CHAPTER - FOUR

THE ROLE OF THE TELUGU PRESS IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT
(PRE-GANDHIAN)
The first session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay from December 1885. The first session of the Indian National Congress was closely related to the development of the Indian press because the founders and editors of some of the leading newspapers of the country were also prominent among the founders of the national political organisation.

The spread of education and the rise of Telugu Journalism accelerated the pace of public awakening in the Coastal districts of the present Andhra Pradesh. Many associations like Krishna District Association, Machilipatnam, Eluru (which was also then in Krishna district) were formed for political and other related purposes. On 16th May 1884, the Madras Mahajanasabha was formed with P. Rangaiah Naidu as the President and P. Anandacharyulu as the Secretary. Among the literary associations the Coconada Literary Association was the most
prominent. When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 at Bombay, a number of delegates from Berhampur, Machilipatnam, Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur attended it. Prominent among them were P. Rangaiah Naidu, P. Anandacharyulu and N. Subbarao Pantulu.¹

In the Andhra area (Andhra refers to the Telugu speaking Districts which were part of the former composite Madras Presidency) of Madras Presidency, the period saw the gradual emergence of a new class of intelligentia vigorously attuned to the national sentiment and was active in the Indian National Congress.²

District Associations, started on the model of the Indian National Congress, began to hold annual conferences from 1892 onwards at the district level to discuss local problems, thus accelerating political consciousness among the different sections of the people. They also organised many meetings to make the government aware of their attitude to matters of public importance and to protest against the oppressive policies of the government. This led to their playing a prominent role in the Swadeshi Movement of 1905.


The Telugu press became a powerful weapon in the hands of the intelligentia and was the most effective exponent of popular grievances during this period.3

The writings in the nationalist Telugu papers were responsible for popularising the Vandemataram movement in the Presidency. Swaraj, Krishna Patrika, Andhra Chandrika, Bala Bharati, Andhra Kesari, Desamata, Desabhimani and such prominent Telugu papers played an important role in preparing the minds of the people in favour of the national movement.

The press, especially Telugu press, ably supplemented nationalist literature in contributing to the growth of political consciousness among the people. Most of the newspapers were crusaders against the foreign domination of the country. It was their mission to educate the people politically. They carried the doctrines of the great political thinkers of the West to the people. Such progressive ideas as liberty, democracy, self-government and nationalism were discussed and examined in their columns. They also criticised the misdeeds of the Government and exposed its wrong policies. They made the

people conscious of their right to freedom, and fearlessly advocated popular causes.  

TELUGU PRESS AND VANDEMATARAM MOVEMENT:

The partition of Bengal was a turning point in the history of Bengal and it caused reverberations throughout India. An agitation of unprecedented magnitude spread throughout Bengal demanding the reunification of Bengal provinces. The agitators used the weapons of boycott of foreign goods and promotion of and Swadeshi goods. The boycott of everything foreign naturally required the revival of indigenous industries to meet the demands of the people and it gave the impetus to the manufacture of Swadesh goods.

During the time of Vandemataram movement, Krishna Patrika, Swaraj, Andhra Kesari, Akasavani Deshabhimani and Swarnalekha supported the Swadeshi movement with great zeal and strongly advocated the boycott of foreign goods. Those papers considered swadeshi spirit as the panacea for all the existing evils in the country. They appealed to people to ignore the defects in the native goods and use them out of love for the country. People were asked to consider foreign goods as poisonous.

Swarnalekha of September and October 1905 referring to the Swadeshi Movement; writes, "If the enthusiasm of the people should continue, our country which has been grinding under poverty for a very long time depending upon foreign countries, would now have the means of obtaining its own food. The Anglo-Indian papers mock at the people declaring that the movement has no suitability, that the Hindu are not persevering and what they know is only to cry. Their very mockery is for our good. For it does not disgrace to stimulate them to work but have their commendation". 5

Andhra Kesari pointed out that the boycott of foreign goods would not only promote native industries but also promote among the people noble qualities like "perseverence, unity and patriotism." 6 Krishna Patrika published a series of articles on the need to develop indigenous industries. Articles on tanning industries were published on December 15, 1906. Lakkaraju Akkaraju Pantulu wrote on 'thrift', Dasa Sreeram Panthulu wrote on the 'Elevation of the Ryot' in the same issue. In its editorials Krishna Patrika exhorted the people not to buy foreign goods and not allow the flow of our money to foreign lands. 7

5. N.P.R., 1905, P. 435.
6. Ibid., 1907, p. 268.
Suryodaya Prakasika in an article to encourage the Swadeshi Movement on the regeneration of country manufacturers, said that in former times many people in India earned their livelihood by their manufactures. The introduction of European goods into India dealt a death blow to the indigenous industries. On account of the partition of Bengal, which Lord Curzon had carried out much against the wishes of the people, the people of Bengal were determined not to buy English goods and also not to send Indian produce to England. This firm determination would be the cause of regeneration of the Indian industries. Also the people would be able to purchase the grains at cheaper rates if exports to foreign countries were stopped once for all. 8

Krishna Patrika stressed the need to send deserving students to foreign lands by contributing money so that they could learn better techniques of manufacture. 9 S.R. Mallady Venkata Subbarao, S. Ramarao, G. Janakiramayya, Alapathi Gopalarao and D.S. Rao were sent to Japan to learn the technique of the manufacture of home made goods. The same journal wrote that the English destroyed native arts and taught servitude. It further wrote "knowledge has dawned on the country and the people are awakened and Swadeshi

8. Suryodaya Prakasika, September 27, 1905.
movement has flourished. It is certain that foreign trade will decline. 10 A correspondent to the Swaraj wrote: "For an unarmed people like the Indians, boycott is like the Narayana weapon. The 'Feringhi' guns cannot cope with boycott. This boycott can help us in all our actions towards our ideal". 11

The Telugu papers suggested not only the boycott of foreign cloth but also of foreign titles, schools, courts, legislative councils and even the Anglo-Indian newspapers. When the Madras Provincial Congress of 1908, which was dominated by the moderates, did not pass the boycott resolution, the nationalist Telugu papers criticised the congress for its cowardice and supported boycott. 12

Krishna Patrika proudly published in its issue the refusal of a washerman in a village to wash foreign clothes. It reported that the washerman told the owner of the clothes that he would throw the foreign cloths in the oven. 13 Suryodaya Prakasika referring to the inter connection

10. Ibid., April 5, 1905.
11. Swaraj, March 26, 1908.
between Swadeshi and Swaraj, defended the incidents at the Barisal Conference and the arrest of Surendra Nath Banerjea and pleaded eloquently for swadeshi as a road to Swaraj. It observed: "By the boycott of English and other foreign goods in Bengal, European trade has considerably fallen. This policy if successfully carried out would not only subdue the high spirit of the Europeans but would also brighten our prospects of independence and increase our happiness. It is hoped therefore that all readers would do their utmost to promote swadeshism in our country". 14

Andhra Kesari remarked "we cannot agree with those loyalists in saying that boycott denotes hatred". 15 Deshabhimani described boycott as a weapon which was mightier than all other weapons and said. "Holding this sword in one hand and the trident of union among the people in the other we may obtain the fort of Swaraj". 16 The same paper wrote on January 5, 1905: "There is only one way for Indians to get swaraj. It is by the adoption of boycott. If the arrow of boycott is let off with all its force Swaraj will be at once got. In our present condition nothing seems to be equal to it."

15. N.P.R., 1908, P. 89.
16. Ibid., 1907, P. 217.
The nationalist Telugu press supported the ideal of Swaraj with a missionary zeal. Andhra Kesari once wrote in 1908, "Our defects cannot be remedied until we attain Swaraj and practise self-help".

Krishna Patrika of referring to the order of the Bengal government prohibiting students from taking part in the Swadeshi movement and appointing teachers as provisional constables remarked that one could infer how far the government took interest in the welfare of the Indians. "It is making strenuous efforts to ruin our trades and industries and convert them into useless dolls". The said restriction will only make the people more coext in their endeavours. Although the government may forbid Swadeshi meetings by legislation, none can prevent them. The people will not relax their efforts to encourage native industries though there may be difficulties but will hold Swadeshi meetings in every village and open shops with the articles of Indian manufacture.17

Vandemataram in its very first issue on 6th March 1907 announced its avowed policy of publishing the truth fearlessly and to preach patriotism. It complained that Indians had no love for their country. Therefore, foreigners

17. Krishna Patrika, November 1, 1905.
were plundering our wealth. The periodical exhorted people to nurture the tree of Swadeshi and to boycott foreign goods.

The ideal of national education, which was preached and practised vigorously during the Vandemataram movement, was propagated assiduously by the nationalist Telugu press. Krishna Patrika criticising the foreign system of education declared that it was better to give up education if it should preclude any one from cherishing affection for one's own country.18 Deshabhimani commenting on the order of the government prohibiting students from taking part in politics wrote that the people should teach a lesson to the government by starting national educational institutions.19

Telugu newspapers underwent a change after Pal's visit. They wrote more boldly and freely on the meaning and significance of Vandemataram, on Swaraj and Swadeshi, boycott and national education. They looked at Swaraj as a natural right. They repudiated the argument that Indians were unfit for Swaraj and unable to govern themselves. They persuaded the people to use Swadeshi articles even though they were more costly. They argued that self-help was the

19. Deshabhimani, May 9, 1907.
best help and that like Japan they should rise out of their own effort, that the British could not rule India for all time, that Indians should wage a bloody and relentless war to get Swaraj but they should prefer to send them away peacefully through boycott.

Mutnuri Krishna Rao, the Editor of Krishna Patrika, organised Bipin Chandra Pal's tour in Andhra. The speeches of Pal fanned the flames of excitement among the younger generation. Krishna Patrika wrote: "The song Vandemataram is the staple root of the modern life of Bharatvarsha and it is the quintessence of modern poetry, arts, sciences and social and political activities. It has given new knowledge, new power and new beauty and will be the cause of the future prosperity of our country and of the establishment of Swaraj."20

Pal's tour in Andhra was a roaring success. It electrified the whole political atmosphere and made the people more militant and self assertive than they were before. The desire to do something and not to remain merely passive took hold of them.21 The Government attributed to his tour the trouble in Coconada and Rajahmundry in 1907

20. Krishna Patrika, April 26, 1907.

and the holding of meetings in the rural areas of Godavari for spreading the message of Swaraj and Swadeshi. A missionary working in and around Rajahmundry wrote to government on July 13, 1907. "There is no immediate danger on hand but Pal had no doubt sown a powerful and bad seed which has fallen on fertile ground and is beginning to grow at some places more rapidly than one is inclined to think. The Rajahmundry paper Andhra Kesari and other papers water the seditionary seedling very carefully and eagerly."\(^{22}\)

Pal's visit was really a landmark in the history of the freedom struggle of Andhra. Referring to his triumphant progress, Krishna Patrika wrote: "The respect and the hospitality with which the people entertained him and the eagerness with which they listened to his speeches are not signs of a temporary rise of feeling but convey a special meaning underlying them all. They are the indications of a desire for independence and a longing for changes, lurking in the hearts of the people. The new spirit teaches a lesson to the westerners, who have a mania for extension of dominions and who wield terrible swords. The lesson will be taught not by arms, not by war, but by a bloodless sacrifice."\(^{23}\)


\(^{23}\) *Krishna Patrika*, May 3, 1907.
Telugu newspapers repeatedly pointed out that without freedom there could be no progress in any field "Absence of self-government means absence of intellect and skill. Those who depend on foreign rule cannot have any manliness. It is to blaspheme God to say that England should rule India for ever". They also stressed the futility of government's policy of repression; "Unrest would not disappear even if the press is gagged. Mother India is Kali whose power is irresistible. Repression increases sedition. The attempt to terrorise people by bringing in armed police and military will surely fail".

Some papers went to the extent of indirectly defending the cult of the bomb put into practice by anarchists and terrorists in Bengal and elsewhere. They argued that it was only on account of the cruel measures of the autocratic government to suppress the Swadeshi movement that made these young men commit the honourable violent deeds and become emboldened to make confessions. Krishna Patrika asked why tea-planter who murdered coolies were let off while so much of fuss was made of Mrs. Kennedy's murder by the terrorists.

On March 26 1908 an article appeared in Swaraj on the murder of Ash, the District Magistrate of Tinnevally and the deaths of two Indians as a result of a subsequent firing by a European Officer. This was considered seditious and government decided on taking firm action on all those connected with the paper. 27 Arrest warrants were also issued against Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Editor of Krishna Patrika and Chillarige Srinivasa Rao, Editor of Navayuga. But Sedimbi Hanumantha Rao, the public prosecutor, interceded on their behalf and on his assurance, that Krishna Rao would cease to be the Editor of Krishna Patrika and that Navayuga would stop publication, that the warrants were withdrawn. 28

The reaction of the Telugu newspapers to the Minto-Marley Reforms was more or less the same. Andhra Kesari of Rajahmundry wrote in November 1909: "So long as there is official majority (in the Viceroy's Legislative Council) the views of the representatives of the people cannot gain prominence. The separate and extraordinary representation granted to the Muhammadans not only smacks of partiality but is an obstacle to the welding of the Indians into a nation". Krishna Patrika observed the election of only eight members

27. Swaraj, March 26, 1908.

by all the District and Taluk Boards and Municipalities in the presidency was contrary to the principles of representation. They could not really represent the people at large.\textsuperscript{29}

The Telugu press made critical comments on the action taken by the government on Kotappakonda riot case. Even Andhra Prakasika, known for its moderation, observed: "It is very regrettable that the Government should on the mere suggestion of the London Times and the Madras Times hastily have suspended two or three respectable officers. Suspension is equal to dismissal in the case of high officials. Can there anything be more disgraceful? We humbly submit that in these days of mutual misunderstanding it is unbecoming of the government to compromise their dignity by listening to the advice of scare-mongers".\textsuperscript{30}

Deshabhimani wrote: "According to law they must have had issued a notice of the offences with which they were charged and been given an opportunity to establish their innocence. We can emphatically say that even this little justice was not done in the case of these two officials."\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29} N.P.R., 1909, P. 162.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 1909, P. 180.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 1909, P. 336.
The Krishna-Guntur Conference was held at Guntur under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur G. Kesavapillai of Gooty. One resolution pleaded for wider Municipal franchise, another for a larger elective element in the local bodies, and still another for liberal donations by the public for the Masulipatnam National College. There was no reference to fundamental political issues. This naturally provoked criticism by some newspapers which subscribed to the new philosophy of Nationalism. One of them, Deshabhimaní, observed: "In the president's speech no mention is made of the new spirit of nationalism which has been agitating the country since 1905. He has ignored the part which the people have to play in the progress of their country, but he refers to government as the only agency by which the state of the country can be bettered." 32

The provincial conference which met at Kurnool under the presidency of P.R. Sundara Aiyar, a leading advocate of Madras, had the same un lively character about it. Krishna Patrika referred to the president's address and said that his statement that the East India Company was from the beginning working hard for the welfare of the country was contrary to facts. It also observed "It is regrettable that Mr. Aiyar has not criticised the repressive measures of

32. N.P.R., 1910, P. 767.
government in the spirit of an eminent lawyer. It is of course, the duty of subjects to co-operate with government in suppressing sedition and rooting out anarchism. But Mr. Aiyar would have done justice to the eminent position he occupied had he at the same time, said that it was also their duty to criticise those repressive measures which are a block in the way of national progress and see to their being repealed by government." 33

HOME RULE MOVEMENT

The Lucknow session of the Congress was important since the two groups within the Congress had now been united again. World war I broke out in 1914. In the Lucknow pact the Congress entered into an agreement with the Muslim League. Tilak, who had been released, was now a changed man. He felt that the Home Rule would be a first step towards the attainment of freedom to achieve this objective. He started Home Rule League in Poona in April 1916. Annie Besant founded All Indian Home Rule League in Madras in September 1916. Both Home Rule Leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant worked in close cooperation and understanding. While Tilak confined his activities to Bombay and Central provinces, Annie Besant covered her work in the rest of India. 34

33. N.P.R., 1910, P. 819.
In Andhra, a branch of the Home Rule League was founded with Harisarvottama Rao as its Secretary. He declared that it was possible to kill the power and strength of the British Empire in India by setting up a self-government as a golden mean and the basis of political progress in India. The Telugu newspapers like Deshamata, Hitakarini, Andhra Patrika and Krishna Patrika played prominent roles in the propagation of the ideas of Home Rule. As Annie Besant also happened to be the Editor and Proprietor of the paper New India, it became the leading agency for the propagation of the ideal of home rule for India. No other paper contributed more for the growth of nationalism among the people in the South than New India during the Home Rule Movement.

Krishna Patrika gave prominence to the Home Rule Movement in its pages and spread the message of Home Rule to the nook and corner of Andhra. The speeches of Tilak, Annie Besant and others, advocating Home Rule, were published prominently in the columns of the paper. And the news of the establishment and activities of the branches of Home Rule League in several parts of Andhra was also given much coverage in it. The paper wrote that people need not fear to establish the branches, as the High Court of Madras had declared that demanding self-government was not sedition.

Some papers however did not support the Home Rule Movement. Andhra Prakasika, Ravi, Sasilekha and Andhra Chandrika among the Telugu papers opposed the Home Rule Movement. Sasilekha felt that the wheels of progress would have a set back if the Home Rule Movement was intensified. It appealed to the Congress leaders not to follow the lead of Annie Besant. Andhra Chandrika was critical of Besant and wrote that there should be no agitation during the war period. The paper also expressed the view that there were many things to be set right in India, before striving for self-government. The paper justified the demand of security deposit from New India. Ravi also justified the action taken by the government against Mrs. Besant and New India and wrote that the animosities and illiteracy prevailing in India made the country unfit for self-government.

Under the heading "Home Rule League" Deshabhimani wrote "The Home Rule League have to do very extensive work in India. They have to spread the right idea of Home Rule among the people. Similar leagues have to be established in England. A Home Rule Bill has to be introduced in the Parliament. We may fail in the beginning, but we should not be disheartened. We should see to if that it is introduced

37. Ibid., 1916, P. 980.
again and again. By perseverance we may reach the goal. Proper help should be sent from India to those who have set about to work in England. For all this, there must be unity among the Indians. They must sink all differences. This is not the time for fomenting of differences. In this age, unity is the secret of success. Mr. Tilak has given away a lakh of rupees to the cause of Home Rule. Unless the Indians subscribe to this cause and unitedly carry out an incessant agitation, Home Rule will not be possible. England is fighting on the side of liberty. Liberty is bound to win. This is just the time for Indians to place their ideal of Home Rule before the rulers.  

Andhra Patrika published the first pamphlet issued by the Home Rule for India League established in Great Britain, in which the following is found: "India does not wish to drive away the English. What she wants is equal treatment with them in her own land. Indians will be glad to have the English as their fellow subjects and not as their superiors or rulers, so that government of India should cease to be foreign and became Indian. The gulf of difference between the Anglo-Indians and the Indians is ever widening. In the 20th century, England should not commit the same mistake with reference to India as she had done with reference to

38. Deshabhimani, April 29, 1917.
America in the 18th century. The stability of the world-wide British empire depends on the help that England willingly gives to India in establishing self-government in that country."39

Deshamata said: "In this country there is no political agitation properly so called. We have only the shadow of it conducted by lawyers and other educated classes. Although it is now 30 or 40 years since the Indian National Congress had its birth its influence has not reached the masses as yet. As only a few out of the 31 crores of Indians are concerned with the Congress and other Conferences, it is wrong to say that there is political agitation in India. It can exist only when the masses have at least the shadow of political learning and when they know how differently this country is constituted politically from others."40

The progressive sections in Andhra welcomed the Home Rule Movement and the dynamism which Annie Besant gave to it, although the Telugu press gave it a sort of mixed reception. Andhra Patrika observed: "We believe that in the present circumstances it is unnecessary to have besides the Indian National Congress, another All India Association with the same ideals and aspirations as those of the Congress. It

does not appear to be wise to undertake other work without settling the differences prevailing among the Congress Leaders and strengthening the Congress."  

The Deshamatha supporting the League wrote: "The Indians should represent their aims to the British and try to obtain Home Rule. Mrs. Besant is endeavouring to establish a Home Rule League for the purpose and in this she has the support of most of the educated Indians."  

The last observation was on the whole true and the majority of the political leaders in Andhra took part in the activities of the Home Rule Movement. This paper wrote in praise of Annie Besant's lectures delivered at Rajahmundry. Her tour and the eloquent addresses she delivered strengthened the Home Rule Movement and reminds one of the tours undertaken by Bipin Chandra Pal in 1907. It produced a similar effect on the political life of the people. In addition to her lecturing activities she organised a band of Home Rule Volunteers. She also started a national educational scheme and all these served as auxiliaries to the Home Rule Movement. Several young men from Andhra joined her organisation, and Madanapalli in the Chittoor district became the most important centre of the educational activities in Southern India.  

41. Andhra Patrika, October 5, 1915.  
42. Deshamatha, October 27, 1915.  
The agitation of Mrs. Besant and her followers began to influence the tone of the Telugu press. The Madras government was naturally alarmed at the growth of the influence of Besant and her League. Almost every Fortnightly Report during 1916-17 refers to this subject. It occupied the centre of governments attention in these years. One cause of alarm was that she was sure "to give to the Indian nationalists the invaluable advantage of a leader possessed of European experience, European courage and resources."  

The Madras government proposed in November 1915 to deport her to England but the Central Government did not approve of it. At the beginning of 1916, the government got an impression that her influence was declining and did not therefore, wish to take any action against her. But the later events showed that it was not a correct impression. It, therefore, proceeded against her under the Iniquitous Press Act and demanded from time to time large amounts of security deposits from periodical New India. The total of such demands came to the stupendous figure of Rs. 20,000/- and all this was mercilessly forfeited.  

She appealed to the High Court but in vain. This, however did not deter her from pursuing her Home Rule activities. It also constituted


45. Government Order No. 24, of 1916, for the week ending June 10, 1916.
to the strengthening of the movement and making it more popular.

On the order of the Madras government directing that students should not attend political meetings, Andhra Patrika said: "Though in this presidency there are no meetings or speakers that spoil students yet this order of the government is a weapon directed against Besant and others and the Home Rule Propaganda. It is audacious to say that Mrs. Besant and others drag, the students into the Home Rule League and spoil them. Some people smell sedition in every meeting howsoever innocent it may be. The reports of the Criminal Investigation Department help them, and orders like the one referred to above are, therefore, issued. This unnecessary order of the government deprives the students even of the very little freedom that the educational authorities have allowed them. We fear that by this procedure the government make the students more inquisitive about politics and defeat their own object." 46

A worse measure of repression was the internment of Besant and her two colleagues B.P. Wadia and G.S. Arundale. Almost all the Telugu papers protested strongly against the internments. Deshabhimani said: "To intern Mrs. Besant, who

has identified her welfare with that of the people and who has devoted her all to the cause of righteousness is a stain on the British government. There are signs all over India that the internments will in no way affect the Swaraj agitation." 47 Deshamata observed that many influential leaders of the people had been joining the Home Rule League since the adoption of repressive measures by government. Other papers also wrote in the same strain. 48

In addition to protests like these, the day on which Besant was interned was observed every month as the "internment Day". In several places public meetings were held and the call to agitate for self-government was repeated. 49

The state government continued its policy of repression. Fortified by a Government of India circular that steps should be taken against political demands of an extravagant character, it instructed district collectors to discourage the public in the matter of holding protest meetings. It demanded from Deshamata, a paper with which the well-known writer Chilakamarthi Lakshminarasimham Pantulu was associated, a security deposit of one thousand rupees

47. N.P.R., 1917, P. 2012.
49. Ibid., 1917, PP. 2062-2063.
without issuing any previous warning to him or pointing out what constituted the so called objectionable matter in the paper. 50

In the last days of July 1917 a joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of Muslim League was held in order to work out a plan for securing the release of Besant. And her followers hit upon the idea of "passive resistance". Opinion in the Telugu press and among the Andhra leaders was divided on the subject. Andhra Patrika and Andhra Prakasika opposed it. Deshabhimani was in favour of it. In its issue of August 26th it reported the proceedings of a meeting held at Guntur which contains one of the earliest references in Andhra to the arguments in favour of passive resistance. 51

The activities of the Home Rule League and the persistent agitation carried on by its members and the talk of passive resistance convinced the Government that it was no longer desirable or expedient to keep Mrs. Besant interned. The Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, also felt that internment was inconsistent with the new policy he had announced in the House of Commons. Mrs. Besant and her


colleagues were consequently released on September 17, 1917. The Telugu press regarded the release as the signal triumph of popular agitation for a just cause. Krishna Patrika observed: "Constitutional agitation is crowned with success. The natural love of independence on the part of the British has been confirmed the power of the rulers cannot but yield to that of the people. This is a good sign for the future acquisition of self-Government". Deshamatha wrote in a similar note. Andhra Patrika referred to the welcome given to Besant by the citizens of Madras and said that such a reception was not accorded even to the Viceroy. "It is now becoming plain what great deeds may be done by popular power". The people were now as jubilant as they were when the partition of Bengal was annulled.\(^\text{52}\)

The declaration that the goal of the British policy in India was responsible Government, was received with great jubilation by the public and the press. Andhra Patrika expressed the hope that Mr. Montagu's visit would result in the acceptance of the Congress League's Scheme and in bringing about a more friendly relationship between the two countries. They were, however, worried over the views expressed by the Anglo-Indian Papers and the European

Community in India which were all opposed to the new policy announced.  

There were also the reactionary elements among the British with the retired members of the Indian Civil Service at their head who tried to put as many obstacles as possible in the way of any advance towards self-Government in India. From September 1912 onwards the Telugu press wrote vigorously in condemnation of the attitude of these reactionary forces and expressed the hope that Mr. Montagu would not fall unduly under their influence. The papers accused the Anglo-Indian conservities receiving pensions in England from the Indian treasury of sheer ingratitude in thus obstructing India’s advance towards self-government.

The Viceroy consequently convened a conference at Delhi to which several non officials were invited. He spoke to them of the need for putting greater effort into the prosecution of the war which he said was India’s war. Some non-officials wanted to raise the question of Home Rule but he put them down on the ground that it was not the time to raise political issues. This caused a large amount of disappointment in the country and became a cause for criticism in the Telugu press.

53. N.P.R., 1917, P. 263.
55. N.P.R., 1918, P. 737.
Andhra Patrika said: "His excellency the Viceroy asked the Indians to defend their own country and told them that it was not the proper time to discuss the question of the grant of freedom. But it is the grant of freedom that will rouse the enthusiasm of the people." Hitakarini observed: "The people expected great things such as the solution of political problems and the declaration of Home Rule and the policy of self-determination but they have been disappointed. A conference like this was unnecessary to pass a loyalty resolution. Since the commencement of the war the people have manifested their loyalty many times." Very few were disposed to agree with the Viceroy that the war for which he demanded more recruits was really India's war.

It was in this atmosphere that the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met at Bezwada (now Vijayawada) on December 8, 1918. It proposed that the next session of the Congress should be held in London and that Government should be requested to nominate Tilak as one of India's delegates at the peace conference. The Telugu press supported these proposals and Andhra Patrika wrote: "The Congress should at once represent to the Government that Tilak should be sent to the peace conference as a representative of the people of

56. N.P.R., 1918, P. 737.

57. Ibid., 1918, P. 827.
India. The Congress leaders should struggle inside for the removal of the prohibition against the Congress deputation proceeding to England and proclaim thus at the top of their voice that the principle of self-determination should be applied to India. India's firm demand should be known to President Wilson and the whole World. But now that the war was over, the Government was in no mood to be influenced by public opinion.

JUSTICE PARTY AND THE TELUGU PRESS

Krishna Patrika vehemently criticised the policies and programme of the Justice party. Some thirty non-brahman leaders, including Dr. T.M. Nair and Tyagaraja Chetti, met at the Victoria Public Hall in Madras city and formed a party to represent the non-brahman community, which was a precursor to the Dravidian movement. In its editorial dated 1st February 1916, the paper criticised that the Justice Party had no political commitment and no nationalistic ideology, whereas the Congress had a definite programme and was above caste considerations. Kesavanarayana aptly remarked that the political importance of the Justice Party was negligible. Yet no doubt, it brought about a striking improvement among the non-brahmans in the economic and

58. N.P.R., 1918, P. 1786.
social spheres. But from the nationalistic point of view its policy was reactionary.

The nationalist Telugu press contained eloquent appeals for unity between the Brahmins and the non-brahmins. In the Madras presidency the non-brahmin movement was an important political force and the Justice Party which championed the cause of the non-brahmins adopted a pro-British attitude. Here the nationalist Telugu papers fervently urged the brahmins and non-brahmins to unite in order to fight for independence. They also alleged that the non-brahmin movement was a creation of the British Government and appealed to both the Brahmins and the non-brahmins to unite and work together for the freedom of the country.\(^60\)

Appealing to the non-brahmins not to obstruct the Home Rule Movement, Krishna Patrika wrote, "It makes no difference whoever gets the higher appointments under the present political administration, the country does not gain an iota of benefit thereby. The question that should be determined with great concern is whether administration should be in the hands of the bureaucracy or the representatives of the people .... It is desirable that the non-brahmin should instead of opposing the Home Rule

Movement, help in the gradual amelioration of all castes and the creation of electorates having equal opportunities."

Deshabhimani urged the brahmins and the non-brahmins to unite. The paper further wrote: "should the brahmin and non-brahmin dispute flourish for the ruin of the society? May the non-brahmins remember the advice of Dharma Raja that the Pandavas and Kowravas should unite against any foreign invader though they quarrelled among themselves." The paper also pointed out that in the eyes of the British Government both the Brahmins and the non-brahmins were slaves. Andhra Patrika wrote that the non-brahmins were harming their own interests by working against the national movement.

Satyagrahi wrote that the non-brahmins would not be able to throw out the brahmins as long as the British rule continued in India and also cautioned that Brahmins should realise that it was in their own interest and in the interest of the nation that they should develop amity with non-brahmins. Venkatesa Patrika believed that the non-brahmin movement was encouraged and patronised by the British.
British Government. A correspondent to Andhra Patrika wrote that there was no difference between the policy of Lord Curzon who partitioned Bengal in order to divide the Hindus and the Muslims and the policy of the Madras Government which divided the Brahmins and non-brahmins. Godavari Patrika expressed the view that the hatred of brahmins was "a cancer created by the authorities."

In criticising the non-brahmin movement the nationalist papers severely criticised the Justice Party which championed the cause of the non-brahmins. Janmabhoomi thought that the Justice Party was far too much concerned with, "prizes and posts and with the"cult of nepotism" and not with nationalist ideas. Andhra Patrika appealed to the Justice Party to give up its "hate policy" and join hands with the Congress in order to win glory for the nation. Satyagrahi, in one of its scathing attacks on the Justice Party said: "To secure jobs for the maximum number of people is the main ideal of the Justice Party. Power is what they desire ... Hatred of brahmins is the life breath of the Justice Party. It is born for that and is growing for

66. N.P.R., 1920, P. 1200.


68. N.P.R., 1920, P. 1200.

69. Janmabhoomi, December 9, 1926.

that."71 Kalinga alleged that the Justice Party collaborated with the British Government and remarked "The Indian slaves stoops to anything in his possession for power what a shame."72

While the nationalist papers were critical of the non-brahmin movement and the Justice Party, the papers representing the viewpoint of the Justice Party and the non-Brahmins in education, services and other matters, characterised the national movement as a Brahmin movement. Andhra Prakasika, Nyaya Dipika in Telugu championed the cause of the non-brahmins and ventilated their grievances.

ANDHRA MOVEMENT

The Telugu press from the dawn on the 20th century was very in highlighting the problems faced by the people in the economic social and political spheres. In the genesis of the Andhra movement (Andhra consisting of all the Telugu speaking districts of the erstwhile Madras Presidency) the Telugu press which focussed the grievances of the Andhras and created an awareness among the people regarding the various problems faced by them. The movement was started initially to bring up the grievances of the Andhra people in

71. Satyagrahi, July 9, 1927.
72. N.P.R., 1929, P. 1263.
services, army, education and economic fields to the notice of the Government on the one hand and to the people on the other hand. 73

This study in addition to examining the role of the Telugu Press in public awakening, it shall also examine as to how the Telugu Press has helped in the growth of public opinion among the Telugu speaking people in favour of the Andhra movement that was launched for the all-round improvement of the Andhras, which included the demand for a separate linguistic state for them.

The agitation for the formation of a separate state of Andhra picked up momentum only after India attained freedom. But the idea of a separate state and demand for its formation was moulded in the first decade of the 20th century itself. During the National Movement the Andhras exhibited their enthusiasm, involvement and national spirit. Leaders like T. Prakasam, N. Subba Rao, M. Rama Rao and gave up their lucrative practices, jobs, business and plunged themselves into the freedom movement. But these leaders also had launched their struggle for the creation of the Andhra State. 74


BACKGROUND: Veeresalingam wrote a number of books on a variety of subjects to propagate modern ideas and culture. He started Vivekavardhini a monthly magazine in 1874. Of his own literary activities, he says in his autobiography: "I penned the first prose work in Telugu. I was the first to render drama in Telugu. The first Telugu book on natural sciences and on history were authored by me. I was the first to write books in Telugu prose for women".  

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

During the Swadeshi Movement the proposals to separate Ganjam, were vehemently criticised by the people and the Telugu press and also by the non-Telugu Journals. The Hindu, the Madras standard, Swadeshimitran and Shons-ul-Akbar of Madras protested against the separation. This criticism

75. Vivekavardhini, July 1880, January, 1883 and March 1881.
had its effect. When the scheme of partition of Bengal was announced in July 1905, the Madras presidency was left undisturbed.\textsuperscript{78} The Andhra Movement as it may be called, arose out of a psychological complex. Most of the Telugu speaking areas had become a part of the Madras presidency. The Tamilians, it may be said, were responsible for kindling the spirit of Andhras. They provoked the Andhras by declaring that the Andhras were a backward people, be it in the field of education, employment, administrative positions or commerce. It was also alleged that the Andhras had to totally depend upon the Tamilians for their development, a baseless allegation.\textsuperscript{79}

The emergence of the Telugu press and the newspapers as the medium of communication among the various sections of the society provided an opportunity for the people to give expression to their sentiments. That the Telugu people had been ignored in official positions, educational facilities, etc., was to some extent true. The Telugu press threw its focus upon these aspects in a series of articles, by providing even statistical data. It was shown that only eight Telugu people were occupying high positions in the administrative set up while there were 56 non-Telugu

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{78} Krishna Patrika, February 11, 1911.
\end{flushleft}
officials. In the field of education also the Andhras had lagged behind. Blame was laid upon the leaders from Andhra who had ignored to look into the welfare of the Andhra people.  

**BIRTH OF THE ANDHRA MOVEMENT:** At this circumstances the district political conference, the social conference and the first Andhra literary conference were also scheduled to meet for the progress of Andhras. The Guntur District Association had discussed the question of the Andhra Province and proposed its inclusion in the agenda for the Krishna district conference. Many young men of Guntur, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and Godavari districts attended to the conference.

The separate Andhra province issue was discussed in the subjects committee on the last day of that political conference Valluri Suryanarayana Rao, a lawyer from Machilipatnam, urged that the eastern districts (costal Telugu districts) be separate from the Tamils and added on to the central provinces. There had been rumours in the previous six years that the district of Ganjam, 'Vizagapatam', Godavari and Krishna would be joined to the

Central province in the case of Lieutenant Governorship was created their. In 1910 after the introduction of the Morley-Minto Reforms, Desabhimani wanted Krishna, Godavari and Guntur districts, which formed an electoral group for the Legislative Council of Madras, to organise a conference. Later it demanded a United Conference of Andhra country and stated that.

The development of Telugu journalism, Telugu literature, the elevation of the depressed classes, the 'Transvaal Hindus' and national education were mentioned as instances of these special issues requiring united action on the part of the Telugus. For the first time a suggestion about the formation of a separate Andhra province was indirectly made by The Hindu. This thread was later on taken up by Deshabhimani where in an article demanding that Andhras should have a separate political status to express their grievances and get redress to their grievances was made. These two writings created a stir among the Andhras. By the end of 1911 a good number of Andhras were advocating the formation of a separate Andhra province.

82. Krishna Patrika, January 19, 1912.
83. Deshabhimani, February, 9, 1910.
84. Ibid., February 4, 1911.
Deshabhimani represented the militant tone of the extremist nationalists. On the day of the Delhi coronation Darbar of George V held in 1911, it issued a supplement in English explaining the benefits of the Andhra movement. Since then in its supplements it discussed the Andhra movement in detail. Even before Deshabhimani, the editor of Andhra Patrika, K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu with his keen insight into the problem published the need for an Andhra state as an essential for the general improvement of the Andhras.\(^{85}\) These Telugu newspapers and periodicals wrote editorials, published articles and letters on the Andhra Movement in addition to covering of the district and the Andhra conferences on the Andhra movement. In their columns the Telugu papers suggested to the people that meetings and conferences should be held in various places and that the educated people should write to the Telugu newspapers in support of the movement so as to make it a mass movement.\(^{86}\) Deshabhimani advised patriotic men to go round the Telugu country, to wake up the people from lethargy by means of lectures and correspondence on the advantages of a separate state for the Telugus.\(^{87}\) The Telugu newspapers also

85. Andhra Patrika, Annual number, April 2, 1914.
86. Darbar, January 31, 1912.
87. Deshabhimani, October 9, 1912.
suggested that memorandums should be presented to the government by the people. The writings in Telugu press during the period reveal that it was the Telugu press which nurtured the nascent Andhra movement and developed it into a big popular movement.

Originally the demand for a separate province for Telugus was not there on the agenda of the first Andhra conference held at Bapatla in 1913. Some of the delegates were taken by surprise when the resolution was put to vote though it was not included on the agenda circulated by the Conference Committee. \textsuperscript{88} When the topic came up for discussion at the conference, some non-Andhras began to entertain the fear that Andhra state would eliminate them. To dispel such fears Andhra Patrika in its editorial observed that it was wrong to think that the Andhra state was for Andhras only. \textsuperscript{89} Thus Andhra Patrika gave clear and correct meaning to the movement, so that there was no scope for any misunderstanding among the non-Andhras.

The main factor for the starting of the Andhra movement was the development of Telugu language. "Language is the vehicle of thought". A common language helps in the free


\textsuperscript{89} Andhra Patrika, Annual number, April 9, 1913.
flow of ideas among men and it unites them in a common bondage 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 the growth.\textsuperscript{90}

The provincial divisions in India were mostly based on conquests of the English without any consideration to the language of the people. In the process, people speaking different languages were clubbed into a province. For example the Madras presidency consisted of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam speaking people. The Government could not attend to the problems of all the linguistic groups equally. The non-Telugu officials in Telugu districts had no love lost for the local people or to their problems. Deshabhimani wrote that Telugu talent was fast dying out. It was the duty of the government to see that it did not become extinct. It could be nurtured only when the Telugu people were placed under a separate government.\textsuperscript{91} Andhra Patrika pointed out that the progress of the nation depended on the progress of language.\textsuperscript{92}

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\textsuperscript{90} Deshabhimani, December 26, 1911. \\
\textsuperscript{91} G.O. No. 3 of 1912, for week ending January 13, 1912. \\
\textsuperscript{92} Andhra Patrika, April 9, 1913.
\end{flushright}
Seshagiri Rao wrote in an aggressive tone in Andhra Patrika that National Languages, Congresses, Conferences, Universities could not awake the Andhras from sleep. Their own language did rouse the Andhras to play a significant role in the provincial and national politics. He pointed out that administration must be conducted in the national languages and an administrative unit must have a common language and on that principle India must be divided into linguistic provinces.\(^93\) Deshabhimani pointed out that the Andhras had a glorious past and vast administrative experience to prove that they deserved a separate state.\(^94\) Nyapathi Subba Rao pleaded for the promotion of books in the vernacular in order to convey the principles of modern culture and enlightenment to the masses.\(^95\) Krishna Patrika announced in its leader the organisation of a society named 'Rakshana Dharma Pracharini Sabha' at Machilipatnam, to usher in new era in the history of the country with the following three objectives viz., (a) that the language of the country must be the language of the state. (b) that the education must be imparted through the medium of vernacular language. In order to achieve these two ends adequately (c) hence the Bharata varsha should be divided on the linguistic basis as

\[^93\] Andhra Patrika, July 14, 1915.

\[^94\] Deshabhimani, December 21, 1911.

to Bihar and Bengal.\textsuperscript{96} It was argued that the future of India depended on these three principles. To compete with the non-Telugus, it was pointed out that the development of the Telugu language was essential. The general feeling that the Telugus had been thrown into the background by the pushful, adventurous and intelligent Tami.lians was highlighted by the Telugu press. Hence, the cry of "Andhra Desa" for Andhras arose.\textsuperscript{97}

To strengthen the Andhra movement both the Andhra leaders and managers of the Telugu press felt the need for a daily newspaper in Telugu and English. They argued that to awaken the public in favour of the movement both in Andhra and outside of the Andhra region, such papers were needed.\textsuperscript{98}

The educational backwardness of Andhra was another point which attracted the attention of the Telugu press. The widespread desire for a national system of education through the vernaculars that suited to the requirements of the people in their actual life was highlighted by the Telugu press. A separate University in the Andhra area to cater to

\textsuperscript{96. Krishna Patrika, March 27, 1915.}
\textsuperscript{97. The Madras Mail, May 14, 1914.}
\textsuperscript{98. Y. Vaikuntham, Op. Cit., P. 99.}
the needs of Telugu people in education was demanded. It was pointed out that such a university would act as a stimulus to the growth of learning in the region. The Telugu press pleaded for instruction through the Telugu medium.

Deshabhimani pointed out that national education was one of the special needs of the Telugu people. The Darbar expressed the view that a separate state for Andhra would result in the establishment of more schools and colleges in the Andhra region. The non-Telugus were in a majority in the department of education in the composite state of Madras. A correspondent wrote that the non-Telugus, except showing large number of passes, had no other interest in the progress of the students. They were mere birds of passage shifting from school to school and they cared only for the goodwill of the Assistant Inspectors of Schools. Further the correspondent questioned: "How can you expect the Telugus to be forward people in such circumstances."

Sasilekha pointed out that there were only three first grade colleges in Andhra area, whereas there were several colleges in the Tamil areas of the presidency. It added that

99. The Madras Mail, April 11, 1914.
100. N.P.R., 1910, P. 206.
101. Darbar, January 31, 1912.
102. The Hindu, April 15, 1911.
there was no use simply grumbling about these things and that they must do something concrete to increase the educational facilities and have high educational qualifications. Viswamitra suggested that the Andhra Jateeya Kalasala at Masulipatnam be converted into a university of a residential nature. To compete with their Tamilian counter parts in all fields, education was absolutely essential. Hence, for the success of the Andhra movement, the Telugu press argued that national education with teaching in vernacular and a separate university for the Andhras was the immediate need.

The Telugu newspapers expressed the view that a smaller state was economically viable and would help the rapid progress of the people, and that a separate state for Andhras would improve their economic conditions. The Ceded Districts were backward when compared to the Circar districts of the Telugu speaking regions. On the whole


106. The Madras Mail, December 5, 1916.

107. Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Chittoor districts are called as Ceeded districts.

108. Nellore, Guntur, Krishna, Godavari and Vizagapatam are called as Circar districts.
economically the Telugus were backward when compared with
the Tamilians. As the capital of the State was located in
the Tamil area there were very few industries and railway
lines in the Andhra area. 109

The economic backwardness of the Telugu speaking area
in the Madras province was attributed by the Telugu press to
the domination of the Tamils in the Government of the
composite Madras Presidency. The Telugu press argued that
industrialization of the Andhra region and general economic
progress of the Andhras would take place only when a
separate state for them was carved out. 110

Frequently the Telugu newspapers through editorials,
letters from readers, and despatches from their
 correspondents lamented over the injustices to the Andhras
in the services which became another cause for the Andhra
movement. One of the arguments employed since the partition
of Bengal in 1905 was that the progress of the people united
by the bond of language would be hindered by their being
placed under different administrators. 111 Some of Andhras
felt that partition of the Telugu land and the consequent
dispersal of the Telugu people in the Madras presidency, in


110. Ibid., P. 100.

the Central provinces, the native states of Hyderabad and Mysore, which happened too early for any anticipation of these evils, was one of the basic causes for their backwardness.\textsuperscript{112}

In the Andhra region of the presidency most of the higher posts were in the hands of non-Andhras. This became a subject matter for discussion in the Telugu press on several occasions. Suryanarayana, V. wrote to Andhra Patrika criticising the appointment of a Tamilian from Kumbakonam as a Daffedar in the court of the sub-judge at Guntur. It was held that the appointment was made overlooking the applications of several qualified Telugus because the sub-judge at Guntur happened to be a Tamilian and wanted to appoint a man from his own place to the post of the Daffedar.\textsuperscript{113}

The Telugu press also argued out that for effective administration in the region only those personnel who were acquainted with the local language should be appointed, 'Viswamitra' in a letter to the Hindu wrote that service in the Andhra region in many cases was monopolized by outsiders.\textsuperscript{114} He wanted the government to issue a circular

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{112} Deshabhimani, January 19, 1910.
  \item \textsuperscript{113} Andhra Patrika, January 26, 1950.
  \item \textsuperscript{114} The Hindu, August 29, 1917.
\end{itemize}
to the collectors and judges serving in the Telugu districts to prefer local men to outsiders wherever the former showed possesses an equal or almost equal qualifications. This would relieve the bitterness felt by the Andhras over the question of appointments. 115

A majority of the high posts it was felt, were in the hands of the non-Telugus, as if there were no competent people among the Telugus. Even in judicial department there was a Tamil preponderance. The Telugu papers regreted that when there are sufficient Telugu graduates of law, a very few of them were appointed as District Munsiffs in comparison to our "Tamil brethren." 116 The Telugu press stressed the need for the legitimate share of the Andhras in government services and pointed out that injustice for them in services could be redressed only when a separate Andhra state was formed.

The location of Madras, the capital of the presidency, in the Tamil area, it was argued, was responsible for the neglect of the Andhras. Hence in order to have a capital for the Andhras a separate state was demanded. Reflecting on the disadvantages of the Telugu speaking people, a correspondent of Deshabhimani wrote that "Madras the head-

115. The Hindu, August 29, 1917.
quarter of the provincial government being a Tamil city a majority of important institutions, though not all, are naturally occupied by the Tamil gentlemen. It was no wonder, therefore, that only one or two Telugu gentlemen fill the highest rungs of the official ladder. 117

Seshagiri Rao wrote to Deshabhimani: "unless the Andhra Country has a separate capital, where from the rest of the country receives progressive and nationalising influences that efforts of the Andhras cannot be steady and efficient." Hence he demanded a centrally located capital for the Andhra state. The first fruit of the Andhra state would be the location of its capital in the Andhra area which would bring immense gains to the Telugu people. 118

Another factor which was responsible for the Andhra movement was the position of the Andhras in the armed forces. The recruitment of Andhras to the armed forces was discontinued from 1895. 119 This caused much heart-burning among the Andhras. The feelings of the people in this matter were ventilated in the press. Deshamata emphatically

117. Deshabhimani, December 21, 1911.
118. Ibid., December 28, 1911.
asserted that it was unjust not to recruit the Andhras to the armed forces.\textsuperscript{120} The same paper mentioned that the Andhra country was once famous for its many commanders who led great armies consisting of infantry, cavalry to the battle fields.\textsuperscript{121} Thus the press appealed to the government.

From 1911 onwards the demand for a separate Andhra province was voiced both by the Andhra leaders and the Telugu press. From 1911 the movement continued with varying degrees of intensity throughout the period of the freedom struggle. In supporting the demand for separate Andhra province the nationalist Telugu press never sacrificed the interests of the nation. They thought that there was no conflict between the Andhra movement and the national movement. When Andhra Patrika became a daily newspaper in 1914, it outlined clearly its policy regarding the Andhra movement and the national movement. It said that it was its foremost duty to advocate the Indian National Movement and the Andhra Movement, and that it was its opinion that the Andhra Movement was a help rather than an obstruction to the Indian National Movement.\textsuperscript{122} Krishna Patrika in one of its editorials on the connection between the Andhra Movement and

\textsuperscript{120}. Deshabhimani, August 23, 1911.
\textsuperscript{121}. Ibid., October 9, 1911.
\textsuperscript{122}. Andhra Patrika, November 30, 1912.
the National Movement, wrote that there was no evil desire in the Andhra movement except to work for the success of the national movement. In another editorial the paper wrote "How can the Andhra Movement which is born out of the National Movement give place to jealousy and such other undesirable tendencies? How can this movement which desires the development of all the limbs of the body, conceal national idealism?  

Deshabhimani argued that the Andhra movement would only strengthen the national movement. In 1911 when the Andhra Movement was taking its birth, the paper wrote: "Unless the persons are in themselves efficient, the nation as a whole cannot be efficient. Hence, the national well-being of the Indians is also dependent to some extent on the progress of the Andhra movement." In another categorical assertion, the paper declared: "Some may think that the carving of a separate province is detrimental to the formation of an Indian nationality. But there is no truth in such a supposition ... The well-being of the people of every province conduces to the solidarity of the nation as a whole." There were other papers too which likewise

123. Krishna Patrika, November 30, 1912.
124. Ibid., April 11, 1914.
125. N.P.R., 1912, P. 89.
126. Ibid., P. 736.
asserted that a separate state for Andhras would consolidate national solidarity.\textsuperscript{127} The nationalist Telugu papers gave greater importance to the national movement than the Andhra movement. When a choice had to be made between the two, when the struggle for independence of the country needed the dedicated services of the press as in the non-cooperation movement or during the salt Satyagraha period, the papers relegated the Andhra movement to a secondary place and the entire strength and influence of the papers were utilised for the national cause. The observation of K.V. Narayana Rao that "in the thoughts and activities of the Andhras "Bharatamata replaced Andhramata"\textsuperscript{128} and that the first casualty of the non-cooperation movement in Andhra ... was the demand for an Andhra province."\textsuperscript{129} This assertion is corroborated by the writings in the press of the period.

\textit{Krishna Patrika} played an out-standing role in the Andhra movement for a separate state. More than 40 per cent of the population were Andhras and about 58 per cent of the area of Madras presidency was Andhra. But they were in a minority in employment.\textsuperscript{130} Further the Andhras were regarded as backward in the eyes of Tamilians. A Tamilian is reported

\begin{flushleft}
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid., P. 22.
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to have ridiculed that the Telugus were a backward race, they had no brains and they had never had men like "our Bhashyam Aiyengar or Muthuswamy Iyer".  

Krishna Patrika observed in May, 1912 that it was the wish of some that the division of the country into provinces for administrative purposes should be determined by the language spoken. The Oriyas of Ganjam wished that they should be placed under the Government of Orissa. This paper stressed the need for a university in the Telugu area. The paper wrote: "If a separate university be established, greatest prominence will be given to the Telugu language and the Andhras will be enabled to receive higher education to a large extent". Indeed the movement for a separate Andhra province had its origin in the prosperous coastal delta districts where the spread of western education had engendered the spirit of social reform and accelerated the growth of political consciousness largely by the writings of Krishna Patrika. The movement owed its strength to people like Venkatappaiah, Narayana Rao, observes that "a growing interest in Telugu language and literature and the consciousness of a 'belongingness' to a

132. Krishna Patrika, May 12, 1912.
133. Ibid., July 12, 1912.
linguistic group with a significant cultured legacy sharpened a feelings of contemporary backwardness in the new order of educated and made them think of ways of bettering their lot. 134

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PRESS

The policy of the British government in India towards the press varied from time to time depending on the political situation and other factors. But, in general, between 1905 and 1947 the aim of the British policy was to control and subdue the Indian press. The relationship between the government and the press was based on mutual hostility, which was inevitable due to the clash of interests between the two. While the Indian press reflected the aspirations of the Indian people for freedom, the interest of the government was in the perpetuation of the colonial rule.

The government did not have a uniform and set policy for controlling the Indian press. Its press controls were framed on the exigencies of the prevailing political situation. Several experiments were conducted during the period to deal with the press. During times of intense political agitation, the methods of the government were repressive. But when the national struggle was at a low

pitch, the attitude of the government towards the press was comparatively mild.

The newspapers adopted by the Government to control the press can be broadly classified into legislative measures and administrative measures. The period covered by this study witnessed the enactment of a number of laws, aimed at crushing the liberty of the press. The Vernacular Press Act 1878, the 1908 Act, the 1910 Act and the ordinances of 1930, 1932 among others were attempts by the government to stifle the freedom of the nationalist press. The passing of such laws made the task of the newspapers in India hazardous. But those laws could not put an end to the struggle for freedom of the country espoused by the nationalist press. The press vigourously fought for the freedom of the country and for its own freedom. The struggle for liberty of the press in India was a part of the nation-wide struggle for self-government.

INDIAN VERNACULAR PRESS ACT (1878) : Lord Lytton, Governor-General of India (1876-1880) sensed danger to the British rule in India from the local language newspapers which published news with extensive coverage of local issues for the benefit of those who could not read English. He felt
that the press was directly provocative of rebellion. On 13 March 1878, he sought and obtained on the following day the consent of the Secretary of State for India to take appropriate measures to check the freedom of the press. On 14 March, the Indian Vernacular press Act was rushed through the Council of the Governor-General and empowered the magistrates to order the publishers to make press security deposits and enter into agreement with government guaranteeing that no news that would offend the government would be published. The government also assumed power to confiscate the deposits and the printing press whenever news published was considered to be objectionable to the government. The printers were offered the alternative of submitting the proofs to the official concerned, dropping all objectionable matter from publication to escape the operation of the Act.

There was a sharp reaction to the Act from the educated sections of Indians, particularly in Bengal where more number of newspapers in the local language were published at that time. To curb this the Act was more strictly enforced.


on them. A protest meeting attended by five thousand people was held at the Calcutta Town Hall. Agitation against the Act was carried on until it was repealed in 1882 by Lord Ripon.

THE INDIAN PRESS ACT 1910: The government renewed its attempt to curb the freedom of press when nationalist feelings were growing in the country as manifested in the Vandemataram and Swadesh movements. A law was enacted in 1907 to control public meetings.

The Newspapers Incitement of Offence Act was passed in 1908 with the aim of checking the dissemination of revolutionary ideas through the press. Again in 1910, another Press Act was passed incorporating all the provisions of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 such as the payment of security deposits by the publishers, confiscation of the printing presses, seizure of copies of the newspapers carrying allegedly objectionable material and forfeiture of the security deposits. The Act of 1910, unlike the 1878 Act, covered all the English and local language newspapers.

139. Ibid., P. 21.
published in India. It, however, permitted the publishers to appeal to the High Courts within two months from the date of the government order forfeiting their deposits or confiscation of their printing presses and copies of newspapers. Special Benches composed of three judges each in the High Courts of the Presidencies were constituted to try such cases.  

The 1910 Press Act increased the government's control over newspapers. One of the important features of the Act was the payment of security by proprietors of newspapers. The security could be forfeited or a higher amount could be collected by the Government, if the paper was found guilty of publishing objectionable matter. The Act invested the executive or the district officials with vast arbitrary powers. This act which was described as "a disgrace to the Indian statute book continued to be in force till March 1922 when it was repealed on the recommendation of the Press Laws Committee, constituted by the government.  


However, in 1930 the Indian press was again bound by heavy shackles with the passing of the two press ordinances. The first of the two ordinances was issued in April, 1930 which contained severe restrictions on the freedom of the press. The second ordinance issued in July 1930 was necessitated to stop the circulation of many cyclostyled hand-written and other forms of news media which were invented by the nationalists to circumvent the provisions of the first ordinance. After the lapse of those two ordinances in 1931, the Indian Press Act (emergency powers) was passed. This Act was in force for one year. After its lapse the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932 which contained the important provisions of the 1930 Act was resorted to for curbing the writings in the nationalist press.

Besides the above mentioned legislative measures which were exclusively concerned with the press, other ordinary and emergency laws were also utilised for controlling the Indian press. The provisions in the Indian Penal Code of 1898 were utilised frequently to curb anti-government writings in the press. Section 124.A and 153.A were often directed against editors and proprietors of newspapers. The Criminal law amendment Act of 1908, and the Official Secrets Act also strengthened the hands of the government in controlling the press. The Defence of India Act which was enacted in 1914 due to the outbreak of world
war was also sometimes invoked against Indian newspapers. But in the Madras Presidency the defence of India Act was never used against the press. 142

The 1908 Act was sparingly used. 143 In Madras, the incitement to murders and other offences as through newspapers was not widely prevalent. Hence, its use against the journals in the Madras presidency did not arise. However, it was in 1908 that G. Harisarvothama Rao was prosecuted for three years imprisonment for his writings in the Telugu Journal known as Swaraj, under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code. The day (July 18, 1908) on which Hari-sarvothama Rao was arrested at Masulipatnam, Balagangadhar Tilak was arrested at Poona for his writings in Kesari and was later sentenced to six years imprisonment. 144

In the Madras Presidency between 1910 and 1919, 22 papers stopped publication owing to the demand of security


143. Ten papers were prosecuted in the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies. Information taken from N. Garald Bovier, Banned controversial literature and political control in British India 1907, 1947 (Delhi, 1976).

under the Press Act of 1910 and more than 25 papers had to pay security for their existence.\textsuperscript{145}

The death rate of newspapers was very high due to the operation of the press Act. Between 1914 and 1916 itself 37 newspapers ceased publication in the Presidency.\textsuperscript{146} Forfeiture and seizure of publications was also done on a largescale in accordance with the Press Act. Between 1910 and 1913 itself in 49 cases objectionable publications were seized.\textsuperscript{147}

Deshamata of Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham from Guntur was among the Telugu papers from which security was demanded in accordance with the provisions of the 1910 Act. One of the reasons for demanding security from it was the publication of an article imputing motives to the magistracy and exposing judiciary's partiality towards Europeans in the administration of justice.\textsuperscript{148} Funds were raised from the public to pay the demanded security of Rupees one thousand, for the continuation of the journal. An amount of one

\textsuperscript{145} Statistics gathered from the files of the judicial and public departments of the Government of Madras.

\textsuperscript{146} Government of Madras, Judicial (Conf'd). G.O.No. 1547, dated June 21, 1914.

\textsuperscript{147} Government of Madras, Judicial (Conf'd). G.O.No. 31, dated January 6, 1914.

\textsuperscript{148} Government of Madras, Judicial (Conf'd). G.O.No. 495, dated August 26, 1919.
thousand rupees, as security was also demanded under the 1910 Press Act, from Andhra Chandrika in 1917, a Telugu paper published from Cuddapah. The security from that paper was demanded as an extra-precautionary measure. The District Collector wrote that the security was demanded from the paper "as it was reported that as some of its probable contributors were not moderate in their views."\textsuperscript{149} The paper ceased publication in 1918.

Security of Rs. 500/- under the Press Act of 1910 was demanded in 1921 from Andhra Vani a Telugu weekly published from Berhampur. The demand of security was due to the criticism against the District Magistrate of Ganjam.\textsuperscript{150} But the demand of security was subsequently withdrawn in view of the impending repeal of the Press Act.\textsuperscript{151}

Gnanodaya and Brahmananda Asrama Patrika, both intended for publication in the Cuddapah district, could not come into existence, due to the demand of security of Rs. 500/- from each paper.\textsuperscript{152}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{149} Government of Madras, Public (Confd). G.O. No. 11-12, dated January 5, 1917.
\item \textsuperscript{150} Government of Madras, Public (Confd). G.O.No. 222, dated March 30, 1920.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council, Vol. III, No. 1, 1921, p. 1329.
\item \textsuperscript{152} K. Subramanyam, Op. Cit., P. 35.
\end{itemize}
Innumerable warnings were also rushed to newspapers for transgressing the provisions of the 1910 Act. Between 1910 and 1916 more than fifty newspapers in the Presidency were warned of for publishing matter which was not to the liking of the government. 153

Under the 1910 press Act steps were also taken to check up the import of certain newspapers and other anti-British material from abroad. The Post-Master General under section 15 of the Act and the Board of Revenue under section 13 were asked to take action against the import of Indian Nationalist literature from abroad.

From 1919 onwards, on the suggestion made by the Secretary of State for India and due to the instructions of the Central Government, the provincial government began to review cases of newspapers and presses from which security had been demanded. 154 The new policy laid emphasis on counter propaganda and not on punitive measures. In pursuance of that policy, the Madras Publicity Bureau was established in September, 1919. 155


The method of prosecuting prominent editors and proprietors of newspapers to control the press was also adopted by the government. Among the Andhra Journalists, who were prosecuted for their anti-British writings, the Veteran Journalist and great patriot, G. Harisarvothama Rao, was the first. He was the driving force behind the Telugu weekly Swaraj published from Vijayawada. The District Magistrate of Krishna district, in his letter to the Government of Madras mentioned about the influence of Krishna Patrika, Navayuga and Swaraj and recommended that it was "high time that steps are taken to put a stop to the dissemination by those papers of seditious views." 156

Swaraj was considered "the most virulent and mischievous" 157 among them. On the recommendation of the district collector prosecution of Harisarvothama Rao and others connected with Swaraj was sanctioned by the government 158. The local people and Harisarvothama Rao and


157. Ibid., A reader of the Swaraj compared it to Jagannatha of Bengali, Madras Mail, July 28, 1908.

158. The prosecution of G. Harisarvothama Rao, B. Narayana Rao was mainly due to an article published in Swaraj criticising the British authorities for the death of two Indians at Titicorin due to police firing in connection with the demonstration organised to protest against the imprisonment of V.O. Chidambarampillai, the Swaraj wrote for Firanghi cruel tiger you have devoured two Indians.
Bodi Narayana Rao the nominal editor of the paper, submitted petitions for pardon and withdrawal of prosecution. But the District Magistrate Scott wanted the continuance of the prosecution. He wanted the people to know" that they cannot go scot-free for seditions writings or speeches"\textsuperscript{159}.

Harisarvothama Rao was sentenced to six months for simple imprisonment and Narayana Rao to nine months by the district judge. But on appeal by the government, the High Court enhanced the sentence on Harisarvothama Rao to three years for rigorous imprisonment and confirmed the original sentence on Narayana Rao.\textsuperscript{160}

The severe action had taken against the persons connected with Swaraj had a frightening effect on the other journals Navayuga and Hindu Kesari closed down and the editorial responsibility of Krishna Patrika was taken away from the hands of Mutnuri Krishna Rao, who was wellknown for his bitter criticism of the British government.\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{159} The prosecution of G. Harisarvothama Rao, B. Narayana Rao was mainly due to an article published in Swaraj criticising the British authorities for the death of two Indians at Titicorin due to police firing in connection with the demonstration organised to protest against the imprisonment of V.O. Chidambarampillai, the Swaraj wrote for Firanghi cruel tiger you have devoured two Indians.


Apart from the laws, the government resorted to various administrative measures also to deal with the press. These administrative measures in certain situations were more effective than legal action. As taking legal action involved a lengthy procedure consuming more time, the government heavily relied on administrative measures in its effort to control the press. These measures varied from time to time, depending on the political situation in the province or the attitudes of the Governor and bureaucracy towards the press. These measures ranged from warnings and pressure tactics imposed on editors or proprietors to counter propaganda, Patronage to pro-government papers and denying it to hostile press, also constituted an administrative measure. 162

Verbal remonstrances or written warnings were issued frequently to editors or proprietors of newspapers. The editors or proprietors of almost all important papers were recipients of such warnings. Warnings were issued for publishing articles even on such harmless topics like "Vice of Drinking". The publisher of Andhra Kesari was warned for the publication of such an article. 163

The publisher of Desamata was warned for publishing an article entitled "Appeals against acquitals." Even translations or reproductions from reputed foreign journals, were sometimes not relished by the British bureaucracy and for such publications, warnings were issued. The Publisher of Andhra Patrika was warned for publishing an article on Russia, in its issue dated October 7, 1914. The article was a translation from the Labour Leader.

In 1919 Ch. Narasimha Rao, the editor of Godavari Patrika was warned for an article on Michael 'O' Dwyer. Suvarna Lekha, a Telugu Journal, was warned for publishing an account of the miseries of Indian emigrants in Assam. The editor of Hitakarini was warned for publishing a farce about an "Old Bridegroom."

167. Government of Madras, Public (Confd.), G.O. No. 11-12, January 5, 1918.
Such warnings or threats from government officials were humiliated to self-respecting persons. But these warnings and threats on the contrary increased the affection and admiration of the people for the nationalist press.