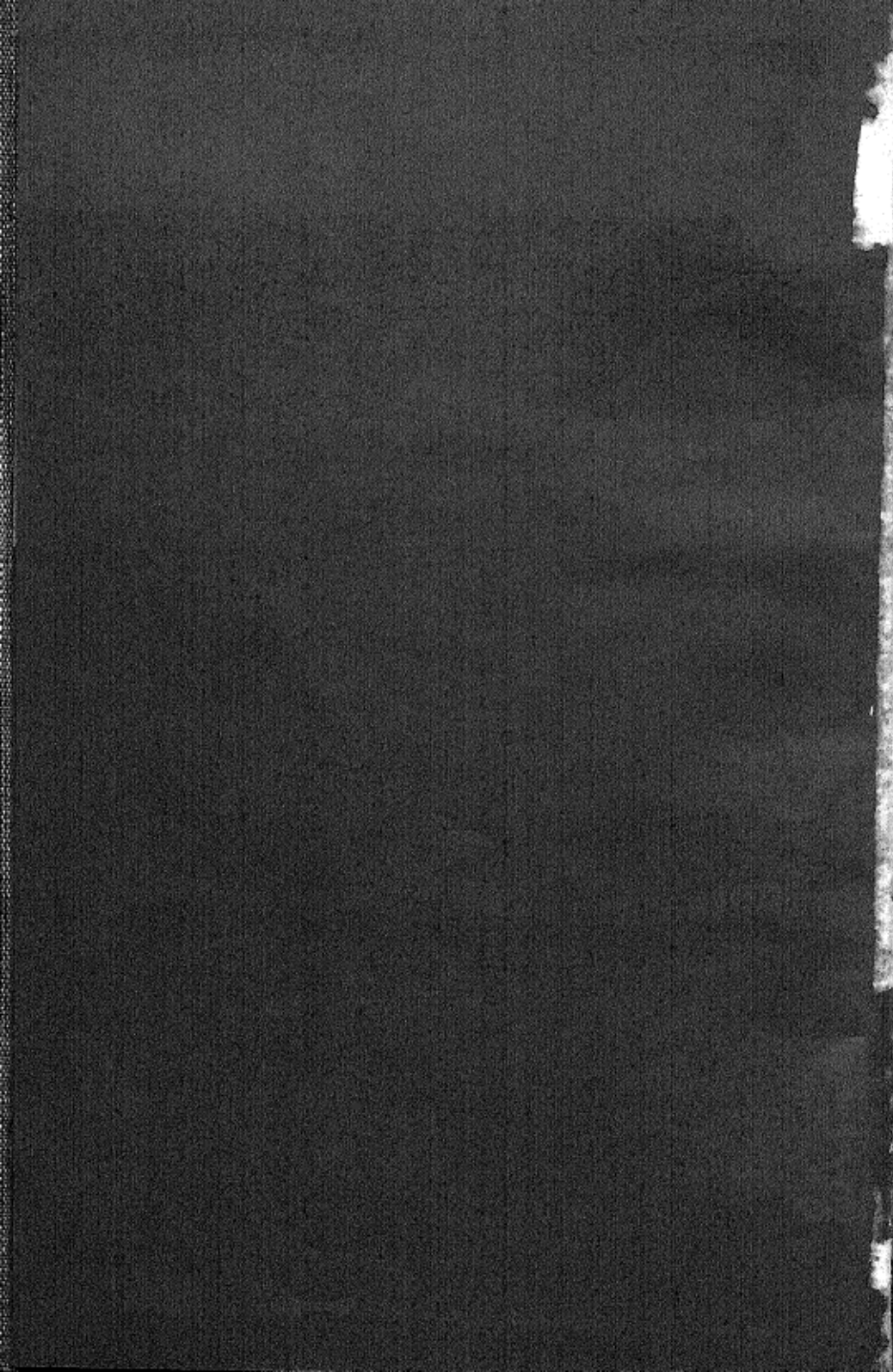


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HISTORY OF
MODERN ANDHRA





HISTORY OF MODERN ANDHRA

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History of Modern Andhra

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Preface

Books on Indian History give disproportionately greater prominence to the events in the Indo-Gangetic Valley, ignoring the developments in the Deccan and South India. As a result the students of our universities, both in the North and South, know very little about the different regions of the country. In order to remedy this sorry state of affairs, the study of the history of the concerned region is made compulsory at the Degree and Post-graduate levels, by most of our universities. Further, the formation of linguistic States in 1956 gave a fillip to the study of regional histories.

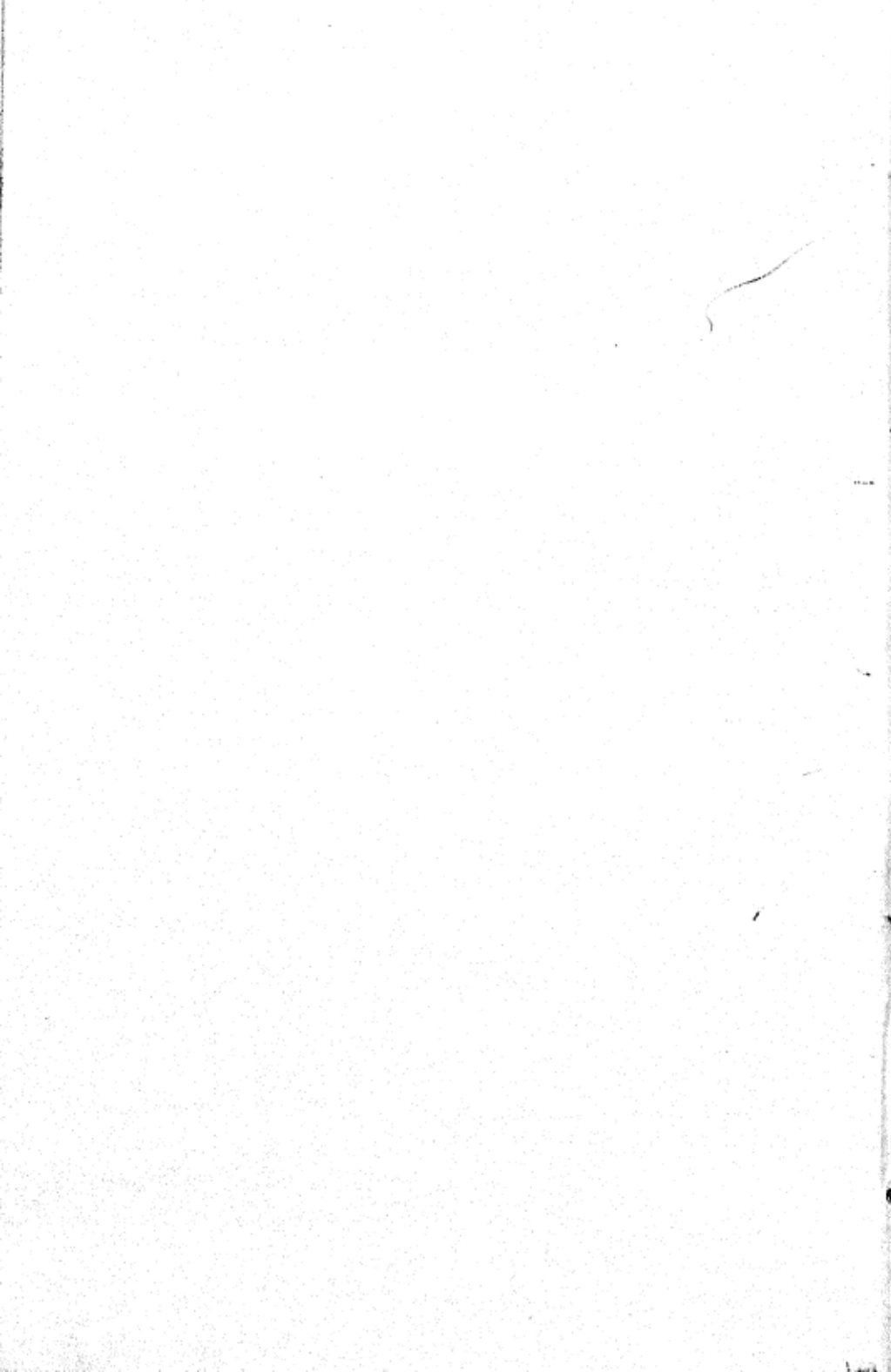
Andhra Pradesh, the biggest among the Southern States both in area and population, has a distinct personality of its own and has made significant contribution to the various aspects of Indian culture. Its geographical position in the country as a bridge between the South and the North has helped in bringing the people of the two regions together.

In this book an attempt has been made to give a connected account of the modern history of Andhra from the coming of the British into our country to the present day. This is more or less a pioneering work. To my knowledge, there is no book either in Telugu or English dealing with this aspect of Andhra History. The book, though intended for the students of B.A. and M.A. classes of the universities of Andhra Pradesh who have offered Modern History of Andhra Pradesh as one of their subjects of study, would be useful to the general reader also.

In the preparation of this book, I have received consistent encouragement from Dr V.M. Reddi, Professor and Head, Department of History, S.V. University, Tirupati. I take this opportunity to express my thanks to him. To my wife, Sarada, I express my gratitude for the trouble she has taken to go through the manuscript and offer many valuable suggestions. I am thankful to my colleague in the department, Sri A.R. Ramachandra Reddy for preparing the index. Finally, I thank Shri O.P. Ghai, Managing Director, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi for the neat printing and prompt publication of the book.

P. Raghunadha Rao

April 1978
Tirupati



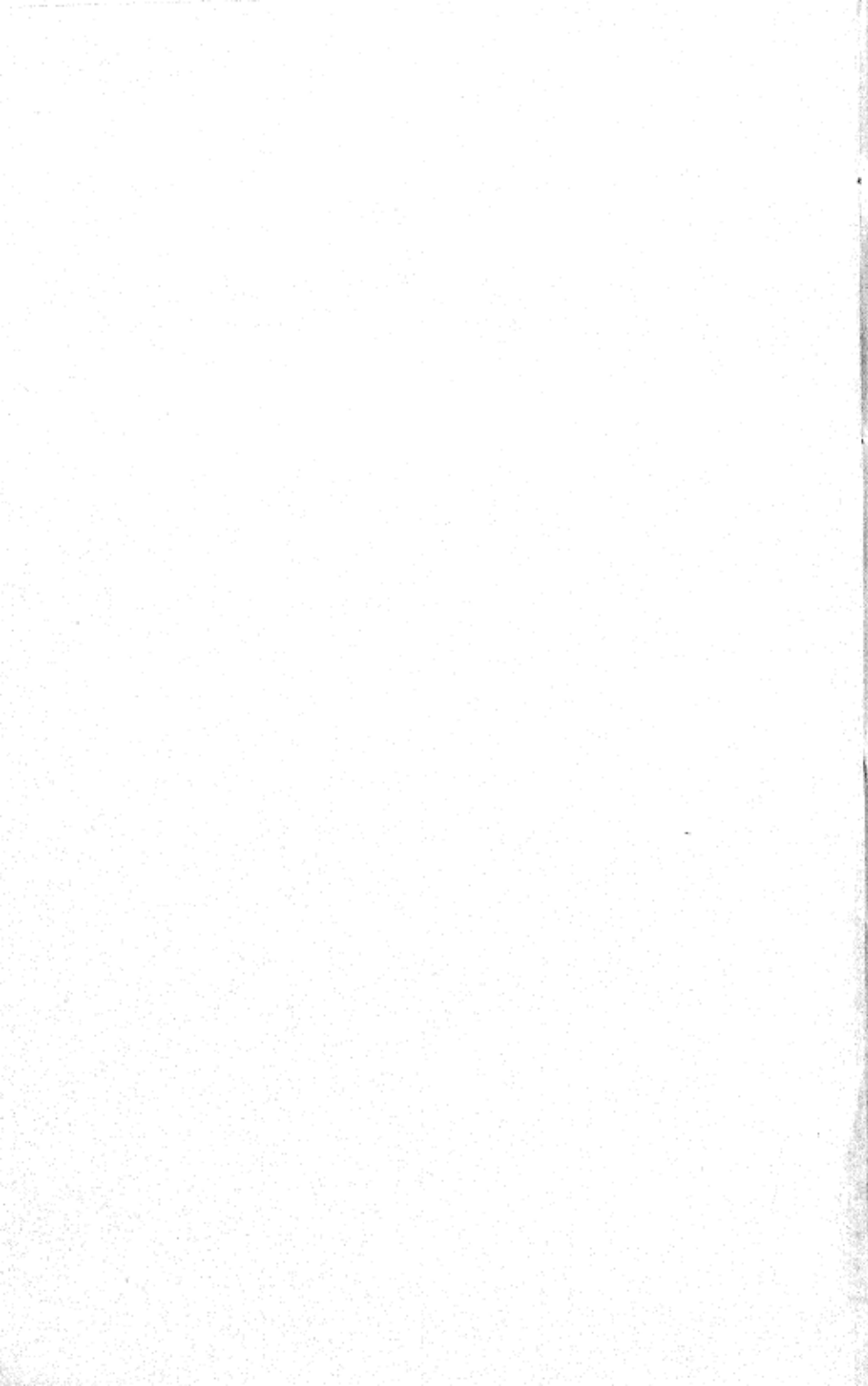
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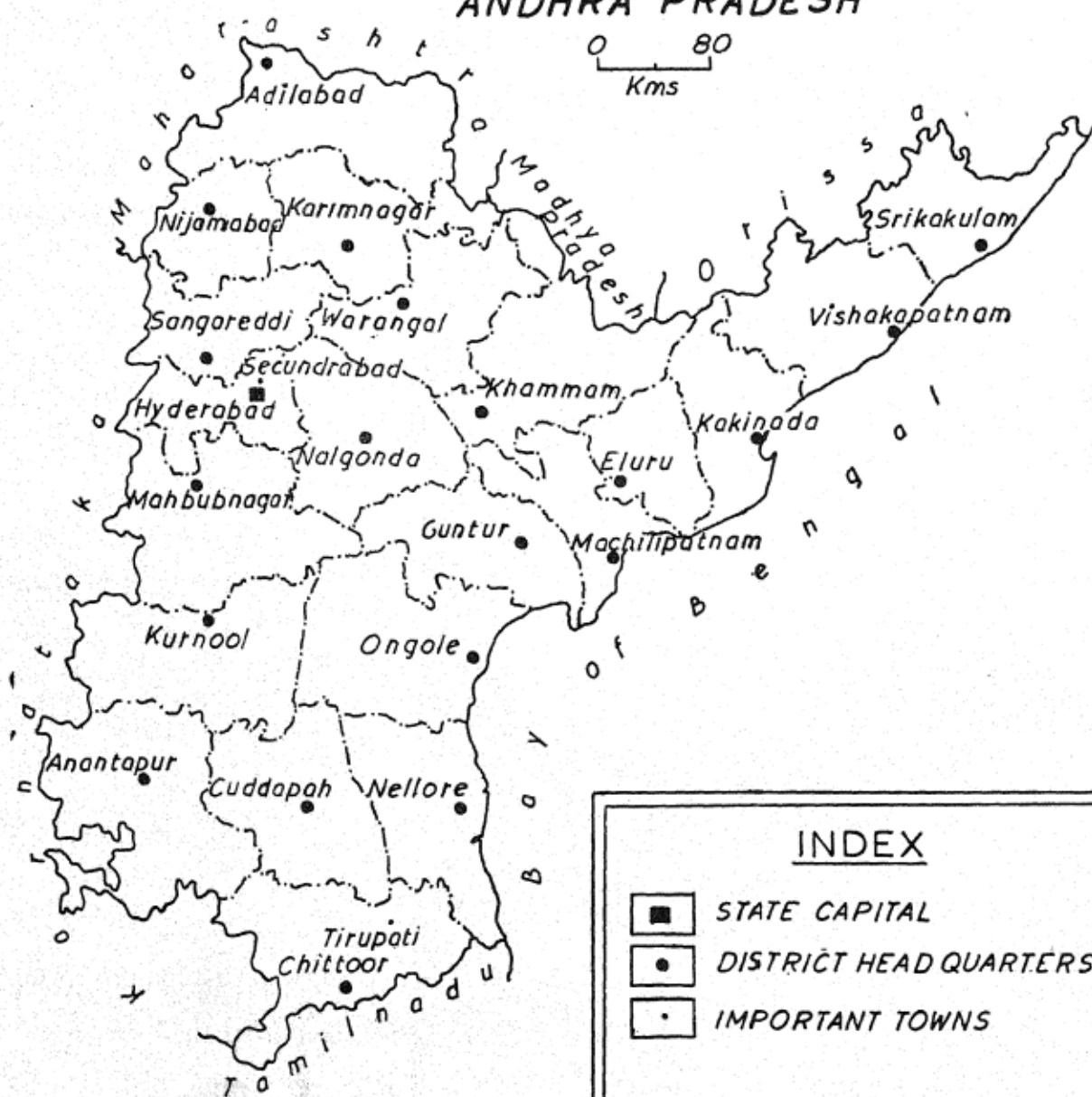


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ANDHRA PRADESH

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INDEX



STATE CAPITAL



DISTRICT HEAD QUARTERS



IMPORTANT TOWNS

Introduction

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest State in the Indian Union having an area of 2,75,909 sqs kms. and a population of about 4,33,94,951 (1971). It is the biggest among the South Indian States both in the area and population. It is bounded in the East by the Bay of Bengal and on the North by Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, on the South by Tamil Nadu and on the West by Karnataka and Maharashtra. It has a long coast line of about 960 kms. which contains the major port of Visakhapatnam which incidentally is the headquarters of the Eastern Command of the Indian Navy and also the country's only submarine base.

The twenty-one districts of the States are generally divided into three geographical regions known as the Circars or Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telengana.* The first two regions were formally part of the Madras Presidency until 1 October 1953 when they were detached from it, to form a separate State of Andhra; Telengana was a part of the erstwhile State of Hyderabad. On 1 November 1956 Hyderabad State was trifurcated and Telengana was merged with the Andhra State to form the present state of Andhra Pradesh with the city of Hyderabad as its capital.

Telugu is the predominant language of the State. It is spoken by about 88 per cent of the State's population. The next important language is Urdu which is spoken by about 7 per cent of the population. About 88 per cent of the State's population are Hindus. Muslims and Christians constitute about 7 per cent and 4 per cent respectively. Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsees together constitute about 1 per cent.

Andhras were first mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana* which

* The Twenty-one districts are: (1) Srikakulam, (2) Visakhapatnam, (3) East Godavari, (4) West Godavari, (5) Krishna, (6) Guntur, (7) Prakasam, (8) Nellore, (9) Chittoor, (10) Anantapur, (11) Cuddapah, (12) Kurnool, (13) Mahaboobnagar (Palamuru), (14) Medak (Methuku), (15) Nizamabad (Induru), (16) Karimnagar (Elagandala), (17) Adilabad (Edulapuram), (18) Warangal (Orugallu), (19) Nallagonda (20) Khammam, and (21) Hyderabad (Bhagya Nagar).

The names within brackets are the original Telugu names.

belongs to 1000 B.C. They along with Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas were expelled from the Brahmana fold when the fifty eldest sons of Viswamitra refused to accept his adoption of Sunahsepha. In the Mahabharata war, Andhras fought on the side of the Kauravas. Andhra was one of the kingdoms conquered by Sahadeva at the time of the Rajasuya ceremony of Yuddhishtira.

The historic period in Andhradesa begins with the Mauryas. Andhra formed part of Mauryan Empire. One of the edicts of Asoka is at Erragudi 8 miles from Gooty in Anantapur district. Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador in the court of Chandragupta Maurya made a number of references about Andhras in his book *Indica*. According to him Andhras were independent and militarily very strong. They had thirty forts, one lakh infantry, 2000 horses and 1000 elephants.

According to the *Matsya* and *Vayu* Puranas the last Kanva king Susrama was slain by the Andhra king Sinukha who succeeded the Kanvas in Magadha. But from the epigraphical sources it is clear that the Satavahana rule has begun much earlier, by about 236 B.C. After the decline of the Mauryas, the Andhras under Satavahanas declared their independence. The Satavahana rule lasted from 236 B.C. to 218 B.C. Other important dynasties which ruled over Andhra were the Ikshavakus of Vijayapuri, the Eastern Chalukyas, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Reddis, the Rayas of Vijayanagar, the Kutub Sahis and Asaf Jahis of Hyderabad.



Coming of the Europeans

From time immemorial to beginning of the 19th century India was noted for its excellent textiles and other industrial products. It carried on an extensive trade both maritime and overland with Europe. The products and manufactures of India including Andhra were in great demand in foreign markets. During the first three centuries of the Christian era India had very brisk trade with the Roman Empire. The Andhra Satavahanas, had trade contacts with Rome and the ladies of that city took pride in dressing themselves with Indian silks and other textiles. In 73 A.D. Pliny spoke very highly of the excellence of the Indian muslins.

However, in the 7th century the old trade routes through Egypt and Syria were closed when these countries fell into the hands of the Arabs. From then onwards the bulk of the trade fell into the hands of the Arab traders who carried the Indian products to the markets of Levant. With the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks, the overland trade route to India was closed. From then onwards the commerce of the East became the monopoly of the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa. The other European nations became jealous of the prosperity of Venice and Genoa and tried to discover a non-mediterranean sea route to India.

The Portuguese took the lead in discovering the sea route to India. Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed 'the Navigator' inspired and encouraged Portuguese sailors to undertake voyages for the discovery of the sea route to India. The efforts of Prince Henry were rewarded in 1498, when a Portuguese Navigator Vasco Da Gama arrived at Calicut on the West coast of India. The long sought for sea route to India was thus discovered.

The Portuguese were well received by Zamorin, the Raja of Calicut. Very soon they established settlements at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. The Portuguese had two aims : (1) to divert the

Asian trade to Europe from land routes controlled by the Muslims to the newly discovered sea route which was controlled by the Portuguese, (2) to advance eastward from India to South-East Asia and China.

During the years 1500-1509 the Portuguese succeeded in gaining control over the Indian Ocean. They established a base at Cochin in 1503. The next year Francisco de Almeida came to Cochin as Viceroy of Portuguese possession in India. He felt that the resources of Portugal should not be wasted in establishing a territorial empire in India and wanted that the Portuguese should maintain supremacy on sea and confine their activities to purely commercial transactions. His policy is known as 'blue water' policy.

The 'blue water' policy was reversed by Alfonso de Albuquerque, the successor of De Almeida. He conquered Goa in 1510 and Malacca (Malaysia) in 1511. Krishnadeva Raya, the ruler of Vijayanagar, maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese and allowed them to retain Goa. From Malacca the Portuguese advanced further east and brought under their control Moluccas and other islands in South-East Asia.

The Portuguese trade monopoly in the east was challenged by the Dutch towards the end of the 16th century. The Dutch used to distribute spices and other eastern products in Northern Europe by making purchases at Lisbon and other ports in the Iberian Peninsula. In 1594, Philip II the ruler of Spain and Portugal, issued an edict preventing the entry of Dutch ships to Lisbon and other ports of his empire. This action of Philip II denied to the Dutch their access to spices; so they decided to seek the eastern products for themselves. By that time the Dutch were in a position to venture into the eastern trade.

A Dutch traveller, Van Linschoten spent nine years in South-East Asia and returned home in 1592. He published two books *Reygeschrieff* and *Itinerario* in 1595 and 1596 respectively. The first book was a manual of sailing directions for the eastern seas. The second gave an account of the author's travels and observations in the east. The effect of these publications was tremendous. For the first time the Europeans were able to get correct information regarding the east. The merchants of Holland acted immediately. In 1595 a syndicate called *Campagnie Van Verre* was formed. A trade expedition to South-East Asia under the command of Cornelis de Houtman, was sent. The expedition reached Bantam a port on the North-West coast of Java in June 1596. The expedition was a success and during the years 1595-1601 as many as 15 trade expeditions were sent, by independent and often competing syndicates. In 1600, when the English East India Company was formed, the States General of the Netherlands felt that in order to maintain the Dutch

supremacy of trade in the east, the different companies should amalgamate. Accordingly, in 1602 the private trading companies were amalgamated and a new company known as the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie** (United East-India Company of the Netherlands) was formed under the patronage of the state. The Dutch wanted to monopolise the spice trade and so they concentrated their attention on the East Indies rather than India. Wylbrand Van Warwijck commanded the first fleet of 15 ships sent out by the VOC. The VOC established factories at Java, Celebes and other places in the East Indies. In India it established factories at Surat, Machilipatnam and Petapoli (Krishna District). The other Dutch settlement were at Nagapattinam, Narasapuram, Bheemunipatnam, Chinsurah (Bengal) etc.

The Coming of the English

England like other European countries imported eastern products like spices; which were carried to English ports in Italian ships, England was also interested in finding an Asian market for its woollen cloth. But before the 17th century England could not participate in the eastern trade due to variety of reasons. Firstly, its shipping was not developed to undertake long journeys across the oceans. Secondly, its geographical position on the Atlantic sea board kept it away from the focus of the European trade in the Mediterranean. By the end of the 16th century these hurdles were removed. England's shipping had been developed and it was able to exploit its geographical position in relation to trans-atlantic routes as Indian and Atlantic oceans were opened up.

England's hostility to Spain forced it to seek colonial and commercial expansion by following anti-Spanish overseas foreign policy. In November 1579, the English sailor Francis Drake visited Ternate in the Moluccas. His voyage was very important as it demonstrated that light fast ships which England possessed could cross the oceans. The merchants of London were keen to participate in the trade of the East. But Queen Elizabeth I did not encourage them as she felt that the sea route via Cape of Good Hope was too dangerous.

In 1583 Ralph Fitch, an Englishman arrived in the Persian Gulf. He was arrested by the Portuguese and brought to Goa. He escaped from detention and reached Malacca before returning home. His reports on the wealth of India stimulated the desire of the British merchant class to participate in the lucrative trade of the east. English victory over the Spanish Armada in 1558 gave further stimulus to the British merchants. Finally the publication of the two books by the Dutch traveller Van Linschoten removed the lurking fear about the sea routes to the East. So a group of London merchants applied to Queen Elizabeth I to grant them a charter permitting trade with the East. The Queen acceded to their request

* Here after referred to as VOC.

and on the last day of 1600 a company under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies," was formed. The Company was granted the monopoly of trade between Cape of Good Hope and the Magellan Straits for a period of 15 years. The affairs of the Company were managed by a Governor and a Committee of "twenty-four" named in the Charter, but afterwards they were to be elected annually by the subscribers. The Committee later developed into the Court of Directors. The work of the Court of Directors was supervised by "General Court comprising shareholders. The General Court later on came to be known as the Court of Proprietors.

For the first voyage, which was commanded by James Lancaster, the Company raised a capital of £ 68,000. The fleet arrived at the port of Achin (in Indonesia) in June 1602. The Company established a factory at Bantam which was made the headquarters of the English trade in the East Indies. The Dutch who had already established themselves in the eastern trade did not oppose the English.

The second voyage of the Company was commanded by Henry Middleton. The English Company wanted to open direct relations with the spice-producing areas like Amboyna and Banda islands. The attitude of the Dutch towards the English changed as they realised that the market for spices in Europe was limited. They, therefore, did not like the British intrusion and wanted to establish a Dutch monopoly of spice trade at any cost.

The Third Voyage

The Third voyage is memorable since for the first time, the English landed at Surat in 1608. Capt. Hawkins, the English Commander went to the Mughal court and was given audience by Emperor Jehangir. The English were permitted to settle at Surat. The permission was, however, revoked due to the pressures from the Portuguese. Thus the English Company had to face the Dutch opposition in the East Indies and Portuguese opposition in India.

The Company realised that there was no market for British woollens in South-East Asia, but there was a great demand in that area for Indian textiles. The Company, therefore, decided to force its way into the textile trade of India in spite of the fierce Portuguese opposition.

The Voyage of the 'Globe'

The English Company despatched a ship called 'Globe' under the command of Hippon to engage in trade in the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam. 'Globe' arrived at Machilipatnam in January

1611. The English opened negotiations with the ruler of Golconda for trading facilities on the coast of Andhra. The English Company was permitted to establish a factory at Machilipatnam in 1611. Thus the voyage of the 'Globe' opened a new chapter in the history of the English Company. It led not only to the establishment of an English factory at Machilipatnam, but also opened up commercial relations with Siam and Burma.

In spite of the early difficulties, the Company continued to engage itself in the trade of the east. In 1612 its prospects brightened up when a Portuguese fleet was defeated off Swally near Surat. As a result of this victory the British prestige shot up at the Mughal court. Jehangir granted a 'Farman' in 1613 allowing the English Company to establish a permanent factory at Surat. In 1615, the Portuguese were again defeated by the English. The Company decided to take advantage of this victory and consolidate its position in India. It, therefore, urged the government to send a duly accredited ambassador to the Mughal court. Accordingly, in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe was sent to the court of Jehangir as an ambassador from King James I of England. He was instructed to secure permanent trading facilities for the Company.

Sir Thomas Roe failed to secure a commercial treaty from the Emperor due to the intrigues of the Portuguese. But he succeeded in getting many privileges to the Company which was allowed to set up factories in different areas of the Mughal Empire. In the annals of the Company Roe is memorable for the policy he outlined for the English in India. He recommended the policy of peaceful trade and opposed the policy of militarism pursued by the Portuguese and the Dutch in the East. Roe felt that, "a war and traffic are incompatible" and advised his countrymen to "seek profit at sea and in quiet trade."

The English Company was able to overcome the opposition of the Portuguese. In 1620 the Portuguese fleet was defeated off Jask on the coast of Persia and two years later it helped the Shah of Persia to capture Ormuz from the Portuguese. These defeats weakened the Portuguese position in India and English factories at Surat and other places grew in importance. The Portuguese ceased to be the rivals of the English in India. In 1635 the Portuguese government at Goa concluded peace with the President of the English Company at Surat.

The Anglo-Dutch Rivalry

In the Spice islands, the Dutch proved to be too strong for the English. From 1610 onwards the VOC changed its attitude towards the East India Company in accordance with orders from its government to enforce monopoly. When David Middleton, who commanded

the fifth voyage of the English Company arrived at Banda Neira the Dutch ordered him to retreat. He, therefore, withdrew to the island Wei which was not under Dutch control.

The English Company invoked the support of their government. Due to the efforts of the British Ambassador at The Hague, two conferences were held at London and The Hague in 1613 and 1615 respectively, but nothing came of them. The Dutch claimed monopoly of the spice trade as they bore all the risk and expenditure in expelling the Portuguese from the East Indies. The English refused to pay any share of the expenditure the Dutch already incurred.

The Company decided to carry on the trade in the East Indies despite the opposition from the VOC as the trade in spices was very lucrative. It decided to adopt a forward policy towards the VOC. To enforce the policy it sent Thomas Dale who made a name for himself as an efficient administrator in the colony of Virginia. He arrived at the Spice islands with a fleet of six ships. He was given authority over all the Company's factories except Surat. At the same time the Dutch appointed a new Governor-General, Jan Pieterzsoon Coen who proved to be more than a match for Dale.

In early 1619 Dale was able to expel the Dutch from their factory at Djakarta. But within a short time Coen was able to reimpose Dutch authority at that place. Thereupon Dale removed all the English goods from Bantam to the Coromandel coast of India. He decided to launch a naval attack on the Dutch fleet from Machilipatnam. But his fleet of six ships was destroyed by the Dutch. Dale died at Machilipatnam in August 1619. The forward policy of the Company thus ended in disaster. The position of the Company in the East Indies was saved due to the developments in Europe. The two companies were prevailed upon by their respective governments to renew negotiations which resulted in a Treaty of Defence in July 1619. The treaty allowed the East India Company to have a third share of the spice trade of the Moluccas. Coen reacted sharply to the treaty as he felt that the English had no claim even to a particle of sand on the beach in the Moluccas. The treaty proved to be unworkable and in 1621, the Dutch expelled the English from the island Run, near Amboyna. The East India Company decided early in 1623 to wind up its business in the Moluccas, the Bandas and Amboyna. Orders to this effect were sent, but before they reached the East Indies the 'Massacre of Amboyna' took place. In February 1623 ten Englishmen, nine Japanese and one Portuguese were tried and put to death by the Dutch on the charge of conspiring to capture the Dutch fort of Amboyna. After this incident, the East India Company gave up its contest with the VOC in the East Indies and decided to concentrate in India. The Company

realised the important role played by the Indian textiles in the exchange economy of South-East Asia. It decided to purchase the textiles of India and barter them for pepper and spices in the markets of South-East Asia. The Calicoes, Chintzes and Palampoes of Andhra were very much in demand in markets in South-East Asia.

Acquisition of Madras

As early as 1612 the English established their factory at Surat. On the east coast of India they established their factory at Machilipatnam, the great port of the kingdom of Golconda. In addition to being a fine port Machilipatnam was also an important market for diamonds and rubies for which Golconda was famous. Besides it was a great centre of textile trade. The famous chintzes and palampoes were produced in abundance in the villages around this place. It is no wonder that the English made it the headquarters of their settlements on the Coromandel coast. But the position of the English at that place was not enviable. Besides facing the Dutch rivalry and the Portuguese jealousy they had to bear the brunt of the oppression of the local Muhammedan officials of the Sultan of Golconda. For a time the English tolerated the hostile attitude of the local officials, since the textile trade of the place was highly profitable. The English made a number of representations to the Sultan at Golconda without avail. As the vexations increased they resolved to abandon their factory at Machilipatnam and establish a new one in the South outside the territorial limits of Golconda kingdom. In 1621 they established a factory at the Dutch settlement of Pulicat, but abandoned it very soon as they could not overcome the jealousy of the Dutch. In 1626 they established a factory at Arumugam or Armugaoan situated 35 miles north of Pulicat in the Nellore district. Armugaoan was not a good port. Moreover, its hinterland did not produce quality textile suitable for the overseas market. Further, the political condition of the Carnatic in which Armugaoan was located was very much disturbed. The English, once again, were in search of a suitable place on the east coast to establish their factory. Machilipatnam was however safe as it was under the firm control of Golconda. The English were tempted to go back to Machilipatnam since the Sultan offered them some privileges. They therefore abandoned Armugaoan and returned to Machilipatnam. But on reaching the place they found it was no longer a flourishing centre of textiles. Due to a severe famine in the area most of the weavers were either dead or had left the place for other centres in search of employment.

The English agent at Machilipatnam was Thomas Clarke. Francis Day was his subordinate at Armugaoan. When the Directors of the English Company decided in 1638-39 to dismantle their factory at Armugaoan, Francis Day visited Pondicherry and its neighbourhood to select a suitable site for the English factory. On learning

the desire of the English to establish a factory south of Armugoan, Damerla Venkatadri, the Governor of the Rajah of Chandragiri made an offer to Day to establish a settlement at Madraspatnam in the Chandragiri dominion. Venkatadri's brother Aiyappa resided at Ponamalle (West of Madras) and looked after the coastal region. These two brothers belonged to Velugoti family of Srikalahasti. The brothers felt that if the English established a factory they would stand to gain as the region produced textiles in abundance.

Day visited the neighbourhood of Madras in the summer of 1639 to examine the site and also the textiles of the region. He was offered quality cloth at a cheap rate. He negotiated with the Damerla brothers and on 22 July 1639 obtained from them the grant of the Chandragiri ruler permitting the English to build a fort at Madraspatnam. Under the terms of the grant, the English were allowed to mint coins and receive half the customs and revenues of the port. Besides these privileges the Chandragiri ruler guaranteed to reimburse the English all the monies paid by them to the weavers of the locality in case they failed to honour their contracts for the supply of textiles.

The Council at Surat which controlled the English factories on the East coast of India issued an order on 8 January 1640 allowing Day to take possession of Madras. Day dismantled the factory at Armugoan and reached Madraspatnam on 20 February 1640. On 1 March, the construction of Fort St. George began. A number of weavers settled near the place and named their locality as Chennapatnam, after Damerla Chennappa, father of Damerla Venkatadri. Chennapatnam was different from Madraspatnam. The Madraspatnam village existed even before the English established their settlement in 1639-40. It was situated north of the Fort St. George. Within a short time the two villages expanded rapidly and virtually became one town. The English preferred to call the twin villages as Madraspatnam, while the Indians called them Chennapatnam. In the course of time the exact location of Chennapatnam and Madraspatnam came to be confused. As Madraspatnam grew in importance it came to be known simply as Madras. On 24 September 1641 it was made chief of the English factories on the East-Coast.

When Mir Jumla conquered the neighbourhood of Madras in 1647, he confirmed the privileges of the English there. In 1684 Madras was made a Presidency. In 1688 it was provided with a municipal government with a mayor and ten eldersmen of whom seven were to be Indians.

Establishment of a New Company

At home the company faced a critical situation. In 1635 a group of London merchants headed by Sir William Courten secured

a licence from Charles I for trade in the East. This ended the monopoly of the original company. After a ruinous competition the two companies were merged in 1649. In 1697 Cromwell granted a charter to the Company to raise a permanent joint stock. This had greatly improved the finances of the Company. Charles II by a series of Charters invested the Company with the "attributes of a delegated sovereignty." James II granted the Company the right to coin money, to exercise jurisdiction over English subjects and to make war and peace with non-Christian peoples.

Acquisition of Bombay

Charles II got Bombay, from the king of Portugal, as a part of the dowry of his wife Catherine of Braganza. In 1688 he gave it to the Company for a nominal rent of £ 10 a year. Within a short time Bombay grew in importance and replaced Surat as the Chief Settlement of the Company on the West Coast.

Change in Company's Policy

During the last decades of the 17th century the Company changed its policy of peaceful trade laid down by Sir Thomas Roe, due to the troubled political situation. Aurangzeb's protracted wars with the Marathas disturbed the internal order. Shivaji twice sacked Surat and threatened to capture the English factory there. In the south, Shivaji captured Jinji and passed very close to Madras. In Bengal and Gujarat, the Company was involved in hostilities with Aurangzeb. But in 1690 peace was concluded and Aurangzeb allowed the Company to continue its trade.

Towards the close of the 17th century, the Company faced a serious opposition at home. In 1698 a new company called "The English Company Trading to the East Indies" was formed. A ruinous competition took place between the two companies. However in 1708, the disputes between the two companies were settled by the Godolphin's award. The two companies were amalgamated under the title "United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies." The united company is better known as "The Honourable East India Company." It continued its corporate existence down to the mutiny of 1857.

French Settlement

By the middle of the 17th century, the English Company gained upper hand in the trade of India and eliminated the competition from the Dutch. Just at that time France, also appeared on the scene with their own Company 'La Compagnie Des Indes' and established trading Settlements at Machilipatnam (1669), Pondicherry (1673) and Chandranagore (1690). The settlements at Mahe, Karaikal and

Yanam were established at a later date.

Economic Condition of the Andhra in the 18th Century

In 1687, the kingdom of Golconda was occupied by Aurangzeb. As a result, Telengana and a large part of coastal Andhra became parts of the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb could not consolidate his conquests of the Deccan as he was busy fighting the Marathas. As a result the administration became slack and there was no law and order. With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the disintegration of the Mughal Empire had set in. In the confusion that followed the economy of the country was shattered. But the weavers and other artisan classes in Andhra were able to survive as their products were readily purchased by the European traders.

The Textiles

The textiles of Andhra were a craze among all sections of the population not only in South-East Asian countries but also in England, France, Persia, etc. A remarkable feature of the dyed chintzes of Machilipatnam was that colours became more bright and beautiful after washing. In England, calicoes, chintzes were in great demand. To save the local textile industry England followed a policy of protection and in 1700 and 1721 a number of laws were enacted prohibiting the import of Indian textiles and even the wearing of calicoes. This prohibition did not cause any harm to the industry as it had a ready market elsewhere in Europe and South-East Asia.

During the eighteenth century the textile industry in Andhra flourished even though the political condition was very much disturbed. The Dutch, Portuguese and the French merchants used to advance liberal sums of money to the weavers and accepted cloth produced by them without insisting on quality. In comparison, the English paid very little to the weavers and insisted on quality of the textiles produced by the weavers. The English agents were not very popular and frequently the weavers refused to produce cloth for the East India Company. When the English agents tried to invoke the authority of the Subedar at Hyderabad, they were plainly told that no special privileges would be granted to them. The Dutch, the French and the Portuguese had no trouble at all since they did not ask for special privileges. These merchants were encouraged to purchase the textiles of the coastal Andhra as it meant good revenue to the government. At Machilipatnam about 5,000 weavers worked for the Dutch. They were paid 5,000 Madras pagodas and cheap provisions. At Injaram 2,000 weavers worked for the Dutch and 700 for the English. Besides the factory at Injaram, the English had factories at Maddepalem, Bandamurilanka, Tuni, Kakinada, Corinka, Gollapalem and Visakhapatnam. In all these places, the English

who wanted the best cloth at a cheap rate faced stiff competition from other European merchants, specially, the Dutch, and the Portuguese. The Dutch merchants were very popular as they paid the rates demanded. All the cloth produced at Berhampur, Bimunipatnam, Visakhapatnam and Tuni was sold to them. As a result of these rebuffs from the merchants and the competition from other European companies, the East India Company felt that it should gain monopoly over their textile trade.

The textile industry in Andhra was widely diffused. But production of fine and super-fine cloth was concentrated in particular towns. Berhampur was noted for its quality silks and Srikakulam for its muslins. Machilipatnam was world famous centre for chintzes and palampores.

In the coastal Andhra there were many *zamindars* who defied the central authority with impunity. These zamindars were of three types : (1) Velamas of Telanga origin driven out of the Carnatic by the Muslim armies and who had established themselves on the borders of the Krishna, (2) the Rachawars of Orissa who were forced to leave the plains and return to the hilly area north of Godavari, and (3) Oriyas, who after the fall of the Gajapati empire in Orissa established themselves in the Srikakulam district.¹

The military force of the zamindars was of three kinds : (1) common peons who were paid in cash and were expected to be in common attendance, (2) the Mokka who were paid by the grant of land, and (3) the Manovarty peons who were military tenets of a high order bound to bring their adherents to the field.²

All the lands in Northern Circars were divided into two categories : (1) the zamindari and (2) Haveli or Government. The land assessment was 1/5th of the produce. The zamindars were notorious for their oppression of the peasantry. They also collected land customs on all articles of commerce like food, cattle, salt, etc. These taxes known as *Sunkams* were collected at short intervals. They hampered the growth of industry and commerce. Besides there were other imposts under various names. A loom tax or *moturpha* was also levied.

The Circar region produced rice in abundance. Its forests produced a fine variety of teak which was used in ship building. The ship building industry at Corinka was able to withstand the several competition from outside. Fishing industry was also highly developed. The inland commerce and maritime exports of the Circars region was to the tune of 75 lakhs a year.³

1. Raman Rao, A.V., *The Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh, 1766-1957*, Bombay (1958) p. 5.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*, p. 6,

Andhra Under the Company

Anglo-French Rivalry

Of the two companies, that is the English, and the French, the former was wealthier and more vigorous in trade than the latter. While that of the British was a private affair, that of the French was a government sponsored one—"Off spring of State patronage than the outcome of spontaneous mercantile activity." It was, therefore, rather inferior in enterprise than the English company financially and as such unable to ply a vigorous trade.

The first struggle between the English and French in India took place in the Carnatic during 1744-48. It was in fact an extension of the Austrian Succession War which broke out in Europe in 1740 where England and France took opposite sides. During that time the Nawab of Carnatic issued a declaration prohibiting the English and the French from waging war in his territory. The French defied the orders. So the Nawab sent a big force against the French. But the well-trained French forces, though small in number, were able to defeat the huge indisciplined army of the Nawab, at Adyar. This victory convinced the French of their invincibility. Their ambitions began to soar and they began to intervene in the wars of the Indian rulers.

Though the Austrian war of Succession came to an end in 1748 by the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, the Anglo-French conflict renewed in India. On 2 June 1748 the Nizam of Hyderabad died and a dispute arose between Muzaffar Jang and Nasir Jang for succession to the throne. The former was the grandson (daughter's son) and the latter son of the late Nizam. A similar dispute arose between Chanda Sahib and Anwaruddin for the throne of the Carnatic. The French supported Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib, while the English supported the rival claimants, namely, Nasir Jang and Mohammad Ali, the son of Anwaruddin who was killed in a battle with Chanda Sahib at Ambur in 1749. The Battle of Ambur is significant to the

history of Andhra. The French Governor of Pondicherry, Dupleix made Chanda Sahib the Nawab of Carnatic. Muzaffar Jang, granted to the French, Machilipatnam and Divi to express his gratitude for the help rendered to his ally Chanda Sahib. Earlier, Muzaffar Jang himself was able to become the Nizam of Hyderabad with the help of the French. Nasir Jang, the rival of Muzaffar Jang, was murdered due to the treachery of the Nawabs of Kurnool and Cuddapah.

Muzaffar Jang on becoming the Nizam expressed his gratitude to the French by appointing Dupleix as Viceroy of all the territory south of the river Krishna. Yanam (adjacent to Kakinada) was also given to the French.

Muzaffar Jang while proceeding to Hyderabad from Pondicherry was also murdered by the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool at Rayachoty. The French General Bussy, however, took full control of the situation and proclaimed Salabat Jang (a brother of Nasir Jang) as the new Nizam. Bussy escorted the new ruler to Hyderabad and installed him in power. The new Nizam, besides confirming the previous grants, gave additional villages around Machilipatnam to the French. Nizampatnam, Kondavid and Narasapur were also granted to the French.

From 1751 to 1758 Bussy remained in Hyderabad and helped Salabat Jang to consolidate his position. He also helped Salabat Jang in his wars with the Marathas and in his relations with the ruler of Mysore. For this help the French were given in 1752 the Circar of Kondavid adjacent to Machilipatnam and noted for its textiles which were in great demand in Europe. The next acquisition was even far more important. The Nizam agreed to pay Rs 2 lakhs every month for the French contingent stationed at Hyderabad. As a result of this treaty the whole of Coastal Andhra from Ganjam to Guntur comprising the Circars of Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Eluru, Mustafa Nagar (Kondapalli) came under French control.

Though the French acquired the Northern Circars they could not make their presence felt in the area due to the opposition of the local *fauzdars*, *rajahs* and *zamindars*. Jafar Ali, the Nizam's Faujdar at Chicacole, refused to recognise the cession of the Circars to the French and rose in revolt against them. The Raja of Vijayanagaram, the most powerful zamindar of the region, supported him. The French chief at Machilipatnam, realising the futility of opposing their combined forces, cleverly managed to win over the Raja by promising to lease to him the revenue collection of Chicacole and Rajahmundry. Jafar Ali, thereupon, appealed to the Marathas at Nagpur for help. They plundered Vijayanagaram territory. But they were defeated by the French at Thummapalem near Anakapalle.

In 1756, the Nizam for a short time dispensed with the services of Bussy. At once there were widespread revolts against the French in Coastal Andhra. Bussy, however, staged a comeback and asserted his position at Hyderabad. He then proceeded to the northern Circars to put down the revolts of the local Zamindars. It was in the course of this march that he instigated Vijaya Rama Raju of Vijayanagaram to attack Bobbili in 1757. The heroic resistance offered by the defenders of Bobbili, the final capture of the fort by the French and the murder of Vijaya Rama Raju are remembered even today. The battle of Bobbili has become one of the famous episodes in the history of Andhra. The fall of Bobbili proved to be a warning to other zamindars. They accepted the French supremacy without a murmur. Bussy returned to Hyderabad at the beginning of 1758.

In 1758 the third Carnatic War broke out. Immediately Bussy was recalled from Hyderabad. That led to the decline of the French influence in the Deccan. The Raja of Vijayanagaram, Ananda Gajapathi Raju, marched against Chicacole and captured it. He corresponded with the British authorities at Madras and also Robert Clive in Bengal. In the meantime, he captured Visakhapatnam from the French and undertook to hand it over to the English.

Clive, who established British supremacy in Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757, responded to the invitation of the Vijayanagaram ruler and sent Col. Forde to meet Ananda Gajapathi Raju. On 21 November 1758 the ruler of Vijayanagaram and the British East India Company entered into a treaty. The treaty stipulated that the plunder should be equally divided and that the countries which might be conquered should be delivered to the Rajah, but that the sea-ports and the towns at the mouth of the rivers should belong to the Company.

After the signing of the treaty the combined forces of Ananda Gajapati Raju and Col. Forde marched towards Rajahmundry and on 7 December 1759 defeated the French at the battle of Chandurti in East Godavari District. The battle is one of the decisive battles in the history of India. According to Col. Malleon few battles have produced more brilliant results. It led to the expulsion of the French from the Circars. Forde captured Machilipatnam on 8 April 1759.

Salabat Jang, realising that the French cause was lost, came to terms with the British. On 14 May 1759 he ceded to the British, Nisampatnam, portions of the circars of Machilipatnam and Kondapalle. The French were asked to leave the Nizam's dominions within a fortnight. In 1760, Nizam Ali, brother of Salabat Jang, usurped the throne of Hyderabad. He was willing to grant the three middle Circars to British in return for military help against the

Marathas. But the British declined the offer as their hands were full with the affairs in Carnatic. In 1763, when the Third Carnatic War came to an end, they expressed their willingness to accept the Nizam's offer made three years back. But Nizam Ali changed his mind and nothing came out of it.

Robert Clive, who became the Governor of Bengal for the second time in 1765, persuaded the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, to issue a 'Farman' ceding all the northern Circars to the British. The Nizam refused to accept the 'Farman' of his titular suzerain. There upon, John Pybus, the British resident to the East India Company at Machilipatnam, sent Kandnegula Jogipantulu to Hyderabad to open negotiations with the Nizam.

Jogipantulu was a well known *dubashee* of the northern circars. He had great influence at Hyderabad and was held in high esteem by Rukn-ud-daula, the Dewan of the Nizam. Jogipantulu reached Hyderabad and opened up negotiations with the Nizam. But the Nizam did not give serious thought to the proposals as he was pre-occupied with the disturbances and insurrection in some parts of his dominions. Jogipantulu persevered in his attempts. When the Nizam and the Dewan went to Rajahmundry, he followed them. At that time there was a mutiny in Nizam's troops at Gollapudi demanding the payment of the arrears of their salary. Jogipantulu utilised that opportunity to negotiate the lease of the five northern circars to the company for a sum of rupees 15 lakhs. He also persuaded the Nizam to lease Guntur Circar also even though it was under the control of Basalat Jang, the brother of the Nizam.

At last a treaty was concluded in 1766 by which the English East India Company got the Circars. The treaty provided that Guntur Circar would continue to be under the control of Basalat Jang the brother of the Nizam. After his death it was to revert to the British. Though Basalat Jang died in 1782 it took six more years for the British to secure the possession of the Guntur Circar. After protracted negotiations the Nizam surrendered it to Cornwallis on 18 September 1788. Thus the five northern Circars came under the British control.

The districts of Nellore and Chittoor which were included in the Carnatic came under the British rule in 1802 when Lord Wellesley annexed the Carnatic to the British Empire. The districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool were ceded by the Nizam to the British in 1800 when he entered into 'subsidiary alliance' with them. With the acquisition of ceded districts, the entire Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh came under the British control.

Revolts Against the British

It took nearly fifty to sixty years for the East India Company

to consolidate its position in the territories acquired in Andhra. In the coastal districts it had to face the formidable opposition from the local zamindars. In the Rayalaseema area the poligars offered stiff resistance to the British Rule.

In Ganjam district, the East India Company faced formidable resistance from the zamindars of Ghumsur and Parlakimedi. These areas are now in Orissa State. In Visakhapatnam district the most formidable opposition to Company's rule came from the Rajah of Vijayanagaram, the biggest zamindar of the area. We have already noticed how Ananda Gajapati Raju allied himself with Col. Forde and expelled the French from Vizag, Rajahmundry and Machilipatnam. Ananda Gajapati Raju was succeeded by Vijayarama Raju who ruled from 1760-1794. His half-brother, Sitarama Raju acted as his Dewan. Sitarama Raju was highly unscrupulous and his administration was extremely unpopular. In 1784 he was removed from Dewanship, but he went to Madras and through bribery obtained the favour of the Governor and members of the Council and got himself re-appointed much against the will of the Rajah. The Directors of the Company, however, intervened in favour of the Rajah and the Dewan was dismissed.

After the dismissal of the Dewan, unfortunately the Rajah could not cope up with the work of administration. He failed to pay the 'peshcush' amount to the government. When the arrears became huge, the Madras government passed orders sequestrating his whole estate and granted him a pension. On 2 August 1793 the fort of Vijayanagaram was occupied and the zamindari was divided into three collectorates and officers were appointed to administer them. The Rajah was asked to leave Vijayanagaram and retire to Machilipatnam on a monthly pension of Rs. 1,200. The Rajah decided to make a bold stand against the Madras government and marched to Padmanabham a sacred place halfway between Vijayanagaram and Bheemunipatnam. Thereupon, the Company sent troops against him and at the battle that took place on 10 July 1794, the Rajah was defeated and killed.

After the death of Vijayarama Raju, his eight-year old son Narayana Babu took refuge in a hilly place called Makkuva in the Visakhapatnam district. Several nobles and hillmen rallied round him. The Company hesitated to organise an expedition into the hills. So it started negotiations and the estate was handed over to Narayana Babu on his agreeing to pay the arrears amounting to 5 lakh rupees. In 1802, the permanent settlement was introduced and the *peshcush* from the Vijayanagaram zamindars was fixed at Rs 6 lakhs per year.

In addition to the revolts of the zamindars, there were a few *fituris*, or outbreaks of the tribal people. The tribals of Golugonda

in Visakha district revolted against the Company. For three years from 1845-1848 they harassed the administration. Ultimately, they laid down the arms in 1848 on a promise to general amnesty and grant of allowance to their leader Chinna Bhupathi. During 1857-58 another 'Fituri' broke out, but it was easily put down.

In the other coastal districts also there were some revolts by the local zamindars but they were easily crushed.

But in the Rayalaseema area the Company faced serious trouble from the local 'poligars'. In 1800 there were eighty poligars in Rayalaseema and they were not prepared to accept the authority of the British. Thomas Munro, the principal collector of the region issued proclamations to these poligars to lay down their arms and also pay 'peshcush' to the Company. Many 'poligars' resisted the demand and it took eighteen months for Munro to bring them under the control of the Company. But order was not established effectively. Even as late as 1846 Poligar Narasimha Reddy of Kurnool district revolted against the Company. He attacked the treasury at Koilkuntla and marched towards Cumbam. He was defeated by Capt. Nolt at Moondlapadu, but he managed to escape into Nizam's dominions. But six weeks later he re-entered the Kurnool district. This time he was captured and hanged publicly at Koilkuntla. Munro confiscated the estates of the poligars and introduced Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue in the area. The revolts of the rajahs, zamindars and poligars clearly showed that there was still resistance to the British rule in the Andhra area.

Company's Administration and its Effects

The Company consolidated its position in Andhra during the first half of the nineteenth century. It reorganised the administration by dividing the entire region into a number of districts and appointed collectors over them. As the term implied the main function of the collector who was the head of the district administration was the collection of revenue. The coastal area was divided into five collectorates of Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna and Nellore. The Rayalaseema area ceded by the Nizam to the East India Company in 1800 was constituted into a single collectorate with Anantapur as the headquarters. Thomas Munro was appointed as the Principal Collector on 24 October 1800. Four sub-collectors functioned under him at Harpanahalli, Adoni, Cuddapah and Cumbam. In 1808, the area was divided into two collectorates of Bellary and Cuddapah. Kurnool, Anantapur and Chittoor were constituted as separate districts in 1858, 1882 and 1911 respectively.

The kingpin of the administration was the collector, but majority of the collectors and other high officials of the district were ignorant of the Telugu language and the actual condition of the masses. They

depended mostly on their native subordinates, who were by and large corrupt and inefficient. The only exception among the English collectors was Munro. He spoke Telugu fluently and carried on the administration without the help of 'dubashees'. Another Company Official who was well conversant with Telugu language was C.P. Brown. He did a yeoman service to Telugu Literature by bringing to light many Telugu works and by editing great Telugu classics.

Revenue

The Directors of the East India Company at London wanted to realise maximum revenue from the newly conquered areas. This resulted in high taxation. The Company introduced two main types of revenue system, namely, the *zamindari* and the *ryotwari*. In the coastal area there were many zamindars, or landlords. From the zamindars the Company collected, revenue, called "peshcush". The high rates of "peshcush" ruined many zamindars. In the Rayalaseema area the ryotwari system of land tenure was introduced. Under this system, the revenue was collected directly from the ryot who owns the land. This system also did not work well. Even Munro, who was noted for his compassion and liberal outlook, overassessed the ryots and later recommended reductions. Another defect in the system was that the lands were not properly surveyed and boundaries marked. There were only few records of any sort. It was only after the advent of Crown's administration that the survey and settlement work was completed. The revenue was collected strictly. There was no scope for evasion. Further the collection of revenue in cash added to the difficulties of the farmers as the prices of agricultural products began to fall from 1834 onwards.

Irrigation

The Company did not pay any attention to irrigation. Tanks and canals were not maintained in good condition. The only important irrigational works undertaken by the Company were the construction of the anicuts over the rivers Godavari and Krishna in 1847 and 1853 respectively. These works no doubt brought prosperity to the delta regions of these two rivers. But in the rest of Andhra no irrigational work of consequence was undertaken. It is no wonder, therefore, that during the Company's rule Andhra suffered from severe famines. From 1805 to 1807 the entire Andhra region was in the grip of a severe famine which resulted in depopulation of some villages. In 1811, Nellore district suffered from a severe famine. The famine of 1823 affected a large area. In 1833 Guntur suffered from one of the severe famines. In 1839 crops failed in entire Andhra area. The Government did very little to alleviate the sufferings of the people. It also did not take any steps to prevent the frequent recurrence of famines. It did not formulate, even a famine code.

Handicrafts

Side by side with the deterioration of agriculture there was decline of handicrafts which provided livelihood to a large number of non-agricultural classes. The textile industry provided occupation to a large number of people after agriculture. The industry was carried on inside the house. Even women observing *gosha* could engage in it. In Rayalaseema the weaver indulged in polygamy merely to increase the income by the labour of his wives. Even old people and children used to take part in the industry as the work was not tiresome. Even though all the members of the family earned money, the condition of the weaver was not prosperous as he led an extravagant life. A major part of his income was wasted in drinking, gambling and cock-fighting.

The textile industry suffered very much. Previously, the silks of Berhampur, the muslins of Srikakulam, the chintzes of Machilipatnam and the 'Romals' of Nellore commanded a ready market in Europe. They were the chief articles which the East India Company bought for export in the 17th and the second half of the 18th centuries.

One of the causes for the decline of the Indian textiles was that its products could not compete with the machine-made fabrics of England which were priced at a low rate. The exports from Visakhapatnam which averaged 7 lakhs a year fell to one lakh a year by the third decade of the nineteenth century. Exports from Machilipatnam averaged rupees 30 lakhs a year in the second decade of the nineteenth century. It fell to mere Rs 2750 in 1843-44. The case of Nellore is the same. Its exports valued at Rs 1,80,000 in 1817-18 fell to mere Rs 360 in 1842-43.

The Indian textiles lost the foreign market as well as the local market. The local market was lost due to the policy adopted by the Company which gave every encouragement to the British textiles and at the same time ruined the local industry by imposing excessive transit duties and *moturpha*—a vexatious impost on the looms. The native industry lost its good patrons with the decline of the zamindars. As a result of the decay a large number of weavers went as coolies to Sri Lanka, Burma and Mauritius.

Silk Fabrics

Berhampur, Peddapuram and Dharmavaram were some of the important silk weaving centres of Andhra. The silks were used as articles of luxury and were in great demand among the rich people. The Portuguese distributed Indian silk goods in Europe. The East India Company also exported certain varieties of silk cloth. The industry began to decline by the middle of the 19th century. It could not face the competition from the Chinese and Japanese silks in the European market. At home it lost the market with the break

up of the aristocracy. One noteworthy feature of silk industry is that it was mostly an urban industry and supported by the rich and upper-middle classes. The silk weavers of Andhra came from Devanga, Padmasali, Satani, Mala (Harijan) and Muslim communities.

Carpet-making

The carpets of Eluru and the coloured rugs and blankets of Kurnool were well-known in the international market. In Eluru, the craft was developed by the immigrants of Persia when Andhra came under the Muslim rule. At the London exhibition of 1851 the carpets of Eluru had become the cynosure of all eyes. No foreign or imported wool was used in their manufacture; the wool of indigenous sheep of Krishna and Godavari districts was used. The two popular designs were 'Farishkhani' and 'Ashunkhani'. The other important varieties were 'Bulbandi', 'Nabashkhany' and 'Gopalrao-khany'.

In Rayalaseema apart from Kurnool, the industry was developed at Adoni and Bellary. The products of these places catered to the needs of markets inside the country. They did not compare favourably with the products of Eluru or Machilipatnam. By the middle of the nineteenth century the industry had fallen on evil days. This was not due to the decline of the skill of the weaver but for want of governmental and popular support.

A similar fate overtook other artistic industries as also the ship building industry which was carried on in all the coastal towns from Ganjam to Nellore.

Apart from the decline of the industries and handicrafts which had provided livelihood to a large number of people the rule of the Company had caused much hardship to the people since it was inefficient and corrupt. The corruption and inefficiency was more pronounced in the department of Judiciary. Many of the judges did not have the proper legal background. All the persons who were found to be incompetent for the revenue department were transferred to the law department and appointed as judges. Many regarded the judicial service of the Company as a "refuge of the destitute."¹

Education

In the sphere of education, Andhra was very much neglected. It

1. Petition of Madras Native Association dated 26.2.1852 to the Government of Madras.—Quoted as Document No. 14 in *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Ed. by M. Venkatarangaiah, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1965, pp. 131-35.

was only in 1813 that the Company provided a paltry sum of rupees one lakh for education, but the government did not take any steps to provide higher education. When Munro became the Governor of Madras, he proposed the establishment of 40 collectorate schools and 300 tahsildari schools in the whole of the presidency. The Court of Directors provided funds for this, but in 1839 it was declared a failure. A Central Collegiate Institution was established in Madras in 1841. The expenditure of the Institution was met by public donations and the fees collected from the students. It was the only educational institution started by the Madras government. It had on the average 160 students. The rest of the presidency was not cared for. The missionaries started a number of schools with the main object of converting the students to Christianity. Government helped the proselytising activities of the missionaries by sanctioning 'grants-in-aid' to these schools. Even the law of inheritance was interfered with. The converts to Christianity were favoured. The judges exercised their power and authority in a high handed manner to the detriment of the Hindus.²

The administration of the Company had become so irksome that on 26 February 1852 the people of Madras formed themselves into an association called the Madras Native Association and submitted a petition to the government for the redressal of their grievances. In order to rectify the defects on the administration they suggested that the Governor's Council should be composed of officials in equal number—six or seven each. They also suggested the establishment of a legislative council as distinct from the executive council. Other suggestions made in the petition were the reduction of the salaries of the Governor and other higher officials of the government and the appointment of natives to the services. It also demanded the abolition of the I.C.S.³

In a word the Company's rule resulted in the impoverishment of the people, disruption of the corporate life and deterioration of general condition.

The only benefit that Andhra could said to have derived from Company's rule was that it was free from disturbances caused by wars.

Andhra in 1857-58

The year 1857 was a critical year in the history of India. The great revolt of that year has almost brought an end to the British rule. The revolt was very intensive in North India, especially in parts of UP, MP and Bihar. The south was relatively free, but it

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

is not correct to say that it was quite unaffected by the developments in the north. The happenings in the north had their impact, even though feeble, in many places south of the Vindhyas like Aurangabad, Hyderabad, Cuddapah, Machilipatnam, etc.

The State of Hyderabad which had a good percentage of Muslims was naturally very much interested in the fortunes of Muslim rebels of the north. Though the ruler and the prime minister of the State remained loyal to the British, some sections of the Muslim population were very articulate in their support to the rebels in the north. Anti-British feeling in Hyderabad State was not a new development. It existed from 1800 when the Nizam was forced to enter into a Subsidiary Alliance with the East India Company. It manifested itself in 1839 when the Wahabis conspired to overthrow the British rule. In that year many Wahabi conspirators came from the north to the city of Hyderabad and began to preach *jihad* against the British. They were encouraged and supported by Mubaraz-ud-Doulah, the brother of the Nizam, Nasir-ud-Doulah. Before any mischief could be done, the Company acted with vigour. It arrested Mubaraz and confined him in the Golconda fort till his death in 1854. The Nawab of Kurnool, Ghulam Rasool Khan who was suspected to be in league with the Wahabis was arrested and sent to Tiruchirappalli as prisoner. His *jagir* was annexed and administered as a 'non-regulation province.' It was placed in-charge of a commissioner and a military assistant. The area was absorbed in the Kurnool district in 1858.

The anti-British feeling increased again in May 1853 when the Nizam was forced to assign to the East India Company the districts of Berar, Raichur and Osmanabad towards the expenditure the Company incurred on the subsidiary contingent it kept at Hyderabad. The anti-British feeling was expressed openly after the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut on 10 May 1857. Within a week of the outbreak, the Nizam, Nasir-ud-Doulah died on 16 May 1857. He was succeeded by his son Afzal-ud Doulah. The new Nizam allowed Salarjang I who became the Prime Minister in May 1853 to continue in his post.

The early successes of the rebels in the north generated great excitement among the Muslims of the Hyderabad State. At mosques inflammatory speeches were made exhorting the people to start *jihad* or holy war against the British. Attempts were made to undermine the loyalty of the army personnel of the Company posted at Secunderabad and Bolarum. A *fakir* moved about the city instigating the population to revolt against the Company and informed them that the army units posted at Secunderabad and Bolarum would join them. Moulvis like Alauddin delivered sermons at Mecca Masjid at Hyderabad city branding the British as the enemies of Islam and exhorted the Muslims to drive them out.

Outbreak at Aurangabad, June 1857

While great tension prevailed at Hyderabad city other developments took place at Aurangabad. There great disaffection prevailed among the company's troops. The news of the British reverses in the north excited them. They feared that they would be asked to proceed to Delhi and fight against the rebels. They disliked that contingency. The disaffection in the Aurangabad troops took a serious turn on 23 June when 90 sepoys whose loyalty was suspect were disarmed and arrested. The arrest of their comrades increased the anti-British feelings of the sepoys. A daffedar, Mir Fida Ali tried to shoot Captain Abbot. Fida Ali was hanged and a number of sepoys suspected to be involved in the affair were arrested. Many men in the cavalry were disbanded. This led to an outbreak in the Aurangabad contingent, which was however put down easily. This outbreak, which took place within a few weeks of the developments in the north, was the first serious incident in the Hyderabad State in 1857.

Attack on the Residency, July 1857

Within a few days of the Aurangabad incidents, other developments took place in the Hyderabad city. On 17 July 1857, Tura Baz Khan, a Jamedar of Rohillas led a mob of about 5000 and attacked the British Residency at Hyderabad. Nothing came out of this attack as the Residency was ably defended by the disciplined company soldiers under the command of the Resident Col. Davidson.

The Nizam who remained loyal to the British ordered the arrest of all the conspirators including Tura Baz Khan and Moulvi Allauddin. Tura Baz Khan was tried and sentenced to transportation for life. He, however escaped from prison. While he was being re-arrested, he tried to escape and he was shot dead. His dead body was publicly hanged in the Hyderabad city. Moulvi Allauddin was arrested in the village of Mangalapalli near Hyderabad. He was given life imprisonment. He died in prison at Andamans in 1884.

Barring these incidents, Hyderabad city and State remained peaceful. This was due to the steadfast loyalty of the Nizam, Afzal-ud-Doula and his Prime Minister Salarjang I to the British. The Hindus, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population were indifferent to the developments in the north and supported the British.

In the Andhra area there were minor incidents in towns like Cuddapah, Machilipatnam and Visakhapatnam where there was a

sizeable number of Muslims. At Cuddapah⁴ one Sheik Peer Saheb preached *jehad* against the British on 28 August 1857. It was also reported that the Muslims of that town offered prayers in the mosques for the success of the Mughal Emperor.⁵ At Visakhapatnam a Telugu placard was found exhorting the Muslims of the town to raze the town to dust and re-name it Muhammadpatnam during the Moharrum.⁶

Apart from these incidents in which Muslims were involved, there were few uprising among the Girijans of the agency tracts of Ganjam and Godavari districts. The Girijan belonging to the Savara tribe of the Parlakimedi area of the Ganjam district rose in revolt against the Company. The revolt was easily put down and the rebel leader, Dundasena was caught and hanged. After his death the area remained peaceful.

The uprising of the Girijans of the Godavari district was led by one Korukonda Subba Reddi, the headman of Koraturu. He was caught and put to death. During his trial, Subba Reddi confessed that he revolted as he heard a rumour that Nana Saheb was advancing with a big army to expel the British and that he would reward all those who fought against the British. After the death of Subba Reddi, there were no more disturbances in the area.

Apart from these stray incidents and disturbances which were very minor in nature, entire Andhra remained loyal to the British. The educated community in different towns vied with one another in expressing their loyalty to the British. In all the important towns like Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Vijayawada, Guntur, Nellore and Chittoor, public meetings were held and addresses of loyalty were submitted to the Government.

The sentiments expressed in the loyalty addresses were genuine. The Company's rule even though it ruined the artisan class, gave the country a stable government for which the people were grateful. The Andhra area was free from wars and disturbances, and naturally the

4. Judicial consultation, Fort St. George, No. 7, 20th October 1857, Page No. 101. Quoted as Document No. 29 in M. Venkatarangaiah (Ed.) *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*. Vol. I (1800-1905) Hyderabad, 1965, pp. 161-164.
5. Flag and Placard Hoisted in front of the Parade Ground—Correspondence connected therewith recorded—Nos. 218-219. Pages. 20, 31. Quoted as Document No. 30, *ibid.*, pp. 164-65.
6. From Officer Commanding, Northern Division, Waltair, 19th August 1857 to the Adjutant General of the Army. Quoted as Document No. 31, *ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

people compared it with the anarchy of the Muslim rule. They, therefore, did not like the end of the British rule. The natural leaders of the people, the zamindars, were thoroughly satisfied with the British rule as the Permanent Settlement had improved the economic condition and conferred on them proprietary rights (on the lands they held). More than anything the loyalty of the sepoys of the South saved India for the British.

Andhra Under the Crown

Queen's Proclamation

As a result of the outbreak of 1857, the administration of the country was transferred from the East India Company to the British crown. On assuming power, Queen Victoria issued on 1 November 1858 a proclamation wherein she announced the policies to be followed by the new government. The proclamation contained a number of promises. Firstly, it promised equality of treatment between the Indians and Europeans. It stated :

We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects and those obligations, by the Blessing of the Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Secondly, it promised religious neutrality and stated that,

We disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose Our Convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested, or disquieted by the reason of their Religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law, and we do strictly charge and enjoyn on all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief, or Worship of any of our Subjects, on the pain of our highest Displeasure.

Thirdly, it promised that the Indians will be admitted to all offices of the government when it stated that,

It is our further will that, so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to the offices on our service, the Duties of which they may be

qualified, by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

Fourthly, the proclamation promised that the government would stimulate peaceful industry of India and promote works of public utility and improvement.

The proclamation ended thus

In their Prosperity will be our Strength, in their Contentment our Security, and in their Gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, Strength to carry out those our wishes for the good of our people.¹

The promises contained in the proclamation were more honoured in breach than in observance. Neither the British officials nor the ordinary Englishmen and women were prepared to pay more than mere lip-service to it. The British who came to India after the uprising of 1857 regarded the Indians as barbarians and expressed their contempt towards them in various ways. They avoided intercourse with the local people and formed for themselves their exclusive clubs.

Discrimination was extended to various other fields also. An Arms Act was enacted prohibiting Indians from possessing arms. No such restriction was imposed on Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The feelings of superiority felt by the British community asserted itself when they launched a vehement agitation against the Ilbert Bill of 1883, when the Viceroy Lord Ripon wanted to give the Indian magistrates jurisdiction over the European offenders. Thus the promise of equal treatment contained in the Queen's proclamation remained a mere promise.

The second pledge in the Queen's proclamation relates to the entry into the services. Indians were guaranteed admission into all ranks of civil service. Again this promise was not implemented. I.C.S. examinations were held in London and the age of admission into it was fixed at 19. Thus all sorts of obstacles were placed in the way of the Indian's entering the I.C.S. Many public bodies of India including the Cocanada Literary Association submitted memorandums to the Secretary of State for India requesting him to raise the age limit. But nothing came out of these representations. Similarly Indians were not appointed to higher administrative posts in police, engineering, medicine etc. The Secretary of State for India in one of his despatches to the Viceroy in 1861 declared that "the Natives of India of native parentage are unsuited for Military, Medical appointments."²

1. Mukherji, P., *Indian Constitutional Documents*, No. 1, pp. 431-34.

2. *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh*, No 1, Document 51, pp. 210-11.

Another promise contained in the Queen's proclamation was that the Government would observe strict religious neutrality. But this promise was not kept. The Madras Native Association objected to the distribution of grants in aid to the missionary schools as the grants they alleged, were used for the teaching of the Bible and the propagation of Christianity. It also objected to the government officials hobnobbing the missionaries.

The Governor of Madras, Trevelyan, in his remarks on the petition of the Madras Native Association defended the payment of grants to missionary schools on the ground that a similar system existed in England and that it would not be possible for the government to bear the entire expenditure of education. He was not convinced by the argument that the people in a poor country like India cannot afford to start private institutions and that in consequence government grants should not go to mission schools which had plenty of resources at their disposal. In this connection it may be stated that the missionaries started their activities in Andhra in the early 19th century. As early as 1805, the London Mission began its activities at Visakhapatnam. It extended its activities to Cuddapah in 1822. At Machilipatnam the Church Missionary Society started its work under the leadership of Rev. Nobel. He succeeded in converting many Brahmins and members of other higher castes to Christianity. About the same time the American Mission at Guntur intensified its activities. The American Baptist Mission at Ongole was established in 1866. During the great famine of 1876, a large number of people at the rate of hundred a day were converted to Christianity.

The other promises in the proclamation like the development of industries and construction of public utility services were not implemented. The people were very much dissatisfied and they ventilated their grievances by submitting many petitions to the Government.

The Petitions of the Madras Native Association

As stated earlier, the citizens of Madras formed themselves into an association called Madras Native Association on 26 February 1852 to ventilate their grievances to the government. At first the Association wanted to serve as a branch of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, but owing to certain differences, the Association severed its connection with the Calcutta Association and constituted itself as an independent association. On the very day of its formation, the Association presented a petition to the Madras Government highlighting the grievances of the people of the Presidency.

After the advent of the Crown's administration, the Association submitted their petitions to the Madras Government in 1859

and 1861 pointing out the lapses on the part of the administration and requested redressal of the grievances of the people.

In its petition of 1859, the Madras Native Association pointed out the abuses in system of 'Grants-in-aid' to the mission schools. The petition requested the abolition of the Grants-in-aid system. It requested that the government instead of giving grants to the mission schools should establish government provincial schools, so that the people could afford a better education. Another demand made in the petition was that the government officials should not take part in the activities of the missionaries.

The Petition of 1861

In 1861, the Madras Native Association submitted one more petition to the Government pointing out the hardships caused to the people by the various acts of commission and omission by the administration.

The petition made a pointed reference to the abuses in the revenue department. It pointed out that in the operation of the Ryotwari System of land tenure the common abuse was the over-assessment. When the ryots refused to pay the excess of the assessment their houses were stripped of their roofs, their ploughs, ploughing cattle, grain, seed and forage for their grazing cattle were attached and sold by auction. When the proceeds of the auction was insufficient to cover the excess of assessment, the ryots were arrested. The ryots were harassed in other ways also. The families of the defaulters were not permitted to draw water from the tanks and wells for domestic purposes.

In the district like Ganjam, Visakhapatnam and Krishna where the Zamindari system of land revenue prevailed, there were many abuses and the condition of the ryots was miserable. Under the zamindari system of land tenure, the zamindars paid a sum nominally estimated at 35 per cent to the government. They kept 15 per cent as their share and the remaining 50 per cent was left to the cultivator, who had to meet all the expenses of cultivation and also pay *durbary* and other expenses of the zamindar.

As both the systems namely, the Ryotwari and Zamindari contained many abuses, the Madras Native Association suggested the introduction of the Village System, or the collection of the revenue from the land by means of villages instead of individuals, without the interference of the zamindars or middlemen on one hand and free from the harassing oppression of the government servants on the other. The government will stand to benefit by this system since, first, it will be relieved from the loss and corruption entailed by the Ryotwari system. Secondly, it is secured from all loss arising from

unequal land tax. Thirdly, the revenue will not depend upon the correct assessment of the cultivation. Fourthly, the charge of collection will be considerably decreased. The petition pointed out that a lighter and a more reasonable assessment would ensure a much larger cultivation and thereby the revenues of the government would be increased.³

The petition next pointed out the other grievance of the people arising out of the imposition of a vexatious impost called *moturpha* or tax upon trade and occupations. It was imposed even on 'the most trifling articles of trade.' In addition to *moturpha* there were other imposts to raise what was called extra revenue. Poor people were forced to pay taxes for getting certain privileges like cutting junglewood, grazing cattle in forests, and even for collecting cowdung or cutting grass used in thatching. The "poorest of the poor" were forced to pay taxes. The petition wanted the abolition of *moturpha* and other vexatious imposts.⁴

The next grievance to which the attention of the government was drawn was the salt monopoly, which was introduced by the East India Company to raise revenue. The government began to auction the manufacture of salt to contractors. This resulted in the abnormal increase in the price of salt. The petition wanted the abolition of salt monopoly. It also wanted that the government should stop producing arrack in its distilleries as the consumption of spirituous liquors had increased and was ruining the poor.⁵

The petition next pointed out the inefficiency and corruption in the public works department. It pointed out that the canals, reservoirs and other irrigational works were not kept in good repair. This has resulted in the decline of agriculture. The petition opposed the practice of the government in entrusting the construction of irrigational works to the revenue officials like Tahsildars. These officials who had no knowledge of engineering not only delayed the construction of works, but also misappropriated the funds. The petition also pointed out the inadequate attention paid by the government to the construction of roads. Less than one per cent of the revenue of the government was spent for this purpose. The petition criticised the government for forcing the poor ryots to construct roads at their own expenses.

The next grievance pointed out in the petition was the administration of the law courts. Many of the judges were without any

3. Petition of the Madras Native Association, 1861, to the Governor of Madras. Quoted as Document No. 45 in *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol. I, 1800-1905, Ed. by M. Venkatarangaiah, Hyderabad, 1966, pp. 195-202.

4. *ibid.*

5. *ibid.*

legal training. They were drafted from the revenue department. The petition wanted the appointment of judges who had good grounding in law so that they could discharge their duties impartially.

The petition wanted that the police be made a separate department. The police, as they happened to be under the revenue department were drafted to assist the officials in the collection of revenue, neglecting their immediate duty of providing security to the lives and property of the people.

Finally, the petition wanted the abolition of the I.C.S. and the appointment of Indians to the higher positions in the bureaucracy.

Administration

By 1856 Andhra had eight collectorates. They were: (1) Ganjam, (2) Visakhapatnam, (3) Godavari, (4) Krishna (Machilipatnam), (5) Nellore, (6) Bellary, (7) Cuddapah, and (8) Kurnool.

The northernmost collectorate was that of Ganjam. It consisted of the present Ganjam district of Orissa and Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. The Ganjam district which formed part of the Chicacole Circar came under the British control in 1766. The district was divided into two geographical regions—the plains and the hills. The hill region inhabited by tribals was administratively known as the agency area. By the Act of 1839, the Collector of Ganjam exercised power over the Agency area as an Agent of the Governor. For purposes of revenue the district had two distinct areas viz. the Zamindari tract and the Ryotwari and Inam tract.

The district experienced political disturbances in 1813 and 1832. Pindaris raided the district in the thirties. The Khonds and other tribals rose in revolt and it was put down with a heavy hand by George Russell in 1836. Towards the end of the last century there was another tribal insurrection under the leadership of Korra Mallayya. The rapacity of the money-lenders and tradesmen of the plains and the corruption and the haughty behaviour of the officials provoked the Girijans to rise in revolt against the Government. The revolt was put down and Mallayya was arrested and taken to prison where he died subsequently.

The Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts also contained Agency areas. The Godavari district came under the control of the East India Company in 1766 when it acquired the Northern Circars. In 1802 the two collectorates at Rajahmundry and Kakinada were united into the district of Rajahmundry. When the Crown tookover the administration, the district of Rajahmundry, Machilipatnam, and Krishna were re-organised into two districts of Godavari and Krishna. Bhadrachalam Taluk was added to the Godavari

district in 1874 from the Central Province.

The majority of the people of Andhra depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Rice was the principal cereal crop. The Company did not pay much attention to the development of agriculture. Only towards the end of its rule it constructed anicuts over the Godavari and Krishna rivers. Due to the untiring efforts of Sir Arthur Cotton an anicut across the Godavari river at Dowaleshwaram was completed in 1849. It brought immediate prosperity to the district which had suffered acutely from a severe famine in 1833. Similarly, the anicut which was constructed over Krishna at Vijayawada in 1854 brought prosperity to the district.

When the Crown took over the administration it did not evince much interest for the development of irrigational works. The only important irrigational work it undertook in Andhra was the construction of Kurnool-Cuddapah canal.

The general condition of the ryots was miserable under Crown's administration due to high incidence of taxation and defective tenancy laws. More than a third of the cultivated area was under the zamindari tenure. Rents payable by the ryots was not fixed and they were liable to be evicted by the zamindars at any time. Before 1884, there was no legislation protecting the tenants of the zamindars. In the Ryotwari area the condition of the tenants was in no way better. Even though the survey and settlement work was completed before 1885, no attempt was made to levy tax on land by taking into consideration the fertility of the soil, expenses of production and the course of prices. The taxes on the ryots were so heavy that *Lokaranjani*, a Telugu Journal, complained in October, 1875 that the ryots were better off under the Company's administration than under the Crown.

As a result of the Government's indifference towards the ryots Andhra, suffered frequently from famines.

Famines

Andhra suffered from severe famines in the nineteenth century. The most severe famine commonly known as the Ganjam famine occurred during the years 1865-66. In the early decades of the 19th century Ganjam district experienced famines during the years 1799-1801 and 1836-39. These famines were partly due to the political disturbances in the district. The famine of 1865-66 cannot be ascribed to political disturbances. It occurred because of speculation. When America was involved in a civil war during the years 1861-65, Great Britain imported raw cotton from India. As a result the price of cotton increased. The ryots of the Ganjam district took advantage of the situation and grew cotton. They earned good profits.

But after the end of the American Civil War American cotton began to be imported into England, and the market was glutted with cotton. This resulted in the fall of cotton prices. The ryots of Ganjam who had staked everything to reap huge profit suddenly became paupers. There were no buyers for their cotton. All their investments went into the drain. Not only that, rice became scarce, since cotton was grown on the fields where previously paddy was cultivated. The scarcity of rice, hit all sections of the population. Thousands of people died of starvation. Many people migrated to South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji and other distant places, as coolies.

Famines occurred in other districts also due to the lack of irrigational facilities. The Rayalaseema area became a famine-stricken area. No less than 11 famines occurred during the later half of the 19th century when, thousands of people died on roadsides in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool. Visakhapatnam district was also affected by famine, but it did not suffer like the Rayalaseema districts. As the district was linked with Krishna and Godavari districts by rail, rice was imported from two surplus districts. Rice from Bengal and Burma was also imported into the district by steamer. The district was also fortunate in having good roads connecting it with the rice producing areas of Jeypore and Central Province. As a result of the famines the population decreased in Rayalaseema, Guntur and Ganjam in the seventh and eighth decades of the last century. Famines had an effect on crime rate. Grain riots occurred in many Andhra districts and troops were sent to quell violence. The severity of the famines could have been mitigated had the government improved irrigational facilities. The government did not even formulate a famine code. Another effect of the famines was that a large number of people especially in Guntur and Cuddapah districts were converted into Christianity by the foreign missionaries who opened famine relief camps.

Decline of Handicrafts

With the advent of the Crown's rule the condition of the artisans became miserable. The different handicrafts were unable to face competition from the machine made goods and a large number of artisans were thrown out of employment. No new industries were established to absorb them. Many artisans left the country to seek employment as coolies in Burma, Malaysia and other countries.

Communication

In the field of communication not much progress was made in the construction of roads, bridges and railways. Government formulated its policy in the development of communication with the aim of strengthening the defences of the country. As the Government

feared an attack on India from the north-west, it strengthened the defences of north India by a network of roads and railways. The south was neglected. In Andhra railway construction began only in 1862 and the line between Puttur and Renigunta was commissioned in September 1862. Other lines were constructed during 1864-69 connecting Gooty with Renigunta.

From the above account it is clear that the British administration in India did nothing to implement the pledges given by the Queen in her proclamation. That is why the period between the years 1858-85 is regarded as the period of broken pledges.

Reforms of Salarjung

On 31 May 1853, the Nizam Nasir-ud-Daulah Bahadur appointed Salarjung as the *Devan* or the Chief Minister. Just at the time there was great resentment in the State against the East India Company which had forced the Nizam to part with the three rich and fertile districts of Berar, Dharashiv (Osmanabad) and Raichur to meet the expenditure of the Company's forces kept at Secunderabad and Bolarum. The loss of these three districts adversely effected the finances of the State. The Nizam, unable to meet the expenditure of the government had to pledge his jewels. The personal estates of the Nizam were mortgaged to the Arabs and Rohillas who advanced huge amounts to the Nizam. The debts of the Nizam amounted to the tune of 270 lakhs of rupees.

Salarjung felt that his first duty was to put the finances of the State on a sound footing. He effected economy in the administration by abolishing all securities and by plugging the leakage of the State revenues. By these measures and also by cutting down the expenditure on the military forces he was able to save enough funds to redeem the mortgages from the Arabs and the Rohillas.

While Salarjung was busy with his financial reforms, the political condition in the State became critical due to the outbreak of the mutiny in North India in May 1857. To complicate matters further, the Nizam, Nasir-ud-Doulah died on 16 May 1857, i.e. within a week of the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut. The new Nizam Afzal-ud-Doulah allowed Salarjung to continue in his post. Salarjung convinced the new Nizam that it would be in his interest to support the British.

After the suppression of the 1857 revolt, the British Government rewarded the loyalty of the Nizam by restoring to him in 1860, the districts of Dharashiv and Raichur. These districts which were under the control of the British since 1853 had seen better administration. Salarjung wanted to improve the administration of the Hyderabad State by copying the British administration in the

neighbouring presidencies of Madras and Bombay. In 1867 he re-organised the revenue administration by introducing what was known as the *zilabandi* system. Under this system the State was divided in 17 districts which were grouped into five divisions. The departments of public works, judiciary, education, police etc., were organised on modern lines. He has also instituted the system of paying the officials salary in cash in the place of grants of land. In order to increase the revenue of the State which was mainly land tax, he created a Land Revenue Survey and Settlement Department in 1875. Within a short period the revenue administration of the State was streamlined.

After 1859 Salarjung did not enjoy the full confidence of the Nizam and he tried to dismiss him, in 1860 and again in 1867. But the position was saved for Salarjung by the British Residents at Hyderabad. The Residents knew very well the valuable services rendered by Salarjung to the British during the critical period of 1857-1858. So Col. Davidson, the Resident at Hyderabad prevented the Nizam from dismissing Salarjung in 1860. In 1867 the position of Salarjung was saved due to the intervention of the Resident, Yule. In February 1869, the Nizam, Afzal-ud-Daulah died and was succeeded by his three-year old infant son Mir Mahaboob Ali Khan. The British Government appointed Salarjung and Ameer-e-Kabir Bahadur as Co-regents during the minority of the Nizam. This arrangement gave Salarjung freedom of action. He became for all practical purposes the sole administrator. He utilised his position to improve the administration of the State.

Education

In order to get trained personnel to run the administration of the State, Salarjung introduced a number of reforms in the field of education. A beginning was made to impart Western education in the State when Darul-ulum High School was established in 1855. The school besides imparting education in Persian and Urdu languages also taught English. No further developments were made in the field of education during the life time of the Nizam Afzal-ud-Doulah. But when Salarjung became co-regent in 1869, he established many schools for teaching English and imparting Western education. The City High School and the Chaderghat High School were established in 1870 and 1872 respectively. The School of Engineering was established in 1870 to produce the required technical staff to man the public works department. In 1873 Madrasa-e-Aliya was established for the children of the nobles. For the members of the royal family Madrasa-e-Aizza was opened in 1878. As a result of these schools, a small but very articulate intellectual elite was created in the city of Hyderabad. A few years after the death of Salarjung, the famous Nizam College was established in 1887, by merging the Intermediate classes of the Chaderghat High School with Madrasa-e-Aliya. Besides

establishing these educational institutions in Hyderabad city Salarjung rendered financial assistance to Sir Syed Ahmad in establishing educational institutions at Aligarh. Two Hyderabad officials, Wiqar-ul-Mulk and Mohsin-ul-Mulk took active part in the developing Aligarh College.

Communications

Communications of the State were improved with the completion of Hyderabad-Sholapur road and the commissioning of Madras-Bombay Railway line in 1868. The Bombay-Madras Railway line passed through the important towns of the State like Gulberga and Wadi. In 1878 the railway line connecting Hyderabad with Wadi was completed.

Public Services

In order to improve the administrative standards of the State, Salarjung recruited talented persons from all over the country. A large number of Muslims and Kayasthas of north India entered Hyderabad services. Among them Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Syed Ali Bilgrami, Mohib Hussain, Syed Mehdi Ali Mohin Mulk became famous as able administrators. From Bengal persons like Aghornath Chattopadhyaya entered the educational institution of the city. The induction of a large number of outsiders into the administration of the State later led to a friction between the local people and the outsiders. This friction led to what was known as Mulki agitation.

Judiciary

Salarjung improved the judiciary by creating a High Court and a Court of Appeal. Salarjung's regime came to an end with his death in 1883, soon after which Urdu was made the official language of the State in the place of Persian. This helped the Muslims in monopolising all the higher posts in the administration.

Salarjung by his skill and energy rendered signal service to the Hyderabad State during the critical years following the Mutiny of 1857. It was mainly due to his efforts the districts of Dharashiv and Raichur were restored to the Nizam in 1860. He made many efforts to secure the restoration of the district of Berar and also enhance the political status of Hyderabad State. When his efforts with the Government of India failed to secure the restoration of Berar, he visited England to discuss the subject with the British Government. His efforts did not succeed and he had to return India disappointed. The Government of India took a serious view of his activities in England and tried to undermine his position in the State by appointing Wiqar-ud-Omrah as the co-regent. Wiqar was the brother of the co-regent Ameer-e-Kabir who died in April 1877. He was not well

disposed towards Salarjung. When Salarjung threatened to resign, the Government of India informed him that his resignation would be accepted. Salarjung, therefore, yielded and also agreed not to raise the question of Berar till the Nizam came of age. The efforts of Salarjung to secure the restoration of Berar created a great panic in the mind of Lord Lytton. In his letter to Sir Richard Meade, the British Resident at Hyderabad, Lord Lytton confessed that :

The intrigues of Sir Salarjung was regarded by me as the greatest danger to which the British power in India was exposed during my Viceroyalty,—a danger for greater than any which was involved in war or famine.

That danger was imminent, and if the gravity of which remained unknown to the public and to parliament it is because it was unostentatiously but effectually averted and its recurrence rendered impossible by the skill and courage with which you most ably carried out your onerous instructions in dealing with it.⁶

Public Awakening in Hyderabad

After the death of Salarjung I on 8 February 1883 some changes were made in the administration of the State. Mir Laik Ali Khan, the son of Salarjung I and Raja Narendra Bahadur were nominated as the joint administrators of the State. They were assisted by a Council of Regency which consisted of the prominent noblemen of the State. The Nizam presided over the Council. Soon after the constitution of the Regency Council, the State was rocked by an agitation known as 'The Chanda-Railway Scheme'. It was already noted that the Railway line connecting Hyderabad with Wadi was commissioned in 1878. A British Company proposed to take over this line from the State and extend it to Vijayawada on one side and the Chanda on the other. The scheme was approved during the last days of Salarjung's administration. It however, came to be implemented during the term of the Council of Regency. Under the Scheme, the State Government of Hyderabad agreed to guarantee certain interest to the British Company which raised the necessary funds for the project. The details of the scheme were not made public. It was rumoured that the scheme was unremunerative and would result in a heavy financial loss to the State. By 1880 a small but very articulate intellectual elite had grown up in Hyderabad which used to take lively interest in public affairs. When the scheme for the extension of the railway lines in the State was announced, the educated citizens of Hyderabad formed "the Committee to Consider the Chanda Railway Scheme." Two important members of the committee

6. *General Sir Richard Meade and the Feudatory States of Central and Southern India*, Thornton, p. 351.

were Dr Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Principal of the Hyderabad College and Mulla Abdul Qayum. The committee requested the government to place before the public the full details of the scheme. For the first time such a request was made to the government which functioned in a high handed manner. The request was too much for the Regency Council. The immediate result was that Dr Chattopadhyaya was suspended from service and deported from the State on 20 May 1883. With the deportation of Dr Chattopadhyaya the agitation collapsed and the scheme was implemented. The deportation of Dr Chattopadhyaya created a stir in and outside the State and important papers like the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette* gave much publicity to the incident. Two years later, in 1885, Dr Chattopadhyaya was permitted to return to Hyderabad and assume the post of Principal of Nizam College. The Chanda Railway Scheme agitation was the beginning of the growth of public awakening in Hyderabad.⁷

Rampa Rebellion 1879

Hyderabad State was free from all political disturbances after the suppression of the great mutiny in 1857-58. However, in 1879, the two revolts which broke out at Rampa and Rekapalle in the Godavari district of the Madras Presidency had their effects on the Khammam district of the Hyderabad State.

Rampa was a small village in the Chodavaram division of the Godavari district, while Rekapalle was a village in the Bhadrachalam Taluq of the same district. In 1879 rebellion broke out in these two villages for entirely different reasons.

The area round the Rampa village formed part of the Agency tract of the Godavari district. In 1813 the Company formulated the revenue settlement of the area. The chief of the area who was responsible for the maintenance of law and order was known as *Mansabdar*. The Mansabdar was assisted by a number of *Muttadars* or subordinate hill-chiefs. Trouble in Rampa region started as early as 1835 when the Mansabdar Ramabhupati Dev died leaving a daughter and an illegitimate son named Madhavati Rambhupati Dev. The Muttadars recognised the daughter as the heiress. She announced that she would remain unmarried, but in 1840 she was driven out of the village when her chastity was suspected. The Madras Government took over the estate and placed it under court of wards. In 1848 the estate was handed over to Madhavati Rambhupati Dev, the illegitimate son of the former Mansabdar. The Muttadars agreed to accept the new Mansabdar, provided he agreed not to extract more rents from them.

7. *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad, Vol. II, 1857-1885*, Hyderabad, 1956.

Within a short time, the new Mansabdar indulged in series of provocative acts. He began to occupy the lands of the Muttadars and oppressed them in various ways. The police and the local officials connived his activities since he bribed them. When the tribals revolted, it was crushed down with a heavy hand by the police. The Mansabdar became so haughty that he confiscated the lands of the eight Muttadars. He also imposed unauthorised taxes on persons collecting fuel from the forests, and grazing their cattle. From these unlawful levies he derived considerable amount of revenue. He made the people believe that all his actions had the sanction of the government. The higher officials were completely ignorant of the discontent of the tribals as the local officials never informed the higher authorities of the depredations of the Mansabdar.

This discontent of the tribals increased when the government introduced new *abkari* regulations preventing the tribals from tapping toddy for domestic purposes. The right of tapping toddy was auctioned to highest bidders. The toddy contractors allowed the tribals to draw toddy only after paying a fee called *Chigurupannu*. The Mansabdar imposed an additional levy called *Modalu-pannu* at the rate of one-half or two-thirds of *Chigurupannu*. These two levies were the immediate cause of the Rampa rebellion of 1879. Another contributing cause was the unpopularity of the police who had assisted the toddy contractors and the Mansabdar in collecting these levies.

Insurrections broke out in 1879 and it extended over an area of 5,000 miles in the hilly and jungle tracts. The government deployed as many as six regiments of Madras Infantry, two companies of Sappers and Miners and a squadron of cavalry and a wing of infantry from the Hyderabad contingent.

The leader of the insurgents were Chandrayya, Sardar Jangam Pulicanta Sambayya, Karu Tammanna Dora and Ambul Reddi of Boduluru. Sambayya was arrested as early as 29 April 1879. Chandrayya, however, scored many successes in the Yellavaram division at the beginning of May and succeeded in burning Addatigala Police Station. The disaffection spread to Rekapalle and Dutcharti. It was also rumoured that the hill tribes of Polavaram would join the insurgents. So the government moved troops from all sides. The northern and eastern parts of Rampa country were occupied by the sepoy and military posts were established along the banks of the Godavari and Saveri (Sabari). At the same time Sullivan, First Member of the Board of Revenue visited the district to ascertain the real cause of the trouble and suggest remedial measures. The Mansabdar was deposed and the Muttadars were promised direct dealing with the government. These measures defused the situation. By August 1879 as many as 70 of Chandrayya's men had been captured and Rampa area was comparatively quiet.

Rekapalle was also pacified about the same time. The apprehended rising in Polavaram did not take place. Ambul Reddi was captured in November 1879 and Chandrayya was killed in 1880. By November 1880 order was restored.

Rekapalle Rebellion

Rekapalle joined the Rampa rebellion in 1879 and gave much trouble to the government. The causes of the rising were quite different from those of the Rampa. When that area was under Central Province administration *podu* cultivation was unrestricted and the assessment on it was four annas an axe. When the area was included in the Madras Presidency in 1874, the Madras Government increased the tax by three times as it wanted to discourage *podu* cultivation since it resulted in deforestation. The government had also prohibited the felling of certain species of trees in reserved forest area. These new taxes and restrictions were considered a grievance. The Rampa rebel leaders exploited these grievances of the people of Rekapalle and instigated them to revolt. On 10 July 1879, the Rampa rebels under Ambul Reddi assisted by the tribals of Rekapalle attacked Vaddegudem Police Station. The attack failed. But the rebels succeeded in capturing a police patrol party. There upon the government sent an armed force and pacified the area. By September order was restored. Rekapalle was disturbed again in October 1880 when Tammanna Dora looted some of the villages. But the government restored law and order within a short time.

The revolts at Rampa and Rekapalle were not of very serious nature and did not pose a grim challenge to the British authority in India.

The Awakening of Andhra

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of new stirrings in the minds of the Andhras. With the establishment of the University of Madras in 1857 higher education in Andhra began to make much progress. In 1843 the Church Missionary Society under the leadership of Rev. Noble started a School at Machilipatnam for imparting Western education. In 1864 it was upgraded as a college. In 1873 the Government of Madras started a second grade college at Rajahmundry. It was made a Degree College in 1877. In 1878 the Hindu College (the present Mrs A.V.N. College) was established at Visakhapatnam. In 1879 the Khallikota College was established at Berhampur. The spread of English education in Andhra especially in the coastal districts created a new class of elite imbued with liberalism of the West. They felt suffocated in the orthodox set-up of Hindu society of the time. They gave up their attitude of uncritical deference to authority, tradition and custom and became pioneers of social and political reform movements.

Social Reform : Role of Kandukuri Veeresalingam

In the field of social reform in Andhra, Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919) stands foremost. He dedicated his life to the upliftment of women especially widows. His activities were not limited to social reform alone, but were extended to other fields also. In 1874, he established a journal *Vivekavardhini* for propagating his reforms in the social and literary field. He established separate journals for women called *Satihitabhodini* and *Hasyavardhini*. He led an untiring crusade against caste-system, child-marriage and institutionalisation of prostitution.

His literary activities were varied. He wrote the first novel in Telugu *Rajasekhara Charitram*. He was the first to render drama into Telugu. The first Telugu books on natural sciences and history were written by him. He was the first to write in prose for women. In fact, he was the father of renaissance movement in Andhra.

Growth of Journalism

The period 1858-1905 saw the rise of Telugu journalism. The first Telugu journal *Satyadoota* was published by the Christian Association of Bellary. Some scholars, however, regard *Vrittantiny* (a weekly published from Madras) as the first Telugu journal. By 1905 as many as 20 journals were published in Telugu. Amongst them the most popular were *Andhra Prakasika*, *Sasilekha*, *Krishna Patrika*, *Vivekavardhini*, *Deshabhimani* and *Rasikollasini*. They boldly criticised the Government for its failure in administration. They also helped the spread of new ideas of nationalism and democracy.

The spread of education and the rise of Telugu journalism accelerated the pace of public life in the the coastal districts. Many associations were formed for political and other purposes. On 16 May 1884 the Madras Mahajana Sabha was formed with P. Rangaiah Naidu as the President and P. Anandacharyulu as the Secretary. Many delegates from the Telugu districts attended the first conference of the Sabha. Among the literary association, the Coconada Literary Association was the most prominent. It took lively interest in public affairs and submitted two memorandums to the Secretary of State for India, praying that a limit of age fixed for the Civil Service examination may be raised. When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 at Bombay, a number of delegates from Berhampur, Machilipatnam, Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur attended it. The prominent among them being P. Rangaiah Naidu, P. Anandacharyulu and N. Subbarao Pantulu. Twenty one delegates from Andhra attended the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1886. P. Anandacharyulu presided over the Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1891. The other prominent Andhras who took part in the deliberation of the Congress were P. Rangaiah Naidu, A.C. Parthasarathi Naidu the Editor of *Andhra Prakasika* and Nyapati Subbarao of Rajahmundry.

The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 gave impetus to the establishment of various district associations. In 1892, the Krishna District Association was formed. It was the first of its kind not only in the Madras Presidency but probably also in India.¹ Ramaswamy Gupta, an active member of the Indian National Congress organised the Krishna District Conference at Guntur (which was then part of the Krishna district) in July 1892. The Second Conference took place at Machilipatnam in June 1893. In 1894 the ryots of Krishna held a conference at Eluru (which was also then in Krishna district) to protest against the enhancement of water rate and refused to cultivate their lands unless water rates were reduced. However, real political awakening in Andhra did not emerge until 1905 when 'Vandemataram' and 'Swadeshi Movement'

1. Bapincedu, M., *Andhra Sarvasvamu*, Rajahmundry, 1961, p. 459.

shook the entire country.

Political awakening in Telengana was very slow compared to the Andhra region. This is not surprising since Hyderabad State like most of the native States in India was an autocracy. It paid little attention to the welfare of the people. Moreover, the ruler being a Muslim made Urdu the language of administration and medium of instruction in educational institutions. The Government did not allow even the private institutions to impart education in the language of the people. The people of the State did not have even the elementary rights of citizenship. The condition of the agricultural tenants was deplorable. The big landlords known as *Maktedars* and *Pattedars* subjected their tenants to serfdom and slavery known as *baghela* and *vetti chakiri* (Begari).

Naturally in that suffocating atmosphere, Telugu language and culture suffered very much. At this critical juncture Kommaraju Lakshmana Rao established at the Hyderabad City 'Sri Krishnadevaraya Andhra Basha Nilayam' in 1901. It was the first Telugu library in Telengana. The efforts of Lakshmana Rao bore fruit due to financial and moral support given by N. Venkata Ranga Rao, the Raja of Munagala and Ravichettu Ranga Rao, a Mansabdar of Hyderabad. The other Telugu libraries like 'Sri Rajaraja Andhra Basha Nilayam' and 'Andhra Samvardhini Grandhalayam' were established in 1904 and 1905 at Hanumankonda and Secunderabad respectively. In 1906 Lakshmana Rao established 'Vignana Chandrika Grandha Mandali' at Hyderabad to publish popular literature in Telugu in sciences and humanities. The Mandali has to shift its headquarters to Madras in 1908 as the Nizam government suspected it of subversive intentions. Lakshmana Rao thus laid the foundation for the cultural revival of Telengana and also revived cultural contacts between Andhra and Telengana regions.

The National Movement in India acquired a new vigour and momentum with the opening of the twentieth century. Till 1905 the Congress confined its activities to submit petitions to the Government praying constitutional reforms. It wanted the abolition of the Indian Council, expansion and reform of the legislatures at the Centre and the provinces, holding simultaneously I.C.S. examination both in England and India, relaxation of Arms Act, etc. The Congress leaders who had full faith in British liberalism felt frustrated when the irresponsive British bureaucracy paid little heed to prayers and petitions of the Congress. A section of the educated community under the leadership of Balgangadhar Tilak began to develop a new spirit of opposition to the Government. Tilak stimulated national spirit in Maharashtra by organising annual Ganesh festivals and by reviving the cult of Shivaji.

The spirit of unrest and discontent voiced by Tilak soon

spread to other parts of the country including Andhra. One cause that had stimulated the Indian national spirit was the resounding victory of Japan over Russia. Indians gained confidence that someday they could become free. In Andhra, the victory of Japan created an interest in that country. Adipudi Somanatha Rao, a well-known social reformer of the day wrote the history of Japan in Telugu and dedicated it to Raja of Munagala. Sriram Virabrahmam wrote a drama in Telugu called *Japaneeyamu*. The Raja of Munagala named his sons as 'Togo' and 'Nogi' after the Japanese Commanders of the navy and army respectively.²

The most important event that gave a new dimension to our national struggle was the partition of Bengal in 1905, on the ground of administrative convenience. The real reason was to break the solidarity of the Bengali intelligentsia and to create Hindu-Muslim rift.

In the original scheme for partition of Bengal there was also a proposal to unite Oriya speaking areas under one administration. This involved the separation of the Ganjam district and the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts from the Madras Presidency. Andhras opposed the partition of Bengal and also the proposed separation of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts from the Madras Presidency. Andhras were not opposed to the unification of Oriya territories as such, but only to the inclusion of the Telugu areas of the Ganjam district in the proposed Orissa province. The National Congress passed a resolution in December 1903 opposing the partition of Bengal and also the separation of Ganjam and other areas of the Madras Presidency. The Government of Madras also expressed its opposition to the separation of its northern districts. Important newspapers like *The Hindu*, *The Madras Standard*, *Swadesamitran* and *Shams-ul-Akbar* also voiced their opposition to the separation of Ganjam and other areas. Sir Andrew Fraser Lt. Governor of Bengal also opposed the transfer of Ganjam district and other areas of Madras Presidency on the ground that the Telugus in those areas formed a good percentage of the population and the necessity of administering to the interests of these large population would give rise to immense difficulties even under Bengal. Noticing the universal opposition to the transfer of Ganjam and other areas, the Government of India dropped the proposal with the following observation :

It is shown that the transfer would give rise to serious difficulties in connection with linguistic and racial condition and the geographical confrontation of the tract in question, that it would greatly complicate and confuse its judicial arrangements and

2. Kaleswara Rao, Ayyadevara, *Na Jeevitha Katha, Navya Andhramu*, Vijayawada, p. 85.

that it would place the administration of peculiar land revenue system in the hands of officers who would have no acquaintance with the principles on which it is based or with the language in which the bulk of its records are and must continue to be maintained.³

After the formation of the province of Bihar and Orissa, the Oriya leaders of Ganjam continued to agitate for the amalgamation of Ganjam and other areas of the Madras Presidency in the new province. The Government of India stated in 1912 that the proposed union was "unnecessary and undesirable." The Oriya leaders approached Sir Arthur Lawley and Lords Carmichael and Pentland and were informed that the question would not be re-opened. In 1920, Sachchidananda Sinha moved a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly in favour of the amalgamation of the Oriya tracts. The Government of India promised an enquiry and the resolution was not pressed.⁴

The Vande Mataram Movement in Andhra

With the partition of Bengal in 1905, the freedom struggle of the country entered a new stage. In Bengal under the dynamic leadership of Surendranath Banerjee a strong movement was launched to pressurise the Government to annul the partition. Picketing of shops and bonfire of foreign goods became the order of the day. The movement was popularly known as the Swadeshi Movement. New leaders like Balgangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal appeared on the national scene and placed before the people the ideal of *swaraj* or freeing the country from the foreign rule. The entire country reverberated with the cries of 'Vande Mataram', the immortal hymn of the mother land, composed by the great Bengali writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. To the Government it was like a red rag to the bull.

During the years 1906-11 Andhra politics were shaped by the Vande Mataram movement and its ideals. In 1906, in Madras, an Industrial Association was started by the leading citizens to propagate the ideal of *swadeshi* and for the sale of Swadeshi articles. A Swadeshi League was also started. It deputed Nyapathi Subbarao and K. Venkataramana Rao, an advocate and a journalist to tour Andhra to popularise Swadeshi. In Kurnool subscriptions were collected to send a student to Japan for learning glass making. The arrest of Surendranath Banerjee in 1906 while attending a conference at Barisal in Bengal created quite a stir in the country. In several Andhra towns like Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Vijayanagaram and

3. Government of India., Census 1961, *District Census Handbook, Srikakulam District*, Hyderabad, 1966, p. xxv.

4. *ibid.*

Gooty protest meetings were held. It was in that meeting that made the slogan 'Vandemataram—Manade Rajyam, and the song 'Vandemataram' popular in Andhra.

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 first visited Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam. But he did not make any impact on the people of these towns. He next visited Kakinada on 17th and delivered two lectures, the first on Vedanta and the second on Swaraj. He spoke of Swaraj as the national ideal and boycott as the instrument for achieving it.

Pal stayed in Rajahmundry from April 19 to 24 and delivered five lectures. He received tremendous ovation at that place which is the cultural centre of Andhra. It was also politically very active. The youth of the town in February 1907 founded an association called Bala Bharathi Samiti for promoting the Swadeshi Movement. Prominent men of the place like Ganti Lakshmana, Tanguturi Srimulu (brother of Andhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasam), Kanchumarti Ramachandra Rao and Chilakuri Veerabhadra Rao were associated with it. The Karanam of Rajahmundry, Gunneswara Rao was also an active member of the Samithi. Pal besides delivering lectures on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and the Brahma Samaj opened the Godavari Swadeshi stores. Gunneswara Rao presented him Rs 1,000 as a donation for the opening of a national school at Rajahmundry which was to be affiliated to the Bengal Council of National Education.

From Rajahmundry Pal visited Vijayawada where he was the guest of the Raja of Munagala. There he addressed two meetings. At the first he spoke on "Vedanta and message of Freedom." At the second he spoke on Swadeshi.

Pal proceeded to Machilipatnam from Vijayawada. There he received an enthusiastic welcome and thousands of people attended his meetings. He spoke on Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Swaraj. In his last lecture on the "Matrumurthi" he explained the origin and the meaning of 'Vandemataram' and the esoteric meaning of the worship of Kali and Durga. He concluded his speech with a stirring appeal for funds in aid of the 'Andhra National Educational Committee' formed at Rajahmundry for the purpose of establishing a National School and College to help the students expelled from the Government College, Rajahmundry, for wearing Vandemataram badges.

Two good things came out of Pal's visit. One was the formation of 'Youngmen's Swaraj Samiti' and the second was the establishment of a Committee to set up a National School at Machilipatnam. In due course the Andhra Jateeya Kalasaala was formed with Kopalle Hanumantha Rao as Principal.⁵ After completing his Andhra tour Pal left for Madras on 1 May. His Andhra tour was a grand success. He electrified the political atmosphere of entire coastal Andhra. Henceforth Rajahmundry and Machilipatnam became important centres of Swadeshi movement in Andhra.

The Rajahmundry College Incident

The speeches of Pal made great impact on the students of Rajahmundry. They expressed their national feelings by wearing Vandemataram badges and greeting one another with slogan "Vandemataram". Mark Hunter the Principal of the Arts and Training College, like other Englishmen of the time attached much political significance to Vandemataram. On 19th March 1907, i.e. about a month before Pal's arrival in Rajahmundry, he convened a meeting of the students and forbade them from wearing Vandemataram badges or shouting the slogan Vandemataram.

One of the students of the Training College, Gadicherla Hari Sarvothama Rao, presented an address to Pal on 24 April. Hunter wanted to teach a lesson to the students for defying his orders. So out of the total strength of 222 students of the College he debarred 138 from taking an examination for two years. The Governor-in-Council approved the action of the Principal. Hari Sarvothama Rao was debarred from employment as a teacher in any government or aided school. Later he was debarred from employment in any government office. Hari Sarvothama Rao entered public life and made a significant contribution to the library movement and adult education. The Rajahmundry college incident marked the beginning of Andhra student participation in the freedom struggle of the country.

The Vandemataram movement apart from quickening the political awakening in Andhra also led to the establishment of national educational institutions and Swadeshi stores. Many youngmen went to Japan for industrial training. Another off-shoot of the movement was the establishment of secret terrorist societies in different parts of the country. But in Andhra the terrorists did not make much impact. Darsy Chenchaiyah was the only Andhra who joined the Gadhar party but he did not stay in it for long.

The Vandemataram and Swadeshi Movement began to lose their momentum by 1910. From that year onwards the moderates

5. *The Hindu*, (Madras), 11-5-1907.

were in ascendancy. Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo who had led the extremist nationalist movement were no longer in the picture. Tilak was imprisoned at Mandalay, Pal was also imprisoned while Aurobindo settled down in Pondicherry, and took to spiritual life. In Andhra also the political leadership came into the hands of moderates like Konda Venkatappaiah and B.N. Sarma.

The Birth of the Andhra Movement

The Psychological Background

The Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements created among the Andhras a lively interest in their language, literature and their past history. In 1910, the Vignana Chandrika Mandali published *Andhrula Charitramu* (History of the Andhras). The work proved to be very popular. Andhras realised that in the days gone by they were not behind the other people in India in the extent of their kingdoms, their intellectual attainments or their civilisation.

While realising their past greatness, Andhra became keenly aware of their contemporary backwardness. Even though the Telugu districts accounted for 40 per cent of the people and 58 per cent of the territory of the Madras Presidency, Andhra had no effective voice in the politics of the region. The realisation of their backwardness became all the more galling when they had to hear the taunting remarks of the Tamils. A Tamilian on his way to Madras from an Andhra town remarked to a fellow Andhra passenger that "the Telugus are a backward race, they have no brains, and they have never had men like our Bhasyam Aiyengar or Muthuswamy Aiyer."¹ This created an interest among the Telugus to know their real position in the civil services of the Presidency.

During the second half of April 1911 a correspondent contributed a series of six articles to *The Hindu* on "the present position of the Telugu people." In those articles he pointed out with the help of facts and figures that the Telugus were a backward people since their number in the civil services of the Madras Presidency was very low. In the cadre of Presidency appointments there were only 8

1. Quoted in "Are the Telugus a backward people?" *The Hindu* (Madras), 15 April 1911.



Telugus as compared to 56 non-Telugus. In the judiciary there was not even a single Andhra holding the position of a district judge even though there were as many as 19 non-Telugu district judges.² The correspondent also pointed out that the educational institutions in Andhra towns like Bapatla, Machilipatnam, Narasapuram, Rajahmundry, Visakhapatnam and Parlakimedi were headed by the non-Telugus. He blamed the Andhra leaders for this sorry state of affairs. Though he did not openly advocate the creation of a separate Andhra province, it was clear from his article that the Andhras should hope to better their position only in a separate province of their own.

Just two months before the publication of these articles *Deshabhimani*, an Anglo-Telugu weekly of Guntur in a big editorial of three columns strongly urged a separate political conference of the Andhras in order to create solidarity among the Telugu people and to discuss their special wants.³ The editorial in the *Deshabhimani* and articles in *The Hindu* created a great stir among the Andhras. They became apprehensive of their future in the Madras Presidency. By the end of 1911 the advocates of a separate Andhra province became numerous. In December 1911 a correspondent wrote to the *Deshabhimani* that :

The Telugu talent is fast dying out. It is the duty of the government to see that it does not become extinct ere long. It can be nurtured only when the Telugu people are placed under a separate government.⁴

Within a week of the publication of this letter another correspondent, C. Seshagiri Rao made a forceful plea for the creation of separate Andhra province. In a series of articles to *Deshabhimani* he pointed out the importance of the language in the development of a race :

Language is the vehicle of thought. A common language helps the free flow of ideas among men and unites them in a common bond of love and attachment. The growth of good literature in a language is simultaneous with the progress of the people speaking the language. But everything depends upon the environment, which is able to stimulate its growth.⁵

So far as the Andhras were concerned he felt that the environment was not conducive to their development since "Madras, the capital of the Presidency, of which our Andhra country forms a part

2. *ibid.*

3. *Deshabhimani* (Guntur), 4 February 1911.

4. Letter of N. Narayana Rao to *Deshabhimani*, 21 December 1911.

5. Letter of C. Seshagiri Rao to *Deshabhimani*, 26 December 1911.

is situated outside the skirts of the Telugu country." Further the Andhras labour under a double disadvantage. The British officers who rule over them have very little knowledge of Telugu. Their subordinates mostly non-Telugus have very little acquaintance with the Telugu language or the people. As such the grievances of the Telugus are not brought to the notice of the government.⁶ He felt that :

The Andhra cannot become a great race unless they are given opportunities which stimulates growth. So long as the Andhras are only one among many in the southern presidency they cannot progress. They must have an individual existence and must make their existence felt by others. If they are to be as progressive as either Bengalies or Maharattas they must be given the same opportunities to develop...The most essential thing is to have a separate province for the Telugus and locate the capital in the Centre of the Telugu districts.⁷

He concluded his letters with the hope that the Telugu journals would take up the question in the right earnest and give out their opinion on the matter. He also pleaded that the Conference of Krishna and Guntur Districts should discuss the question and pass resolution to that effect.⁸

His letters had the desired effect. Important Telugu newspapers like the *Andhra Patrika* of Bombay and the *Krishna Patrika* of Machilipatnam supported the demand and the movement for Andhra province gained fresh strength in 1912. *Deshabhimani* felt that mere desire will not result in the formation of a separate province. It suggested ways and means of achieving it :

It must be expressed in a way as to make the rulers feel the justice of our cause. Agitations must be started all over the land. Meetings must be held. Conferences must discuss the question in right earnest and an influential deputation consisting of representatives of the Andhra Community must wait upon the Government. We urge our District Association to pass a resolution about this necessary step and place the same for the consideration of the ensuing Krishna-Guntur Conference. We hope that the Telugu papers will not play the Rip Van Winkle and that they busy themselves less with the Imperial and World-wide politics than the immediate interest affecting the well being of the Andhra country. The Telugu papers are generally reticent about the question, either because they are not fully alive to a sense of their duty or though conscious they

6. *ibid.*

7. *ibid.*, 28 December 1911.

8. *ibid.*, 30 December 1911.

join with Hamlet in saying "To act or not to act, that is the question."

In this respect we have to learn a lesson from our Biharee brethren. With remarkable energy and enthusiasm they are urging both in press and platform with a characteristic vehemence, for having for their province a Seperate High Court, separate University, etc. May our Andhra brethren shake off their lethargy and aspire for a rightful place in the onward march of India.⁹

As a result of the wide discussion in the press the subject of the formation of a separate Andhra province came up for consideration, for the first time, at the joint conference of Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts held at Nidadavolu in May 1912 under the presidency of V. Ramadas. The resolution on the subject was ruled out of order by the President. C. Narasimha Rao, one of the delegates to the conference felt that a subject of importance to all Andhras should not be discussed at a sectional conference. He felt that an Andhra Conference representative of all the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency should be convened. His suggestion was accepted by many delegates including Konda Venkatappaiah, who afterwards became the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. After his return to Guntur Konda Venkatappaiah discussed the subject with other important local leaders like V. Bhavanacharyulu, U. Lakshmi Narayana, C. Seshagiri Rao and J. Gurunatham. They decided to convene an All-India Conference of the Andhras. A standing committee with Konda Venkatappaiah as Secretary was formed to take the required steps in that direction. The Committee decided to hold the first Andhra Conference at Bapatla in May 1913.

Soon after the conference a lively disussion took place in the press both English and Telugu regarding the need or otherwise of a separate province. This helped to crystallize the public opinion on the subject. A correspondent to the *Krishna Patrika* felt that the time has not arrived to launch an agitation for separate Andhra province as there was mutual ill-feeling between Telugu and Tamil officials. He was afraid that the agitation for a separate Andhra province would intensify the ill-feelings. He, therefore, cautioned the Andhra who were not united to provoke the Tamils who were in power. This argument was countered by another correspondent who said that if the Tamils becom envious at the attempts of the Telugus to improve their position it will only show their meanness. If the Tamils did mischief to the Andhra without provocation, the Government will certainly take serious notice of it.¹⁰

The *Desamatha* a Telugu journal discussed the question whether

9. *Deshabhimani*, 24 February 1912.

10. *Krishna Patrika* (Machilipatnam) 21 June 1912.

Andhra could be constituted a separate province and answered in the affirmative. It felt that Andhra may not get a separate province at once, but wanted that they should persevere in their attempts for there was nothing impossible for the persevering people.¹¹

The growing demand of the Andhra for a separate province of their own produced varied reactions among the Tamils. *The Hindu* did not support the movement as "there are already too many walls of separation forbidding unification among the Indian peoples..."¹² Some Tamils tried to "vulgarise the Andhra Movement by equating it to a desire for posts." A Tamil correspondent to *The Hindu* asked :

Where will this Andhra province obtain its high officials from ? Where will it get its High Court Judges and Executive Councilors from if they are to have a province today? If they could get them from the existing material, will it be of the quality that now occupies those places ? It will be far better for the Andhras to so improve themselves as to contribute Judges and Councillors to a large province like Madras, than to have a small province of their own."¹³

Even among the Andhras there were some who did not cherish the prospect of having a province of their own. N. Subba Rao, who also afterwards became the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, opposed the demand as he felt that the proposed Andhra province would be a small one headed by a Chief Commissioner. He declared : "I for one would not care to have the new province under a Chief Commissioner and I should prefer to be under the present form of Government with Governor in Council."¹⁴

He further felt that the creation of the Andhra province would lead to similar demands by other linguistic groups.

Dr B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya countered the arguments of Subba Rao and declared: "I for one would prefer to be under a Chief Commissioner like Sir Henry Cotton, a Lieut. Governor like Sir John Hewett, Sir Anthony MacDowell or Sir James Meston, as against a Governor like Lord Landhurst or Sir Arthur Lawley."¹⁵

He also welcomed the creation of provinces for other linguistic groups. He felt that "the future map of India will indeed have to be recast in a measure which may very soon confound us and the

11. *Desamatha*, 9 October 1912.

12. Quoted by 'A Non-Entity' in his letter to *The Hindu*, 24 August 1912.

13. Letter of 'Viswamitra' to *The Hindu*, 29 August 1912.

14. Letter of N. Subba Rao to *The Hindu*, 4 February 1913.

15. Letter of Dr B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to *The Hindu*, 26 February 1913.

geography we have learnt.¹⁶

The Joint Secretaries of the Standing Committee issued a circular in September 1912 listing the subjects that might be considered at the Andhra Conference. The circular contained non-controversial subjects like the starting of an English daily to promote the interest of the Andhras, establishment of a separate university for the Andhra districts, representations to the Government to lift the ban on the enlistment of the Telugus in the army etc. The circular did not make any reference to the creation of a separate Andhra province.

The Bapatla Conference, 1913

The first Andhra Conference met at Bapatla on 26 May 1913 under the presidentship of B.N. Sarma, then a member of the Legislative Council of Madras. About 2,000 visitors and 800 delegates from the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency attended the Conference.¹⁷ Delegates from Hyderabad, Warangal and Nagpur were also present. In his presidential address, Sarma, examined the question of the formation of separate Andhra province and felt that at least for the time being the agitation might do more harm than good.

There was a heated discussion on the question of the formation of the separate Andhra province both in the subjects committee and the open conference. At the open session, V. Ramadas proposed a resolution demanding the formation of separate Andhra province. This was opposed by stalwarts like N. Subba Rao, M. Adinarayanaiah and M. Ramachandra Rao. They felt that the demand for separate Andhra were premature. After a heated discussion lasting for about three hours, the resolution was amended to the effect that the subject might be taken up for consideration at the next conference. The amended resolution disappointed many delegates from Krishna and Guntur districts who were carrying on a relentless propaganda for the separate province for two years.

The conference revealed that the delegates from Rayalaseema (western districts) and northern districts of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam were not so keen on the formation of a separate province. So a committee consisting of Konda Venkatappaiah, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, M. Krishna Rao, Editor, *Krishna Patrika* and V. Suryanarayana Rao toured Rayalaseema and addressed public meetings at Nandyal, Gooty, Anantapur, Bellary, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Nellore. They gained the impression that the people of the region were favourably inclined towards the formation of separate province.

16. *ibid.*

17. *The Hindu*, 28 May 1913.

Only the Tamil speaking lawyers of Chittoor were against it as they did not like to cut off their connections with the Madras city. Konda Venkatappaiah toured the northern districts and addressed public meetings at Berhampur, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada and Rajahmundry.

After the first Andhra Conference at Bapatla the subject of the formation of separate Andhra province came for consideration at several district conferences. At the district conference of Visakhapatnam, the President, M. Suryanarayana of Vijayanagaram, spoke in favour of it. But Gade Raghava Rao of Berhampur who presided over the Nellore district conference advocated a more cautious policy. The reason for this is obvious. Raghava Rao was anxious about the future of his native town Berhampur in case a separate Andhra province became an accomplished fact. Here it may be stated that even before the formation of Andhra province Berhampur was detached from the Madras Presidency and included in Orissa when it was made a separate province in 1936, on the ground that South Orissa lacked a suitable headquarters town, even though the town had a Telugu majority.

The second Andhra Conference (hereafter it came to be known as Andhra Mahasabha) took place at Vijayawada on 11 April 1914, under the presidentship of N. Subba Rao. The presidential address caused much disappointment and dissatisfaction among the delegates, but M. Suryanarayana moved a resolution on the need to constitute the Telugu speaking areas of Madras Presidency into a separate province. V. Ramadas supported the resolution and it was passed by an overwhelming majority.

In May 1914, the Visakhapatnam district conference was held under the presidentship of B. Venkatapathi Raju. Raju in his address observed: "I am glad to notice that at the Andhra Conference almost all leading gentlemen have agreed that the cry for a separate province is desirable and it ought to be taken up as an ideal to be attained. When once it is admitted that it is an ideal, postponement of agitation for attaining the same is foolish."¹⁸

The Guntur district conference which was held in June 1914 passed a similar resolution demanding the creation of separate Andhra Province. By the end of 1914, public opinion in Andhra was overwhelmingly in favour of a separate province.

The Third Session of Andhra Mahasabha

The Third Conference which met at Visakhapatnam in May

18. *The Madras Mail* (Madras), 19 May 1914.

1915 under the presidentship of Raja Panuganti Ramarayananingari, not only reiterated the demand for separate Andhra, but also demanded that mother tongue be made the medium of instruction in secondary schools. The Tamil daily of Madras *Swadesamitran* welcomed the resolution on the medium of instruction in secondary schools. The Andhra Mahasabha conferences popularised the habit of addressing public meetings in Telugu. The Fourth Conference of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Kakinada in May 1916 with Mocherla Ramachandra Rao as President. Ramachandra Rao, like Nyapati Subba Rao was not an ardent supporter of separate Andhra province. When C.V. Narasimha Raju of Visakhapatnam moved a resolution that "it is necessary and reasonable to constitute all the Telugu districts into a separate province with powers and complete autonomy" there was an amendment that the Government should be asked to create a separate province as early as possible after the war. The amendment was accepted.¹⁹ A.S. Krishna Rao of Nellore and Nemali Pattabhi Rama Rao of Cuddapah opposed the original resolution while Gade Raghava Rao of Berhampur who three years ago as the President of Nellore District Conference opposed the formation of separate Andhra province, now supported the resolution in favour of the province. The delegate from Anantapur A. Sankara Rao also supported the resolution.

The Fifth Session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Nellore in 1 June 1917 with Konda Venkatappaiah as President. The session proved to be stormy and brought to light the differences between Circars and Rayalaseema. From the beginning of the Andhra movement the people of Nellore and Rayalaseema were lukewarm in their support for a separate province. The people of Nellore because of their proximity to Madras city did not like to sever their connections with the metropolis which they felt would remain outside the territorial limits of Andhra. In Rayalaseema the leadership was in the hands of Tamils domiciled in the area like Kesava Pillai of Gooty (Anantapur district) and Ekambara Aiyer of Nandyal (Kurnool District). They did not like the creation of separate Andhra province as it would affect the domination of the of Tamils in Telugu districts. The Telugu leaders of Rayalaseema like Harisarvothama Rao of Kurnool supported the creation of separate Andhra province.

In the Fifth Conference the opponents of separate Andhra were determined to defeat the resolution on the Andhra province. Of the 740 delegates more than 480 belonged to Nellore district.²⁰ Fearing that the resolution would be defeated by the sheer numbers of one district Harisarvothama Rao proposed that voting should be district-wise, one vote being given to each district. The proposition was carried

19. *The Hindu*, (Madras), 11 May 1916.

20. *ibid.*, 2 June 1917

out as by the time of voting a large number of fresh delegates from the Circars joined the conference. The opponents of a separate province felt frustrated and met separately at the town hall and passed a resolution that a separate province would be desirable only if Madras city was included in it. B.N. Sarma and other leaders succeeded in removing the misunderstanding of the dissidents and they participated in the next day's session. The resolution requesting the Government to create a separate Andhra province was passed even though some prominent Nellore leaders like A.S. Krishna Rao voted against it. The amendment of the dissidents for the inclusion of Madras city in the Andhra province as its capital was rejected. But the Circar leaders realised that the support of Rayalaseema for a separate Andhra province could not be taken for granted, and that there was an urgent need to remove the fears and misunderstandings of the people of that area.

From 1916 onwards issues of national importance like a United Congress, cooperation between the Congress and Muslim League and the demand for the Home Rule came to the forefront. The Andhra leaders diverted their attention to those issues and demand for separate Andhra province receded into the background.

Formation of Separate Andhra Congress Circle

Ever since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, Andhra Congress leaders began to take active part in its deliberations. P. Anandacharyulu became the President of the Congress as early as 1891. Nyapati Subba Rao acted as the General Secretary for some years. Other Andhra leaders who used to take lively interest in Congress deliberations were V.V. Jogaiah, Gade Raghava Rao and A.P. Patro of Berhampur, B.N. Sarma of Visakhapatnam, Nyapati Subba Rao of Rajahmundry, Mocherla Ramachandra Rao and K.V. Reddi Nayudu of Eluru, A.S. Krishna Rao of Nellore, Kesava Pillai of Gooty and A.C. Parthasarathi Naidu of Madras.

When the Congress session was held at Madras in 1914 as many as 256 delegates from Andhra attended it. But no Andhra could find a place in the working committee. Moreover, there was strong opposition from the Tamils to the discussion of Andhra province question in the session. This convinced the Andhras of the need to reduce the influence of the Tamils in Andhra affairs. One N. Ekambara Aiyer of Nandyal carried on the propaganda that the question of the formation of Andhra province should not be left for the decision of the Andhra alone, but it should be taken up for consideration at the Madras Provincial Conference to be held at Nellore in May 1915. The provincial conference however, did not take up the subject into its consideration.

The activities of the Tamils convinced the Andhra leaders of the urgent need to establish a separate Telugu unit or circle of Congress so as to give the Telugus freedom of action in their affairs. The Andhra leaders began to demand the creation of Andhra circle with the Telugu districts of Madras Presidency. They cited the instances of the provinces like Bihar and Orissa which had more than one Congress circle.

The Andhra leaders intensified their efforts for securing a separate Congress circle, since they felt that in course of time the new Telugu Congress could be used as a means to achieve a separate Andhra province. The fourth session of the Andhra Mahasabha resolved to bring the matter before the All India Congress Committee. The Congress workers of Sindh also wanted a separate circle. So the AICC at its meeting held at Lucknow on 30 December 1916 referred the question of creating separate circle for Andhra and Sindh to the Provincial Congress Committees of Madras and Bombay respectively. The Madras Provincial Congress Committee which was not favourably inclined towards Andhra delayed in giving its opinion. Meanwhile other developments took place which hastened the formation of Andhra Congress circle. A pamphlet called 'Re-organisation of Indian Provinces' was widely distributed among the Congressmen all over India. The authors of the pamphlet, Konda Venkatappaiah and Dr B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya stated the Andhra case clearly and convincingly. The Home Rule League which became very popular in 1916 also advocated the formation of linguistic provinces. In spite of this Mrs Besant opposed the proposals of the Andhras at the Congress session of 1916. The subject provoked heated discussions in the subject's committee. Mahatma Gandhi felt that the question might be taken after the implementation of Reforms. Tamil leaders also strongly supported the issue as they felt that linguistic provinces were essential for the successful working of democracy in India. Dr Pattabhi also made a convincing case for separate Andhra circle with the eleven Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. On 22 January 1918 the new Andhra Congress circle came into existence with Nyapati Subba Rao as President and Konda Venkatappayya as Secretary. This was the first victory for the supporters of the Andhra movement.

The Home Rule Movement

For nine years after the Surat split the Congress was dominated by the Moderates who were content with the Morley-Minto Reforms. But within a short time the Reforms of 1909 proved to be unsatisfactory in their actual working. The power of the autocracy continued unabated behind the enlarged Legislative Councils. The dangers inherent in the separate electorates granted to the Muslims also became evident. But when the First World War broke out in 1914 the Indians rallied round the British and never tried to create an

opportunity out of England's difficulty.

In the years between the death of Gopalakrishna Gokhale in 1915 and the rise of Gandhiji to power in 1920 two associations bearing the same name—The Home Rule League—were founded for intensifying the National Movement. These were the two Home Rule Leagues founded in 1916, one by Mrs Annie Besant and the other by Tilak.

Tilak who was released from prison in 1914 was not his former self. He was content with Home Rule instead of complete Swaraj. On 28 April 1916 he established the Home Rule League and defined its objective as "attaining self-government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same."²¹

Simultaneously with Tilak, Annie Besant an Irish lady and the President of the Theosophical Society which had its headquarters at Adyar (Madras) formed another Home Rule League in Madras in September 1916. Both the leaders tried to bring about Congress unity and their efforts bore fruit in December 1916, when Tilak and the extremists joined the Congress. The year 1916 also witnessed the complete cooperation among the Congress and the Muslim League.

Besant decided to launch a Home Rule movement as she felt that agitation was "the only way of getting rid of the abysmal ignorance in England of Indian Affairs." In order to educate the public on all matters connected with Home Rule, she started an English weekly, *Common Weal* at Madras in January 1914. In July of the same year she acquired the English daily the *Madras Standard* and renamed it as *New India*. With the help of these two papers she tried to popularise the doctrine of self-government.

The Home Rule movement of Besant became very popular in Madras city and to some extent in Andhra also. To popularise the movement in the Telugu districts a separate branch of the League was formed with Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao as Secretary. The branches of the League were established in many important towns like Guntur, Vijayawada, Machilipatnam and Kakinada. Many prominent Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappayya, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, K. Nageswara Rao, K.V. Reddi Naidu joined the League. Harisarvothama Rao issued many pamphlets like the "Ideal of Home Rule" explaining the various aspects of the movement.

After the Lucknow session of the Congress, Besant undertook

21. Jog., *Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, (Bombay), p. 143.

a tour of Andhra and addressed meetings at Kakinada, Rajahmundry and Eluru. Mocherla Ramachandra Rao and other moderate leaders of Eluru took a leading part in making Besant's tour of Andhra a success. Home Rule became a central topic of discussion at various district conferences. Resolutions in favour of Home Rule were passed at the district conferences of Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. The subject came up for discussion at the Fifth Conference of the Andhra Mahasabha at Nellore. Konda Venkatappaiah in his presidential address, besides emphasising the need for early formation of an Andhra province, stressed the importance of self-government. By the middle of 1917 there were as many as fifty-two branches of the Home Rule League in Andhra.

As an auxiliary to the Home Rule movement, Besant started a National Educational Scheme. Madanapalle in Chittoor district became an important centre of her educational activity. At that place she established the National College (the present Besant Theosophical College) in May 1916 with J.H. Cousins, an Irish journalist as Principal.

To curb the growing popularity of the Home Rule movement, the Madras Government unleashed repression. It issued a circular prohibiting the students from attending political meetings. Besant was externed from Bombay, the Central Provinces and Bihar, but she continued her attack on the Government and championed Home Rule in *New India*. On 16 June 1917 the Madras Government issued an order forbidding Besant and two of her colleagues in the Home Rule, B.P. Wadia (Assistant Editor of *New India*) and George S. Arundale from participating in politics and interned them at Ooty.

The arrest of Besant and her colleagues infuriated the public of India. Meetings were held all over the country condemning the actions of the Government. The Home Rule agitation was intensified especially in the Krishna and Chittoor districts. At Machilipatnam, the staff of the Andhra Jatiya Kalasala worked enthusiastically for it. At Madanapalle, the staff of the National College conducted 'National' classes to educate the public on self-government. The Telugu press especially *Desabhimani* and *Desamatha* protested strongly against the internment. In the city of Madras a new body called 'The indignant group of the Home Rule League' was formed. The members of that body wore a Besant-pendant as a badge and took pledge to make any sacrifice for the country.

The Government, while continuing the policy of repression, tried to weaken the movement, by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. It encouraged the non-brahmins to dissociate themselves from the movement.

The All India Congress Committee and the Council of Muslim League worked a plan of securing the release of Besant and her colleagues by launching "Passive Resistance" which had been successfully tried by Gandhiji in Champaran to remove the grievances of the indigo cultivators. The activities of the Home Rule League had adversely affected the collection of war fund by the Government. This development as well as the threat of 'Passive Resistance' convinced the Government that it was not expedient to continue Besant's internment. Moreover, the Secretary of State for India, E S. Montagu felt that internment of Besant was inconsistent with the new policy he announced on 20 August 1917 in the House of Commons. So Besant and her colleagues were released on 17 September 1917. With this the Home Rule movement had practically come to an end.

Montagu's Announcement of 20 August 1917

The growing political discontent in India convinced the Government circles in Britain that the time had come to appease the public opinion in India by announcing reforms. This became all the more necessary in view of the great sacrifices made by India in men and material to the cause of Britain in the great war. Montagu felt that the Government of India was "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too anti-diluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes." So when he became Secretary of State for India he announced a change of policy in his famous declaration of 20 August 1917. In the House of Commons he stated that :

The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy, the views of local governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.²²

Montagu's declaration roused new hopes in the minds of the Andhras. They felt that the time had come to work unitedly to

22. *Montford Report*, para 6.

achieve their aspiration for separate Andhra province. By the close of 1917, the opinion in all Telugu districts crystallised in favour of the Andhra province.

In view of the impending constitutional reforms in India a special session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Vijayawada with Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao as the Chairman of the Reception Committee and C.V.S. Narasimha Raju as President. More than 1200 delegates attended the conference. All the delegates were unanimous in their support for the early formation of Andhra province. Even N. Subba Rao was in favour of a separate province. He urged the Mahasabha to send a deputation to Montagu during his visit to Madras to impress upon him the need for the early formation of Andhra province.

By another resolution the Mahasabha demanded reservation of seats to non-brahmins in the Madras Legislative Council. This was done to remove the suspicions entertained by many non-brahmins that Home Rule would benefit only the brahmins. In this connection, it may be stated that following Montagu's announcement, the Government of Madras encouraged the non-brahmins to stage more demonstrations against the Home Rule. As a result the relations between brahmins and non-brahmins in Andhra which were hitherto harmonious became somewhat strained.

Subsequent to the Andhra Mahasabha Conference the non-brahmins who favoured Home Rule met at Vijayawada under the presidentship of Ponaka Pattabhirama Reddy of Nellore district and passed resolutions which were identical with those passed at the special session of the Andhra Mahasabha. Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Choudary, Kesava Pillai, Ranganatha Mudaliar and other non-brahmin leaders took part in the proceedings.

Deputation to Montagu

In his declaration of 20 August 1917, Montagu made it clear that one purpose of his visit to India was to receive the suggestions of the representative bodies and other regarding constitutional reforms in India. But the Government of Madras declined permission to the Andhra Mahasabha, and the District Associations of Godavari and Krishna to wait in deputation on Montague. This infuriated the Andhra public and they sent a large number of telegrams to Montagu protesting the action of the Madras Government. Ultimately the Government yielded and on 20 December 1917, a twenty-seven member Andhra delegation under the leadership of

Nyapati Subba Rao met the Secretary of State and the Viceroy.* It requested the Secretary of State to concede the Andhra demand for the immediate formation of Andhra province with the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. Montagu promised to give due consideration to the Andhra demand.

The year 1917 closed with annual session of the Congress at Calcutta with Annie Besant as President. It was in this session the Andhra demand for a separate Congress circle was conceded.

Sarma's Resolution

On 6 February 1918, B.N. Sarma moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislature Council recommending to the Governor-General in Council :

(a) redistribution of provincial areas and the constitution of the provinces where necessary to secure complete success for self-governing institutions in British India;

(b) the re-arrangement of provincial areas on a language basis wherever and to the extent possible, especially where the people speaking a distinct language, and sufficiently large in numbers desire such a change.

The resolution was not well received. The members from Madras like K.V. Rangaswami Ayyangar supported it. But it did not receive the support of even non-official members like M.A. Jinnah and V.S. Srinivasa Sastri. Jinnah felt that Sarma wanted to gain cheap popularity among his people by moving the resolution. Srinivasa Sastri conceded that Andhra had a strong case for separate province but he objected to the resolution as it wanted a general reconstitution of provinces of the whole country. Surendranath Banerjee felt that the time was not opportune to form the linguistic provinces. Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he would have supported the resolution if it had been confined only to Andhra province.

* The twenty-seven members were :

- (1) Nyapati Subba Rao, (2) Mocherla Ramachandra Rao, (3) K.R.V. Krishna Rao, (4) B.N. Sarma, (5) A. Suryanarayana Rao, (6) Konda Venkatappaiah, (7) Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao, (8) Kopalle Hanumantha Rao, (9) Bogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (10) C.V.S. Narasimha Raju, (11) Gadecherla Hari-sarvothama Rao, (12) M. Umar Ali Shah, (13) Gade Raghava Rao, (14) Ch. Latcha Rao (15) Nemali Pattabhi Rama Rao, (16) Ch. Seshayya, (17) Oruganti Venkatarangayya, (18) P. Chenchayya, (19) V. Pitchayya, (20) H. Sankara Rao, (21) N. Venkata Subbaiah, (22) S.V. Narasimha Rao, (23) Ponaka Pattabhirama Reddy, (24) C. Bhaskara Reddy, (25) P. Bussa Reddy, (26) B. Ramanna, (27) Appayya.

The rejection of Sarma's resolution perturbed the Andhras. The district conferences of Krishna and Visakhapatnam felt the need to intensify the agitation for linguistic provinces. Sri Vikrama Dev Varma the Maharaja of Jeypore who presided over the Visakhapatnam Conference in the course of his address observed : "Though I am not an Andhra by birth the Andhra country and the Andhra language are like foster mothers to me. The Andhra movement has my warmest and most cordial sympathy. The recognition by the Indian National Congress of the claims of the Andhra Desa to a separate provincial organisation is in itself a happy augury for the future."²³

N. Pattabhirama Rao who had previously opposed the demand for the formation of separate Andhra province, changed his view and supported the formation of separate Andhra province while presiding over the Cuddapah district conference in 1918.

Reforms of 1919

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were announced in July 1918. The reforms did not make any change in the Government of India or in the powers of the Secretary of State. In the provinces dyarchy was introduced. The executive was divided into two halves—the Reserved Department and the Transferred Department. The 'Reserved subjects' were to be administered by the Governor with no responsibility to the legislature, the Governor being responsible only to the Central Government and Parliament. The 'Transferred subjects' were placed in charge of the Governors acting with the Ministers selected by him from the elected members of the provincial legislature.

Public meetings were held in different Andhra towns like Vijayawada and Cuddapah to express the dissatisfaction and disappointment of the people. The Vijayawada meeting felt that the reforms did not take any real step towards responsible government. A similar resolution was passed at the special district conference of Ganjam, Krishna, Nellore and Chittoor.

A special session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Guntur on 17 August 1918 under the presidentship of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao. It was attended by important political leaders like B.N. Sarma, B. Venkatapathi Raju, T. Prakasam, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, G. Harisarvothama Rao, A. Kaleswara Rao and V. Ramadas. Several members wanted the total rejection of the reforms. But B. N. Sarma wanted the acceptance of the reforms with certain modifications and additions. After a heated discussion the conference passed a resolution for implementing the reforms on the basis of Congress-League scheme which provided the supremacy of the

23. *The Hindu* (Madras), 16 May 1918.

Indian legislature in purely domestic concerns. The resolution was moved by B.N. Sarma and seconded by T. Prakasam.

The Telugu press criticised the reforms since they did not bring about any real transfer of powers into the hands of the Indians. The *Krishna Patrika* in its editorial of 13 July 1918 observed that :

A mountain has been dug and a rat has been caught. What the country has so long demanded is one and what has been offered is another. We prayed for the control of the Imperial Legislative Assembly over finance, our prayer is not granted. It looks as if some nominal reforms are offered to wipe away our tears, and the aspirations of the people have not been considered with due regard. Changes have been most admirably indicated. One cannot help admiring their diplomatic skill. All power appears to be given with the right hand, and taken away with the left. The machine has been fit with a number of wheels, but each winding backwards.....

The Congress met at a special session in Bombay on August 28-29, 1918 under the presidentship of Hasan Imam to consider the reforms. It expressed its dissatisfaction and suggested many modifications. Further, it decided to send a deputation to England to place its views before the Parliamentary Joint Committee. It was on the issue of Montford Reforms the moderates and extremists parted company for ever. The Moderates under the presidentship Surendranath Banerjee constituted themselves as a separate body known as the Indian National Liberal Federation. The Government continued its policy of repression. Thousands of people were arrested on mere suspicion. Among those arrested was Darsi Chenchayya who went to United States for higher studies and joined the Ghadr party for some time.

The First World War came to an end on 11 November 1918. The principle of self-determination for all nations proclaimed by President Wilson of United States caught the imagination of the people all over the world. Indian political leaders became anxious to know how far England would be prepared to extend the principle of self-determination to India. It was in this atmosphere the Andhra provincial Congress Committee met at Vijayawada on 8 December 1918. It felt that the next session of the Congress should be held at London and proposed to the Government to nominate Tilak as one of the delegates to the Peace Conference.²⁴

The annual session of the Congress was held at Delhi under

24. *The Hindu*, (Madras), 10 December 1918.

the presidency of Madan Mohan Malaviya. It suggested various modifications to Montford Reforms and wanted that India should be represented at the Versailles Peace Conference. It nominated Tilak, Gandhiji and Hasan Imam as representatives. Further, it resolved to send a deputation to England to present India's case.

Andhra and the Indian National Movement

The year 1919 marked an important landmark in the freedom struggle of our country. It saw the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the arena of Indian politics and he dominated the political scene till the country became free in 1947. Gandhiji was the kind of leader the country needed when the Government was arming itself with extraordinary powers to curb the rising tide of Indian Nationalism.

Rowlatt Act

In 1919 the Government passed the Rowlatt Act which gave the Executive special powers to deport individuals, to muzzle the press and to set up tribunals to try the political offenders. These repressive measures provoked criticism from all over the country. The Telugu press especially *Andhra Patrika* and *Krishna Patrika* protested vehemently against the Act. The latter journal felt that Government of India was trying to cut at the root of the fundamental rights of man. It was, however, Gandhiji's reaction to the Rowlatt Act that completely changed the political situation in the country. When Gandhiji's appeal to the Viceroy to withhold the consent to the bill was ignored he came to the fore and started the Satyagraha movement as a challenge to the Government. He asked the country to observe 6 April 1919 as a day of fasting, prayer and national humiliation. The people were asked to disobey the law by non-violent methods.

Andhra responded enthusiastically to Gandhiji's call of Satyagraha. In many towns like Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Narasapur, Eluru, Vijayawada, Guntur, Nellore and Chittoor, 6 April was observed as a day of prayer and fast. The ryots of Vijayawada taluk met at Kolavennu to protest against the Act. Though the day

passed off peacefully in Andhra it led to strikes and riots in many parts of the country. In the Punjab there were disturbances in Gujranwala and Amritsar. The Punjab government adopted a policy of stern repression. The Lt. Governor Michael O'Dwyer was determined to teach a lesson to the Punjabis and keep the province free from political agitations.

Jalianwala Bagh Massacre

On 8 April 1919 prohibitory orders were served on Gandhiji not to enter Delhi or the Punjab. Matters came to a crisis on 13 April 1919 when General Dyer ordered the troops to open fire on twenty thousand people who assembled at Jalianwala Bagh (Amritsar) in a prohibited meeting. As the military had blocked the only entrance to the Bagh the crowd had no way of escape. According to official figures 400 people were killed. Many more would have been killed if the ammunition had not been exhausted.

The Punjab atrocities sent a wave of horror throughout the country. As a protest against this gruesome incident poet Rabindranath Tagore surrendered to the Government his Knighthood with which he had been honoured. The district conferences of Ganjam, Godavari and Krishna condemned the massacre. At the Ganjam conference the question of recall of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy came up for consideration.

One important outcome of people's reaction to the martial law regime in the Punjab was the demand for a declaration of fundamental rights. T. Prakasam while presiding over the Nellore district conference in September 1919 made a pointed reference to the declaration of fundamental rights.

Khilafat Movement

After the end of the First World War, the Indian Muslims were very much agitated about the fate of Turkey which had joined Germany and fought against England and its allies. The empire of Turkey was dismembered. The humiliation inflicted on the Turkish Sultan who was the spiritual head (Khaliph) of the Islamic world shocked the religious sentiments of the Indian Muslims. They expressed their resentment against England by starting a movement known as the Khilafat Movement under the leadership of Shoukat Ali and Mohammad Ali (famous as the Ali brothers). Gandhi joined the movement and expressed his sympathy to the Muslims. He presided over the Islamic Conference at Delhi on 24 November 1919. At that conference he expounded for the first time his technique of non-violent non-cooperation.

The annual session of the Congress for the year 1919 met at

Amritsar under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru. By that time the Montford Reforms were passed into law and all the political prisoners were released so as to create a favourable atmosphere for the reception of the reforms. C.R. Das and Tilak felt the reforms to be inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and were all for their rejection. Gandhiji and Malaviya wanted to give them a fair trial. Ultimately, a compromise was arrived at. A resolution was passed expressing the opinion that the Reforms Act was inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, but at the same time it urged the Parliament to take early steps to establish full responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

Non-Cooperation Movement

The Government of India Act 1919 was passed by the Parliament to give effect to the Montford Reforms. The Act left many matters like the delimitation of constituencies, allocation of seats to different communities and districts etc. to the discretion of the Government of India. The elections to the legislature under the new Act were to take place in November 1920. So the Andhras became anxious to safeguard their interests. The Standing Committee of the Andhra Mahasabha and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee held meetings in January and February 1920 respectively. They proposed to the Government of India, that (1) the Telugu districts should be allotted not less than one-half of the total number of elected seats, (2) of two seats assigned to the University of Madras one should be reserved to the northern district, and (3) of the four seats on the Council of State allotted to the Madras Presidency two should be reserved for the Telugu districts.

In September 1920, the Special Session of the Congress was held at Calcutta. Many prominent Andhras like Konda Venkatappaiah, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, A. Kaleswara Rao, Peta Bapayya attended it. In that session Gandhiji's resolution advocating non-violent non-cooperation was accepted by an overwhelming majority. The programme of non-cooperation among other items included the renunciation of all government titles, the boycott of legislatures, law courts, and government schools and colleges. Konda Venkatappaiah was among the thirty Andhra delegates who opposed it. But he abided by the resolution and resigned his membership of the Madras Legislature.

As a result of this resolution the political situation in the country changed. Many withdrew their candidature to the legislatures and other elected bodies. Many meetings were held to boycott the elections to be held in November. At Rajahmundry a meeting was held on 28 September requesting the graduate voters not to exercise their franchise. The merchants of that place also decided not to exercise their franchise. Konda Venkatappaiah toured

several districts to see that the elections were boycotted. As a result of this propaganda very few people voted in the elections. In Guntur only 15% of votes were polled. In Rajahmundry out of a total of 120 Muslim voters only one and that too a government servant took part in the voting. At Chittoor 135 out of 534 and in Greamspet (Rural) Constituency 60 out of 500 recorded their votes.¹

As a result of the Congress boycott of elections the Justice Party which was formed to protect the interests of the non-brahmins came out successful. It won 63 out of 98 elected seats of the Madras Legislative Assembly. The first Justice Party ministry was formed on 17 December 1920 with Subbarayulu Reddiar as Chief Minister. The other ministers were P. Ramarayaningar, the Raja of Panagal and K.V. Reddi Naidu of Eluru.

In December 1920, the annual session of the Congress was held at Nagpur under the presidentship of C. Vijayaraghavachariar. At this session the creed of the Congress was changed. It laid down that "the object of the Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means" instead of "by constitutional means" the phrase previously in use. Gandhiji promised to bring Swaraj within a year through non-cooperation. Andhra enthusiastically responded to the call of Gandhiji. Guntur district took a leading part in the non-cooperation movement by organising the no-tax campaign at Pedanandipadu, forest Satyagraha at Palnad and Chiralaperala Satyagraha.

Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra

"The years 1921-31 constitute a most glorious and heroic chapter in the history of the freedom struggle in Andhra." During these years the Andhra followed Gandhiji's leadership meticulously and made splendid sacrifices for the freedom of the country. Inspired leadership was provided by eminent men like Desabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah, Andhra Ratna Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah, Andhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasam, Desoddaraka Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao, Dr Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya, etc.

The April 1921 AICC Session at Vijayawada

The All India Congress Committee met at Vijayawada on 31 March and 1 April 1921. This session was an important event in the history of modern Andhra. Thousands of people from all over the Telugu districts attended this session to have *darshana* of important national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Chitranjan Das, Mohammad Ali, Shoukat Ali, etc. At this session it was decided to collect an amount of one crore rupees for the Tilak

1. *The Hindu* (Madras), 2 December 1920.

Swaraj Fund. The session is also notable from another point of view. It was at this session that Pingali Venkaiah designed the tri-colour flag for the Congress. Gandhiji accepted it with slight modification. Subsequently, the flag with other modifications became the National Flag of our country.

After the AICC session Mahatma Gandhi undertook the tour of the coastal Andhra districts and addressed meetings at Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Eluru, Machilipatnam, Chirala, Nellore, and other places. His tour created a great impact on all people specially women who had till now not taken any interest in public affairs. Some of the women like Duvvuru Subbamma, Ponaka Kanakamma, Unnava Lakshmi-bayamma, proved to be excellent orators and political organisers. As per the direction of the AICC, Andhra joined the rest of the country in boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales. The *hartal* at Vijayawada was complete and most spontaneous.

The Chirala-Perala Struggle

One of the glorious episodes in the Freedom Movement was the Chirala-Perala struggle. Chirala and Perala are two neighbouring villages in Bapatla taluk of Prakasam district. Their combined population according to 1921 census was about 15 thousand. These two villages together with the villages of Jandrapeta and Veeraghavapeta were constituted into an administrative unit called the Chirala Union, which realised Rs 4,000/- per annum as taxes. In 1919 the Madras government constituted the villages of Chirala and Perala into a municipality, while the two other villages of Jandrapeta and Veeraghavapeta continued under the Union. The constitution of Chirala and Perala into a municipality in 1920 increased the tax burden of the people to Rs 40,000 a year without bringing any corresponding benefits. Most of the people were weavers and petty-ryots belonging to the lower income group. The people, therefore, made representations to the Government to restore the *status quo ante*.

Under the Reforms of 1919, local administration became a transferred subject. This portfolio was held by the Chief Minister Raja Ramarayaningar belonging to the Justice Party, which was in opposition to the Congress party. When the Chief Minister visited Chirala in February 1921, the people made a representation for revoking the municipality. But he refused to accede to their request since the people of the area were led by a Congressman and that too a brahmin, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya.

Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya was an M.A. of the Edinburgh University and for one year (1917-18) he worked as a lecturer in the Government Training College, Rajahmundry. In 1918-19 he joined the Andhra Jateeya Kalasala at Machilipatnam. But as he was dis-

satisfied with the educational system at both the Institutions he started an association called Andhra Vidyapeetha Goshti in 1920 near Chirala.

When their representations proved to be of no avail, the people of Chirala under Gopalakrishnayya's leadership started no-tax campaign and refused to pay the municipal taxes levied on them. In March 1921 twelve of these who refused to pay the taxes were arrested. They included an elderly woman. She was, perhaps, the first woman political prisoner in India. Gopalakrishnayya organised a volunteer corps called 'Ramadandu' to serve the needs of the community. On 30 March, Gopalakrishnayya proceeded to Vijayawada and met Mahatma Gandhi who came there to attend the AICC session. Mahatma Gandhi who visited Chirala on 6 April advised the people to continue the no-tax campaign peacefully and evacuate their houses, so that the municipality would disappear automatically. The people followed his advice literally and 13,572 villagers out of the total population of 15,326 evacuated their homes on the midnight of 25 April 1921. The people settled on the outskirts of the village by constituting a new township called Ram Nagar. For the next eleven months they stayed there. The people suffered untold hardships. The summer of 1921 was one of the severest, the temperature in shade rose to 120°F. This was followed by heavy rains in July and August, which was about 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in a few weeks.

The main problem was finance as the exodus dislocated the business. But very few people came forward with donations. In September 1921 Gopalakrishnayya visited Berhampur to attend the Andhra Mahasabha Conference held there and also to collect funds. There he was arrested and tried for sedition and was sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment.

After the arrest of Gopalakrishnayya the morale of the people was badly affected. No prominent Congressmen came forward to take up the leadership. So the people had to return to their original homes.

The Forest Satyagraha of Palnadu

One of the important episodes in the non-cooperation movement in Andhra was the 'Forest Satyagraha' of Palnadu. Palnadu is a backward region in the Guntur district. The people of that area had a number of grievances against local officials, especially those belonging to the forest department. The subordinate staff of the forest department harassed the people in a number of ways. The poor people were not allowed to enter the forests for grazing their cattle or collecting dry wood for fuel, without paying bribes. Those who refused to comply with the demands of the officials were prosecuted for violating the forest laws. In 1921 there was a severe shortage

of cattle fodder due to the failure of rains. Many poor people represented to the government that they be allowed to let their cattle into the forests for grazing. As no reply was received for their representation, the people became restive. They became receptive to the ideas of non-cooperation as they felt that it was the only way to ventilate their grievances.

At Macherla, the important town of that region, a social boycott of all government officials was organised. Shopkeepers refused to sell their products to government officials, who were already inconvenienced as they could not get the services of washermen and barbers. An important revenue official of the area, the deputy Tahsildar, could not get even milk for his children. On receiving the reports of the social boycott, the Collector visited the area to study the situation personally. He was also subjected to the same treatment. He could get neither supplies nor conveyance for himself and the Superintendent of Police. When he wanted to get his orders announced by the beat of drums, he was told that all the drums in the village and its neighbourhood were damaged. The social boycott was a hundred per cent success.

In July 1921, two well-known Congress leaders of Guntur, Unnava Laxminarayana and Vedantam Narasimhachari visited the area to study the situation on the spot. The Collector who was camping there at that time issued summons to them to furnish security for good behaviour. The people took the two leaders in a grand procession to the Collector's camp accompanied by the beating of the drums. The Collector naturally became furious since that very morning he could not get a single drum to get his orders announced in the village by four tom-tom or beat of drums. The two leaders were sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Their arrest led to a seven-day hartal in Guntur.

With the imprisonment of Lakshminarayana and Narasimhachari, the situation in Palnadu deteriorated. The social boycott was transformed into a no-tax campaign. People began to violate forest laws and sent their cattle into reserve forests for grazing. The movement was spontaneous. The Congress leaders were unnerved at the enthusiasm of the people in violating the forest laws. When the Palnadu taluka political conference took place in August 1921 Konda Venkatappaiah felt that the no-tax campaign was unauthorised since it was not approved by the All India Congress Committee. The Congress leaders tried to dampen the enthusiasm of the people by asking them not to violate the forest laws, but continue the social boycott.

But the people were in no mood to heed this advice. The no-tax campaign was intensified. Clashes between the people and the forest guards became frequent. The police who arrived in large

numbers to restore law and order began to terrorise the people. In February 1922 matters became serious when the no-tax campaign in Pedanandipadu was at its height. The police were driven out of many villages. At the village Veldurthi the police were besieged in the bungalow where they encamped. With great difficulty the police could escape during the night under the cover of darkness. In another village Jallipalem, the people were able to get back their cattle which were impounded by the police. The situation in the villages was so serious that the Collector and Superintendent of police visited the village next day and arrested a number of people. The most serious incident occurred near the village Minchalapadu which was regarded by the Collector as "notoriously bad for illicit grazing and for violent opposition even to the visits of forest officers."² The leader of the campaign in that area was Kannuganti Hanumanthu. On 26 February 1922, the police and the forest officials seized fifty goats and one hundred and twenty-five she-buffaloes driving them to the pond at Mutkur. On the way they were attacked by a mob of about 300 men and women and the cattle were recovered. Thereupon the police opened fire which resulted in the death of three persons including Hanumanthu. The crowd dispersed after the firing. Next day the Collector and the Superintendent of police visited the village and arrested a large number of people.

The death of their leader and the lukewarm attitude of the Congress demoralised the people. They gave up their Satyagraha and by 1 March 1922 normalcy was restored.

The No-Tax Campaign of Pedanandipadu

The no-tax campaign of Pedanandipadu *firka* of the Bapatla taluk of Guntur district was one of the most important episodes in the non-cooperation movement in Andhra. The campaign was so successful that Lord Wellington who was the Governor of Madras was reported to have confessed later that it shook the very foundation of the British Empire in India. The most important point to remember about this campaign was that it was not organised by the Congress. Of course important Congress leaders of Guntur district like Konda Venkatappaiah and Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri (later Swami Sitaram) supported the movement and helped to sustain it.

The movement was not political in origin. It arose due to certain service grievances of the village officials. The service conditions of the village officers were not improved in spite of the many representations of the village officers association to the Board of Revenue and Government. One of the grievances was "too little pay and too much work." Another grievance of the village officers was the

2. Document No. 67, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)* Vol. III (1921-1931), Ed. by M. Venkatarangaiah, (Hyderabad), 1965.

reduction in the village establishment. The Government as a measure of economy abolished many posts of assistant *Karnams*, assistant headmen, *Vettis* and *Mohtads*. When their grievances were not redressed the village officers of the Pedanandipadu submitted resignations. As a result the collection of land revenue came to a standstill. As the Government could not appoint substitutes and collect the revenue, its prestige suffered a serious blow.

The leader of the no-tax campaign was Parvataneni Virayya Chowdari. Though he did not have any formal education, he was noted for his integrity and sincerity. He was a born leader and the people of the area followed him implicitly. The people supported the village officers by refusing to pay taxes to the government. When the police and other officials tried to intimidate the leaders to submission, the people organised the social boycott of all officials. The government deputed Harris, a member of the Board of Revenue to visit the area, and defuse the situation. He tried in vain to get the village officers to withdraw their resignations by promising that all their grievances would be redressed. He realised the gravity of the situation and informed the government that the movement is usually referred to as non-cooperation or civil disobedience. It would more appropriately be described as attempted revolution. Its express object is to subvert the existing government."³ The Collector of Guntur also corroborated the same point when he reported to the Government that "the present movement is open rebellion, though for the moment non-violent".

Government made many efforts to persuade the village officials to withdraw their resignations, by promising that their hereditary rights would not be interfered with and that their service conditions would be bettered. When these attempts failed it tried to threaten the village officers by appointing new ones in their posts. But this attempt also did not succeed. The people of the area raised a volunteer corps called '*Shanti Sena*', which prevented the new recruits from joining their posts.

Government tried to change its tactics by creating dissensions among the people. It posted a Muslim subinspector in the area to dissuade the Muslims from supporting the movement. A Kamma inspector in the co-operative department was promoted as Deputy Collector to persuade the ryots, who were mostly Kammas, to pay the taxes to the Government. When these measures failed to change the situation, Government deployed army in the area. But military demonstration did not result in the collection of taxes. When the Government was at its wit's end, the situation was saved for it by the dissensions among the Congressmen.

3. Document No. 57-*The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol. III, 1921-1921, Ed. by M. Venkatarangaiah, (Hyderabad), 1965.

From the beginning Mahatma Gandhi looked at the movement with disfavour. But the leaders of Guntur district went ahead with the no-tax campaign, since it was a spontaneous movement of the people. When the movement was at its zenith a section of the Andhra Congressmen who were opposed to Konda Venkatappaiah prevailed upon the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to appoint a subcommittee consisting of K. Nageswaro Rao, T. Prakasam and D. Narayana Raju to tour the area and report on the situation prevailing there. The sub-committee was impressed with the movement, but was afraid that it may not remain non-violent if the Government applied additional force.

On 10 February 1922 when the Guntur District Congress Committee was considering the report Mahatma Gandhi sent a letter to Konda Venkatappaiah advising him to call off the campaign until the results of the Bardoli Satyagraha became clear. The letter of Gandhiji perturbed the Andhra Congress leaders. They knew very well that the suspension of the movement when it had achieved a near success would undermine the prestige of the Congress and also result in savage repressions by the Government. All the same the obedient followers of the Mahatma called off the campaign much to the chagrin of the people.

As expected the Government unleashed savage repression and Virayya Chowdari was forced to tender an apology on the pain of being shot dead. By the end of March 1922 the non-cooperation movement in Andhra fizzled out and the authority of the British Government was as strong as ever.

Alluri Sitarama Raju and Rampa Rebellion

One of the important episodes of the freedom struggle in Andhra was the rebellion of Alluri Sitarama Raju. The rebellion popularly known as the Rampa Rebellion was not launched under the auspices of the Congress. Nevertheless, this rebellion which lasted for about two years and five months i.e. from January 1922 to May 1924 and was confined to the agency areas of East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts gave more trouble to the government than the non-cooperation movement.

The leader of the rebellion, Alluri Sitarama Raju was born in 1897 in the village Moggallu in West Godavari district. By 1921 he came under the influence of the non-cooperation movement and aimed to overthrow the British. He, however, did not believe in non-violence. Being a Kshatriya he believed in war to achieve his objective. In July 1921 he went to Chittagong and participated in the secret meeting of the Bengali revolutionaries. On his return he chose to make the Gudem hills of East Godavari districts his area

of operation since the tribal people of that area suffered due to the misdeeds of the local Tahsildar, Bastian, the Muttadari system and the forest reservation policy of the government.

Raju's main problem was to get adequate supply of arms and ammunition. That is why he began to attack the police stations starting with that of Chintapalli on 22 August 1922. Raju got two faithful lieutenants — 'the Gam brothers', Gam Mallu Dora and Gam Gantam Dora. He extended his activities to the neighbouring areas and attacked the police stations at Krishnadevupeta, Raja Vomnangi, etc. The Government realising the seriousness of the situation sent armed police party under the command of Scott Coward and Haytes. Raju, on receiving the intelligence of the police party, ambushed it on the Damanapalli ghat killing Scott Coward and Haytes. The police withdrew leaving behind a great deal of ammunition.

The Government brought Malabar Special Police to resume an offensive against Raju. They made a surprise attack on Raju at Peddagaddapalem on 6 December 1922, but the latter managed to escape. For some time nothing was heard about Raju, so the Malabar police was withdrawn. However, soon after Raju resumed his activities by attacking the police station at Annaram on 18 April 1923. Though he could not get any ammunition there, he was given great ovation by the people and also the officials like the Deputy Tahsildar and Sub-Inspector of Police. Raju got his first setback when Gam Mallu Dora was captured at Nadimpalle village on 18 September 1923. Raju's policy of attacking the police stations for ammunition did not yield results as the government took care not to keep any ammunition in the police stations. It got two companies of Assam rifles and appointed Rutherford as Special Commissioner incharge of operations against Raju. In spite of these actions by the government, Raju continued his activities as before. On 6 May 1924, one of his close associates, Pericherla Suryanarayana popularly known as 'Aggi Raju' was captured near Madderu. The next day Raju himself was captured by Jamedar Kanchu Menon. He was brought to Koyyur and shot dead. The Rampa rebellion thus came to an end.

The Rampa rebellion had caught the imagination of the Andhra people and they still recall Raju's deeds with pride. But his contemporary Congress leaders showed no sympathy for him or his movement. They welcomed its suppression. The Congress Committee and the Andhra Mahasabha which met for their annual session in October 1924 did not pass any resolution appreciating Raju's patriotic fervour and his noble sacrifice in the cause of country's freedom, on the ground that there was uncertainty about his death.

On 12 February 1922 the Congress Working Committee passed at Bardoli a resolution suspending the civil disobedience movement. As a result there was a lull in the political activity in Andhra.

The Simon Commission

On 8 November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon to report on the working of the reforms of 1919. As there was no Indian in the Commission almost all the political parties decided to boycott it. The Andhra Mahasabha also decided to boycott the Commission, but the Oriyas of Berhampore and the Utkal Sammilani presented a memorandum to the Commission requesting the early formation of Orissa province.

The municipal councils of Tirupati, Kurnool, Vijayawada, Eluru, Srikakulam passed resolutions in favour of boycott. Even liberals like Nyapati Subba Rao decided to boycott the Commission. On 3 February 1928, hartal was observed in almost all Andhra towns. The Government selected Guntur and Ongole as the two Andhra towns for the visit of the Commission. Prakasam, Ramadas and V.V. Jogaiah issued a joint-statement exhorting the Andhras and particularly the citizens of the two towns, Ongole and Guntur to express their resentment by boycotting the Commission. When Simon and his party halted at Vijayawada railway station on their way to Guntur, the peon of the municipality handed over to Simon a sealed envelope containing the boycott resolution passed by the Council and also a paper on which the words 'Simon, Go Back' were inscribed. The Commission was greeted with black flags at Guntur and Ongole.

The Commission was scheduled to visit Madras on 26 February 1928. The Chief Presiding Magistrate issued an order prohibiting any kind of political propaganda. Over Madras, the Congress committees of both Andhra and Tamil Nadu had jurisdiction. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee decided to defy the prohibitory orders, but the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee decided otherwise. In spite of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee's non-cooperative attitude, complete hartal was observed in Madras on the days of the visit of Simon Commission. Earlier, T. Prakasam took a leading part in Madras city in conducting propaganda against the Commission. There were some disturbances and one man was killed when the police opened fire. When Prakasam decided to visit the scene of police firing along with his followers, the police tried to prevent him from moving forward. Thereupon he exposed his chest to the police and declared "We are determined to move on and have a look at the dead body of our comrade, shoot me if you want."⁴ The police were taken aback and allowed him to proceed.

4. Kaleswara Rao, A., *Navya Andhramu*, p. 373.

For this act of bravery, Prakasam, came to be called 'Andhra Kesari'.

The Commission published its report in May 1930. It recommended the formation of Orissa and Sind provinces. No wonder it made no mention of Andhra. The Andhra leaders were busy in organising boycott and black flag demonstrations. In contrast the memorandum presented by the Oriya leaders to the Commission got a sympathetic hearing.

After the publication of the Commission's reports, the Madras Government withdrew its objection to the amalgamation of the Oriya territories of the presidency with the proposed Orissa province as it entailed only a 'minor adjustment of territory.' With regard to the formation of Andhra province it continued to oppose the move.

Round Table Conferences

After the publication of Simon's Report, the British Government convened a Round Table Conference of the political parties of India at London to draw up a new Constitution for India. The Congress decided to boycott the Round Table Conference and Gandhiji began his Civil Disobedience Movement on 6 April 1930. The first session of the Round Table Conference began in London in November 1930. Since the Congress boycotted the conference, no Andhra attended it to plead for the creation of Andhra province. The conference conceded in principle the formation of Orissa and Sind provinces.

The Second Round Table Conference

The Second Round Table Conference began on 7 September 1931 and Gandhiji attended it. The Andhra leaders realised that their claim for separate province had gone by default. Even then they did not take steps to remedy the situation. They pinned their hopes on Gandhiji. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Kaleswara Rao met Gandhiji before his departure to London to plead for the case of Andhra. Gandhiji promised them Andhra province after Indian independence.

Some of the Andhra leaders like, V.V. Giri, A.P. Patro, M. Ramachandra Rao, the Raja of Bobbili met Lord Lothorn, Under-Secretary of State for India to plead for the inclusion of Andhra among the new provinces to be created. They also circulated memoranda for incorporating provisions in the new constitution, for creating new provinces. It is interesting to note that unlike the Andhra leaders, the Oriya leaders under the leadership of the Maharaja of Parlakimedi made concerted moves and succeeded in getting Orissa province. When the Second Round Table Conference ended, Andhra province was as elusive as before. The Andhra leaders were not disheartened. They forgot about the province and plunged themselves

heart and soul into the Civil Disobedience Movement which was started again on 3 January 1932, after Gandhiji's return to India.

After his return from the Second Round Table, the Raja of Bobbili became the Chief Minister of Madras in November 1932. When the Legislative Council began discussions on the proposed constitutional reforms, Harisarvothama Rao moved an amendment for the "immediate creation of Andhra Province." It was disallowed. The Raja who had earlier pleaded for Andhra province, with the British authorities, changed his views on becoming the Chief Minister. He told the Legislative Council that all must act as Indians and give a chance for the working of the new reforms. His reply infuriated many Andhra members and as many as 15 Andhra members gave notices of resolutions for the creation of Andhra province along with the introduction of the new constitutional reforms. The resolution for the creation of Andhra province was passed by the Council. The Madras Government forwarded it to the Government of India without any remarks or comments.

Civil Disobedience Movement in Andhra

On 6 April 1930 Gandhiji began his campaign of civil disobedience by setting out to Dandi with seventy-eight followers to break the laws regarding the production of salt. This was the beginning of a nation-wide mass movement.

The Andhra Congress Committee appointed Konda Venkatatpiah as the dictator for the entire Andhra region to carry on the Satyagraha movement. For each district there was a dictator and a war council to advise him. A *sibiram* or military camp was also established in each district. In Madras city the main participants on the Salt Satyagraha, as the Civil Disobedience Movement came to be known, were Andhras. The prominent among them were K. Nageswara Rao, V.L. Sastri, Durgabai Deshmukh, Gadde Rangayya Naidu and T. Prakasam.

One of the main features of the Salt Satyagraha was the participation of women in thousands. Many women were sent to jail, the prominent among them being Smt. Bharati Devi Ranga, Vallabhaneni Sitamahalakshamma, Digumarti Janakamma and Khammapati Manikyamba. The last mentioned lady went to prison with a six-month old baby in her arms.

At Berhampur, on 15 January 1932 the police opened fire on "Satyagrahis" resulting in injuries to many. Mahatma Gandhi was released from prison on 8 May 1933 and he suspended the movement on 14 July 1933.

Leftist Parties

The failure of the Civil Disobedience Movement and Nehru's articles on Socialism after his visit to Soviet Russia influenced many Andhras and they began to organise parties with left-wing affiliations. From 1935 onwards three leftist parties became prominent in Andhra. They were the Communist Party, Congress Socialist Party and the Radical Humanist Party of M.N. Roy. P. Sundarayya was the earliest organiser of the communist movement in Andhra. Slowly communist ideas caught the fancy of the Andhra youth. Many books on Soviet Russia and Communism appeared in Telugu. As early as 1934 Maxim Gorky's *Mother* was translated into Telugu by K. Lingaraju. About the same time Srirangam Srinivasa Rao (Sri Sri) published his poetical work *Maha Prasthanam*, which created a tremendous impact on the minds of the youth. The book helped the spread of Marxist ideas. The literary journals like *Udayini* edited by Kompella Janardhana Rao and *Prathibha* edited by Siva Sankara Sastri created a new school of Telugu poetry and challenged the traditionalists. In Rayalaseema, Vidwan Visam and Tarimala Nagi Reddi popularised socialist ideas through the publications of Navya Sahityamala of Anantapur.

At Tenali, M.N. Roy's ideas received ready acceptance. The youth of that town like T. Gopichand, A. Gopalakrishna Murthy, Koganti Radhakrishna Murthy, M.V. Sastry and G.V. Krishna Rao exerted tremendous influence over the younger generation by their writings. Gopichand popularised Marxist ideas by his writings in *Prajamitra*. Later in his life, Gopichand gave up many of his Marxist ideas. He, however, carved a niche for himself in Telugu literature with his famous novel *Chivaraku Migileedi*.

Prof N.C. Ranga began his political career as a leftist. He took great interest in organising the Kisan movement in Andhra. Under the able guidance of his two followers, Pullala Syamasundar Rao and Gouthu Latchanna, the Kisans of Srikakulam district waged many successful struggles against the zamindars. The Socialist Party established its Andhra unit at Vijayawada in June 1934 with Prof. Ranga as President and Madduri Annapurnayya as Secretary. Other prominent members were Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, K. Lingaraju, P. Sundaraiah and C. Rajeswara Rao. The last two members later joined the Communist Party.

In Telangana the leftist ideas began to spread when a youth forum under the name 'Comrades Association' was started in Hyderabad city. Makdum Mohinuddin, Rajabahadur Gour, Syed Ibrahim were active participants in the forum. B. Ramakrishna Rao also supported its activities. D. Venkateswara Rao and S. Ramanadhan who participated in the Vandemataram movement in Hyderabad had left-wing sympathies. Among the active participants of the Andhra

Mahasabha, Ravi Narayana Reddi, Baddam Yella Reddy and Arutla Narasimha Reddi were influenced by Marxist ideas. The Nizam State Communist Party was established as early as 1929. Andhra communist leader C. Rajeswara Rao conducted the first political school of the Hyderabad Committee. From the very beginning there was close coordination between the communists of Andhra and Telangana.

Quit India Movement

As already noted, the Congress ministries resigned from office in November 1939. By 1941-42 the war situation both in Europe and Asia was not favourable to the allies. Realising the need to enlist Indian support for war efforts the British Government decided to resolve the Indian political deadlock by sending Sir Stafford Cripps to India in March 1942. He opened negotiations with the different political parties but his talks failed.

The failure of the Cripps Mission created a feeling of frustration among the Indians since the Japanese forces threatened to knock at the door of India. The AICC which met at Bombay on 8 August 1942 passed the 'Quit India' resolution. The Government of India replied by arresting Gandhi and the members of the Congress Working Committee. This angered the people and led to disturbances in different parts of the country.

In coastal Andhra riots broke out in different towns and police opened fire at Tenali on 12 August which resulted in the death of about nine persons. Firings took place at Guntur and Bhimavaram on 13 August and 17 August respectively.

Andhra in Madras Politics

The Justice Party

In November 1916, about thirty non-brahmin leaders of the Madras Presidency including Pitti Tyagaraja Chetti formed an association called South Indian People's Association to publish newspapers in English, Telugu and Tamil to ventilate the grievances of the non-brahmins. The Association brought out an English daily called *Justice* on 26 February 1917. Earlier in December 1916, the South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF) was inaugurated to safeguard the interests of the non-brahmins. Within a short time the SILF came to be known as Justice Party. Though the Justice Party had not much following in Andhra, many of its leaders were Telugus.

When the British Government decided to grant reforms to India as per Montagu's announcement of 1917, the Justice Party sent a deputation to present its case before the Joint Select Committee. Among its members were K.V. Reddi Naidu of Eluru and Koka Appa Rao Naidu of Berhampur. P. Ramarayaningar (later Rajah of Panagal) also went to London as a representative of All India Land Holder's Association. Later he joined the Justice Party.

The British Government granted reforms popularly known as Montford Reforms (Montagu-Chelmsford) in 1919. The important element in them was the introduction of dyarchy in the provinces. Under the new reforms provincial elections were held in 1920. The Congress boycotted the elections. The Justice Party which supported the British connection, fought the elections and came out successful. The leader of the Justice Party was Tyagaraja Chetti. He became the leader of the party after the death of Dr T.M. Nair. When the Governor of Madras asked him to form the ministry, Tyagaraja Chetti declined. So Subbarayulu Reddiar the Justice Party member from Cuddalore in South Arcot district became the Chief Minister in December 1920, but he resigned in April 1921 due to ill-health. Thereupon P. Ramarayaningar became the Chief

Minister. The other Andhra minister was K.V. Reddi Naidu. The domination of the Justice Party by the Andhras led to bitter rivalry between Andhras and Tamils. During the twenties and thirties Madras politics were marked by the brahmin, non-brahmin and Telugu and Tamil controversies. The Tamil-Telugu controversies weakened the Justice Party to some extent. In the elections of 1923, it could win only 44 out of the 98 elected seats. In 1920, it won as many as 63. It was able to maintain its majority in the Council as the nominated members supported it.

The Demand for Andhra Province

Though the Justice Party was dominated by Andhra leaders it never supported the formation of separate Andhra province. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the Andhra area, the Justice Party had a very poor following. On the other hand the Congress was very popular and it was able to organise the non-cooperation movement in the Telugu district, especially Guntur with remarkable success. The Andhra leaders of the Justice Party never wanted to have a province where they would count for nothing. In 1922, M. Suryanarayana a member from Visakhapatnam introduced a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council recommending the Madras Government to create a separate Andhra province. The resolution brought to surface the difference between the Justice Party ministers regarding their attitude towards the question of the Andhra province. A.P. Patro, the Education Minister persuaded Suryanarayana not to press his resolution, but Reddi Naidu supported the demand of separate Andhra Province. In his minute he stated that :

the Telugu of the Northern Circars have always agitated for a separate Andhra province and those in the ceded districts are not in favour of it, or at any rate, are not enthusiastic, about it. Personally, I have always been of the opinion that an Andhra province is a necessity. But owing to differences between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in recent years, my attitude has slightly altered. I am still in favour of a separate province for the Andhras provided statutory guarantees are made for a majority of non-Brahmins in the Legislative Council and in the public services of the new province.¹

The Establishment of the Andhra University

As early as 1913, the Andhra Mahasabha at its first session demanded the creation of a separate university for Andhra as it felt that Telugu language and literature was not receiving proper attention

1. Quoted in Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, Berkeley, 1969, pp. 245-46.

in the Madras University. Moreover the students from Andhra found it difficult to get admission into that university as it was dominated by Tamils. In February 1917, B. Venkatapathi Raju moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council for the creation of a separate university for Andhra, after the end of the war. He suggested that, in the meantime, additional colleges be established in Andhra area.

In October 1920, the Senate of the Madras University also felt the need to establish separate universities for the different linguistic groups of the presidency. After the formation of the first Justice ministry under the 1919 reform, M. Suryanarayana from the Visakhapatnam district moved a resolution in the legislative council for the creation of a separate university for Andhra. Some Tamil members opposed the resolution. C. Natesa Mudaliar raised an objection saying that it is impossible to define Andhras or the Andhra country. He felt that the creation of Andhra University would weaken the non-brahmin movement. But another Tamil member supported the resolution as he felt that the creation of Andhra University would lead to the establishment of another university for Tamil area.² The resolution was accepted on 2 September 1921.³ But A.P. Patro, the Education Minister, introduced a bill for the re-organisation of the Madras University. Many Andhras felt that it was an attempt to scuttle the creation of Andhra University. The bill was passed. G. Vandanam, a member from Andhra pointed out that "those of us who supported the organisation of the scheme of Madras University did so on the distinct understanding that the Madras University reorganisation would help us to get an Andhra University at no distant date."⁴

Finally a bill for the creation of Andhra University was introduced in the Legislative Council on 20 August 1925 and was referred to the Select Committee.⁵ Some members of Rayalaseema in the Select Committee wanted to exclude Rayalaseema from the jurisdiction of the Andhra University. A member from Cuddapah, T. M. Narasimhacharyulu moved an amendment to exclude ceded districts from the jurisdiction. S. Satyamurthi from Madras city wanted the exclusion of Bellary district. T. Mallesappa of Bellary district wanted the exclusion of the Kannada taluks of Bellary district.⁶ All the amendments were voted down. There was some opposition to the title 'Andhra University'. K. V. Reddi Naidu wanted it to be known as the Telugu University. He contented that the word 'Andhra' smacked of Aryan origin. He declared. "We Telugus have always

2. *Madras Legislative Council Proceedings*, Vol. II, pp.721-725.

3. *ibid.*, pp. 713-737.

4. *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 2413.

5. *ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 713-737.

6. *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 511, 529 and 735.

been recognised as Dravidians (hear, hear), and when I ask this bill to be named after the Telugus, I appeal to my Dravidian friends my Tamil friends, my Kanarese friends, my Malayalam friends, not to part with us, as different from them." Natesa Mudaliar who had earlier opposed the creation of a separate Andhra university, responding to the sentiments expressed by Reddi Naidu, declared that "Telugus can never be separated from the Tamils... We are Dravidians and will not be separated." Ramaswami Mudaliar expressed the hope that the new university would develop Dravidian studies as opposed to Sanskrit studies.⁷ The amendment of Reddi Naidu to change the name of the university to Telugu University was rejected by 26 votes to 24.⁸ On 26 April 1926 Andhra University was inaugurated at Vijayawada with jurisdiction over all the Telugu districts of the presidency. Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddi became the first Vice-Chancellor.

Location of the University headquarters

Andhra University began its career with a great controversy over the location of the headquarters and did great damage to the already strained relations between Circars and Rayalaseema. The Andhra University Act mentioned Vijayawada as the headquarters of the administrative offices of the university. It was proposed to make Rajahmundry the centre of the teaching departments. As the location of the administrative offices and the teaching departments in two different places was likely to hamper the efficiency of the University, it was decided by the government on 7 April 1927, to recommend to the Senate of the university to shift the teaching departments to Vijayawada. This led to a great controversy. Many members of the legislature gave notices to amend the Act and suggested different towns for the location of the headquarters and the teaching departments. The Rayalaseema leaders wanted the location of the headquarters in their area. The Andhra University Senate responded to the desire of the Rayalaseema and voted by 35 to 20 to make Anantapur the headquarters of the university. It had also recommended the establishment of the first grade college in the university area. The Select Committee of the Madras Legislative Council also endorsed the choice of Anantapur. When it appeared that the controversy had been resolved to the satisfaction of all, Dr. Subbaroyan, the Chief Minister revived the controversy in September 1928 by suggesting Rajahmundry as the headquarters. This led to revival of regional controversies and various suggestions were made to make Vijayawada, Rajahmundry and Visakhapatnam as the headquarters. In December 1928, Subbaroyan's government made another suggestion, i.e. to locate headquarters at Visakhapatnam. It also suggested that the

7. *ibid.*, pp. 122.

8. *ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

9. *ibid.*, p. 129.

university should be of a unitary type implying thereby that the existing colleges in the Andhra University area would be re-affiliated to the Madras University. To add to the controversy Bollina Munuswamy Naidu of Chittoor introduced another amendment to exclude Rayalaseema from the jurisdiction of the Andhra University. Finally the legislature accepted the amendments making Visakhapatnam the headquarters of the university and excluding Rayalaseema from its jurisdiction.

The controversy over the headquarters of the Andhra University created such an ill-feeling between the Circars and Rayalaseema that it delayed the formation of Andhra province by several years. One need not be surprised at the partisan attitude of Dr Subbaroyan in this sordid controversy if we remember that many members from Andhra voted in favour of the no-confidence motion against his ministry in August 1927.

The Decline of the Justice Party

It has been noted already that under the Reforms of 1919, elections were held in 1920 and that the Justice party came to power in the Presidency of Madras. Soon after the elections, the party began to disintegrate. The party leaders like Tyagaraja Chetti and Raja of Panagal were accused of Telugu bias. Many Tamil members of the party like Natesa Mudaliar felt that the party had done nothing to ameliorate the condition of the poor classes, especially harijans. In the elections of 1923, the party could win only 44 seats as compared to 63 in 1920. It could form the ministry only with the support of the nominated members. On 28 November 1923, C. R. Reddi, the Madras University representative in the Council and a former Justice member brought a no-confidence motion against the ministry. The resolution was defeated, but it clearly showed that the Justice Party was not its former self. The party had a serious setback on the death of Tyagaraja Chetti on 28 April 1925. It could not prevent the rise of Swaraj Party which began to dominate the national scene after the suspension of the non-cooperation movement in 1922. In the 1926 elections, the Swarajists won 41 seats as against 22 won by the Justice Party. There were as many as 36 independents. The leaders of the Swaraj Party in the Council, C.V.S. Narasimha Raju refused the Governor's invitation to form the ministry since his party was against accepting office. The Justice Party leader, the Raja of Panagal also expressed his inability to form a ministry in the face of the opposition from the Swarajists. Finally, a ministry headed by an independent candidate Dr P. Subbaroyan was formed. On 16 December 1928 the Raja of Panagal died. With his death the Justice Party lost one of its great stalwarts. It was really the end of the party though in 1930 and again in 1936 it formed the ministry under B. Munuswami Naidu and the Raja of Bobbili respectively.

The Sri Bagh, Pact

The controversy over the headquarters of the Andhra University had confirmed the suspicions of the people of Rayalaseema that they might not get fair treatment in the Andhra province. In order to project the interests of Rayalaseema an organisation known as Rayalaseema Mahasabha was formed in 1934 by Justices like C. L. Narasimha Reddi, K. Subrahmanyam and others. The first session of the Rayalaseema Mahasabha was held at Madras on 28 January 1934.¹⁰ Nemali Pattabhirama Rao of Cuddapah presided over the conference which was opened by S. Satyamurthi who was well-known for his anti-Andhra bias. The conference, however opposed the attempts made by the legislators of the coastals to extend the jurisdiction of the Andhra University over Rayalaseema. By another resolution the conference demanded the creation of Sri Venkateswara University at Tirupati. No prominent Congressman from Rayalaseema attended the conference.

The second session of the conference was held at Cuddapah in the first week of September 1935. Important Congress leaders of Rayalaseema like K. Koti Reddi, G. Harisarvothama Rao and P. Ramachari did not attend it. The conference failed to make any impact on the people. The leaders of the Rayalaseema Mahasabha like Narasimha Reddi and Subrahmanyam contested the elections of 1937 and were defeated by Congress candidates.

In the 1937 elections Congress came out triumphant and it assumed office on 14 July 1937 under the leadership of C. Rajagopalachariar. Soon after the elections, the Andhras intensified their demand for a separate province. Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya who became the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee in August 1937 wanted that the All India Congress Committee should pass a resolution for the creation of Andhra province. G. Brahmayya, Bulusu Sambamurthy and other leaders also intensified efforts to secure the province at an early date. Andhra leaders were now able to concentrate on the problems affecting them most since their minds were not distracted by international issues and national problems. The citizens of Vijayawada decided to invite the Andhra Mahasabha to hold its Silver Jubilee Session in their town. Everywhere there was a new sense of urgency and the leaders of the Circars realised the need to enlist the cooperation of Rayalaseema in order to get their long cherished demand fulfilled.

The activities of the Andhra leaders did not go unnoticed by the great Tamil leader Sri Chakravarthi Rajagopalachariar. Earlier in May 1935 he had announced his retirement from active public life. But the Congress High Command prevailed upon him

10. *The Hindu* (Madras), 26 January 1934.

to contest the elections from the doubly safe university constituency. Many Andhras felt that this was done to prevent Prakasam from becoming the premier of Madras. *Prabhuddha Andhra* (Awakened Andhra), an outspoken Telugu monthly edited by Sripada Subrahmanyam in its issue of September 1937 very bluntly said that Prakasam was not allowed to become premier since Gandhiji was not in favour of Andhras becoming great.

When Rajagopalachariar became the premier he by a very clever move set at naught the efforts of the Andhra leaders to forge unity between the Circars and Rayalaseema. While constituting his cabinet he included Prakasam, Bezawada Gopala Reddi and V.V. Giri, hailing from coastal Andhra as ministers. The Rayalaseema districts were not given any representation. Naturally Rayalaseema became very sore and felt that it was let down by Circar leaders, who had not insisted on the inclusion of the Rayalaseema representatives in the cabinet. Noticing the rift between Rayalaseema and Circars, the Tamil leaders like, Rajagopalachariar, Satyamurthi and T.S.S. Rajan openly spoke against Andhra Province. It was then Pattabhi made the prophetic remark that: "the British would grant us independence sooner than the Tamil Ministers would give us a separate province."¹¹

In this atmosphere of suspicion and disillusionment, the silver jubilee session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Vijayawada towards the end of October 1937. The session was inaugurated by Halaharvi Sitarama Reddi and presided over by Kadapa Koti Reddi both M.LAs from Rayalaseema. They gave vent to the suspicions of Rayalaseema and appealed to the Circar leaders to win back the confidence of Rayalaseema by providing safeguards to that region. The safeguards related mainly to the location of the capital, parity of representation in the ministry of both Circars and Rayalaseema and the execution of irrigational projects, like Tungabhadra.

The Circar leaders appreciated the genuine fears of the Rayalaseema people and decided to provide the safeguards they demanded. The Circar leaders remembered how due to their pre-occupation with national affairs the genuine Telugu areas like Parlakimedi, Berhampur, Chatrapur, and Jeypore agency were lost to Orissa when it was made a separate province in 1936. They felt that the time had come to put an end to the dissensions among the Telugu people and make an all out effort to secure Andhra province.

On 16 November 1937, the leaders of Circars and Rayalaseema including Konda Venkatappaiah, Desiraju Hanumanth Rao, K. Koti Reddi, H. Sitarama Reddy, Kallur Subba Rao and G. Harisarvothama Rao met at 'Sri Bagh' the Madras residence of K. Nageswara

11. *Andhra Patrika*, 15 October 1937.

Rao of *Andhra Patrika* and signed an agreement known popularly as the 'Sri Bagh' Agreement. The agreement provided :

University : That two University Centres are to be developed under the Andhra University, one at Waltair and another at Anantapur so as to distribute the centres of culture over the Andhradesa and create opportunities for Social and Cultural intercourse amongst the Andhras and locate colleges in areas favourable to the subjects dealt with.

Irrigation : That to ensure the rapid development of Agricultural and Economic interests of Rayalaseema and Nellore to the level of those in the Coastal districts, schemes of irrigation should, for a period of ten years or such longer period as condition may necessitate, be given preferential claim, specially in respect of the utilization of the waters of Tungabhadra, Krishna and Pannar, giving for ten years exclusive attention in respect of major projects beneficial to these areas.

That whenever the question of sharing waters arises, the needs of the before said areas be first met, and this policy be implemented as from today in the administration of the province, (and)

Legislature : That in the matter of general seats in the Legislature, the distribution shall be generally on an equal district basis.

It is agreed that the location of the University, the Headquarters and the High Court may advantageously be in different places so as not to concentrate all civil importance at the centre.

Accordingly it is agreed that while the University may continue to be where it is, the High Court and the Metropolis be located in suitable places in the Coastal districts and Rayalaseema, the choice being given to Rayalaseema.

It shall, however, be open to vary these terms by common consent.

After the signing of the 'Sri Bagh' pact the Andhra members of the Madras Legislature requested the premier to sponsor a resolution on Andhra province. Rajagopalachariar whose anti-Andhra proclivities were well-known, outwitted the Andhra members by inducing the Madras Legislature to pass a comprehensive resolution for the creation of Andhra, Tamil, Kerala and Karnataka provinces. K.V. Reddi Naidu's amendment, for the immediate creation of

Andhra province as a first step was rejected. The Madras Government forwarded the resolution to the Government of India on 21 April 1938. Meanwhile on 2 May, the British Government announced in the House of Commons that no new provinces would be created in India. This announcement shocked the Andhras. Many suspected that the British Government's attitude might have been influenced by Rajagopalachariar's advice. Bulusu Sambamurthy, Speaker of Madras Assembly wanted to resign his position and take active part in the agitation of Andhra province. But the Congress High Command ordered that no Congressman should take part in the agitation and he had to bow to the dictates of the High Command. On 25 March 1939 Rajagopalachariar informed the Madras Assembly that the Secretary of State for India turned down the request for the creation of Andhra. The Second World War broke out in September 1939 and the Congress ministers in the provinces resigned in November 1939. The question of Andhra province thus once again receded into the background.

Sir Vijaya and the Andhra Mahasabha

Andhra Mahasabha for all practical purposes became an ineffective organisation as it was dominated by Congressmen. But after the failure of the Congress attempts to secure a separate province, many Andhras felt that the Andhra Mahasabha should be revitalised by inducting non-Congressmen into the organisation. In November 1941, the Andhra Mahasabha met for its annual session at Visakhapatnam. It was presided over by Sir Vijayanand of Vijayanagaram who used to reside at Benares. He was popularly known as Sir Vijaya and was known for his interest in cricket. He commanded good influence among the official circles and native princes. In the 1937 elections he defeated a Congress candidate in UP. After Sir Vijaya became the President, Andhra Mahasabha became very active. Sir Vijaya first turned his attention to the lingering suspicion among the people of Rayalaseema. Here it may be pointed out that after the conclusion of 'Sri Bagh' pact many of the Rayalaseema leaders favoured the formation of Andhra province, but in 1938, some Telugu people of Bellary like R. Suryanarayana Rao, N.M. Sastry organised a new Rayalaseema Mahasabha. It met for its first session at Adoni. It opposed the creation of Andhra province on administrative, political and financial grounds.

Sir Vijaya toured Rayalaseema and collected funds for the famine stricken people of the area. He also interviewed the Governor to sanction more funds for famine relief. Sir Vijaya met the British administrators and brought to their notice the grievances of the Andhras. On 2 April 1942 he met Sir Stafford Cripps and submitted to him a memorandum for the creation of Andhra province.

In 1943, the Andhra Mahasabha met for its annual session at Bellary. Sir Vijaya suggested that in the election to the legislatures Andhras should elect only those candidates who pledge to work for the creation of Andhra province. In other words he wanted to make Andhra Mahasabha a political organisation. The Second World War came to an end in 1945. In April 1946 elections were held and Congress assumed office in Madras Presidency. Sir Vijaya resigned his presidentship of Andhra Mahasabha due to ill health towards the end of 1946. With his resignation the activities of the Andhra Mahasabha came to an end.

Political Awakening in Telangana

While the Telugus of the Madras Presidency became politically very active during the years following Vande Mataram movement, their brethren in the Hyderabad State became politically conscious only during 1920s. A small incident spurred the Andhras of the Hyderabad State to organise themselves. On 11 and 12 November 1921, the Nizam State Social Conference was held at Hyderabad under the presidentship of Maharshi Karve, the great social reformer of Maharashtra and of the founder of S.N.D.T. Women's University. The proceedings of the conference were conducted in English, Marathi and Urdu. When one of the delegates Alampalli Venkata Rama Rao, a leading lawyer of Hyderabad city rose to speak in Telugu on a resolution, a section of the audience shouted him down. The Telugu audience felt insulted at this incident. It opened their eyes to the true position of Telugu language in the premier city of Telangana and on that very night was formed an association called the 'Andhra Jana Sangham' with eleven members including 'Andhra Pitamaha' Madapati Hanumantha Rao, B. Ramakrishna Rao, M. Narasinga Rao and Adiraju Veerabhadra Rao. Soon the membership increased to more than 100. The first meeting of the Sangham was held at Hyderabad on 14 February 1922 under the presidentship of Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy. At this meeting the name of the Sangham was changed to 'Nizam State Andhra Jana Sangham.' Madapati Hanumantha Rao who was chosen as the Secretary of the Sangham guided its destinies and did yeoman service for the cultural uplift of the Andhras of Telangana.

The Andhra Jana Sangham aimed at the social, economic and cultural revival of the people of Telangana. To coordinate the activities of the different Andhra associations in Telangana a central organisation known as 'Andhra Jana Kendra Sangham' was formed. Madapati Hanumantha Rao was the Secretary of this central organisation. The central association published pamphlets entitled *Vettichakiri* and *Varthaka Sangham*. The programme of the central association included the opening of Telugu schools, libraries, publication of Telugu books, and promotion of historical research.

Important books like *Nizam Andhra Rashtra Prasamsa*, *Nizam Rashtra Andhrulu* were published. The first four conferences of the Sangham were held at Hyderabad, Nalgonda, Madhira and Suryapet during the years 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1928 respectively.

The Library movement in Telangana coordinated its activities with the Kendra Sangham. But after the first library conference held in 1925 the government became suspicious of its aims and did not permit the holding of the second conference in 1926. The Jana Sangham formed a historical research society called 'Lakshmana Raya Parishodaka Mandali' in honour of Kommaraju Lakshmana Rao, who as noted earlier, was responsible for the establishment of Krishnadevaraya Andhra Bhasha Nilayam at Hyderabad and also the Vignana Chandrika Mandali. In 1930 a conference of historians and scholars was held at Warangal to discuss the 'History of Kakatiyas'. A journal called *Kakatiya Sanchika* was brought out containing many research articles on the history and culture of the Andhras.

From 1928 onwards the Jana Sangham evinced interest in the education of women by opening Andhra Balika High School at Hyderabad. The first batch of girls studying in Telugu medium appeared for the matriculation examination in 1934. As the Osmania University refused to recognise the institution, the students took the examination at Karve Institution, Bombay.

Formation of Nizam Andhra Mahasabha

While the Telugu leaders of the Madras Presidency were ignoring their immediate problems, the Andhra leaders of Telangana took steps to safeguard their interests. In 1930 the Andhra Jana Sangham at its conference at Jogipeta in Medak district converted itself into Andhra Mahasabha. The Hyderabad Government suspected that the Sabha had sinister designs to disintegrate the State. It felt that the name 'Andhra' was full of dangerous possibilities. But the Telangana leaders stuck to the word 'Andhra' and refused to substitute it by Telugu or 'Telangana'. The first session was presided over by Suravaram Pratapa Reddi. Along with this session a women's conference called Andhra Mahila Sabha was also held. The second conference was held at Devarakonda in 1931 under the presidentship of B. Ramakrishna Rao. In this conference most of the delegates spoke in Telugu, showing thereby that the efforts of Andhra Jana Sangham to foster Telugu language in Hyderabad State had not gone in vain. After the second conference the Hyderabad Government adopted a hostile attitude towards the Sabha. It took three years for the Sabha to get permission to hold its third annual conference at Khammam in 1934. Apart from the government many reactionary elements also tried to disrupt the conference, but due to the tact of Madapati Hanumantha Rao every thing went off well.

Pulijala Venkata Ranga Rao presided over the conference.

The fourth conference of the Sabha was held at Siricilla in 1935 under the presidentship of Madapati Hanumantha Rao. His wife Manikyamma presided over the Mahilasamajam Conference. The fifth conference was held at Shad Nagar under the presidentship of Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy.

Formation of Hyderabad State Congress

After the sixth conference of the Andhra Mahasabha held at Nizamabad, some of the political workers of the Sabha and leaders of the other linguistic regions of the State decided on 29 January 1938 to form the Hyderabad State Congress. The moving spirit behind this decision was Swami Ramanada Tirtha. A provincial committee consisting of B. Ramakrishna Rao, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Kasinatha Rao Vaidya, Ramakrishna Dooth, etc., was formed. It was decided to hold the general body meeting of the Hyderabad State Congress on 9 September 1938. Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad banned the State Congress. So the State Congress decided to offer Satyagraha from 24 October 1938. A working committee with Govinda Rao Nanal as the President and Ramakrishna Dooth as Secretary was formed. At the same time the Arya Samaj also offered Satyagraha as protest against the suppression of Hindu religious liberties. Towards the end of December, Gandhi intervened and advised the State Congress workers to give up their Satyagraha. The ban on the State Congress however continued.

Vandemataram Movement

The political agitation in the State affected the Hindu students of the Osmania University also, who began to sing the Vandemataram song in their prayer hall on the eve of the Dussera celebrations in 1938. When this was objected by the university authorities the students went on strike from 29 November to 10 December 1938. The strike spread to other districts also and 350 students were expelled. They were not permitted to take their examinations. But Nagpur University came to their rescue and allowed them to take the examinations.

Split in Nizam Andhra Mahasabha

From 1941 onwards the Andhra Mahasabha came under the leadership of the leftists. The seventh conference of the Sabha took place at Malkapuram (Hyderabad district) in 1940 under the presidentship of M. Ramachandra Rao. The main issue at the conference was the proposed constitutional reforms in the State. A resolution proposing complete boycott of reforms was carried by the support of

Ravi Narayana Reddy, Kaloji Narayana Rao, N K. Rao and Polkam-palli Venkatarama Rao. An amendment seeking the deletion of the reference to boycott, proposed by the moderates like K.V. Ranga Reddy, M. Hanumantha Rao, Pulijala Venka Joranga Rao and others was lost. This clearly indicated that the Sabha came under the influence of the leftists of the younger generation.

The eighth conference was held at Chilakuru of Huzurnagar Taluka in 1941 under the presidentship of Ravi Narayana Reddy, a card holder of the Communist Party. In his presidential address he dwelled on many international and national issues. The ninth conference was held at Dhamavaram (Warangal district) in 1942 under the presidentship of Madiraju Ramakoteswara Rao. The tenth session was held at Hyderabad in 1943. In a keen contest for presidentship, Baddam Yella Reddi, lost to K.V. Ranga Reddy. One of the resolutions requested the government to demarcate the boundaries of Telangana and include the Telugu talukas of Gadwal, Alampur and Raichur district and Kodagal with Telangana districts.

The eleventh session was held at Bhuvanagiri in 1944 under the presidentship of Ravi Narayana Reddy. The Sabha now came under the control of the communists. The Andhra communist leaders including Chandra Rajeswara Rao participated in the conference which was attended by more than ten thousands—a record in those days. K.V. Ranga Reddy and M. Ramachandra Rao denounced the session at a Communist Party meeting and organised a rival Sabha called the Nationalist Andhra Mahasabha. This Sabha held two sessions in 1945 and 1946 and then decided to merge itself with its counterparts the Maharashtra Parishad and the Karnataka Parishad in the Hyderabad State Congress. The Sabha under the communists held its twelfth session at Khammam in 1945, under the presidentship of Ravi Narayana Reddy. More than 40,000 attended the conference. On 3 December 1946 the Communist Party was banned and naturally the activities of the Andhra Mahasabha also came to a halt.

Formation of Andhra State

When India attained independence on 15 August 1947 Andhras hoped that their long cherished desire for a separate Andhra province would be fulfilled soon. Their optimism was based on the Congress election manifesto of 1947 wherein it was declared that the provinces of the country would have to be constituted as far as possible on the basis of language and culture. Many Andhra leaders like Prakasam and Ranga met Sardar Patel, the Home Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Government of India, and requested him to see that Andhra province was created before a new constitution was drafted. Patel promised to consider the legal implications. On 27 November 1947 Prime Minister Nehru announced that his government accepted the principle of linguistic provinces. This led to a speculation that Andhra province would be created by April 1948 by an order in Council under Section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935, as adopted by the Indian Provincial Constitutional order dated 14 August 1947. As a matter of fact Andhra was mentioned as one of the Governor's provinces in the first schedule, but later it was declared that,

If Andhra or any other region is to be mentioned in the schedule before the constitution is finally drafted, steps will have to be taken immediately to make them into separate Governor's provinces under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the draft constitution is finally passed.¹

This announcement created disappointment among the Andhras. The frustration of the Andhras was exploited by the non-Congress parties, particularly the Communist Party. When Nehru visited Visakhapatnam in March 1948, he tried to assuage the feelings of the Andhras by declaring that a committee would be appointed to consider the question of the creation of linguistic provinces.

1. Draft Constitution of India, prepared by the Drafting Committee, Constituent Assembly of India, New Delhi, 1948, p. xi and also p. 159.

Dar Commission

On 17 June 1948, a Linguistic Province Committee was set up by the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Chairman of the Commission was S.K. Dar, a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court. Other members were Dr. Pannalal, I.C.S. (retd.) and Jagat Narayan Lal, a member of the Constituent Assembly.

The Commission was asked to report what new provinces should be created and also state 'the administrative, economic, financial and other consequences' of the creation of new provinces. Further, it was asked to report on administrative consequences of the new provinces on the adjoining territories.

From the terms of reference it is obvious that language alone was not the sole criterion for the creation of the new provinces. Other essential requirements were administrative efficiency and sound finance.

When the Commission visited Madras, the Andhra Mahasabha submitted a memorandum demanding the creation of Visalandhra. But Sanjiva Reddy on behalf of about 20 legislators of Rayalaseema submitted a memorandum urging the postponement of linguistic provinces. In case Andhra was to be formed as a separate province he wanted statutory safeguards for Rayalaseema. The Rayalaseema Mahasabha was represented by its Bellary spokesmen, M.N. Sastry and H. Linga Reddi, who while opposing linguistic provinces wanted a separate Rayalaseema province with Madras as capital, in case Andhra province was formed.

The Commission submitted its report on 10 December 1948 recommending that "no new provinces should be formed for the present."²

About the linguistic provinces the Commission said :

The formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations is not in the larger interests of the Indian Nation and should not be taken in hand.³

The Commission made the following observation regarding the enthusiasm of the people for linguistic provinces :

These linguistic provinces make a strong appeal to the imagination of many of our countrymen and there exists a large volume of public support in their favour. Indeed in the Coastal

2. *Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission*, New Delhi, 1948, p.2.

3. *ibid.*, para 152 (1).

districts of Andhra, the demand has become, in the words of one of its leading advocates, "a passion and has ceased to be a matter of reason," and the heat and passion and controversy which gathered round the work of this Commission and which we witnessed during the course of our work, are in themselves a proof of the intensity of feeling which exists on this subject. The non-fulfilment of a demand of this nature may easily lead to a sense of frustration, and there is grave risk in turning it down, and such a risk can only be justified in the interest of national emergency.⁴

The report of the Commission created such an uproar in the country especially Andhra that the Congress felt it prudent to assuage the feelings of the public by creating another committee to consider the question of linguistic provinces. The members of the committee were Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

The committee, popularly known as the JVP Committee from the initials of its members, submitted its report to the Congress Working Committee in April 1949. It recommended the postponement of linguistic provinces by a few years. However, it made an exception in the case of Andhra, provided the Andhras gave up their claim to the city of Madras. The Congress High Command knew very well that it was impossible for the Andhra leaders to give up their claims to the city of Madras without reviving ill feeling between Circars and Rayalaseema. In this connection one must understand Andhra politics immediately following Indian independence.

Andhra Congress Politics, 1946-1953

In the Andhra Congress there were two groups centering around the prominent Andhras, Prakasam and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Pattabhi, after becoming the Congress President towards the end of 1948, used to interfere in Andhra politics through his able lieutenant Kala Venkata Rao. In the 1946 elections the Congress Party fared very well in all the Telugu districts. Prakasam contested for the leadership of the party, against the wishes of the Congress High Command, and won. He formed the ministry and included K. Koti Reddi in the cabinet as the nominee of Rayalaseema. The Rayalaseema legislators who had voted *en-bloc* for Prakasam were disappointed since they expected two positions in the cabinet. The Pattabhi group joined hands with the Tamil legislators who did not like the Andhra leadership, and toppled Prakasam's ministry in March 1947. O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar was elected leader of the Congress Party in the assembly and he formed the ministry which continued in power till 1949.

4. *ibid.*, para 146.

In June 1948 Andhra Provincial Congress Committee elections took place. N.G. Ranga and Sanjiva Reddy contested for the presidency. Prakasam's group supported Ranga while Kala Venkata Rao's group supported Sanjiva Reddy. Ranga was able to win the election by a narrow margin. He realised that he must enlist the cooperation of Rayalaseema members. He therefore nominated P. Timma Reddi and K. Obula Reddy as Vice-President and General Secretary of the APCC respectively. By this move Ranga felt that he would be able to cut down the influence of Sanjiva Reddy among the Reddies and also in Rayalaseema. Here it may not be out of place to mention that politics in Andhra after independence was influenced by caste and regional considerations.

In April 1949, P.S. Kumaraswami Raja and Dr Subbaroyan contested for the leadership of Madras Legislative Party. Kala Venkata Rao and Gopala Reddi group supported Kumaraswami Raja while the Prakasam group supported Subbaroyan who lost the election by 89 votes to 105. Sanjiva Reddy was taken into the cabinet. While these developments were taking place in Madras, the JVP Report was submitted. As noted earlier, the report favoured the creation of Andhra province provided the Andhras renounced their claims to the city of Madras. This proviso placed the Kala Venkata Rao-Gopala Reddi group which contained many legislators from Rayalaseema in a delicate position. Rayalaseema members found it very difficult to abandon the claims to Madras city. Prakasam consistently opposed the abandonment of claims to Madras city.

When Pattabhi found that the JVP Report provoked violent reaction in Andhra, he tried to explain away the proviso regarding the city of Madras. He said that non-inclusion of Madras city in Andhra did not mean its inclusion in Tamil Nadu, thereby implying that it could be made a separate administrative unit. This explanation convinced none, but still the APCC requested the Government of India to create Andhra province immediately with the undisputed Telugu districts and make Madras city a separate province. Both the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and the Government of Madras accepted the JVP Report as it had vindicated their stand, namely, that Madras city was outside the territorial limits of Andhra, in other words, it was a part of Tamil Nadu. The Congress Working Committee also recommended to the Government of India that steps be taken for the creation of a separate Andhra province.

Partition Committee

The Madras Government then took immediate steps towards the creation of Andhra province by appointing a Partition

Committee. Kumaraswami Raja, the Chief Minister, was the Chairman of the Committee. Andhra was represented by Prakasam, Gopala Reddi, Kala Venkata Rao and Sanjiva Reddy while non-Telugu areas were represented by Bhaktavatsalam, T.T. Krishnamachari and Madhava Menon.

Dissenting Note of Prakasam

Prakasam contended that "until the new capital and seat of Andhra High Court were made ready the Andhra Government and the Andhra High Court were entitled to stay on in Madras city and carry on all their work including that of Legislature."⁵ The non-Andhra members turned down this contention. They wanted that the provisional capital of Andhra should be situated within the limits of Andhra province and that the Andhra legislature should hold its sitting at the provisional capital. All that they were prepared to allow Andhra government was the location of some of its offices in Madras city temporarily.

Prakasam, thereupon, submitted a dissenting note as he could not agree with the majority on an important question like the location of the temporary capital, division of assets and liabilities etc.

The Government of India, which was not very keen on the creation of Andhra province, took advantage of Prakasam's dissenting note and shelved the issue.

The new Constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950. Creation of Andhra State (in the new Constitution provinces were called 'States') seemed to be outside the realm of practical politics. The general public of Andhra became sore at the attitude of the Congress and the Government of India. But the Andhra Congress leaders who were oblivious of the public reaction continued their sordid game of petty politics. Pattabhi before relinquishing his office of Congress President superceded the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee on 3 September 1950 and appointed S.K. Patil to take over APCC and conduct elections. The elections to the APCC were conducted in April 1951. Sanjiva Reddy who was supported by the Pattabhi group defeated Ranga, supported by Prakasam group by 87 votes to 82.⁶ When Sanjiva Reddy became the president of the APCC, Prakasam and Ranga left the Congress.

Swami Sitaram's Fast

Swami Sitaram (formerly Gollapudi Sitaram Sastry) felt that he should adopt Gandhian techniques to achieve the Andhra State. He began his fast unto death on the Independence day of 1951.

5. *The Partition Committee Report* (Madras), p.4.

6. *The Hindu* (Madras), 12 April 1951.

Nehru disapproved the extra-constitutional methods to coerce the Government. The fast created a highly explosive situation in Andhra and led to some untoward incidents. Thereupon Acharya Vinoba Bhave advised the Swami to give up his fast so that the whole issue could be settled in a peaceful atmosphere. The Swami ended his 35-day fast on 20 September 1951. Nothing came out of this fast except that it increased the contempt of the people for the Andhra Congress leaders.

Sriramulu's Fast and the Formation of Andhra State

The people expressed their resentment towards Congress in the general elections of 1952. In the entire Madras State the Congress could win only 152 out of 375 seats. In Andhra out of 140 seats the Congress could secure only 43. The communists won as many as 41 seats. Those defeated included the Congress stalwarts like Kala Venkata Rao, Gopala Reddi and Sanjiva Reddy. The communists and the Kisan Majdur Praja Party (KMPP) of Prakasam formed themselves into a United Democratic Front (UDF). Prakasam was elected the leader of UDF which had the support of 164 members. Even though the UDF was the largest single group in the assembly, the Governor did not invite Prakasam to form the ministry. On the other hand he nominated C. Rajagopalachariar to the Legislative Council and invited him to form the ministry.

After C. Rajagopalachariar became the Chief Minister of Madras, he tried to utilise his position to develop Tamil Nadu at the expense of Andhra. He took active interest in the Krishna-Pennar Project to divert the waters of Krishna river to Tamil Nadu, thereby injuring the interests of Andhra. This led to a tremendous popular agitation in Andhra against the project. At the same time the Khosla Committee which went into the technical details of the project pronounced that "in its present forms (it) should not be proceeded with." As an alternative it suggested the setting up of Nandikonda (Nagarjunasagar) Project. In such a situation Potti Sriramulu began his fast unto death on 19 October 1952 at Madras. When the fast entered its 50th day Nehru criticised it. Next day in the Rajya Sabha he repeated the same old statement that the Government of India will form Andhra State without Madras city provided there was a general agreement among the parties concerned. Sriramulu was not prepared to accept Nehru's statement and give up his fast since he remembered that Nehru had not acted on his own statement during the fast of Swami Sitaram. The fast created an explosive situation in Andhra and on the night of 15 December 1952 Sriramulu attained martyrdom. The news of the passing away of Sriramulu engulfed the entire Andhra in chaos. For three days mobs raided railway stations and other government buildings. Police had to open fire at Anakapalle, Vijayawada and other places which resulted in the death of seven persons. The disturbances in

Andhra opened the eyes of the Indian Government. On 19 December, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that the Government of India had decided to form Andhra State with undisputed Telugu districts excluding the city of Madras.

Justice Kailas Nath Wanchoo, Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, was appointed as Special Officer to report on financial, administrative and other implications of the formation of Andhra. On 7 February 1953, Wanchoo submitted his report and on 25 March 1953, Nehru announced the decision of the Government of India to create a separate Andhra State consisting of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool districts and Alur, Adoni and Rayadurg taluks of Bellary districts. He also announced that the question of Bellary taluk would be considered later. The remaining taluks of Bellary district were to be merged with Mysore State. Justice L.S. Misra of the Hyderabad High Court was appointed to consider the question of Bellary taluk. He recommended its inclusion in Mysore State. Government of India accepted his recommendations.

After the announcement of the decision of the Government of India, the Rayalaseema legislators demanded that the capital of the new State should be within their region as per the Sri Bagh Agreement. The question of the capital generated much heat and it once again brought into the fore the differences between Circars and Rayalaseema. The communists demanded the location of the capital at Vijayawada. Sanjiva Reddy who was elected as the leader of the Andhra Congress legislators enlisted the cooperation of Prakasam whose KMP Party had a strength of 20 members. The Krishikar Lok Party (KLP) of Ranga which had a strength of 15 members decided to become associate members of the Congress Party.

The KLP wanted Tirupati to be the capital. The Andhra legislature met at Madras in the first week of June to decide on the temporary capital of Andhra. The Congress, PSP and KLP leaders agreed on the choice of Kurnool. The communists wanted Vijayawada. The legislators by voice vote decided in favour of Kurnool. But when the Andhra State bill was discussed in the Madras Legislature, the KLP changed its stand and wanted the capital in Chittoor district. The communists proposed an amendment to substitute Guntur-Vijayawada for Kurnool. The amendment was lost by a single vote. Here it may be stated that the Chief Minister, C. Rajagopalachariar, suggested that no member of the residency State should take part in the voting, but 5 non-Andhra members voted for Kurnool. Had they followed the Chief Minister's advice and refrained from voting Guntur-Vijayawada would have become the temporary capital of Andhra State.

Sanjiva Reddy knew that the Congress could not form the government without the support of Prakasam. The PSP also wanted to prevent the communists from coming to power. So it allowed Prakasam to become an associate member of the Congress. The Congress Party agreed to have a ministry headed by Prakasam. Sanjiva Reddy became the Deputy Chief Minister. C.M. Trivedi was appointed Governor. On 1 October 1953, Nehru inaugurated Andhra State.

Emergence of Andhra Pradesh

Police Action In Hyderabad State

When India became free on 15 August 1947, the Nizam's government announced its intention to become an independent State. This decision upset the Hindus who wanted that the State should join the Indian Union. Meanwhile the State Congress under the presidency of Swami Ramanda Tirtha launched the 'Join India Movement.' It may be mentioned that the ban on the State Congress was lifted in April 1946. The Andhra Mahasabha as already noted became part and parcel of the Communist Party. In 1946 under the leadership of Ravi Narayana Reddy it launched an 'anti-feudal struggle' popularly known as the Telangana Movement. To counteract these activities, the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeem Party which was started in 1927 whipped up the religious fanaticism of the Muslims. It raised the cry '*Anal Malik*' (we are the rulers) and its storm troopers known as Razakars terrorised the people. Its leader Kasim Razvi boasted that Asaf Jahi Flag would fly over the Red Fort at New Delhi.

The Indian Government already burdened with the problems arising out of the partition of the country concluded with the Hyderabad government the Stand-Still agreement on 29 November 1947. The Nizam who had no intention of acceding to India violated the Stand-Still agreement and spent a huge amount of money in procuring arms. Further, on 10 September 1948 he sent a delegation to New York to refer the issue to the United Nations. On 13 September, India decided to take police action against Nizam's government. The Indian army entered Hyderabad and on 17 September the Nizam's forces surrendered. On 23 September, Nizam withdrew his complaint in the UN. Major General Chaudhary who successfully completed the police action became the military governor of Hyderabad State till December 1949, when a senior civil servant M.A. Vallodi, (ICS,) was made the Chief Minister in 1950, and Nizam was designated as the Raj Pramukh.

The States Re-Organisation Commission

After the formation of the Andhra State in October 1953, the demand for the creation of other linguistic States gained momentum. On 22 December 1953 Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha the decision to set up a States Re-organisation Commission to examine 'objectively and dispassionately' the whole question of the re-organisation of the States of the Indian Union. One week after Nehru's announcement, the members of the Commission were named. They were Saiyid Fazl Ali (Chairman), H.N. Kunzru and K.M. Pannikar.

The appointment of the Commission was hailed by the Andhras. They hoped that their dream of Visalandhra would be realised since the people of the Hyderabad State were unanimous for the trifurcation of their State. Further, the Andhras thought that all the outlying Telugu areas in Mysore, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh would be incorporated in Visalandhra.

Though the people of Hyderabad State were unanimously for the trifurcation of their State, there was a difference of opinion, among the people of Telangana regarding the future of their area. Some favoured its inclusion in Andhra to form Visalandhra with Hyderabad city as capital. Others wanted to maintain the identity of Telangana as a separate State. The communists consistently supported the formation of Visalandhra. All other parties including the Hyderabad State Congress were divided in their opinion regarding the desirability or otherwise of Visalandhra.

After the police action of September 1948, Hyderabad State was placed under the military government of Major Gen. J.N. Chaudhary. In 1949, it was replaced by a civilian government headed by M.K. Vallodi, (ICS). In 1950 four representatives of the State Congress were inducted into the administration as ministers. After the police action the menace of the Razakars was eliminated but the revolt of the communists continued. The Government of India had to deploy armed forces in Telangana to suppress the revolt. By 1951 the communists realised the futility of their policy and agreed to give up violence. Thereupon, the ban on the Communist Party was lifted and in the 1952 elections the communists contested many seats in Telangana. In the elections the State Congress was returned to power because of its good showing in the other regions of the State, namely, the Marathi-speaking Marathawada and the Kannada-speaking Hyderabad-Karnataka. Even though in Telangana, Congress did not secure a majority, still the Congress High Command wanted that the popular ministry in Hyderabad should be headed by a Telugu man, since Telugus formed more than 50 per cent of the State's population. As a result B. Ramakrishna Rao became the Chief Minister.

After the police action, the demand for Visalandhra gained ground in the Circar districts. In November 1949, A. Kaleswara Rao formed the Visalandhra Mahasabha at Vijayawada. Slowly the demand for Visalandhra gained acceptance even in Telangana. Towards the end of 1949, C. Rajagopalachariar, the Governor-General of India visited Hyderabad and favoured the continuance of the State as a multi-lingual unit. It will be remembered by the end of 1949 every one was hoping that a separate Andhra province would be formed before the new Constitution came into force in January 1950. By expressing himself against the dismemberment of Hyderabad State, perhaps Rajagopalachariar wanted to deny the future Andhra State a sizable territory and also a good capital city, Hyderabad. The PCC took note of this "unprogressive attitude" and hoped that in due course Visalandhra would be formed with Hyderabad city as capital.¹

When the AICC met at Bangalore in July 1951, Kaleswara Rao raised the question of Visalandhra but he was snubbed by Nehru not to indulge in 'loose talk'. In the elections of 1952 communists registered impressive victories both in Andhra and Telangana. In October 1953 when the Andhra State was formed, the communists were prevented from forming the ministry due to the support of the KLP and PSP to the Congress. The communists felt that in Visalandhra they would have better chances of capturing power, and intensified the demand for Visalandhra.

After the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission, the demand for Visalandhra received a big boost. Immediately the protagonists of separate Telangana intensified their demand. K.V. Ranga Reddy, the President of Hyderabad State Congress Committee, and his nephew, Dr M. Chenna Reddy, though they originally favoured Visalandhra, changed their stand and became very articulate in their support for separate Telangana.

The SRC visited Hyderabad in June-July 1954 and heard the views of different organisations and individuals and received memoranda from them. The Commission submitted its report on 30 September 1955.

The Commission recommended the disintegration of the Hyderabad State since "public sentiment, both within and without the State, is overwhelming and insistent on the need for the disintegration of the State." It also added that, "we are not impressed by the claim that during the last two hundred years a specific Deccan culture has developed in the whole area and that this culture is a major contribution to the unity of India. The common culture of

1. *The Indian Express* (Madras), 4 January 1950.

Hyderabad, like the unity of this State, is something that has been imposed from above." ²

Having recommended the disintegration of Hyderabad State, the Commission suggested the incorporation of the Kannada speaking districts of the State with Mysore State and the Marathi speaking districts with Bombay State.

The Commission summed up the advantages of Visalandhra thus :

The advantages of a large Andhra State including Telangana are that it will bring into existence a State of about 32 million with a considerable hinterland, with large water and power resources, adequate mineral wealth and valuable raw materials. This will also solve the difficult and vexing problem of finding a permanent capital for Andhra, for the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad are very well suited to be the capital of Visalandhra. ³

Another advantage of the formation of Visalandhra will be that the development of the Krishna and Godavari rivers will thereby be brought under unified control. The Krishna and Godavari projects rank amongst the most ambitious in India. They have been formulated after a prolonged period of inactivity, during which, for various technical and administrative reasons only anicuts in the delta area have been built. Complete unification of either the Krishna or the Godavari valley is not, of course possible. But if one independent political jurisdiction, namely, that of Telangana, can be eliminated, the formation and implementation of plans in the eastern areas in these two great river basins will be greatly expedited. Since Telangana as part of Visalandhra, will benefit both directly and indirectly from the development, there is a great deal to be said for its amalgamation with the Andhra States. ⁴

The Economic affiliations of Telangana with the existing Andhra State are also not unimportant. Telangana has in years of scarcity a sizeable deficit in food supplies. The existing Andhra State, however, has normally a surplus which Telangana may be able to use. The existing State of Andhra likewise has no coal, but will be able to get its supplies from Singareni. Telangana will also be able to save a great deal of expenditure on general administration in case it is not established as a separate unit. ⁵

2. SRC Report, 1955, para 364.

3. *ibid.*, p.104, para 371.

4. *ibid.*, p.104, para 372.

5. *ibid.*, p.104-105, para 373.

The creation of Visalandhra is an ideal to which numerous individuals and public bodies, both in Andhra and Telangana, have been passionately attached over a long period of time, and unless there are strong reasons to the contrary, this sentiment is entitled to consideration.⁶

Regarding Telangana the Commission made the following observations :

The case for Visalandhra thus rests on arguments which are impressive. The considerations which have been urged in favour of a separate Telangana State are, however, not such as may be lightly brushed aside.⁷

The existing Andhra State has faced a financial problem of some magnitude ever since it was created; and in comparison with Telangana, the existing Andhra State has low per capita revenue. Telangana on the other hand is much less likely to be faced with financial embarrassment. The much higher incidence of land revenue in Telangana and an excise revenue of the order of Rs. 5 crores per annum principally explains this difference. Whatever the explanation may be, some Telangana leaders seem to fear that the result of unification will be to exchange some settled sources of revenue, out of which development schemes may be financed, for financial uncertainty similar to that with which Andhra is now faced. Telangana claims to be progressive and from an administrative point of view, unification, it is contended, is not likely to confer any benefits on this area.⁸

When plans for future developments are taken into account Telangana fears that the claims of this area may not receive adequate consideration in Visalandhra. The Nandikonda and Kushtapuram (Godavari) projects are, for example, among the most important which Telangana or the country as a whole has undertaken. Irrigation in the Coastal deltas of these two rivers is, however, also being planned. Telangana, therefore does not wish to lose its present independent rights in relation to the utilisation of the waters of the Krishna and the Godavari.⁹

One of the principal causes of opposition to Visalandhra also seems to be the apprehension felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of the Coastal area. In

6. *ibid.*, p.105, para 374.

7. *ibid.*, p.105, para 375.

8. *ibid.*, p.105, para 376.

9. *ibid.*, p.105, para 377.

the Telangana districts outside the city of Hyderabad, education is woefully backward. The result is that a lower qualification than in Andhra is accepted for public service. The real fear of the people of Telangana is that if they join Andhra, they will be unequally placed in relation to the people of Andhra and in this partnership the major partner will derive all the advantages immediately, while Telangana itself may be converted into a colony by the enterprising Coastal Andhras.¹⁰

After examining the case for Visalandhra and separate Telangana the Commission felt that "the advantages of the formation of Visalandhra are obvious" and that "nothing should be done to impede the realisation of this goal."¹¹

But it came to the conclusion that :

It will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telangana, if, for the present, the Telangana area is constituted into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State, with the provision that its unification with Andhra after the General elections likely to be held in or about 1961, if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of unification. The State of Hyderabad (as we should prefer to call this unit) to be constituted for the time being, should consist of the following districts, namely, Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal including Khammam, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Medak and Bidar and the Munagala enclave in the Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna district of the existing Andhra State.¹²

Gentlemen's Agreement

The SRC Report favouring the creation of Telangana led to intensive lobbying by both the advocates of Telangana and Visalandhra. The communists reacted quickly and announced that they would resign their seats and contest the elections on that issue. Telangana Congressmen also joined the issue. K.V. Ranga Reddi and M. Chenna Reddi hailed the recommendation of the SRC. But a majority of the Congress legislators from Telangana and 7 out of ten District Congress Committees supported Visalandhra. In the Hyderabad legislative Assembly the issue was raised. In the 174-member house, 147 members expressed their views. Of this 103 supported Visalandhra and only 29 wanted Telangana and 15 remained neutral.¹³ In Andhra almost all leaders favoured Visalandhra. Only Ranga on an earlier occasion opposed Visalandhra.

10. *ibid.*, p.105, para 378.

11. *ibid.*, p.106, para 382.

12. *ibid.*, p.108.

13. *The Indian Express* (Madras), 5 December 1955.

The recommendations of the SRC were not well received by the public. Except Kerala and Mysore all other regions were sore as their expectations were not fulfilled. In many parts of the country the adverse public reaction led to violence. Many doubted the wisdom of having linguistic States. The Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar suggested the merger of their States to form one bi-lingual unit. Many hailed their decision as the right step to preserve the unity of the country. In the south, C. Rajagopalachariar floated the idea of 'Dakshina Pradesh' by merging Madras State, Kerala and Mysore. These suggestions provoked further violent reactions in different parts of the country. The Congress High Command was taken aback. It disowned the idea of bi-lingual and multi-lingual States as quickly as it had accepted.

Finally, however, the Congress High Command accepted Visalandhra. Their decision was partly influenced by the arguments of B. Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad State, in favour of Visalandhra. The hard core of Telangana protagonists like K.V. Ranga Reddi and M. Chenna Reddi however stuck to their demand for separate Telangana. In order to prevent misunderstanding between the two regions of Andhra and Telangana, the Congress High Command arranged a meeting of the leaders of the regions at Delhi on 20 February 1956.

Andhra was represented by B. Gopala Reddy (the Chief Minister of Andhra State), N. Sanjiva Reddy, G. Latchanna (Ministers of Andhra) and A. Satyanarayana Raju, President of the APGC. Telangana was represented by B. Ramakrishna Rao (Chief Minister of Hyderabad State), K.V. Ranga Reddi, and M. Chenna Reddi (Ministers of Hyderabad State) and J.V. Narasinga Rao, President of the Hyderabad Congress Committee. The meeting resulted in an agreement over the formation of Visalandhra by providing certain safeguards to Telangana.

All the eight participants affixed their signature to the accord popularly known as 'Gentlemen's Agreement.' It will be seen that all the eight members belonged to the Congress Party and no non-Congress leader was associated with the agreement.

Terms of the Agreement

1. The expenditure on the Central and general administration of the State should be borne proportionately by the regions and the balance of income from Telangana should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area. The arrangement will be reviewed after five years and can be continued for another five years if the Telangana members of the Assembly so desire.

2. Prohibition in Telangana should be implemented in the manner decided upon by Assembly members of Telangana.

3. Existing educational facilities in Telangana should be secured to the students of Telangana and further improved. Admission in technical institutions in Telangana to be restricted to the students of Telangana or they should have one-third of the seats in the whole of the State which ever is more favourable to Telangana.

4. Retrenchment in services should be proportionate from both regions if it becomes inevitable due to integration.

5. Future recruitment to services should be on the basis of population of the regions.

6. The position of Urdu in administrative and judicial structure existing in Telangana may continue for five years when Regional Council will review the position. For recruitment to services knowledge of Telugu should not be insisted upon but they should pass a prescribed Telugu test in two years after appointment.

7. Some kind of domicile rules, e.g. residence for 12 years, should be provided in order to assure the prescribed proportion to recruitment of services from Telangana area.

8. Sale of agricultural land in Telangana area to be controlled by the Regional Council.

9. A Regional Council to be set up for Telangana for its all-round development.

10. The Regional Council would have 20 members, 9 members from MLAs one of each district elected by district members separately. Six members of the Assembly or parliament elected by Telangana MLAs, 5 members from outside elected by Telangana will be members.

11. Regional Council will be a statutory body empowered to deal with and decide about;

a) matters mentioned above and those relating to planning and development, within the general plan and recruitment of services insofar as they relate to Telangana area. If there is a difference of opinion between Regional Council and the State Government reference may be made to Government of India for final decision.

b) unless revised earlier by agreement, this agreement will be reviewed at the end of ten years.

12. Cabinet Ministers in proportion to 60 : 40. Out of Telangana ministers one will be a Muslim.

13. If the Chief Minister is from Andhra, Deputy Chief Minister should be from Telangana and vice-versa. Two out of the following five portfolios should go to Telangana, viz., (a) Home;

(b) Finance; (c) Revenue; (d) Planning and Development; and (e) Commerce and Industry.

14. President, Hyderabad Congress Committee, wanted separate PCC for Telangana upto 1962; APCC President had no objection. This provision is purely an internal affair of the Congress Party.¹⁴

From the above it will be seen that the Andhra leaders went more than half way to meet the genuine demands of Telangana people. Government of India gave statutory support to the provisions of the Agreement by incorporating them in the States Reorganisation Act. In the draft bill the new State was named Andhra-Telangana. Andhra leaders raised objection to the name as it underlined the difference between the two regions, so the joint select committee amended it as 'Andhra Pradesh.'

On 1 November 1956, Nehru inaugurated the new State. Sanjiva Reddy became the first Chief Minister and C.M. Trivedi the first Governor.

The Borders of Andhra Pradesh

Andhra laid claims on the outlying Telugu territories in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. These States in their turn claimed certain areas in Andhra.

Andhra and Orissa

When Orissa was formed, in 1936, some of the Telugu majority areas of the Ganjam district and Visakhapatnam district were tagged on to that province. From that time onwards the Andhras of those regions began to agitate for the reinclusion of those areas in Andhra, as they were not happy with their position in Orissa. The Dar Commission took note of this and pointed out :

One thing is certain. The Telugus, who have been transferred to Orissa are very unhappy and their condition is the best illustration of the spirit of intolerance, which linguistic provinces breed and of the danger which lurks behind them.¹⁵

As far as Ganjam district was concerned Andhra laid claim to (a) a coastal belt about forty-miles long and ten to fifteen miles broad by the side of Bay of the Bengal and (b) the plain portion of the Parlakimedi estate including the town of Parlakimedi. As regards Koraput

14. Text of the Agreement taken from *Regionalism in India*, by G.R.S. Rao, (New Delhi), 1975, pp. 136-137.

15. Report of the Dar Commission, para 30.

district they claimed the whole of it on the ground of 'trading affiliations' with some parts of the State. SRC rejected Andhra claim to Koraput district saying that,

Koraput is a district in which the Oriya majority is absolute... and there is no case for regarding it as an Andhra area. The trading affiliation are also not such as to justify the disturbance of the existing position.¹⁶

The Commission rejected the Andhra claims on Ganjam district stating that

The Parlakimedi pocket was considered together with the Parlakimedi hill areas at the time that portion was transferred to Orissa, and although the main ground for this transfer was that the preference of the Raja of Parlakimedi for Orissa deserved to be considered with sympathy, the transfer was also justified on linguistic grounds. The Berhampur tract was likewise established at that time to be clearly within the area of Oriya influence. There is little reason to upset these decisions now.¹⁷

The Commission further stated that

In the entire district of Ganjam of which these two areas form part, Oriya is the predominant language and Telugu is spoken only by about 15 per cent of the people.¹⁸

Here it may be stated that the Andhras never claimed the entire district of Ganjam. Their claims were confined only to two talukas of Berhampur and Parlakimedi, where the Telugus predominate. It may not be out of place to mention here that at the time of formation of Orissa in 1936, Telugus were in a majority in Berhampur. It was included in Orissa as South Orissa lacked a suitable headquarters town. Likewise Parlakimedi which had overwhelming Telugu majority was included in Orissa to satisfy the whims of the Oriya Raja of Parlakimedi. The Oriyas in their counter-claim on Andhra, demanded areas in Srikakulam district right upto the Vamsadhara river. The Commission turned down this claim as "the Telugu majority in Srikakulam district, from which portions have been claimed for Orissa, is as high as 89 per cent."¹⁹

Andhra and Karnataka

For the purpose of settling the claims of different regions, the Commission stated that it has adopted "the district as the basic unit for making territorial re-adjustments."²⁰

16. S.R.C. Report, para 740.

17. *ibid.*, para 741.

18. *ibid.*, para 742.

19. *ibid.*, para 744.

20. *ibid.*, para 291.

Kolar district of Karnataka erstwhile Mysore, had a Telugu majority of 54 per cent while the Kannada speaking population was only 21 per cent. Normally the Commission ought to have recommended the transfer of that district to Andhra, but it recommended its retention in Karnataka.

Regarding Bellary the Commission accepted the plea of the Andhra Government for its inclusion in the Andhra State. The Commission commented that

There seems to be great deal of force in the contention put forward on behalf of the Andhra Government that in view of the communication and other links of Bellary with the rest of Rayalaseema and the dependence of Bellary town on the existing Andhra rather than Mysore in the matter of trade and commerce, these taluks have much closer relation with the Andhra State than with Mysore. Bellary was administered as a part of the composite State of Madras for more than one hundred and fifty years, during which it had developed into a sort of un-official capital for the entire Rayalaseema area.²¹

Further, the Commission added;

Bellary town continues to be connected with all the district headquarters of Rayalaseema by rail and road and it is nearer to Kurnool than to Bangalore. To reach Bangalore by rail from Bellary, the shortest route lies only through Andhra territory.²²

The Government of India did not accept the recommendation and retained Bellary in Karnataka. In both ways Andhra was a loser.

Andhra and Madhya Pradesh

Andhra laid claims to the southern portion of Bastar on the ground that Telugu was the spoken language of that area. Other arguments adduced for its inclusion in Andhra were that the trade affiliations of the area were with Andhra and administratively it used to be part of former upper Godavari district. The Commission was not impressed by these arguments and allowed its retention with Madhya Pradesh. The Government of India accepted the recommendation. As far as Sironcha taluk of Chanda district was concerned, even though it had a Telugu majority of 51.2%, the Commission did not recommend its transfer to Telangana with which it was contiguous.

21. *ibid.*, para 334.

22. *ibid.*

Andhra and Tamil Nadu

The border disputes of Andhra with Tamil Nadu was left to the arbitration of H.V. Pataskar, by the Chief Ministers of the States. He recommended the inclusion of a large part of Tiruttani taluk of Chittoor district of Andhra with Tamil Nadu. Similarly, large portions of Ponneri and Tiruvallur taluks of Tamil Nadu were included in Andhra Pradesh. His recommendation was accepted. In the south-west of Tamil Nadu in the Dharmapuri district, Telugus are in a majority in Hosur taluk. Pataskar did not recommend its inclusion in Andhra as it was not geographically contiguous to Andhra. Thus by losing Kolar, Andhra has lost Hosur also.

Political Crises Since 1956

Since its emergence in 1956, Andhra Pradesh was rocked by two serious violent political agitations in 1969 and 1972. The agitation of 1969 was popularly known as the 'Telangana agitation' and that of 1972 'Jai Andhra movement'. The Telangana agitation arose because of the feeling of the people of Telangana that the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' which had facilitated the formation of Andhra Pradesh had been violated by the leaders of Andhra region. Some of their grievances were real but many of them were imaginary. Leaders of the Andhra region did nothing to remove the suspicions of the Telangana people. The 'Gentlemen's Agreement' was violated in 1956 itself when Sanjiva Reddy, the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh refused to name any Telangana minister as Deputy Chief Minister saying that the Deputy Chief Ministership is like the unwanted sixth finger of the hand. But when D. Sanjivayya became the Chief Minister he named K.V. Ranga Reddi from Telangana as the Deputy Chief Minister.

The influx of the people of coastal Andhra into the city of Hyderabad had also created its own social tensions. Slowly the discontent spread to the government officials and the unemployed youth who got the feeling that they were neglected and exploited by the domineering officials of the Andhra region and the enterprising people of the Andhra area. In order to draw the attention of the government to their grievances, the people of Telangana began to organise protest meetings and observed 'Telangana Safeguards Day' as early as 10 July 1968. In the meeting held at Hyderabad city Mahadev Singh, a prominent trade union leader cautioned the government that if it failed to redress the grievances of Telangana people, the latter may be compelled to demand a separation from Andhra Pradesh.¹

One of the main causes of the dissatisfaction of the people of Telangana was that a large number of persons from Andhra region

1. *The Deccan Chronicle* (Hyderabad) 11 July 1968.

were appointed to the posts in Telangana on the ground that qualified personnel from Telangana were not available. The acute discontent of Telangana people manifested itself when a student of Khammam went on hunger strike in January 1969. By the middle of January the agitation spread to other districts. Students were in the vanguard of the movement. One section of the students wanted full implementation of safeguards while the other section demanded separation of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh. The non-gazetted officers of Telangana joined the issue by threatening to launch direct action if the 6000 Andhras occupying Telangana posts were not repatriated to Andhra region.²

The agitation took a violent turn in certain areas. To prevent the spread of violence to other areas, the five opposition parties in the State legislature, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Muslim Majlis, Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP), CPI and CPI(M) warned the Chief Minister not to ignore the students in the struggle for the implementation of safeguards.

The Chief Minister convened a meeting of all the political party leaders of the State on 18 and 19 January 1969. The two important issues agitating the minds of the Telangana people, namely, the repatriation of Andhra officials from Telangana and the quantum of surplus revenues of Telangana were discussed at the meeting. The Chief Minister announced that the all party leaders agreed to the suggestion of appointing a senior officer to decide the quantum of Telangana surpluses. He also announced that Andhra officials in Telangana would be provided jobs in Andhra area. He appealed to the striking students to call off their agitation and restore a peaceful and cordial atmosphere in the State.

Unfortunately, on 20 January the police opened fire on the agitating students in Hyderabad. This incident provoked the students and the appeal of the Chief Minister fell on deaf ears. When the students continued their agitation, government extended the 'Sankranti' vacation. On 22 January the agitation took an extremely violent turn all over Telangana resulting in heavy damage to railways and other public property. Communications were also disrupted. In order to defuse the situation the government announced that the Andhra personnel in Telangana would be repatriated by 28 February 1969. It also announced that the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India agreed to depute a senior official within a week to work out Telangana surpluses. These announcements could not bring down the agitation.

While the people of both the regions were emotionally upset a

2. *The Hindu* (Madras), 12 January 1969.

rumour was spread that an Andhra official (a deputy surveyor) was burnt alive by Telangana agitators at Nalgonda. This led to a counter agitation in Andhra area.

Meanwhile the Telangana Student Action Committee on 9 March 1969 called upon the students of Telangana to abstain from classes till separate Telangana was formed. K.V. Ranga Reddi former Deputy Chief Minister (under Sanjivayya's Ministry) joined the students stating that "without separate statehood the injustices to Telangana cannot be rectified and prevented."³

While the political situation was taking this turn for the worse, the Supreme Court granted an injunction on the Andhra Government order under which the non-Mulkis employed in Telangana were to be relieved by 28 February 1969. Subsequently, the order was declared to be *ultra vires* of the Constitution.⁴

The agitation took a new turn when eight Congress legislators from Telangana supported the students and demanded the formation of separate Telangana.

The then Prime Minister who was watching the situation closely announced in the Lok Sabha on 11 April 1969 an Eight-Point Plan to resolve the tangle. Among them were (1) the appointment of a high powered committee under a retired or serving Supreme Court judge to determine the Telangana surpluses; (2) constitution of Telangana Development Committee with Chief Minister as Chairman to review periodically the Telangana development programme; (3) constitution of a committee of jurists to examine the feasibility of providing safeguards to Telangana people in matter of public employment, etc.

The Prime Minister's Eight-Point Plan did not find favour among the dissident Congress legislators and non-Congress parties. The student agitation now passed into the hands of politicians. These politicians formed themselves into what was called Telangana Praja Samiti and began to organise the movement in a planned manner.

The Praja Samiti called upon the people to observe 1 May 1969 as the 'Telangana Demand Day'. The observance of Demand Day led to violence in some parts of Telangana and police had to open fire. The Prime Minister invited Praja Samiti leaders for talks in New Delhi but 13 out of 15 invitees declined the invitation stating that "the creation of a Separate Telangana State is not negotiable." The stalemate continued and on 4 June 1969, the situation in Hyderabad city became so violent that a 33-hour curfew was imposed.

3. *Times of India* (New Delhi), 10 March 1969.

4. *The Hindu* (Madras), 29 March 1969.

Many Congressmen demanded the resignation of Chief Minister Brahmananda Reddi.

Meanwhile the Praja Samiti leaders, Dr Chenna Reddi and the students agitation leader Mallikarjun were arrested but agitation continued even in October 1969. By November, however, there was a split in the Praja Samiti. The dissident Congress legislators also felt that they could not oust Brahmananda Reddi. The Chief Minister was able to stick on to his position due to the firm support he received from the Prime Minister. She refused to be cowed down by agitations and violence. Slowly normalcy returned to the State. Brahmananda Reddi expanded his cabinet and made J.V. Narasinga Rao as the Deputy Chief Minister.

In September 1971, Brahmananda Reddi resigned his position to make room for a Telanganite to become the Chief Minister. On 25 September 1971, P.V. Narasimha Rao from Telangana was elected the leader of the Congress Legislature Party. The Telangana Praja Samiti members rejoined the Congress. Few days later P.V. Narasimha Rao formed his ministry. Andhra Pradesh got its first Chief Minister from Telangana.

During the Chief Ministership of P.V. Narasimha Rao, Andhra Pradesh witnessed another agitation—this time in the Andhra region. The agitation was the outcome of the Supreme Court's judgement on what was known as the "Mulki issue."⁵

After the trifurcation of the Hyderabad State in 1956, the Mulki rules continued to be in force in the Telangana region. As a result the people of the Andhra region found it difficult to enter into government service in Telangana region. Some of the Andhra employees challenged the validity of these rules in the Andhra Pradesh High Court. On 14 February 1972, a full bench of five judges by four-one majority held that Mulki rules were not valid and operative after the formation of Andhra Pradesh.⁶

The High Court judgement came as a rude shock to the people of Telangana who all the while were insisting on the enforcement of the Mulki rules. The Chief Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao in order to placate his fellow Telanganites announced that the government would prefer an appeal to the Supreme Court against the ruling of

5. In 1919, the Nizam of Hyderabad issued a 'Firman' laying down that only 'Mulkis' were eligible for public appointments in the State. 'Mulki was one who was born in the State of Hyderabad or resided there continuously for fifteen years and had given an affidavit that he had abandoned the idea of returning to his native place.'⁴
6. *Asian Recorder* (New Delhi), 1972, p. 10663.
7. *ibid.*, p. 10664.

the Andhra Pradesh High Court. Further, he announced that the government would go ahead with the regionalisation of services and take steps to safeguard the "legitimate interests" of the Telangana people in the matter of employment opportunities.⁷

On 3 October 1972, the Supreme Court gave its verdict on the Mulki rules stating that they were valid and were in force. This judgement created a great political crisis in the State. The people of the Andhra region felt that they were reduced to the status of second class citizens even in their own State capital. They felt that the only way to safeguard their dignity and honour was by severing their connections with Telangana.

The Government of India realising the intensity of the feelings of the people of both Andhra and Telangana regions on the issue of Mulki rules tried to arrive at a compromise by continuing the Mulki rules in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad until the end of 1977 and in the rest of the Telangana region until the end of 1980. Parliament passed a bill to this effect on 23 December 1972. The people of the Andhra region who wanted the immediate abolition of the Mulki rules were taken aback. They felt that their dignity and honour could be safeguarded only in a separate State of their own. In order to achieve a separate Andhra State they started an agitation popularly known as the 'Jai Andhra Movement.'

On 31 December 1972 the Congressmen of the Andhra region met at a convention at Tirupati which was attended by a large number of Andhra Congress members of the Legislative Assembly, Council and presidents of Zilla Parishads. B.V. Subba Reddi, who earlier resigned his position of Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, presided over it. The convention issued a call to the people of Andhra to "paralyse the State administration" by refusing to pay the taxes to the government and by defying the prohibitory orders. To implement the decisions of the convention an 'Action Committee' was constituted with Subba Reddi as the President. The committee included six of the eight ministers who had resigned earlier over the Mulki rules issue.⁸

The Jai Andhra agitation spread like a wild fire and paralysed the administration. As a result, President's rule was enforced in the State on 18 January 1973. The State Assembly was kept in suspended animation. Meanwhile, the Congressmen of Telangana met at a convention on 21 January 1973 at Hyderabad under the Presidentship of Dr M. Chenna Reddy and resolved to fight for a separate Telangana State and converted itself into a "Congress Forum for Telangana."⁹

8. *ibid.*, (1973), p. 11210.

9. *ibid.*, p. 11227.

The Jai Andhra movement though it enjoyed popular support could not make much headway due to the lack of proper leadership. The one leader, Kakani Venkataratnam, who could have provided effective leadership died of a heart attack on 25 December 1972. B.V. Subba Reddi, partly due to his ill-health, could not rise to the occasion. The movement degenerated into a vulgar agitation. The Communist Party of India which was opposed to bifurcation of the State began to organise rallies to counteract the separatist movements in both regions.

Though the agitation continued for more than two months it failed to make any impact on the Central Government. The Andhra Congress leaders became restless and they met at Chittoor on 18 March 1973 to decide the future course of action. The meeting ended in confusion, as a large number of students forced the Congressmen to quit the Congress Party and form a regional Party.¹⁰

After the imposition of the President's rule, the advisers to the Governor, especially H.C. Sarin began to act with vigour, even though the administration was almost paralysed due to the strike of the non-gazetted government officers of the Andhra region. On 25 March 1973, the NGO'S called off their 108-day old strike.

Meanwhile another twist was given to the agitation when the Andhra Pradesh High Court declared on 17 February 1973 that only people from outside the State who came to Telangana and settled there were Mulki and not those who were born and brought up in Telangana.¹¹ As a result of this decision, the Telangana people lost even the small benefits they got by the Mulki Rules Act passed by the Parliament in December 1972. Here it may be stated that when the Supreme Court upheld the validity of the Mulki rules it did not express its opinion on the "definition and applicability of the Mulki Rules" because these points were not raised before the Court. As a result a number of cases came before the Andhra Pradesh High Court challenging the definition of the 'Mulki' in December 1972. On 11 July 1973, the Andhra Pradesh High Court gave another verdict that the Mulki rules (both old and new) applied only for initial recruitment and not for subsequent stages of promotion, seniority, reversion, retrenchment or ousting from service whether temporary or permanent.¹²

As a result of these developments and gradual loss of public support, the Congressmen both in Andhra and Telangana regions realised the futility of their demand for a bifurcation of the State.

10. *ibid.*, p. 11342.

11. *ibid.*, p. 11343

12. *ibid.*, p. 11568.

They wanted a face saving formula to call off the agitation. Sensing the changed mood of the people the Central Government held discussions with the leaders of both the regions and evolved what is known as the 'Six point formula' which was endorsed by the leaders of both the regions, with minor changes. The 6 points were :

1. Abolition of Mulki Rules and Telangana Regional Committee.
2. Local candidates were to be preferred for direct recruitment to non-gazetted posts and Assistant Surgeons.
3. Creation of a high-powered tribunal to deal with the grievances of the government employees.
4. Creation of a State level planning board with sub-committees for different backward areas.
5. Establishment of a Central University at Hyderabad to augment education facilities, and
6. Amendment of the Constitution to implement the above five points.¹³

The Andhra Congress Action Committee accepted the Six points on 1 October 1973 and gave up its ten month old agitation for the creation of separate Andhra State. On 18 December 1973, the Lok Sabha passed the Constitution (33rd Amendment) Bill to give effect to the Six-point formula. The voting was 311 for and 8 against. Simultaneously the Mulki rules which had become "unnecessary" with the acceptance of the Six-point formula were repealed.¹⁴ The Telangana Regional Committee which had been constituted in 1958 was abolished from 1 January 1974 under a Presidential order. On 10 December 1973, President's rule in Andhra Pradesh was revoked and a 15 member popular ministry was formed with J. Vengal Rao as the Chief Minister. With the advent of the popular ministry, normalcy returned and the State enjoyed political stability.

In the general elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly held in February, 1978, the Congress Party led by Indira Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India swept the polls by winning 175 out of the 294 seats. Dr M. Chenna Reddi, who had spearheaded the movement for separate Telangana State in 1969, was elected as Leader of the Congress (I) Legislative Party. Dr Reddi known for his dynamism and administrative skill, became the sixth Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and assumed office on 6

13. *ibid.*, pp. 11705-6.

14. *ibid.*, pp. 11800-01.

March 1978. He announced that the bifurcation of the State is no longer an issue and that he wants the continuance of Andhra Pradesh as an integrated State.

Economic activity in Andhra Pradesh has picked up and the State has in the recent past made great progress in agricultural development. Activity on the industrial front is also picking up. In an atmosphere of political stability and dedicated work there is no doubt that Andhra Pradesh will make progress in all directions and become one of the leading States of the country.

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