Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar of Gujarat. He went to London and returned as Barrister. He was called upon to go to South Africa to fight legal battles against the British there on behalf of the Indian settlers. He had become a Mahatma due to his non-violent policy. Such a leader's entry into Indian politics on his return was epoch-making. Hereafter, he is referred to as --- Gandhi in course of this thesis. He filled the gap of a leader for the Freedom Movement. In his own country he had successfully solved the problems of farmers of Champaran district in Bihar, the labour problems of the textile mills of Ahmedabad and relieved the miseries of the peasants of Khera District, in Gujarat. The draconian law, the Rowlatt Bill, made him fight with the rulers against such a law. During the First World War, the Government of India had passed the Defence of India Act (1915), empowering themselves to intern and punish people through special tribunals. When the war ended, the reason justifying such powers had no relevance. Yet, the Government desired to have such a power and hence the Rowlatt Bill was passed. It also sought wide executive powers like imprisonment without trial. The people opposed such a measure. Andhra Patrika and Krishna Patrika protested vehemently against such an act. The latter felt that the
Government had curbed the fundamental rights of man by such an enactment.

On February 24, 1919, Gandhi announced that he would launch a Satyagraha movement if the Bill was passed. He explained to the people that Satyagraha was essentially a religious movement which would solve such problems. A call was given to the people to observe 6th April, 1919 as a day of protest against the law through non-violent methods. He planned the Satyagraha in three phases:

1. A twenty-four hour's fast, by all the adults, which would be a sort of training for the Satyagrahis in preparing them for civil disobedience.
2. All works, except important public works, were to be suspended for the day.
3. Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India.¹

Andhras observed a day of prayer and fasting on 6th April, 1919, as a day of national mourning. Holding meetings and passing resolutions demanding withdrawal of the Rowlatt Act were the programmes of the day. Andhra's response was spontaneous. In Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Narasapur, Eluru, Vijayawada, Guntur, Nellore and Chittor the protests stations were exhibited in a non-violent and popular way. In Madras city, a protest meeting was held under the

presidency of Vemavarapu Ramadas Pantulu. Harisarvottama Rao was one among the speakers who explained the power of passive resistance to get the Rowlatt Act withdrawn. While the day passed off peacefully in Andhra, elsewhere the Government's reaction was repressive. The police and the military fired on the procession causing the death of several people.

In the Delhi Session it was decided that the next congress Session would be held in Punjab. As a preventive measure, the police arrested Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, two leaders of Amritsar. Gandhi's entry into Delhi on the way to Punjab, was prohibited. This infuriated the people of Amritsar who demanded the release of the deported leaders. This resulted in police firing when several were killed, and in retaliation five or six Englishmen were killed by the mob. More troops were rushed into the city and normalcy restored. A public meeting was held on April 13, when nearly twenty thousand people assembled at Jallianwala Bagh. General Dyed ordered troops to open fire on the public without warning. This much-too-well-known incident triggered off several agitations, meetings, demonstrations etc.,

1. ibid., pp. 135-136.
2. ibid., pp. 137.
several papers like the Andhra Patrika, Deshmata, Deshabhimani, Andhravani and Hitakarini. For having condemned the ghostly incident through an article, "cult of the Bullet", Gadicherla Harisarvottama Rao's paper, "The Nationalist", was proscribed.¹

The Viceroy appointed the Hunter Committee to enquire into the happenings in the Punjab. The Committee's report being unsatisfactory, the Congress appointed an Enquiry Committee of its own consisting of Gandhi, Chittaranjan Das, Motilal Nehru and Pandit Madana Mohana Malaviya. To add insult to injury, the Government introduced yet another bill known as the Indemnity Bill¹ through which all the officers of the Punjab who committed atrocities on the people of the Punjab in pursuance of the Martial law were indemnified.

The Guntur Bar Association demanded the impeachment of Gen. Dyer. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya undertook the responsibility of raising funds for the rehabilitation of the victims of harassment at the hands of the Government.²

In the Nellore District Conference Tangaturi Prakasam emphasised the fact that under such circumstances the people had a right to ask the Government to declare their rights.

¹. Sarojini Regani: op.cit., p. 65.
In Andhra, meetings were held under the auspices of the Godavari, Krishna and Visakhapatnam District Conferences, where such acts of the Government were condemned even by Vemavarapu Ramadas Pantulu held that such bills were absolutely useless, if they were to encroach upon fundamental the elementary rights of the people.

The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms had already been announced. The Government released all the political prisoners to create good will. But the Indian National Congress found the reforms inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and demanded a responsible Government in India. The Telugu Press expressed dissatisfaction against the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. Yet, it was decided to implement the reforms if possible. The Congress was willing to participate in the elections. Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, Satyamurthi and Kaleswara Rao undertook a tour of the districts in order to educate the people regarding participation in the elections.

At the end of the First World War the Indian Muslims became much agitated about the fate of Turkey which had joined hands with Germany and fought against England and its allies. The allies were utterly defeated in the War. By the treaty of Sevres (10th August, 1920) Turkey was dismantled. It was a humiliation to the Turkish Sultan
who was the spiritual head or Khalifa of the Islamic world. The word Khilafat is derived from the Arabic root 'Khali' which means 'to leave behind' and the word Khalifa means 'a successor.' Thus, the Khilafat stands for the man's serving as an agent or a representative of another after him in certain matters and in a certain capacity.

The Indian Muslims now decided to protect the Khalifa, his spiritual as well as temporal powers and possessions. A separate organization was formed to conduct the Khilafat agitation, to force British Government to treat Turkey well. The aim of Khilafat Committee of India, stationed at Bombay, was to secure just and honourable peace, to preserve the integrity of the Turkish empire and it decided to present a memorandum to the Viceroy and also to the President of the United States of America if necessary.

The first Khilafat Conference presided over by Fazul-ul-Haq of Calcutta was held at Delhi on the 23rd and the 24th of November, 1919. Resolutions were passed to boycott British goods, to send a deputation to England and also if necessary, to America and not to cooperate with the government unless the Khilafat and the Holy places

also sent memoranda to the British government. In several public meetings, at several places, resolutions were passed. The Muslim League naturally felt unhappy over the Khilafat issue. In the 11th session of the All India Muslim League held at Delhi on 30th and 31st December, 1918 and attended by many ulemas, Dr. Ansari explained how, actuated by personal ambitions and selfish interests, Sharif Hussain had raised the standard of revolt against the unquestioned Khalifa of Islam, whom he himself had recognised as such. By doing so he not only disregarded a rule of political morality, but, according to Muslim belief and religious teaching, broke an explicit and clear commandment of God and the Prophet. He asserted that the Sultans of Turkey had discharged the duties of Khalifa and protector of holy places to the utmost satisfaction of the Muslim world and that the present Sultan was the only Mohammedan who could possibly be capable of successfully combating the intrigues and secret machinations of non-Muslim Governments, admiring the self control over their feelings by the Muslims in spite of innumerable provocations.

He further said that if the anxieties and agonies of war were not sufficient, nearer here, in India, "we are being subjected to a treatment which no self-respecting people would have tolerated. Had it not been that our rulers were engaged
were treated in accordance with the desires of Muslims. They in a struggle of life and death, the Muslims would have taken such constitutional measures as would have compelled attention."¹

Mr. Fazul-ul-Haq, as the President of the session, and also Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow, spoke on the occasion demanding evacuation of the holy places. The Muslim League passed two important resolutions, one requesting the British representative at the peace Conference to see that the Sultan of Turkey, Khalifa of the Prophet be given independent control over the holy places and over the Jazirat-ul-Arab as described in Muslim books, and the other authorizing the Council of League to send a deputation to England to plead the Khilafat cause at an early date.²

In its next session held on 29th December, 1919 this matter was once again discussed dissatisfied and disappointed were by the attitude of the British Government towards Khilafat. The Government was told in no uncertain terms that the dismemberment of Turkey, as contemplated, would lead to grave consequences for which they would not be responsible under any circumstances. The Muslims¹, it was stated, would be fully justified in adopting all possible methods of constitutional agitation open to them including a boycott of the Congress.

¹. Vinod Kumar Saxena: Muslims and the Indian National Congress (1885-1924) (Delhi, 1985 p. 176.
². ibid., p. 177.
British army if it is likely to be used outside India for Imperial and anti-Islamic purposes.¹

In the Khilafat Conference held at Karachi in July 1921, a resolution was passed that it would be religiously unlawful in every way for a Mussalman at the present moment to continue in the British army and that all the Muslims in general and the Ulemas in particular were to see that these religious commandments were brought home to every Muslim in the Army.²

The Khilafat movement destroyed the myth of Muslims' loyalty to the British Government under all circumstances. The Congress under Gandhi's leadership took up the Khilafat cause. In the session of the Indian National Congress of 1918, held at Delhi, stress was laid upon Hindu-Muslim unity and a greater spirit of cooperation between them was urged. In his letter to the Viceroy, dated 27th April, 1918, on the Khilafat question, Gandhi said, as a Hindu he cannot be indifferent to their cause and that "Their sorrows must be our sorrows." Gandhi had an agreement with Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow by which he promised Hindu support to the Khilafat agitation and the Maulana appealed to the Mussalamans to refrain from cow slaughter in deference to Hindu sentiments.

¹. The Indian Review, (January, 1920) p. 23.
². The Indian Annual Register, 1922 (Calcutta, 1925) p. 134.
The Khilafat Conference, held at Sindh from 23rd to 25th July, 1920, was addressed by Maulana Shukat Ali and Mahatma Gandhi. The former said that the Khilafat agitation cannot be put an end to by arresting Gandhi, Pir Jhandewalla, Jaan Mahomed Junejo, Abdul Bari and others, but by conceding the demands of the Khilafatists. He averred that Muslims would sacrifice trade, commerce and even children for the commandments of the Prophet and God and that the British would not have won the war if the Khilafat had been taken up earlier.

The Muslims had only two ways open, Hijrat and Jehad. Non-cooperation was also a part of Jehad. To kill or to be killed in the service of God was martyrdom. It was a sin for Muslims to help the enemies of Islam who were also the enemies of Hindus on account of Jallianwala Bagh. He advised the audience to go to jail and to the gallows in hundreds and be shot.

Gandhi in his address advised "23 crores of Hindus to help 7 crores of Muslims" as the latter's religion was in danger. He advocated non-cooperation and unconditional sacrifice through nonviolence when the Government with guns and aeroplanes would be helpless. The Khilafat and the Punjab disturbances made him feel as if he was in prison. He preferred to die for the Muslims and if he was sent to gallows, they should congratulate him.

2. Young India, (Ahmadabad, 10 March, 1920).
On 14th May, the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were published. The report of the Hunter Commission on the Amritsar massacre and Martial law in the Punjab was also published. On 30th June 1920, the Muslim Conferences at Allahabad, and Delhi adopted Gandhiji's programme of non-cooperation. To discuss the new situation a special session of the Congress was convened on the 4th of September in Calcutta. Gandhiji went there with the Muslim masses behind him, pledged their support for non-cooperation movement.

In the early stages, Gandhi's programme was opposed by almost all the important Congress leaders like C.R. Das, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. Fortunately for him, the able group of Moderates had already left the Congress to form the Liberal Party. Tilak, who had been lukewarm over the Khilafat and non-cooperation had passed away on 3rd July, 1920.

The resolution of Non-cooperation was moved by Gandhi himself and passed by the Congress. It drafted resolutions on the two burning problems, the Khilafat and the Punjab, and on the advice of Pandit Motilal Nehru, a resolution demanding Swaraj was also included. The Andhra leaders like Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah, A. Kaleswara Rao and Pedda Bayappa participated in the debates and supported Gandhiji. Gandhiji and the Khilafat leaders had already made up their mind to
launch the Non-cooperation campaign on August 1, without waiting for the decision of the Congress. With Gandhiji, Non-cooperation was a matter of conscience. "Fore me to suspend the non-cooperation would be to prove untrue to the Mussalman brethren." On August 1, Gandhiji surrendered his title Kaisar-e-Hind and other decorations to the Viceroy and this marked the birth of non-cooperation in the country.

The special session of the Congress was held in Calcutta on September 4. Andhra Leaders like Kaleswara Rao, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, Bulusu Sambamurthi, Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, Dandu Narayana Raju, Atmakuri Govindacharyulu, Pedda Bapayya and Kotagiri Venkatakrishna Rao, voted in support of Gandhiji's resolution advocating non-violent non-cooperation. Konda Venkatappayya was among the thirty Andhra delegates who opposed it. Pattabi Sitaramayya remained neutral at the discussions in the Subjects Committee and left Calcutta before the voting on Gandhiji's resolution at the open session.

The Deshabhimani wrote: "Just as Lord Krishna saved Arjuna, Gandhiji has sounded his conch of Non-cooperation to save the whole world. His message is a novel one. This will

2. ibid.,
enable not only the Indians but the whole world to attain salvation." Pattabi Sitaramaiah, however, felt that the 'Triveni' of the Khilafat, the Punjab wrongs, and the invisible flow of inadequate reforms would undo the wrong done to the Punjab and to the Khilafat" by once again launching non-violent non-cooperation.

After declaring the policy of the Indian National Congress, Gandhiji undertook a countrywide tour and while on his way from Madras to Calcutta along with Shoukat Ali and C. Rajagopalachary, he stopped at Vijayawada, where he received warm welcome by Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Cherukuwada Narasimham and others. In his address here, in a meeting on 1st August, 1920, he announced the policy of the Congress as non-violent, non-cooperation even before it was formally decided at the Calcutta Session. At the instance of Gandhiji Kaleswara Rao took back his candidature for contesting the elections to the Madras Legislative Council. His friend Mohammed Gulam Mohiddin, a I class Honorary Magistrate resigned his job. These two were later on followed by others like Ganti Subbarayudu, Vinjamuri Bhavanachari, Vemavarapu Ramadas Pantulu, Chimakurthi Ramaswamy, Gangunta Appa Rao, Khaji Ahamadulla Khan Sahib, Anwar Zama Khan, Abdul Majidia etc., who also withdrew their candidature to the Madras Legislative Assembly. But, Konda Venkatappaiah was opposed to the Non-cooperation resolution
However he loyally abided by the resolution and resigned from the membership of the Madras Legislature.

As a part of the Non-cooperation Movement, courts were boycotted by lawyers. Konda Venkatappaiah and A. Kaleswara Rao suspended their practice. In 1921, as many as 103 legal practitioners renounced practice. All the members of the Guntur Bar Association suspended their practice for eleven months. Twenty relinquished it with the expectation that Swaraj would be achieved in one year.\(^1\) Other professionals, medical practitioners and teachers, also contemplated such a move. In course of time, some Government officials also resigned their positions. *Krishna Patrika* of Machilipatnam made an appeal to students to give up their studies for one year and work in the direction of Swaraj.\(^2\) The lawyers and students who took active part in the Non-cooperation Movement devoted their time to the awakening of the masses and the growth of political consciousness among them.

District Congress Committee played a vital role in educating the people of the policy of non-cooperation. Konda Venkatappayya toured several districts and gave a call to boycott the elections. In Rayalaseema Konda Venkatappayya

\(^1\) *The Hindu*, dated October 7, 1920.

\(^2\) *N.P.R. 1921* pages 192-193, para 43.
undertook tours in the last quarter of 1920 to enlighten people regarding Non-cooperation Movement. Whenever he went to Chittoor, Kalahasti, Tirupati he was welcomed cordially and taken to the places of meeting in procession. At Cuddapah there was a large number of audience comprising both Hindus and Muslims to whom he explained the problems of Punjab and Khilafat, and the futility of the reforms. He appealed to them not to participate in voting in the Council elections, as that was the only way left for them to protest against the wrongs done to them. 1 Andhra Provincial Congress Committee also appointed a number of sub-committees to four other places to achieve a similar objective. The Chittoor District Congress Committee went a step further and set up not only a model Arbitration Court but also undertook propaganda. 2 The Secretary of the Chittoor District Congress Committee organised a meeting on 15th October, in Chittoor, to enlighten the voters about the Non-cooperation Movement and asked them not to vote in the coming elections, in response to the decision of the Indian National Congress. A party of propagandists visited Puthalpet, Bommasamudram, Nagamangalam etc., educating the people about the movement and their non-participation in the elections. In Rajahmundry out of 1350

only one, that too a Government servant, took part in voting. In Nellore, the percentage of votes cast was 17. At Chittoor 135 out of 534 and in the Greanspet rural constituency 60 out of 500 recorded their votes. In all the districts several polling stations returned empty boxes.¹

Both the Khilafat and Nationalist Committees had decided at Madras that elections for Municipalities and Local Boards should be exempt from the boycott of elections and the boycott of Legislative Council elections were followed.²

The Congress having withdrawn, it was natural that the Justice Party secured 63 out of 98 seats of the Madras Legislative Assembly. The first ministry of the Justice Party was formed in December 1920 with Subbarayulu Reddiar as the Chief Minister.³

The Nagpur session of the Congress held under the presidency of Sri Vijayaraghavachary, on 26th December, 1920, was attended by nearly 16,000 delegates, majority of whom were students and those belonging to legal profession. For the first time it was declared that the aim of the agitation was the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.

2. Demi-Official report of Chief Secretary of Madras (Public Department) 2nd February, 1921.
It was made clear that the attainment of Swaraj being the ultimate object, it was to be achieved not only by the boycott of Councils, courts and schools but also by the non-payment of taxes. Gandhiji declared that Swaraj would be achieved within one year if the non-cooperation policy was strictly followed by the congressmen. The District Congress Committees were reorganised on a linguistic basis. The Nagpur Congress laid down heavy responsibilities upon the nation. The pattern for the conduct of Non-cooperation Movement was set up by the Congress and its Committee from time to time.¹

The Vijayawada session of the All India Congress Committee (1921) had a great impact on the progress of freedom struggle in Andhra from 1921 to 1931. Andhra meticulously followed Gandhiji's leadership and made splendid sacrifices. In this session, Pingali Venkaiah designed the tricolour flag for the Congress which was slightly modified by Gandhi, who placed the charaka in the middle. This session had an electrifying effect on the masses, for, several national leaders besides Gandhi, like Motilal Nehru, Shaukat Ali, Mohammed Ali, C.R. Das and others attended and attracted the mobs. At this session it was decided to collect one crore rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and also to enrol one crore Congress members.

voters for the Provincial Legislative Council only 270 exercised franchise out which of 120 were Muslim voters. For the first time Kalluri Subba Rao worked as a volunteer in this session. All Andhra and South Indian leaders like T. Prakasam, Konda Venkatappayya, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, Bulusu Sambamurthi, Devuri Subbamma, Gadda Rangaiah Naidu, Ramaswamy Naicker, Shafi Ahamed, Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, K. Santanam and C. Rajagopalachary participated in the deliberations of the A.I.C.C. From Telangana, Madapati Hanumantha Rao and others went as observers.¹

After the A.I.C.C., meeting, Mahatma Gandhiji undertook a tour of some of the coastal districts and addressed meetings at Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Eluru, Machilipatnam, Chirala, Nellore and other places. He appealed to the women to donate for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and to take to Khaddar and spinning. Several women came out of the purdah and took a prominent part in public life. This marked a new beginning in the history of the emancipation of women.

¹ ibid., pp. 71-72.
Mahatma Gandhi arrived in Chittoor Railway Station, on his way to Tirupati from Salem. The local Khilafat Committee presented a separate address and a purse containing about Rs.300/- including a silver plate. Gandhiji exhorted and people that had assembled at the Station, to observe Swadeshi and non-violence. The whole function took about 10 minutes and the party proceeded to Tirupati by the same train. At Tirupati, Gandhiji with his party was taken in procession through the main road to T.K. Narasimhachari's house, where he was to stay. Tirupati Municipal Council had arranged facilitation to Gandhiji in his speech emphasized Swadeshi, spinning and removal of untouchability. The Khilafat Committee presented a welcome address to him at the public meeting.

A special train was arranged for Gandhiji from Renigunta to Cuddapah. This train halted for an hour and a half at Rajampet. The train reached at 2 p.m., at Rajampet where Gandhiji delivered a speech on Swadeshi, spinning and removal of untouchability. The Vaisyas of Rajampet also felicitated Gandhiji.

The 28th of September was a red letter day in the annals of Cuddapah town on account of the Mahatma's visit. Gandhiji arrived at 4.40 p.m. at Cuddapah. He was given a warm welcome by the people of Cuddapah, with thunderous slogans, *Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*. Gandhiji and Maulana were taken in procession

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to the dias. A very large number of people, who came to attend the meeting wore the then popular dress, white Khaddar Gandhi caps. Maulana Subhani delivered his address in Urdu and exhorted the audience to burn all foreign clothes. The audience made a bonfire of their foreign clothes. Then the citizens of Cuddapah presented the Mahatma with a purse of Rs.1,116/-. After the presentation, the Mahatma addressed the audience, first in Hindi and then in English, which was translated into Telugu by Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao. His speech lasted for about 20 minutes.  

From Cuddapah Gandhiji arrived at Tadpatri at 5 a.m., on September 29, 1921. The local National Society and also the Town Muncipality also welcomed Gandhiji. In the address of the former there was a significant reference to the strong unity of Hindus and Muslims of the place. In his address, Gandhiji implored the people to work for the Khilafat, release of leaders and to provide remedies for famine. He emphasised the boycott of foreign goods, removal of untouchability and maintenance of Hindu-Muslim unity. Addressing women in a separate meeting Gandhiji advised them to cooperate with men in the freedom movement and to take to spinning and boycott the foreign goods, as a part of the movement for freedom. The people of Tadpatri

3. ibid.,
contributed ₹1,500/- for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. On his way to Kurnool he addressed the public gathered at Gooty and Guntakal railway stations. In Kurnool he was the guest of M. Venkataiah Chetty where he was presented with a purse of ₹1,116/- for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. At 11 a.m., he addressed a huge gathering, of more than 25,000 people, on the banks of Tungabhadra. Gandhiji laid emphasis on the same topic as before.

Mahatma Gandhi’s tour in Rayalaseema awakened the political conscience of the people in Rayalaseema. The public in great numbers took an oath wholeheartedly to participate in the Non-cooperation Movement and to boycott all foreign goods and to work for solidarity of Hindus and Muslims. They also contributed generously to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

The boycott of foreign cloth was another item of non-cooperation. There was picketing before the shops dealing in foreign cloth. The Government was perturbed at the success of picketings. The picketeers went door to door to collect foreign cloth and made a bonfire of it. Police patrols were specially set up to take action against picketing and disperse the picketers.

1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. ibid.,
4. The Hindu, dated October 3, 1921.
Kaleswara Rao, the Congress Secretary, toured in the Ceded Districts for the propagation of Non-cooperation Movement. At Srikalahasti a meeting was arranged in a mosque and a large number of Hindus and Mohammedans assembled to hear his speech. There was another meeting in the night over which Swami Dharmananda presided and which was also largely attended. A third meeting was held in a local temple where many hundreds had gathered to hear the Andhra leader. At this meeting the lecturer condemned the present Reforms Act and its working.¹

Two persons, namely Mahamood Hussain and Shafi-ur-Rahman Kidwai of the Aligarh National Muslim University came to Cuddapah on the 11th of October, 1921 and delivered several speeches and formed a Khilafat Committee. On the 21st, a hartal was observed. The Deputy Magistrate passed orders against such meetings, under Section 144. The Aligarh brothers were asked to furnish security. They preferred 6 months of simple imprisonment in lieu and were removed to the jail at Vellore.²

Messrs. Konda Venkatappayya, and Venkata Subbaiah arrived at Cuddapah on October 22, 1921. Picketing of cloth and liquor shops began and it was strongly rumoured that the government officials will also be soon boycotted. The First Class Magistrate issued orders prohibiting meetings in places under his jurisdiction.³ At Tadpatri

¹ ibid., dated June 15, 1921.
² The Hindu, dated October 27, 1921.
³ ibid., dated October 28, 1921.
non-cooperation meeting was held on November 17, 1921 in the evening. People of all occupations and professions closed their shops,¹ and attended the meeting.

The prohibition campaign was a great success in Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool, Guntur, Nellore and Godavari Districts. Both the Hindus and Mohammedans joined hands remarkably in organising this campaign. In the Anantapur district, Kalluri Subba Rao led a movement for temperance and for prohibition. He was arrested in 1921 at Penugonda for his active participation. Later, he was punished with one year's imprisonment.² One aspect of the work of picketteers was the cutting of palmyra trees from which toddy was tapped. They appealed to the contractors not to bid at the abkari sales, as a patriotic move. Inspite of the police vigilence, the volunteers moved from place to place persuading the intending bidders not to bid in the auction. At Anantapur, on 7th February, 1921, abkari auctions were held. Venkatappayya and A. Narayana Rao delivered speeches to the assembled regarding the evil effects of liquor. As a result of it, eighty bidders did not take part in the auction which was ultimately postponed.³ In Kurnool, toddy shops at Peddapaka, Jolapuram and Budhwarapeta had no sales from the middle of February, 1921.⁴ In several places in Chittoor district, a temperance movement was started

¹. The Hindu, dated November, 7, 1921.
². Sarojini Regani: op.cit., p. 79.
³. ibid., p. 81.
⁴. ibid.,
and various communities gave up drinking toddy.¹

The Khilafat Movement was one of the chief forces behind the temperance agitation. The Fatwa resolution was reaffirmed at the meetings in Anantapur and Krishna district. The temperance volunteers were preventing tapping of trees by damaging the trees, breaking pots and picketing the shop.² At Anantapur, the convention of the chief advocates of disobedience to forest rule ended. Peasant agitation against the payment of tolls and municipal taxes was carried on in the districts of Anantapur and Krishna.³ At Tadpatri on November 13, 1921, a batch of people supporting non-cooperation picketed before the arrack and toddy shops and prevented people from drinking. The Magistrate through Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. made picketing within a distance of 200 yards surrounding the toddy shops an offence.⁴

The Congress and Khilafat meeting was held on November 17, 1921 in Cuddapah. To prevent the meeting, the Officials issued prohibitory orders against meetings and processions by publicly announcing through tom-tom and affixing notices in the Congress and Khilafat offices. But, the people took

2. ibid., 1st November, 1921.
3. ibid.,
4. The Hindu, dated October 15, 1921.
them by surprise, by taking out procession in the night itself and observing hartal, when all offices excepting a tiny shop opposite the Congress office were closed.¹

On February 6, 1922 arrack auctions were to take place at the Taluk office in Chittoor. C. Rajagopalachary Secretary, Congress Committee and M. Ramaswamy Iyer led the Volunteers near the Taluk office and tried to convince the bidders to refrain from participating in auction. Then, the police inspector behaved rudely with them and served notice under Sec. 144, in violation of which a huge meeting was held near the Gandhi Chauk, C. Rajagopalachary and M. Ramaswamy Iyer lectured on temperance, swadeshi and non-violence.²

As a consequence of these movements, the revenue of the Government reduced greatly in the Ceded Districts. In Cuddapah for example, the revenue came down from Rs. 4,15,406 to 2,01,044; in Anantapur from Rs. 2,69,574 to Rs. 1,37,664; in Bellary from Rs. 3,00,000 to Rs. 2,00,000 and in Kurnool from 2,22,900 to Rs. 90,136. The Government launched several prosecutions against the campaign.³

Throughout 1921-22 many village officials resigned their posts. This was necessary for the success of the No Tax campaign which was launched at the close of 1921. Land

1. ibid., dated November 17, 1921.
2. ibid., dated February 8, 1921.
revenue was collected with the cooperation of the village officers. In Cuddapah thirteen village officers resigned.

The Andhras immediately responded to the A.I.C.C.'s call for boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales and "to stop from participating or assisting in any function organised officially or otherwise in connection with his visit." Prince of Wales landed on 17th November, 1921 in Bombay. There were hartals in almost every town in Andhra. At Vijayawada the hartal was complete and most spontaneous; all shops, godowns, factories and markets were closed. The jatkas and bandies also stopped plying. Business was completely suspended. Black flags were hoisted throughout. A grand procession with the slogans Boycott Prince of Wales and Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai was taken out through the main streets of Bombay. National Schools were closed. Even in the aided schools only 10% of the students attended. In the evening there was a public meeting attended by several thousands. Resolutions boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales and demanding Swaraj were unanimously passed.¹

On November 18, 1921, the citizens of Kurnool, both Hindus and Mohammedans, observed complete hartal. All shops were closed. In the evening a public meeting was held in the Gandhi Maidan where about 5000 people assembled.

¹ The Hindu, dated November 19, 1921.
Presided over by Mr. Pandepati Sanivarao, the meeting unanimously passed a resolution boycotting the visit of Prince of Wales. There was also a bonfire of foreign cloth. Narasimhayya, the Karnam of Ulchala and Abdul Hussain, clerk in the forest office, Kurnool, resigned their posts in support of the Congress creed.¹

At Nandyal, on the same day, a meeting was held under the leadership of Madam Venkaiya Chetty of Kurnool and a resolution was passed to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. There was total bandh. All shops were closed and people sang bhajans and national songs.²

The struggle of 1921-22 had two stages of protest non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience. As a constructive part of the second stage, National Schools were to be established. However, in Andhra, as noticed the national educational movement was much older than 1921. It came along with the Vandemataram movement. There were forty four National Schools with a total strength of 2,759. Now, a National School was started under the supervision of the Congress Committee at Anantapur on April 5, 1922. The strength of the students, both boys and girls, was 35. It was maintained by the funds of Swaraj Bhiksham Paisa Fund.

¹. ibid., dated November 18, 1921.
². ibid.,
A selective Education Committee consisting of Messrs Obi Reddy, Sandhyavandanam Narayana Rao, pleader, Chidambārayya, pleader, Rahimtulla Sahib and Lakshmīnarayana Chetty, with Mr. Obi Reddy as the Chairman, was constituted.

The National Week was also observed in Anantapur. Two hundred rupees worth of Khaddar was sold during the National Week, despite the fact that the district authorities prohibited meetings, processions and collection of Swaraj Fund.

Another important event to be noted is that patriots of Anantapur like Perayya, Narayana Swamy, Lakshmappa, Kondappa, Ganapathi and Khasim Sahib who had been earlier imprisoned, were released from the Bellary Relevance Jail on the 11th and reached Anantapur on the 15 of April, 1922.  

The National Week was observed peacefully and successfully, in the 13th of April, 1922, in Tirupati and Chittoor, as reported by Mr. Rajagopalachary, the Congress Secretary. There was also a partial hartal in Tirupati, on that day, when the main shops and mandis were closed. Mohammedans also co-operated with them. The enrolment of members was done on this occasion. In Chittoor a sum of about Rs.600/- was collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and Rs.600/- worth Khaddar

was sold during the week. Kalahasti also observed hartal on that day. Only about a dozen shops were open on that day.¹

In 1921-22 the Non-cooperation Movement attracted many more in the districts of Andhra. The fortnightly reports (6th December) revealed that there were agitations in Anantapur, Kurnool, Godavari, Nellore, Cuddapah and North Arcot districts. A report of the Inspector-General of Police stated that the demand for Swaraj had been firmly implanted in the districts of Guntur, Krishan and Godavari and it was also expected that it might even spread to Cuddapah where the people had festered grievances of peculiar nature.

The Non-cooperation Movement achieved a great measure of success. It had great impact on the people. It awakened people and enlightened the illiterates about the evils of foreign rule and of the economic ruin brought about in the countryside. The masses were aware that Swaraj was their birthright and for that they were prepared to face any consequence. This change in the attitude of the people created fear and alarm in the minds of the authorities. They did not attach much importance to a few lawyers suspending their practice or few students boycotting their schools. Their fear was more about the awakening among the masses.

¹. ibid., dated April 14, 1922.
A circular of the Government of India referred to this aspect of the involvement of masses which posed real danger to the government and great strength to the movement. "However insistently Mr. Gandhi and other leaders may preach the doctrine of non-violence, Government cannot overlook the danger that will underlie the popularity of the movement among the ignorant masses, in the face of the definite evidence regarding the general disrespect for law and order and the contempt for authority which it engenders."¹

It was not in fact the loss of revenues from the Lancashire trade in cotton textiles or from the abkari sales, but the mass awakening which threatened to undermine the very foundation of the British rule. It caused much anxiety and curiosity in the Government. Hence, to counteract this movement, the Government encouraged the Justice Party which however could not be so popular with the masses as the Congress was. Finally, the Government concluded that repression was the only effective instrument for subduing the Non-cooperation Movement.

In pursuing the policy of repression the Government of India gave a free hand to all Provincial Governments to deal with the situation and the people, excepting in

the case of Mahatma Gandhi, all India leaders like the Ali brothers and leaders who wielded influence in more than one Province. It was instructed, not to arrest them. There was no leader in Andhra of that stature. So, the Madras Government had full powers to take action against the supporters of non-cooperation movement. Several of whom were asked to furnish security certifying their good behaviour and that they would not disturb public tranquility and incite persons to obstruct Government servants attending their duties. But none was prepared to furnish such a security. Consequently, they were fined, or sent to prison. In every place dozens were sentenced to imprisonment for picketing liquor shops and for persuading contractors not to bid at the abkari sales. District Magistrates issued orders prohibiting the holding of public meetings. All these amounted to denial of the elementary rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and association.

The policy of repression and the resentment which it caused among the public was not peculiar to Andhra, and it was the case in all parts of the country. It provoked the people to become more defiant in their attitude towards Government and created an atmosphere favourable to the starting of Civil Disobedience, as an answer to the repressive measures. Now, the struggle for independence confined itself to the phase of Civil Disobedience and non-payment of taxes.
In Andhra such a move had been initiated even earlier than 5th of November, 1921. The No-tax campaign, at Chirala and Pedanandipadu and the breaking of forest laws, were memorable events of this phase. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that even as the Civil Disobedience movement was yet to be approved by the A.I.C.C., and Gandhiji wanted to give it a go through the Bardoli Satyagraha to be led by him, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met at Bezawada on 7th January, 1922 and decided to start the No-tax campaign in their districts. The districts of Krishna, Godavari, Guntur and Cuddapah sought and obtained permission in this regard. The Guntur district started the No-tax campaign on 12th January. Gandhiji was not very much in favour of this. He sent a letter to the President, A.P.C.C., and a note to the press saying that he would be glad to hear that all taxes were paid by 28th January 1922. This letter gave rise to much correspondence between Gandhiji and the leaders of Guntur. Repeated appeals were sent to Gandhiji seeking permission to start the campaign. Finally, he yielded unwillingly. The campaign which had already been initiated in a small measure was finalised after the Chauri Chaura incident. The Congress passed a resolution at Bardoli on 12th February 1922, to suspend, but not completely abandon, Civil Disobedience Movement. An appeal was made to follow the constructive programmes like the enlisting of a crore of members, the popularising of the charkha, establishing
national schools and panchayats and promotion of temperance.\(^1\)

Gandhiji was sentenced to six years of imprisonment after the Bardoli Satyagraha.

On the question of Council entry, there was a difference of opinion between the two groups, C. Rajagopalachary, and Rajendra Prasad being on one side, and C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru on the other. C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru had faith in Non-cooperation but they argued that fight should be carried out not only from outside but also from inside the legislatures. They advocated Council-entry as a necessary part of the struggle for freedom. This led to a schism, C.R. Das giving up his presidency of the Gaya session of the A.I.C.C., and formed a Swarajya party in 1923 to carry on propaganda in favour of Council entry.\(^2\) He undertook a tour of the Andhra country where the majority of the people happened to be in favour of the Congress policy. In 1923 June, he visited Chittoor, Tirupati, Nellore and Guntur and delivered lectures. But, the response was not favourable for him and his opinion was subjected to criticism. As a result of this tour the Andhra branch of Swarajya party was formed with A. Kaleswara Rao, B. Venkataratnam, V. Ramadas Pantulu K.V.R.-Swamy and others becoming its members.\(^3\)

3. Ibid.
A special session of the Congress was held in September, 1923 at Delhi under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and in it was passed a resolution that such congressmen as, have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures were at liberty to contest the elections, besides exercising their right of voting. It was a great victory for Das and his party.\(^1\) In the 1923 elections, P. Anjaneyulu, P.V. Venkatapathi Raju and B. Venkataratnam contested the elections to the Madras Legislative Council while V. Ramadas Pantulu was elected to the Central Legislative Council.\(^2\)

In the annual session of the Congress held in the last week of December, 1924, at Belgaum, Gandhiji as the President, announced his decision to call off the Non-cooperation. Relating the events since 1920 he said that time had come to call for a halt to Non-cooperation and to boycotts, since the people who had supported Non-cooperation had begun to repent in many cases. The reaction made them worse than even before, their support. He however, declared to continue the boycott of foreign cloth.\(^3\)

Another important event which attained all India importance was the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha embarked upon in May 1923. In Nagpur, the authorities issued an order prohibiting

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the carrying of the National Flag in a procession in the city. The volunteers declared their right to carry the flag anywhere they liked. The prohibitory orders were disobeyed and several arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. The A.I.C.C., made it an all India issue, called upon all the provincial committees to send a certain number of volunteers to Nagpur to disobey the prohibitory order and court imprisonment. Andhra sent five batches of eight Satyagrahis each, every week, to the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha which was carried on under the leadership of Jamunalal Bajaj. These Satyagrahis were collected from the districts of Krishna, Godavari, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool and Srikakulam. Some of the Satyagrahis who took part in the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha were Nalam Chinna Bhimaraju, Editha Satyanarayana, Bulusu Naganna, Jellapalli Kameswara Rao, Banka Achaiah Patrudu, Potina Ganapati Rao, Matam Balasubramanyam Gupta and S.M.K. Biyabani.

After the suspension of the No-tax campaign and Civil Disobedience Movement, the emphasis in Andhra 1922-24, was upon constructive works as a preparation for the ultimate resumption of Civil Disobedience. Most of the leaders agreed

that, as Gandhi had opined, the creation of a complete non-violent atmosphere through constructive work was essential for the success of Civil Disobedience Movement. The immediate task was to collect the quota of Tilak Swarajya Fund fixed for Andhra and enrol the prescribed number of members. The Congress concentrated its attention on popularising Khaddar. For Sri. T. Prakasam the Khaddar appeared to be the gateway for Swaraj and an effective means of economic salvation.