Indian Muslims. Starting as a religious reform movement, it subsequently developed into a movement bettering with political, social and economic conditions of the people. It developed an anti-British character and even spread to a section of the Muslim peasants in Bengal leading to some peasants' revolts which were quelled. The movement died out within a few years after the Mutiny. It touched only the outer fringe of the society and, the sheer development of the anti-British attitude without proper political awareness was naturally a futile effort.

There were four other movements started by (1) Sha Abdul Aziz of Delhi (2) Sheik Karmat Ali of Jaunpur (3) Haji Shariatullah of Faridpur and (4) Saiyid Ahamadiya of Bereili. Of these, the last, known by the name Ahamadiya Movement, left greater impact on the society. The Ahamadiya Movement, started by Mirza Ghulam Ahamad in 1889, was more or less

based on liberal principles and it described itself as an attempt at Mohammedan renaissance. The founder was greatly influenced by the Western liberation, theosophy, and also the religious reform movements of the Hindus. The Ahamadiya Movement opposed jehad or sacred war against non-Muslims. It stood for fraternal relations among all people. As a result of this movement, western liberal education spread among the Indian Muslims. It started a network of schools and colleges for that purpose and published periodicals and books, both in English and the Vernaculars.

The next and most powerful movement which resulted in several socio-political changes was the Aligarh Movement. This was a politically conscious movement intent upon spreading education among Muslims and create an awakening in them to induct liberal social reforms and cultural movements. Sir Syed Ahamad Khan was the founder of this movement. It came to be designated as the Aligarh Movement since Aligarh happened to be the centre of all its activities. Chirag Ali, Sayyied Mahdi Ali, Mustafa Khan, Khuda Bhaksh, poet Hali, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad and Maulvi Mohammed Shibli Numani were the outstanding leaders and exponents of the ideas of the movement. To begin with, they established a Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875. This College later on developed into the Aligarh University in 1890.

2. ibid., pp. 395-397.
3. ibid.
Though aimed at spreading western education among the muslims, the Aligarh Movement did not weaken their own faith in and allegiance to Islam. It was not its intention either. On the other hand, religious education was reinforced by secular education imparted in the educational institutions it had established.

Another object of this movement was to create a social awakening among the Muslims. Already there were several Hindu religious and social reform movements. The muslims were not lagging behind. So, several modifications were introduced as a part of social reform in the muslim society. It condemned polygamy and encouraged widow re-marriage. The Aligarh movement was based on a liberal interpretation of the Quran. It tried to harmonize Islam with modern liberal culture.¹

Sir Mohammed Iqbal (1876-1938) was one of the greatest poets of modern India. Though he supported the liberal movements, he cautioned the Muslim liberals not to allow the principals of Islam supercede nationalism and racism.

So far as the social reforms were concerned, a little later it turned its attention towards the emancipation of Muslim Women. Aligarh Movement was launched to combat such institutions as the purdah. Badruddin Tyabji, an enlightened and progressive Muslim, was the founder of this movement in

1. ibid., pp. 302-303.
Bombay. Sheik Abdul Halil Sharer, an outstanding author and journalist worked against the purdah in the United Provinces. The All India Muslim Conference upheld the cause of women education and for this purpose provided for a special and regular financial aid. Individual Muslim organisations established increasing number of educational institutions for the Muslim women all over India.¹

In 1857, the British Government established the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta which imparted education to Indians.² It created a new class of intelligentsia imbued with the ideas of nationalism, democracy and western political thoughts. They had also been greatly influenced by the revolutionary movements of the west. The American War of Independence, the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution were the beacon lights that provided them the model for a similar action with regard to their own efforts to overthrow alien rule and despotism and establish self-rule. The writings and speeches of Burke, Mazzine, Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill constituted their political Bible. The spirit of nationalism aroused in them made them forget at least for some period, that they were Andhras or Tamils, Bengalis or Punjabis. They were all of them members of a single nation. The Indian National Congress, the most prominent of the several political and

¹ ibid., pp. 302-303.
social organisations, offered them a platform to enunciate and inculcate the feeling of national unity which they further fostered.

In fact, the early leaders of the Indian National movement believed in the concept of prayer and petition. That was a moderate way of making the authority feel that justice had to be done. But, it remained to be only petition and prayer without boons. The national and popular dissatisfaction made some of them take to a more severe course of action. As in the U.S.A., they first seemed to uphold the slogan 'No taxation without representation'. But, they demanded from the British authorities more representation to the Legislative Councils. Economic progress was no less important than political awareness. So, the large majority advocated Swadeshi and boycott of foreign commodities, not only as instruments of political warfare, but also as the essential means for the economic and industrial revival of the Country.¹ This was the position of our country at large. In several regions, leaders participated in regional movements offering solutions to the regional problems.

As in other parts of India, in Andhra too people participated wholeheartedly in the annual sessions of Indian National Congress and voiced their grievances. The British Government also had done nothing in this region to wipe out

the discontent among the people mitigating their poverty and suffering. The burden of revenue and other forms of taxation was too heavy. The Government did nothing to lessen this burden. Irrigational works, development of roads and means of transport and communications, medical relief, sanitation, even the educational system and social welfare were almost completely neglected. The decline of indigenous started with the introduction of Manchesterial productions. So, the Andhras also had raised their voice in the Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Right from the inception, of the Indian National Congress the Andhra delegates from the city of Madras and from the districts regularly attended the annual sessions of the Congress held between 1885 and 1905. The delegates came from distant places like Berhampur, Machilipatnam, Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur to attend even the very first session held in Bombay in 1885. This participation never abated. The table given below indicates the number of Andhra delegates who attended several of the subsequent sessions of the Congress from 1887 to 1905.¹

¹ Annual Reports of the Indian National Congress.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place of Session</th>
<th>No. of Andhra Delegates</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>151</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Nagpur</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Amraoti</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Ahmadabad</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Benaras</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above list shows the participation of the Andhra delegates in different sessions of Indian National Congress, except for the years of 1885, 1886, 1895, 1900 and 1901. It shows the interesting feature that whenever the sessions were held in Madras, the number of delegates swelled. As can be seen, in 1894 as many as 336 delegates attended while it exceeded 200 in 1898. The reason is not far to seek. Given the facilities of means of transport in those days, such huge
numbers could not afford to go to distant places like Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Calcutta, Lahore and Lucknow.

The Freedom Struggle in Andhra, as in other parts of the country, passed through three stages. The period from 1889 to 1904 is the era of faith, prayer and unanimity, while the second phase from 1904 to 1920 is one of discord and disillusion. The advent of Gandhiji in Indian politics marks the commencement of the last phase, the Gandhian era. It is in this final phase that India rose as a single mass against the British who were forced to withdraw from our country.¹

In the first period, the struggle was carried on entirely on constitutional lines. The leaders of the day did not question the sovereignty exercised by the British Crown over India. On the other hand, they welcomed it as an act of providence. At the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress the resolutions demanding constitutional and administrative reforms were all justified on the ground that the Indian people were intensely loyal to the British rulers and therefore deserved to be governed in accordance with the principles such as the self-governing colonies of the British were governed. It was only in the last years of the first period that an extremist and revolutionary section started questioning the rights of the British to rule the country.

¹ Gopal, B.R. (Ed), op.cit., pp. 165-166.
and prepared to overthrow it by violent means. But, Andhras were not very much affected by the emergence of this section of people.¹

The Indian educated community had, by the beginning of the 20th century, developed a sense of frustration and desired to be more vigorous in its opposition to government. In Tilak they found a dynamic personality. From 1904 we see a change in the attitude. Through the celebrations of the Ganesh and Shivaji festivals, Tilak added vigour and stimulated the national spirit. This had its impact in Andhra also.²

What we have to note here is that whenever there was a powerful agitation in other regions, specially in the north, it had its repercussions in these areas as well. But the steps adopted by the Government to curb the movement gave an altogether different emphasis.

THE VANDEMATARAM MOVEMENT

The Partition of Bengal in 1905 by Lord Curzon was yet another event that strengthened the National Movement. Curzon's plea for partition was better administration. But, the truth was to break the unity of the Bengalis.³ This partition involved separation of the Ganjam district and Agency tract of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts. The inclusion of the Telugu area in the newly proposed provinces of Orissa was

3. ibid., p. 167.
disadvantageous. The invocation to goddess Kali in Vandemataram now became more meaningful. The so-called Vandemataram Movement now commenced side by side with the Swadeshi Movement. The Congress Session held at Calcutta under the presidency of Dadabhai Naoroji passed a resolution boycotting British goods and to encourage indigenous industries. Surendranath Banerjee spearheaded a strong movement in Bengal resisting the partition and boycotting British goods.¹

The song Vandemataram, Manade Rajyam (Obeisance to Mother, Ours is the Kingdom) became popular and was used as a weapon to ridicule and condemn the British. Some students of Andhra studying in Madras and others like Kaleswara Rao, Ramasastri Naidu, Gadicherla Harisarvottama Rao, Kommaraju Lakshmana Rao, Gollepudi Shivarama Shastri and Chakriah Chetty convened a meeting to intensify the Vandemataram Movement. They met on the sea beach in September, 1905, under the presidency of G. Subramanyam Iyer, the editor of Swadeshamitran. The great Tamil poet Subramanya Bharati also attended the meeting where he recited his patriotic songs. It was decided, then, that a National Fund should be raised in support of the Swadeshi Movement.²

The Mahajana Sabha which was an old organisation played a prominent part in this movement. Besides this National Fund, an Industrial Association was started to propagate the Swadeshi

² *ibid.*, p. 32.
and to send students to Japan and other countries for undergoing training in different industries. For spreading the message of Swadeshi, a public meeting was held on February 24, 1906 under the presidency of K. Krishnaswamy Rao. He said that "Swadeshism is nothing but self-help and self-improvement." A Swadeshi League was also started, though, that was the time when the Government of Lord Minto was determined on creating division between Hindus and Muslims. Several Muslim merchants joined the League and showed their sympathy towards the new movement.¹

The Swadeshi League deputed Nyapathi Subba Rao Pantulu and Venkateswara Rao to tour the northern districts of Andhra to popularise Swadeshi. Later on, in the same year, C.Y. Chintamani and Nyapathi Subba Rao Pantulu also toured the Telugu districts to advocate Swadeshi Movement. At a meeting held in Bellary, the principal speaker condemned "boycott" as an anti-swadeshi word and urged that it should not be allowed any place in the programme of Swadeshi. It was a meeting convened to organise Deepavali for promoting Swadeshi.²

To promote Swadeshi Movement, some practical measures were taken. Firstly, in Kurnool, subscriptions were collected to send a student to Japan for learning glass-making. Secondly, Swadeshi Stores were opened in important towns and through them to open

weaving factories. The arrest of Surendranath Benerjee in 1906, while attending a conference at Barisal in Bengal created a great commotion in the country. In several Andhra towns, like Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Vijayanagaram and Gooty, protest meetings were held.¹

The Indian National Congress held its annual session in Calcutta in December, 1906 under the presidency of Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India. The Moderates manouvered somehow to invite him to be the President for the year in preference to Bal Gangadhar Tilak, or Lala Lajapat Rai, the choice of the Nationalists. They hoped that, being old, he would support and strengthen their standpoint. But, they were extremely disappointed when, in the course of his presidential address, he declared himself firmly in favour of Swadeshi, boycott and national education. The whole matter could be compressed in one word 'Self-Government' or "Swaraj". This reference to Swaraj thrilled the whole country. The nationalists were jubilant. They had further cause for jubilation when the Congress endorsed through its resolution, their views on Swadeshi, boycott and national education.

Several Andhrians attended the Calcutta Session of the Congress. Among them were the Raja of Munagala, K.V. Lakshmana Rao and G. Harisarvorthama Rao.²

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The meeting of Madras Mahajana Sabha held on 28, December 1906, selected the following gentlemen as delegates to participate in the Congress Session to be held in Calcutta: the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammed Bahadur, the Hon'ble Sir V.C. Desikachariar, the Hon'ble Mr. L.A. Govindaraghava Iyer, and Rao Bahadur Anantacharyulu.¹

Bipin Chandra Pal's Tour in Andhra

The Vandemataram Movement received great impetus in Andhra, when Bipin Chandra Pal toured coastal Andhra in April, 1907. The tour was organised by Mutnuri Krishna Rao, the editor of Krishna Patrika of Machilipatnam. Pal visited Vijayanagaram, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Vijayawada and Machilipatnam and delivered lectures on the subjects like Vedanta, Swaraj, Swadeshi and Boycott. The Andhra tour of Pal was a grand success. He electrified the political atmosphere of the entire coastal Andhra. Henceforth, Rajahmundry and Machilipatnam became important centres of the Swadeshi Movement in Andhra.

The Swadeshi Movement had its impact on Rayalaseema also. But, there was no noteworthy incident as such. A Swadeshi meeting at Penukonda in Anantapur district was held. According to the Andhra Prakasika of the 21st August, 1907, the propagation of Swadeshi movement a meeting in the Jamia Mosque, held

¹ The Madras Mail, dated December, 29, 1906.
at Penukonda. Both Hindus and Mohammedans attended the meeting in the Jamia Mosque. The meeting was held in the mosque for the purpose of strengthening mutual friendship between the Hindus and Mohammedans. Sriyuts Ranga Rao and Sivasankaram delivered lectures encouraging Swadeshism, and the meeting was brought to a close with the shouting of *Vande Mataram* slogan.¹

A Swadeshi preacher had been holding forth in Cuddapah Bazar and giving very excellent advice to people that they should be more for themselves in the way of the production of native articles of use and should spend less on what is imported from foreign countries.²

On the evening of Tuesday, November 18, 1905, Narasinga Rao, Vakil, gave a lecture in the Hindu club at Jammalamadugu on "Industrial Problems." Another meeting was held on Wednesday evening. A Swadeshi Society was formed with Nanjundappa as the President. It was decided to open a shop in the town in which only swadeshi goods were to be stocked and sold. It was proposed to obtain a Japanese loom and to arrange to train the youngsters in weaving art with fly shuttle and gradually to introduce this method. They attempted to give training also in carpentry/weaving in the Municipal School. Several men

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¹. G.O.No.34 of 1907, for the week ending 24th August, 1907 (*Selected Extracts from Confidential Reports on the Native Papers*, 1907) p. 889.
enrolled their names paying Rs. 160-00 as subscription. Various suggestions were made such as sending youngsters to Great Britain or America for technical education. ¹

Pal's visit to Andhra was really a landmark in the history of Freedom Movement in this region. After Bipin Chandra Pal's tours, whenever an European appeared, the locals pronounced the slogan Vande Mataram. Actually, the English did not know the real meaning of the term. They were feeling that they were in a country where all people were hostile to them. It resulted in many ugly incidents of which, the Kakinada disturbance was a major one. Very soon after the Kakinada riots of May 1907, perhaps before the ending of that year, or in the early months of 1908, an episode occurred at Anantapur. An Englishman was walking along the street with his wife when a batch of people returning from the Swadeshi meeting threw stones at them. ² Thereupon, the two lodged a complaint with the police who investigated into the matter. However, they could not trace the culprits who actually pelted stones at them. The case rested at that. Almost at the same time, in Guntur district the Kotappakonda riots rose enraged their ugly heads but,

¹ ibid., dated November 18, 1905.
² Selected extracts from confidential files containing C.I.D. etc., on political activities in Andhra during the Swadeshi Movement, 1905-1911.
were put down. These incidents indicate the mental unrest among the people at large against the British authorities.

One of the political conferences held in Andhra during 1907, was the Madras Provincial Conference. It met in Visakhapatnam with B.N. Sharma as the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Nyapathi Subba Rao Pantulu as President. The acute differences that had split the Congress between the Moderates and the Extremists were brought to the surface during the discussions at the conference. Both Sharma and Pantulu spoke of the advantages of the British repressive policy in Bengal and elsewhere. Before the Conference met, Morley, the Secretary of State for India, delivered his well known budget speech in the Parliament announcing his readiness to introduce a new scheme of reforms shortly. The Moderates became jubilant even though very little was then known about the details of those reforms. K. Sreenivasa Rao of Kurnool moved a resolution on the present situation and in the course of his speech he expressed strong indignation at the action of the Indian government in deporting Lajpat Rai and at the promulgation of Ordinance No. 1 of 1907 restricting the conducting of public meeting. But, he was not prepared to go further and demand Swaraj. Chilakamarthi Lakshminarasimham seconded the resolution and spoke of the great services rendered by Lajpat Rai.1

Lajpat Rai had been deported under an old and antiquated regulation of the East India Company. Protest meetings were held in all important towns throughout Andhra. One such meeting was held protesting the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai at Penukonda. Both Hindus and Mohammedans and also the merchants assembled at the B.V. Reading Room at 6-30 p.m. M.N. Narayana Rao, one of the leading lawyers of Penukonda, was elected Chairman. In the meeting several resolutions were passed, one of them stating that the public of Penukonda and the neighbourhood, in a meeting, felt deeply and with concern, about the steps which the Indian Officials had adopted in bringing about the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai without assigning reasons and without any judicial enquiry.\(^1\)

Meetings were also held to protest against the Seditious Meetings Bill which was considered to be an infringement of men's primary right of freedom of speech and of meeting. Several speakers suggested that, as a token of protest people should boycott British goods on a more extensive scale and called on the members of Legislatures to resign in a body.\(^2\)

Another protest meeting was held at Penukonda on October, 23, 1907, against the prevention of Seditious Bill. A meeting of the Anantapur District Congress Association was also held

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1. The Hindu, dated June, 1907.
2. ibid., dated October 21, 1907.
at Penukonda to protest against the Seditious Meeting Bill. Both Hindus and Mohammedans participated in it. The proceedings were all in Telugu. After an animated discussion, it was resolved that "the measure was unjust, unnecessary and that it diminishes the confidence in Government." The largeness of the gathering disclosed the intense awakening of the people to the true state of the situation.¹

In the Calcutta Session of the Congress the rift between the Moderates and the Extremists widened. Inspite of the decision that the next session should be convened at Nagpur, the Moderates, led by Sir Firoz Shah Mehta, managed to get it shifted to Surat where the extremists could not muster enough strength and influence as at Nagpur. The Moderates also saw to it that Rash Behari Ghosh was invited to preside over it in preference to Lajpat Rai. But, when the Congress met at Surat in December, 1907, the Extremists were prepared to assert themselves. This, coupled with obstinacy and want of tact on the part of the Moderates, resulted in some disorderly scenes on the second day of the Session before the President-elect could take the chair and deliver his address. The meeting was adjourned sine die. The split between the two sections was not complete. It is not known how many Andhras attended the Surat Session and what part they played in it. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, however, says, in his

¹. The Hindu, dated October, 23, 1907.
Autobiography that Poddibhotla Veerayya, G. Harisarvottama Rao and Kopalle Hanumantha Rao attended it and joined the camp of the Extremists. Among the others who attended and who also joined the Extremists' group were Peri Narayanamurthi, Ganti Lakshmanamma and Hanumantha Rao.

Soon after the Surat split, the Moderates met in a convention first at Surat itself, and later at Allahabad, and draw up a Constitution for the Congress in which no reference was made to Swaraj.

Article I of the Constitution said that the objects of the Indian National Congress was the attainment by the people of India a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with these members. These objects were to be achieved through constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and development and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country. The word 'Swaraj' was purposely avoided as one of the objectives of the Congress. There was no mention of Swadeshi, boycott, and national education on which the Extremists were keen. They, therefore,

2. The Hindu, dated January 6, 1908.
declined to join the Congress which consequently became the organisation of the Moderates.

The large majority of political leaders in Andhra were Moderates. There was a widespread feeling that all political organisations and conferences should provide opportunities for all those belonging to different parties to come together and exchange ideas and that it was only then that public opinion would be able to exercise pressure on the Government. It was with this view that the District Association was reorganised to mobilise public opinion.¹

In the later part of 1908, there arose a controversy about the holding of a Session of the Congress at Madras, as proposed by the Madras Mahajana Sabha. The Madras Provincial Congress Committee was formed under the new constitution. Controversial opinions were expressed about the venue of the session. Bhavanachari and others suggested holding the Congress Session in London. It was, of course, not approved. Several argued that the Congress should not hold any session at all, obviously at least for some time to come. It was then that V.S. Srinivasa Sastry, a leading Moderate undertook a tour of some Telugu districts and managed to have District Congress Committees constituted in Nellore, Guntur, Krishna

Godavari and several other districts, in accordance with the new Congress Constitution.

These committees were affiliated to the Madras Provincial Congress Committee. They supported the idea of holding the session of the Congress, as usual in December, and that too in Madras. The argument of V.S. Srinivasa Sastry as expressed at Kakinada was that a Congress of Moderates alone would lose its national character and that with only a few Muslims and no women participating in it, the Congress would not be considered as a national organisation at all. Finally, the Congress held its session in Madras under the presidency of Rash Behari Ghosh. As laid down in the Congress Constitution, reference to Swaraj, Swadeshi, boycott and national education were carefully avoided in the proceedings. One hundred and sixteen members from Andhra attended the session. 1

It was left to the extremists to carry on propaganda in favour of Swaraj, Swadeshi, boycott and national education. These were vigorously undertaken in 1908. In Jammalamadugu and its neighbourhood in the Cuddapah district, a person named Mittadodi Rama Rao carried on the propaganda of Swadeshi and boycott movements. M.C. Rama Rao delivered a lecture in the Bazar Street of Jammalamadugu. In the course of his lecture

referring to the exports, imports and boycott, he said "if we should make up our minds not to export our raw produce to other countries, and at the same time resolve not to take goods of other countries, we should be not so poor as we are." But, according to the C.I.D., report his sincerity itself was somewhat questionable, his father having been twice convicted by the judiciary on charges of housebreaking and theft. Yet, this reflects upon the treating of the leaders of the people in general. ¹

Bipinchandra Pal was released from prison in March, 1908. This event of release was celebrated in Rajahmundry, Palcole, Kakinada, Vijayanagaram, Gudivada, Cuddapah, Chittoor, Ongole and Nellore. A large procession was organised by pleaders like Venkatarāmāna Aiyangar and Venkoba Rao at Proddutur in Cuddapah District. Venkatarāmāna Aiyangar led the procession which comprised mostly of school boys carrying red 'Vandemataram' flags and the pictures of Bipinchandra Pal, accompanied by a native band. This procession went round the town in the evening. ²

At Punganur in Chittoor district a certain Seshachari, an assistant teacher was tried for having organised a meeting in honour on Bipinchandra Pal's release. But, further proceedings were stopped by the Head Master. ³

³. ibid.
In Madras, the Chenna Jana Sangam celebrated it as a festive occasion besides holding a public meeting at which several thousands of people assembled to hear speeches on all aspects of Swadeshi. In the towns of Andhra, merchants contributed liberally for poor feeding on the occasion.1

Meetings were also held to popularise the ideas of Swaraj and Swadeshi. During this time, Ramaswamy Gupta, Secretary of the Vaisya Samaj, Guntur, and Kota Subbaiah Chetty of Chittoor which was then a part of the North Arcot district of the Madras presidency, delivered lectures in Telugu at Vayalpadu in Madanapalli sub-division on Industrial Development of India. A procession consisting of students and some members of the local Vandemataram Association, passed through the streets of Vayalpadu, collecting subscriptions in cash and kind.2 As a result of such a propaganda the Vandemataram song was on the lips of even women in villages. On this occasion Attili SuryaRayana published his Telugu book entitled Hindu Desha Daridryam while Venkata Subbarayudu and Mangipudi Venkatasharma brought out another book, Matrusatakam. Several pamphlets also were now published, all these highlighting the poverty of the country and the importance of development. These came to the notice of the police who seized all such publications.

Nemali Subba Rao, a teacher of the Hindu High School, Madanapalli, reprinted copies of the *Vandemataram* song in English and Telugu in the local Arya Vilas Press. G. Subba Rao, a sweet-meet seller of Madanapalli sold a few copies of this leaflet for a period of about six months, pricing it at one pie each.¹

Another form of propaganda was to inscribe anti-British Slogans. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, North Arcot district, while passing through Punganur town found the words "Vandemataram" written on the walls of the American Mission Girls School building. On enquiry he found that this slogan had been inscribed on the walls of almost all public buildings in the town. He questioned the Headmaster of the local High School about it and was informed that the Vandemataram movement had caught up with students and that in the previous year, they had become most insubordinate and unmanageable. Probably as a consequence of this enquiry, in the latter part of March, 1908, a part of the school building was set on fire and property including books and maps worth Rs.500/- was destroyed. Of the four boys suspected, three were the so-called leaders of the new movement. They were (1) 19 year old, C. Kuppuswami Mudali, son of Venkataswamy Mudali, a land holder and contractor, (2) 17 year old N.K. Raja Rao, son of N.K. Krishna Rao, landholder, and (3) Rajagopal, son of Muniswami, a landholder. The irony

¹ *ibid.*, No. 18 of 14-3-1908.
of it was that when, in March 13, 1908, an essay was asked to be written on their own favourable subject Kuppuswami Mudali had written on Sedition.¹

A Society named 'Sanatana Dharmabodhini' was started in Punganur under the patronage of the local zamindar and with Sitaramappa as the elected Secretary. Its ostensible aim was the reading of the Puranas, but it was suspected that under this mask political matters also were discussed.²

In Madanapalli, on the eve of the deepavali festival, on the 21st of November, 1908, pleaders and school masters took active part in raising a National Fund. Giri Rao, a teacher and Seshappa and Jaya Ranga Rao, pleaders of Madanapalli collected an amount of Rs.60/- for the National Fund, moving about from house to house.³

We may, also refer to certain non-political conference like the Vysya Conference in Machilipatnam when 600 persons from all parts of the Presidency assembled and passed resolutions recommending the establishment of indigenous factories, the starting of a Chamber of Commerce in every district and encouraging the sale of Swadeshi goods.⁴ In the Ceded districts a Students' Conference was also held on the 24th May, 1908 when

¹. ibid., March, 1908, p. 523, para 948.
². ibid.,
³. ibid., No. 40, 21st November, 1908.
⁴. The Madras Mail, dated May 16, 1908.
Such movements spread all over the country. More vigorous in nature were those in Bengal and Maharashtra. The British Government could no more overlook these developments which were aimed at undermining their own position in the country. So, they adopted a policy of repression. The year 1908 is considered an year of much repressive activities by the Government. In Bengal non-political leaders were deported. Editors of nationalist papers like Bujpendranath Datta, brother of Swami Vivekananda and editor of Yugantar and Aurobindo, the editor of Sandhya and Vandemataram were accused of preaching violence and Datta was sentenced to imprisonment for a long term. Aurobindo was prosecuted on grounds of sedition and kept on as an undertrial prisoner. In Maharashtra, Balagangadhara Tilak, editor of Kesari and Maratha was also prosecuted for sedition and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was moved to Mandalay.

The Madras Government too was determined to teach a lesson to the nationalists. Harisarvottama Rao and Bodi Narayana Rao were two leaders on whom they set their eyes. Harisarvottama Rao had started a paper Swarajya with the

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1. The Hindu, May 25, 1908. Since in this region there was only one college, Government Ceded College at Anantapur, it is quite likely that this conference took place at Anantapur itself.
partnership of Bodi Narayana Rao, Pingali Lakshminarayana and Kasinathuni Veera Mallayya, the last of whom was the proprietor for a printing press. It was a nationalistic Telugu weekly. Harisarvottama Rao declared himself to be the proprietor, while Bodi Narayana Rao was its editor and publisher. On March 26, 1908, an article was published in *Swarajya* relating to the murder of Ash, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly and the death of two Indians as a result of subsequent firing by an European Officer. This was considered to be seditious and the Government decided to take action on all those connected with the paper. On April 16, Harisarvottama Rao announced that he had renounced his proprietorship of the paper. Warrants were issued on July 13, 1908 for the arrest of Harisarvottama Rao, Bodi Narayana Rao, Veera Mallayya and Pingali Lakshminarayana. On November 9, Kershasp, I.C.S., District Judge delivered the judgement convicting both Harisarvottama Rao and Bodi Narayana Rao. They were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for nine months, while Harisarvottama Rao was to undergo six months simple imprisonment. Harisarvottama Rao preferred an appeal to the High Court against this conviction. The Government on its part preferred a revision petition asking for enhanced punishment. The High Court confirmed nine months regorous imprisonment on Bodi Narayana Rao. But with regard to Harisarvottama Rao it was enhanced to three years regorous imprisonment.
Arrest warrants were also issued against Mutnuri Krishna Rao, editor of *Krishna Patrika* and C. Srinivasa Rao, editor of *Navayuga*. But, Sedambi Hanumantha Rao the public prosecutor rescued them and on his assurance that Krishna Rao would cease to be the editor of *Krishna Patrika* and that the *Navayuga* would stop its publication, the warrants were withdrawn.¹ Ethiraj Surendranathan Arya, an Andhra, was punished for five years of imprisonment for giving seditious speeches in Telugu under the auspices of Chenna Jana Sangham in Madras.²

With these, the Government appears to have satisfied itself that its repressive measures were effective. Surprisingly, we do not find such serious terrorist activities in Rayalaseema.

The long awaited Minto-Morley reforms were announced. But, introduction of separate communal electorates had cut at the very root of the movement for more reforms. While in the Congress Session of 1907, a deep satisfaction was expressed at Morley's despatches, in the Session of 1909, held at Lahore under the presidentship of Madanmohan Malaviya, a resolution expressing deep dissatisfaction was passed. There was disappointment all around.

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The resolution read as follows:

"This Congress while gratefully appreciating the earnest and arduous endeavours of Lord Morley and Lord Minto in extending to the people of this country a fairly liberal measure of constitutional reforms, as now embodied in the Indian Councils Act of 1909, it deems its duty to place on record its strong sense of disapproval on the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion and regret that the regulations formed under the Act have not been formed in the same liberal spirit in which Lord Morley's despatch of last year was conceived. In particular, the regulations have caused widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country by reason of

(a) the excessive and fairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion.

(b) the unjust, invidious and humiliating distinction made between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of His Majesty in the matter of the electorates, the franchise and the qualification of candidates.

(c) the wide and arbitrary and unreasonable disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the councils.

(d) the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole cause of the regulations; and

(e) the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in the Provincial Council rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes.
And these Congress earnestly requests the Government to revise the Regulations, as soon as the present elections are over, as to remove these objectionable features and bring them into harmony with the spirit of the Royal message and the Secretary of State's despatch of last year."¹

More or less the same opinion was expressed in the Telugu papers. The *Andhra Kesari* of Rajahmundry said on November 19, 1909, that so long as there is Official majority (in Viceroy's Legislative Council), the views of the people's representatives cannot gain weightage. The separate and extraordinary representation granted to the Mohammedans not only smacks of partiality but is an obstacle to the welding of the Indians into a nation." The *Krishna Patrika* observed, "The election of only eight members by all the District and Taluk Boards and Municipalities in the Presidency is contrary to principles of representation. They cannot really represent the people at large."²

At the Sessions of the Madras Provincial Conference held in Berhampore, Mr. G. Raghava Rao, Chairman of the Reception Committee, put forward a plea for rallying the Extremists.³ It, however, fell on deaf ears and the Moderates assembled at the conference tendered their grateful thanks to Morley and Minto while condemning the introduction of separate electorates as

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2. N.P.R. November 9, 1909, p. 962, para 25.
inexpedient and impolitic. Everything about boycott and national education was forgotten and even the resolution on Swadeshi was not moved from the chair. It was given to T.V. Venkatarama Aiyar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Nellore District Conference, to welcome even the separate electorates.¹

Neither the Congress members nor the leaders of the various conferences were prepared to advocate and carry out measures which would bring pressure on the British Government to share real power, even partly, with the people of the country. The extremists advocated boycott and passive resistance for the purpose. The Moderates opposed the move, but they were unable to suggest any other equally effective instrument method to counter the imperial power. The one nationalist leader who could have launched nationwide movement of real passive resistance was Bala Gangadhar Tilak. But, he was in prison.

The political atmosphere underwent a complete change by the beginning of 1910. Moderates who had an upper hand over the nationalists who believed in the new tenets as formulated by Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo, were nowhere. A sense of frustration overtook the more active section of the politically conscious public. Conferences were held as usual, but without any vigour and vitality. It acted like the pre 1905 Congress

¹ The Hindu, dated June 28, 1909.
which was content with prayers and petitions. The educated classes were anxious to demonstrate that they were perfectly loyal to the British. So, a lull came over the freedom struggle.  

The Krishna-Guntur Conference was held at Guntur under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur Gooty Kesavapillai and Konda Venkatappayya was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. There was nothing special about the resolutions passed at the conference. This naturally provoked criticism by some newspapers which still believed in the new philosophy of nationalism. The Deshabhimani lamented that "In the President's speech no mention is made of the new spirit of nationalism which has been agitating the country since 1905. He has ignored the part which the people have to play in the progress of their country, but he refers to the Government as the only agency by which the state of country can be bettered."  

The Provincial Congress which met at Kurnool under the presidency of P.R. Sundara Aiyar, a leading advocate of Madras, held it to be of unlively character. The delegates' participation was poor. He said that there was necessity for legislative measures for the suppression of sedition though

2. Ibid.,
3. N.P.R. 1910, p. 767, para 44.
he was against the Seditious Meeting Act being extended to new areas. The Krishna Jatrika referred to his address and said that his statement that the East India Company was from the beginning working hard for the welfare of the country was contrary to facts. It also commented: "It is regrettable that Mr. Aiyar has not criticised the repressive measures of Government in the spirit of an eminent lawyer. It is, of course, the duty of the subjects to cooperate with the Government in suppressing sedition and rooting out anarchism. But, Mr. Aiyar would have done justice to the eminent position he occupied had he, at the same time, said that it is also their duty to criticise those repressive measures which are a block in the way of national progress and see to their being repealed by the Government." District Conferences like the one held at Anantapur, followed more or less the same course. At the Students' Conference, more stress was laid on the respect for constituted authorities than on the students' part in the national struggle. Several pleaded that social reform should precede political reform.

A happy event of the year was the inauguration of the Masulipatnam National College on March 27, 1907 and the formation of the Andhra Jateeya Vidyā Parishad on November 17, 1907

1. ibid., p. 819, para 20.
at Machilipatnam. One important event worthy of note was the annulment of the Partition of Bengal in 1911. Lord Morley said at that time that the partition was a settled fact and that no amount of agitation or unrest could unsettle it. Government used all sorts of repressive measures to put down the agitation against it. Peaceful picketteers were beaten up and sent to jail; meetings were disturbed with lathi charges and popular leaders were deported without trial. Several were hanged or transported for life. Many in Bengal and their sympathisers outside were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Laws were passed placing severe restrictions on the press and public meetings. But, all these could not check the nationalist movement. It only resulted in much underground activity by the terrorists and the murder of a number of officials. Government found it difficult to suppress the new anarchist movement. Something had to be done to arrest the ever deteriorating situation.¹ Lord Hardinge sent a despatch to the Home authorities, in which, it was made clear that the Bengalis had a genuine grievance and that the attempts to split the people speaking one language into two provinces was a mistake, it also felt that the gulf between Hindus and Mohammedans which the partition brought about had assumed serious proportions in many parts of the country and the best course was to annul the partition and bring peace to the people in Bengal.

¹ Majumdar, R.C. (etal) An Advanced History of India, p. 981.
A Darbar was held by the King and Queen in Delhi, in December, 1911, when His Majesty announced in person the annulment of the partition and the creation of the Presidency of the reunited Bengal under a Governor. The announcement was received with great jubilation not only in Bengal, but also all over the country. With this the Vandemataram movement came to a close.¹