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**FOR AND AGAINST
THE ANDHRA PROVINCE**

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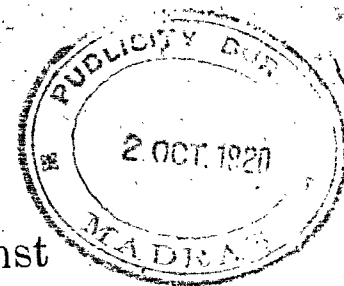
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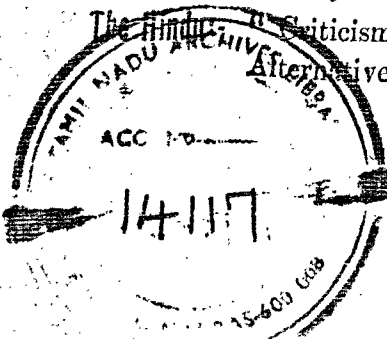
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FOREWORD.

The following pages embody the discussion that has taken place so far mainly in the press on the question of an Andhra Province. Of the several questions considered at the first Andhra Conference held at Bapatla in May 1913, the greatest measure of interest and the utmost difference of opinion centred round the one relating to the province. The proposition as amended and finally passed at the Conference embodied a single request to the standing committee of the Conference to focus public opinion regarding the question, and the standing committee have taken the first step in the direction by an honest attempt to collect the somewhat large volume of literature that has come into being during the last two years and present to the public the numerous opinions expressed for and against the province in a handy form. A few articles chiefly for the province could not be secured and therefore could not be published. The committee trust that this fairly full and thoroughly honest collection of views will help to develop public opinion on the question and facilitate the deliberations thereon at the ensuing sessions of the Andhra Conference.

Dec. 1913.

The Standing Committee.



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An Andhra Province.

I

WE are all grateful to the King - Emperor for the liberal announcement He made on the occasion of His coronation. It surely touched the chords of the nation. After all, as the Patrica puts it, 'the settled fact has been unsettled' and all the Bengalee speaking people have been brought under one Government.

The creation of the new province of Behar, Chota Nagapur and Orissa is significant. The Secretary of state, in his despatch to the Viceroy, gave out the reasons that actuated him in creating the new province, namely, that the language, customs and habits of the people are quite distinct from those of the Behgalees.

The self-same reason may be brought forward for the desirability of the creation of a new province in Madras. The Telugus inhabiting the twelve districts in the Madras Presidency have had in times past a brilliant history of their own. The Andhras had the privilege of ruling over India. They were very pliable. It was they who were the great promoters of Buddhism. In the Madras presidency they are still the pioneers of reform, religious as well as social.

At Amaravti, in the Guntur District, there flourished in ancient times for a long time a university. When Europe was in the earliest stages of civilization the Andhras were enjoying the highest renown in every branch of science. With such a brilliant history behind, it is unfortunate that they are now comparatively unknown. The Editors of the Encyclopedia Britannica could not secure more than a few lines about the Andhras and their history, while their neighbours the Tamils, could furnish a great deal of information. Their languages, customs, habits and sentiments differ a good deal from those of others.

It, therefore, naturally follows on the reasoning suggested by Lord Crewe that the Telugu speaking people should be brought under a separate Government like the Beharees.

N. NARAYANAROW
(Dec. 1911.)

II

At this time, in the hey day of modern civilisation, when competition for self existence not only among individuals but also among nations is becoming keener and keener; when man has at last learnt to his heart's content that his liberty and safety are preserved and maintained only when he attaches an equal regard to the liberty and safety of others; when man has realised that sword is not the arbiter of nation's

destinies but a high regard for justice, quality and humanity; when the highest human ideal "The Parliament of man and the Federation of the world" has spontaneously found its way to reach the common run of mankind through the inspirations of the greatest poet of the last century, the poet Laureate of the great Queen Mother; it is no "dream" nor an Utopia, nor "an impracticable ideal," that the Andhras can have a separate province, nor is it strange that an Andhra entertains and cherishes such ideas. In considering one after another the different aspects—the political, sociological, economical and religious,—in which the question of an Andhra Province is to be viewed, the political comes foremost to my view.

Why is Greece famous in the history of the world? Why is Italy called the mother of modern Europe? Every student of history knows that the history of Greece is preeminently the history of the town of Athens and the history of Italy is nothing but the history of the single town of Rome. There is no country or province in the world which has not a preeminent town of its own, to which the activity of the people may be traced. Sadly to the Andhras the capital of the Province a portion of which they occupy, is almost entirely occupied by their more fortunate brothers, the people in the other portion of the province. In fact, there is no harboured city not even a port-town—any where in the Andhras-Desa. The irregular

and naturally uncared-for trade of the fishing village towns on the coramandel coast of Andhradesa can never lead to the prosperity and well-being of an ever-increasing population of the Andhras whose limited territory cannot yield sufficient food-material to meet the needs of the growing multitudes. To save the teeming millions of Andhradesa from the jaws of starvation, commerce should be developed as the handmaid of agriculture. To develop the commercial life of the Andhras a harboured city in some such place as Vizag in the Andhradesa is a need of the hour. The two primeval cities of the Province, Madras and Madura are entirely beyond the reach of Andhra influence. To support a third city in the northern half of the province at the expense of the people of the south is as much an unjust administrative policy as it is to have the northern half with no city at all. The entire resources of Andhradesa must be utilised for the benefit of the Andhras. The creation of a capital city in Andhra desa will enhance the growth of the Andhras in much the same way as the making of Delhi the capital of India will help the progress and prosperity of the Punjab. The capital is the primordial centre of activity in a province which rouses the slumbering powers in man lying hidden in the soft bed of village life which is summed up as the gratification of animal instincts, the down floor in the grand edifice of modern civilisation.

A number of officials come from the south. From this it is irrational to say that Tanjore & Kumbhakonam are the seed bed of genius while the rest of the Madrasees are unitelligent. It is for the restoration of the health of this provincial organism that the circulation of the blood—the loaves and fishes of Government service—should be regular, uniform and uninterrupted. It is to the interests of the people of the South as well as those in the North that Andhradesa should be separated from the South. It should be the cherished ambition at present and the accomplished desire in future of the people in the South that Andhradesa is as well made an active unit in the United States of India as Dravida shall be. The strengthening of the unit cell is the strengthening of the national organism. It should be the aspiration of every right minded Indian that in fulness of time, and under the paternal care of the benign British Raj India shall be made a progressive country with these small states linguistically demarkated and all united under the mighty banner of England. Does this creation of Andhradesa strengthen the British Raj? The strength of a Government depends on the efficiency of its administration. The Government will be in close touch with the people and there is no special reason to say that a Lieutenant Governor of Andhradesa will prove more unpopular than the Governors of other provinces and thereby alienate the sympathies of the people. It is in the best interests of the Government that they

should have a separate administration in close touch with the people. Such a benevolent and large-hearted Viceroy as Lord Hardinge is not the man to miss this opportunity to make the administration in Andhradesa as efficient as possible. The name of Lord Hardinge cannot but be cherished as a household name by the people of India as are the names of Ripon and Canning. Thus it is clear in the interests of Andhras, the people of the South and the Government, that Andhradesa should be made a separate province.

Turn we from the political to the Sociological aspect of the question. The Andhras as they are, are scattered in different places, in different groups and under different Governments, everywhere being maltreated by others of their own province or other provinces. There is in fact no apparent identity of interest among them. Their interest is so atomically divided that when it comes into practical life it is invisible and inoperative. The feeling that the interests of all these Andhras are identical can be felt only by the existence of a common province, Andhradesa. The development of Andhradesa and its accompaniment, the awakening of intellect and the stimulus for higher culture can take place only when the identity of interest is felt and people have greater facilities of association, discussion and deliberation. Frequent association smoothen the angularities in pronunciation, idiom and grammar.

The third great aspect of the question is the economical aspect. Andhradesa is one of the most fertile tracts in India. The most fertile areas, the deltas of the Kistna and the Godavari, the largest rivers in the Madras Presidency are found in Andhradesa. Most of the raw material that is produced is either shipped to foreign countries or exported to Bombay. The creation of a trading centre at Vizag which is midway between Central Provinces and the Ceded Districts which are large cotton growing places, cannot but stimulate the idea of having cotton mills in its vicinity and the building of a harbour and opening facilities for sea communication will do much for the economic development of Andhradesa. Much can be said in volumes about the economic development of Andhradesa if it is to be made a province but I shall satisfy myself with the illustration already given. The situation of Vizag on the Coromandel coast closely resembles the situation of Bombay on the West coast. If Bombay can become a commercial centre why not Vizag?

So it should be the foremost desire in the minds of all Indians to see that Andhradesa is made a separate province with an efficient administration strengthening the British Raj under whose benevolent care the United states of India may develop.

K. RAJESWARARAO,

(Jan. 1912.)

III

While there is enormous scope for public activity of a beneficial kind in various directions in the country, it is regrettable that some persons employ their energies in doing things which are the reverse of useful to the community at large. We read in a Telugu contemporary the following statements: "For the last two years, Andhras eagerly desirous of keeping pace with the other races in point of political, social and educational growth have started a serious agitation both in the Press and in District Conferences, for the establishment of an Andhra University and for the formation of an Andhra Province as a means of reaching the end. These two ideals are in consonance with the aim of the Government." In order to consummate the goal of an Andhra Province and an Andhra University, an Andhra Conference is suggested to be formed, and the establishment of "an English Daily under the control of the Andhras to guard the Andhra interests and resuscitate the glory of the Andhras." It is stated that "as the Madras Presidency has many races the progress of Dravidians who have stepped forward has eclipsed the greatness of the Andhras." These sentiments are contained in an article published by the *Kistna Patrica*. A separate Province for the Andhras is also advocated by a paper called the *Andhra Patrika*, published in Bombay. The same tune is taken up by the *Desabhimani* of Guntur which

says that "the Andhra province will become a realised fact if the leaders of the Andhra country heartily co-operate with the Press and the people to make the scheme a grand success." This paper after referring to the small number of Indians who have been appointed on the Public Service Commission, and to the keen disappointment felt at the Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Row not having been appointed a member of the same notwithstanding his labours which have resulted in the establishment of the commission, writes as follows: "So our wonder increases not on account of the attitude of the Government, but the attitude of the Madrasees whom Mr. Subba Row Pantulu is representing worthily in the Imperial Council. The Madras Dailies had not the grace to refer to this aspect of the question in their adverse comments upon the constitution of the Commission. Is it because the Hon. Mr. Subba Row Pantulu is an Andhra? We hope not." On the question of founding an English Daily to promote the interests of the Telugu population, we publish a letter from a correspondent to-day who strongly advocates it. It seems superfluous to point out that the interests of people as a class cannot vary by reason of their speaking different languages or living in different places. There are already too many walls of separation forbidding unification among the Indian peoples for the right-minded among them to think of devising fresh ones. We trust that the idea of agita-

ting for an Andhra Province, an Andhra University and an English Daily paper for the special benefit of Andhras, will not recommend itself for acceptance to all thoughtful Andhras, at the present stage of our country's progress.

(*The Hindu* 22-8-12)

IV

I rise from my sick bed to bless a movement, not only because a curse upon it has come from a strange quarter, but that the heart-infusing cry of "Andhra for the Andhras" is not so often heard as it ought to be. That cry is grounded on the highest kind of patriotism, and scoffers can scoff it away. Every individual who has had education to advantage and has a knowledge of Telugu literature will join in the noble cry and bear aloft the banner. I remember the smile of derision which greeted the first whisper of this strange expression. "Andhra for the Andhras! What are they at? Have they no useful deed to do that they should go in search of phantoms? Because the King's visit has changed the map of India and dotted a first province of Behar and placed another Governor, do these dreamy children hope for another province, another capital for themselves and another Governor? As well let them hope for the moon to come down to play with their children." And those

who were not Andhras laughed also, and every time the voice whispered louder and louder "Andhra for the Andhras," a selfish population that exploded Andhra laughed all the more, so as to drown the cry.

THE SPREAD.

But it was not to be drowned. Like diamond, the claim of reason, of history, of justice, sparkled on the garland of arguments. The *Indian Patriot* was the first to hoist high their diamond, and mount it in the gold of a serious, highminded, statesmanlike utterance. It gave a throb of hope and joy. Honest and truthful youths from Andhra found a golden chain in this new agitation to bind and to lift them. Rapidly, very rapidly indeed, has "Andhra for Andhras" cut itself through the icy regions of suspicions and mockery. History spread its treasures in the path of the heroes that resolved to pursue the thorny paths of early agitation. And to-day the cry is a reality. It is a real plank in the political platform of an honest and earnest race of men in the Madras Presidency, for I have ever pointed to the brave and simple Telugu, whenever I have been asked to point to the best human material in the Southern Presidency. Into this vast and silent mass of honest simplicity and courageous truthfulness, this current has spread and is spreading of an electric awakening. "Andhra for Andhras" is no dreamer's exclamation. Every day brings forth evidence of its strong base in the minds of such a sincere race of men. Remember that.

the lamp of history, dim in other places, is still fresh enough in Andhrā. You tread on historical ground there. The dust of an empire and the spoils of a nation are sepulchred there.

Educated men have taken up the cry. The '*Indian Patriot*' published a week ago the proceedings of a meeting held at Guntur of wealthy and influential and learned men, intent upon feeding the agitation of "Andhra for the Andhras." I prophesy that the work of agitation will be smooth. India will be surprised at the rapid yet peaceful, yet calm spread of the agitation. The sympathy of every European official who knows the Andhra and the Andhras will flow for them. Honesty is loved by honest men, and no one likes to see sharpness and cunningness by tyrannising over honesty and courageous simplicity. A good people have awakened. Education has borne the best fruit among the Andhras because it started this cry, and in this cry is deep wisdom and undying patriotism. Education has opened the eyes to the work of spoil going on under their nose. They do not want that others should rob them while they sleep, and that when they wake they find nothing. The *Indian Patriot* some time ago detailed the disadvantages under which new Andra has developed.

THE FUTURE.

The future is full of hope. Behar is now for the Beharees. In spite of a section of selfish Bengal, Behar

will be for the Beharees, and the work of nation-building in India will progress all the more instead of being obstructed. They want Beharees in public service in Behar. They will succeed. Their protest will be heard. What is true of Behar is true of Andhra, and what has happened to Behar must happen to Andhra. Let the cry spread. Let the inner meaning live in every heart. Men, women and children will join the cry and hug the banner to their heart. Young Andhra, budding within college walls, must come to the rescue of new Andhra. Inspiration, like a spring, will spout from history. Officials will help them instead of hindering them, especially influential Europeans who have always loved that honesty should go pure and undefiled. Irresponsible lectures about there being already too many walls of separation forbidding unification among the Indian peoples for the right-minded among them to think of devising fresh ones, will have no other effect than to animate the animated hero.

THE PATH.

Let new Andhra flourish. Let there be no abuse, no acrimony in its path. Let them not spend their strength in exposing and vilifying cunning, and when cunning abuses or mocks their honesty, not pause to abuse and mock again. Theirs is a higher mission. They know their goal. Let them go straight to it. They know the shoals of selfishness that lie ambushed

across the way. They will beware. They already know how selfishness can clothe itself in high-mindedness and give lectures on nation building. Let them work, let them not return abuse. Let them not shoot sharpness as it flies. Amidst scorns and allurements and difficulties, let the stout heart beat among them. When they have reached a certain point, they can afford to turn back and scare away the wolves that follow yelling at their heels. Not until that point is reached should they waste their strength in angry words or passions. All theirs must be given to the cause. The yell of carrions will only goad them to the goal. They can inwardly laugh at the meanness that they know, lies at the bottom of the obstructing cry. To young Andhra, who in their honest indignation would scorch humbug where it lies, my special appeal, is to preserve their enthusiasm for the cause. The cause requires all. When it is attained they will be on an eminence, and the dogs will bark in vain.

No people in India are in a more favoured position than the Andhras in starting a noble agitation and gaining a noble end. They have wealth. They have sincerity. They have honesty. When honesty, earnestness and resources combine, their success must perforce follow. Their Zamindars can to-day start a daily newspaper in English and another in Telugu. One of them the Raja of Pittapur has already done much for Telugu literature by his magnificent do-

nation, and by his great interest in the Telugu Academy. The Maharajah of Bobbili has been crying for a College for Zamindars which will be a nursing ground for the highest and noblest aspirations. In the Maharajahs of Vizayanagaram and Venkatagiri the Andhras have a reserve force which can take them up to any height. My hearty blessings on the cry of "Andhra for the Andhras." But that cry must be unpolluted by any abuse. It must be as high, as unselfish, as noble, as patriotic as can be imagined. Otherwise the Zamindars will not join. They must join. They are the bulwarks of the country, and in the roll of landed proprietors in Madras, Andhras alone can show mighty Zamindars. They can help. They must help. They will help only when there is nothing about the cry but peace and noble ends.

ERASEN.

(*The Indian Patriot* 26-8-12)

V

In restoring the racial unity of the Bengalis and recognizing the integrity of Behar, H. M. King George and Lord Hardinge recognised the principle that language is the greatest bond of union for a compact race. Religion no doubt is a binding force. But language is the greatest tie that evokes feelings of sympathy and love. Language is the index of thought

and is the best means of communicating thought. A common language helps the free flow of ideals among men and unites them in a common bond of attachment. At present the various races of India are best differentiated by the different languages spoken by them. Each race developed its own culture, literature, civilisation and tradition peculiar to themselves according to the languages spoken by them. This peculiar growth is clearly perceptible to any student of ancient Indian history. The British Government have recognised the truth of this feature and they dealt full justice not only to the Bengali race by the removal of partition but also to the Beharees by granting them a separate province. The Beharees were different from Bengalees in racial characteristics and they did not like the grouping of the advanced Bengalis and the less advanced Beharees under one administration. They agitated for a free growth under a separate administration and the Government satisfied both the Bengalis and the Beharees by their liberal grant of separate provinces to each of them. The Behar province will shortly be equipped with all the requisites necessary for a self-sufficient, independent province. What is true of Behar is, of course, true of the other races inhabiting India. The provinces in India were not formed with any forethought. As the British conquered the various parts of India, provinces were formed according to the succession of annexation, and

not on any principle or other distinction. This haphazard grouping of different races in one province has not conduced to the full and unhampered growth of each race. The Bengali race has all along developed on its own lines under a separate administration and has proved the most advanced race in India. The only way in which the country may be divided into provinces must be on the basis of language so as to guard the interests of the rulers and ruled alike. Such an arrangement has been admitted as essential to the welfare of the country by responsible statesmen who were conversant with Indian conditions. Wrote the late Sir John Strachey the greatest Anglo-Indian official of the last century:— "A glance at the map of India will show that the political limits of the provinces have little connection with any physical characteristics. They have been fixed from time to time as the British power advanced or as the necessities of the moment required." On the same subject Sir Bampfylde Fuller writes in his "Indian Life and Sentiment."— "The nearest approach to the national sentiment in India is that which springs from language. It would have been well for the country had its division into provinces, for purposes of Government, followed the lines marked by race and language so as to re-inforce the sympathy which arises from similarity, by feelings of pride in the local Government. The existing administrative divisions are so

heterogenous as to have a directly contrary effect. Provinces were formed as chance befell of areas unassorted." Lord Curzon's Government in a despatch to the Secretary of State dated the 3rd December 1902, wrote that "the question of territorial redistribution in India is, indeed, in our judgment one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present endeavouring to find a solution." The principle underlying the territorial redistribution from the administrative point of view is well brought out in a leading article of the Times of India:—

"Take the Bombay Presidency for example. The young British officer is on arrival posted, say, to a Karnatic District. He employs a Munshi and takes considerable pains to learn Kanerese. He goes to Guzerat and as he is to remain there only for a few months, does not care to begin the study of Guzarathi which is entirely different in structure and idiom from Kanerese. In the meantime he forgets what he had learnt of the latter language. On the expiry of the six months, he is very likely assigned to a Deccan District, where the language spoken is neither Guzarathi nor Kanerese, but Marathi. Frequent transfers to places where different vernaculars are spoken are a very strong impediment in the way of acquiring a working knowledge of any one of them, let alone a scholarly mastery of its literature and history. The exigencies of the service require such transfers though

of late years every endeavour has been made to reduce them to a minimum. More than the actual transfers, the feeling that a man may be called at any moment to serve in a District where some other language may be spoken acts as a check on linguistic aspirations of the average official. A few determined men succeeded in overcoming the feeling but, for the majority it serves as a sufficient excuse to avoid an uninteresting task. The constitution of the Bengal Presidency from this point of view is an interesting experiment. It is devised on a purely linguistic basis. In all the Districts of the new Presidency the Bengali language alone is spoken. The disadvantage pointed out above will not exist in the case of officers serving in Bengal. They will have to learn only one language which will serve them during their whole official career." The famous despatch of Lord Hordinge on Provincial Autonomy enunciates the principle and gives us the ideal of self-contained administrative units autonomous in all provincial affairs, "with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." In accordance with this ideal, Bengal and Behar have been reconstituted into separate provinces on ethnic and linguistic basis.

I have stated the principle underlying the territorial re-distribution on the basis of common language

and how it conduces to the welfare of the separate races and also efficient administration and how responsible statesmen have viewed the question. Viewing the question from the ethnic and linguistic stand-points the formation of a separate province of Andhra must appear essential and sound to any unprejudiced mind. Considering the historic importance of the Andhras as a race, the cold neglect which they receive at present is highly deplorable. The Andhras were for ages a compact, homogenous and imperial race. Their history shows that they had a brilliant career comparable with any of the modern civilised races. Their martial valour eclipsed in the past that of the other races in India. so much so, they conquered Magadha kingdom in 25 B. C. and by the end of the 2nd Century A. D. Gautamiputra Satakarni ruled the whole country between the Ganges and Kistna including the whole of Western India with Amaravathy in the Guntur District as the capital of the Andhra Empire. This all-Indian Empire lasted till the end of 5th century, a period of full four centuries—a very long period, indeed, for any of the great empires of yore, either Roman, Babylonian or Assyrian. Even after the Andhras lost their hold in Northern India, the fire of nationalism was kept up by rulers like Rudrama Devi and Pratapa Rudra Deva, who brought all the Andhras under one rule with Warangal as the capital. The heroic deeds of Palnad heroes

are themselves sufficient to rouse the imagination and the self-respect of the present-day Andhras. The later history of Vizianagar Empire, as a glance at Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* will show, was remarkable for the spread of Andhra rule and Andhra civilisation in the whole of Southern India and the splendour of the capital, as described by foreigners who visited the place under the reigns of Andhra kings, will eclipse that of the modern Babylon. The ruins of Hampi and the architectural beauty of Tirumala Naick's palace in Madura cannot but bring grief to the Andhras of the present day. Unfortunately for us, the deeds of our ancients had not been preserved in the excellent poetry that adorns the Telugu literature and our poets busied themselves with the development of some Puranic story into Prabandhams. Still, while many races of India forgot a sense of their historic individuality the Andhras have even to-day preserved their ancient name and feel a certain unity and distinct entity and the word 'Andhra' is not coined at present to give a dignity or novelty to the present movement. With this distinct sense of separate entity the Andhras live amidst three different nationalities in the Madras Presidency. This union of heterogenous races in one province is injurious to the free and unhampered growth of each race.

INFLUENCE OF THE CAPITAL.

Madras, the capital of the Presidency is situated outside the skirts of the Telugu country and the language which has greater currency there is Tamil. The capital is the place which sends out rays of influence to the mofussil and the progress of the latter often depends upon the nature of metropolitan influence. The southern country had long ago been connected with Madras by railway and a net work of schools and colleges spread English education and culture far sooner than in the northern portion of the presidency. The alliance of language and culture naturally gave a preponderating influence to southerners at Madras and the position was taken advantage of to spread into every place and position in the Andhra country. The Andhras were slow to feel a sense of their low position and when they really felt their subordinate position in their own country, matters became hard to rectify. The Telugu literature received very little recognition from the mixed syndicate of the Madras University and the composition of Telugu Text-Books Committee will bear out the truth of my contention. The Indian dailies at Madras are conducted by non-Telugu gentlemen and they naturally bring to the forefront the claims and grievances of their respective races. When any high post, carrying with it the administrative ability of Indians, falls vacant, the eyes of the English press at Madras fall

upon some one of their own race and naturally the claims of the Andhras are ignored by the Government, because they base public opinion on the views of the English press. It may be unpleasant here to note in detail, when and how the claims of capable Andhras were ignored for want of proper representation. One cannot boldly say that there are not capable Andhras deserving the high recognition. The Maha Raja of Bobbili as the first executive council member at Madras discharged his onerous duty with credit and satisfaction. The Hon. N. Subba Rao Pantulu garu ably represents Madras in the Imperial Legislative Council and was instrumental in bringing about the Public Service Commission for doing justice to the claims of Indians in the higher grades of public service and the Madras dailies did not notice the omission of this Madras representative from the Commission with regret in their comments on the constitution of the Commission. The representatives from the Andhra country Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu and Hon. Mr. Kesava Pillai are the foremost in the Madras Legislative Council in fighting for the people's rights. These instances show that talent is not wanting in the Andhra country but it requires favourable conditions for bringing out the latent faculties and inner capacity of the Andhras. It is opportunities that contribute to the progress of any nation and sufficient opportunities cannot present themselves for the Andhras, so

long as the capital is situated outside the skirts of the Telugu country and so long as the Telugus are one in many as they are at present in the presidency. The location of the capital town in the midst of the Andhra country will create such opportunities for the onward march of the Andhra race. An instance or two may illustrate the present position. The M. A. class was opened in the Rajahmundry College while Mr. Mark Hunter was the principal of the College. A number of Telugu M. A.'s came into existence and after his transfer to the Presidency College the number has diminished. The Training College at Rajahmundry produced a number of Telugu L. Ts and nearly all the Sub-Assistant Inspectors of Schools in the Telugu Districts are now Telugus. Now that the College is abolished the chances of Telugus to become trained graduates in future are indeed few and far between. The Andhra press was unrepresented in the Delhi Durbar and the matter did not receive the notice of the Government then.

LEGISLATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The disadvantage of a want of a separate province will be more apparent in matters of legislation. The *Indian Patriot* tersely puts the matter thus:— "In an administrative arrangement wherein the local point of view is subordinated to other conceptions and views where sympathy is sought at the expense of the

smaller interest, it is certainly to the interests of the latter to be treated separately. This is more so in matters of legislation than administration." For example, the Raja of Kollengode brought a bill with the sincere desire to reform the law relating to the Malabar Inheritance in the Madras Legislative Council but the representatives of the other races knew very little of the peculiar social laws of Malabar and did not help the honourable member much in his sincere attempts at progress. Likewise any legislative measure pertaining specially to the Andhras will receive the same fate at the hands of the mixed representatives and progress will thus be marred. Large undertakings in the Andhra country did not receive much support from the Madras Government. The Vizagapatam Harbour scheme which may convert Vizagapatam into another Bombay and which will converge all the trade from the Central Provinces, Bengal and Andhra country to that spot and will eventually make the Andhra Desa a great trading centre, is being thrown into the background, while less important schemes in the south are gaining fruition. The fact of the matter is that the influence of the south prevails at Madras in all branches of life, so that the questions relating to the northern part of the Presidency receive no due recognition.

Granting that the Andhra Province is necessary for the full development of the Andhra race, is the

vinces. There are 175 large Native States land 600 small. All these have no comparison with one another in extent and population. The extent of Burma is 2,37,000 miles. population is 10,490,6. The extent of Bengal is 84,728 square miles. population is 40,000,000. The extent of Nizam's dominions is 82,693, population is 12,500,000 income Rs 17,000,000 ; while the extent of Travancore is 700 Sq miles, population 3,500,000 income Rs. 2,000,000. When separate rights are to be maintained, it is evident that provinces are formed without considering population extent, or income. The provinces in existence during the times of Hindu Kings did not last in the reign of Mahomedans. The provinces in the reign of Mahamedans considerably changed in the British rule. Under the British rule, provinces were changed twice within ten years. Even districts are reorganised for the sake of efficient administration. The Twenty-one Districts of the Madras Presidency were increased to 25 and the provinces were changed into 12 and in course of time the provinces may be divided into many more provinces. Ireland has long been a part and parcel of Grand Britain and enjoys the full benefits British citizenship. She sends 103 members to the British Parliament. Yet it is deemed fit in the interests of good administration that Ireland must be a separate entity, with a separate Parliament. (The Telugu speaking population is about 25,000,000 ac-

present area peopled by Andhras sufficient for a separate administration in point of extent, population, and revenue? Judging from the provinces in all civilised countries, the formation of a province does not necessarily depend upon the extent, population or financial condition. / Switzerland for example is 15,951 square miles in extent with a population of 3,315 343 and with an income of Rs. 86,250,000. The country is divided into 22 cantons according to the different races and languages. Every canton has an Independent administration of its own. All the cantons are equally responsible for the good administration of the Republic. In the country German, French, Italian and Roman languages are spoken. Switzerland is an example where different races speaking different languages live in one country and co-operate in the administration of the country, though they belong to different provinces and the Swiss are a nation in the accepted sense of the term. The United States of America is divided into 45 different independent states which are dissimilar in extent. Columbia the smallest of the states is 70 square miles in area. There are not more than 7 states altogether whose area exceeds 1,00,000 square miles each. In Australia Tasmania is 26,215 miles in extent and yet it is a separate province. Nova Scotia in Canada although it is 25,218 miles in extent and 4,59,574 in population is a separate province. British India is divided into 12 pro-

cording to the census of 1911. According to the Census of 1901, the Telugus in the Madras Presidency were 14,276,509 in number. In 1903, 04, the land cess collected in the Madras Presidency was Rs. 60,000,000 and in that amount Rs. 35,000,000 were collected from the Andhra Country. This amount comes to more than half of the total amount. The extent of the Madras Presidency is 1,91,705 square miles. The extent of Telugu country is 91,516 square miles. The Telugu speaking area comprises 11 Districts, the Northern Circars, the Ceded Districts, Nellore and Chittoor Districts. If this area be added to the Telugu-speaking area in Central Provinces, it will be as large as the present Bombay Presidency. According to the Census of 1901, the Telugu-speaking population in the Central Provinces was 1,29,287. With the present revenue it yields, the extent and population it has, the Andhra country will surely be a big enough province for a Governor and an Executive Council and will be self-supporting. If the Vizagapatam Harbour Scheme should succeed Madras Presidency cannot in the nature of things be ruled under one administration. Barring Burma, Madras Presidency is the biggest province in India, and there is no reason why for general convenience and administrative efficiency it should not be divided into two or more. The new province will be as big as if not bigger than many of the independent countries and

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States of Europe or America and provincial autonomy can best be secured by having small provinces each having self sufficient administrative autonomy and the formation of a separate Andhra Province is in consonance with the ideal of provincial autonomy as set forth in the famous despatch of the Government. Even supposing that the new province cannot be a major province and have all the rights of one, the bringing of all the Andhras under one administration is itself a great step forward from the present state of things and it will help the compact, harmonious, free and full growth of the Andhras and will contribute to the formation of an advanced and efficient Andhra race! But even in the case of Minor Provinces the policy of Government is to confer the Legislative Council, Executive Council and even a High Court and University. The new province of Behar will have all these requisites and even Central Provinces Governed by a commissioner has a Legislative Council and is going to have an Executive Council. So there is no fear that the rights to the people will be curtailed by having a small province in place of the unwieldy one.

In enunciating the policy of Government in the matter of University education, Mr. Montagu said in the recent Indian Budget debate in the House of Commons! "After the step taken in 1904, when the area within which each University could exercise the

power of affiliation was demarcated, the next step will be to reduce the area over which each University exercises jurisdiction."

Granting then that the Andhra Movement will aid the rapid progress of the Andhras, the opponents of the Andhra Movement naturally ask 'Does not the movement retard the formation and unity of Indian Nationality and set back the tide of progress, which the Indian National Congress has been striving to attain for these long years?' The answer to this depends upon the view one takes of Indian Nationality. Indian Nationality consists not of one homogenous race with one religion, a common language and a common tradition, culture and civilisation. India consists of various races with peculiar culture, language and tradition and with unequal degree of development in civilisation. The Telugu, the Tamil, the Bengalee and the Maharata have different lines of progress, though fortunately they have come under one rule, that of Britain. The British rule no doubt removed many racial angularities and peculiarities and the educated amongst these different races in India are given a common culture. But the special peculiarities which mark one race from the other cannot be entirely wiped away by the stroke of the pen. The idea of introducing Hindi as the universal language in India is chimerical in the extreme and even if it were possible, it cannot of itself wipe away the distinctions and

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fuse all the races into one homogenous Indian nationality and such a consummation is not even desirable. Better remain as we are than attain the Indian Nationality by such a heavy sacrifice of our mother-tongue and the beautiful Andhra literature which is the treasure of hoary ages, and by the adoption of a language with a second rate literature in place of the Italian of the East. The Bharatam of Tikkana, the works of Potana or of Pingala Surana cannot be effaced from the memory of the Andhras as long as Telugu literature lasts. The future politician has to recognise these features of the several races, before raising the cry of Indian Nationality and before decrying the racial and provincial consciousness of the several races. India is a continent in itself. Each race in India is a unit in the Indian Nationality. The efficiency of units conduces to the efficiency of the whole. The mingling of unequally developed units does not and cannot constitute an efficient whole. A weak Andhra race means a weak Indian Nationality. Unless the parts of a whole are fully developed the whole cannot have harmonious growth. The comparative growth of one part at the expense of the other leads to deterioration and brings about disease in the organism. Likewise the free and full growth of several Indian races on their own lines contributes to the solid growth of the Indian Nationality as a whole. The ultimate aim of all Indians is the formation of an Indian Nationality.

Consistent with that ideal, let the several Indian races progress and contribute their fair share in the formation of the Indian Nationality. Let none be envious of the progress of others. Develop yourselves. Let not hatred, jealousy, and ill-feeling come in the way of your conscientious work for the development of your own race and let your work harmonise with the ultimate ideal of Indian nationality. The future Indian nation, will not be one homogenous nation, where all the races are fused into one even mass. But it will be a federated Indian Nationality, where each race having to play its own part without detriment to the Indian Nation and having developed equally successfully, co-operates with each other for the good of India. That is the ideal of nationality throughout the modern world. Switzerland is a parallel to India and the Swiss are one nation. The United States of future India under the hegemony of Great Britain will have to work on the same lines as the United States of America and must have the American nation as an example to imitate consisting as it does of heterogeneous races like India. This division of India into small self-contained administrative units will promote the efficiency as a united Indian Nationality instead of marring the unity of the Indian nation as some anticipate.

Sir,— This movement has assumed special significance in view of the line adopted by Mr. Sly, I.C.S., of the Royal Commission in cross examining witnesses. He tried to establish that there was a public agitation in favour of "Travancore for the Travancoreans," "Mysore for the Mysoreans" and "the Andhra country for the Telugus." It is, therefore, time to understand clearly what the Andhra movement stands for. The question is whether it connotes the same idea as "the Andhra country for Telugus," at any rate, whether the "agitation in favour of the Andhra country for the Telugus" is an integral part of the Andhra movement. Mr. Sly elicited from the Dewan of Travancore that a rule was recently passed by the Travancore Government prohibiting the employment of outsiders except under special circumstances and that too, with the sanction of His Highness the Maharajah. It appears that the Mysore Government recently passed a rule restricting competition for the Mysore Civil Service to the natives of Mysore alone, though during these many years Madrasees found entrance into the Mysore Service. I was not aware of this rule at the time of my examination before the Commission. Mr. Sly apparently wanted to make out that this feeling of excluding outsiders was not confined to those two Native States alone, but extended to British India as well. He cross-examined me about a "public agitation" in favour of "the

Andhra country for Telugus." He evidently wished to prove from these circumstances that simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service would be unsuitable, as people belonging to one part of this country would resent being governed by those of other parts and that the institution of "Simultaneous Examinations" would cause deep discontent and would be a danger to the good Government of the country. To emphasize this point, he laid stress upon the result of the all-India competitive examinations held to recruit officers to the Finance Department of the Government of India. He pointed out that out of 35 successful candidates during these years there were so many as 17 "who were residents of Southern India" that found entrance into the Finance Department. His attitude on the subject would be clear from the following questions:—

"Do you think that it would be acceptable to Northern India that a large proportion of successful candidates in the service should be Madrasees?"

"If there was a large proportion of Madrasees, do you think it would be really for the good of the country?"

"You think it would?"

He thus seemed to argue that if simultaneous examinations were held for the Indian Civil Service, there would be a large number of Madrasees who

would come out successful, that it would not be "really to the good of the country", that a large number of them should find entrance into the Indian Civil Service, and that they would not be "acceptable" to the people of Northern India.

Hence it would be clear that the "agitation" in favour of "the Andhra country for Telugus," as interpreted by Mr. Sly, has special reference to employment in the Public Service and to the alleged feeling on the part of the Telugus that the Andhra country should be made a preserve for them only, and that outsiders should not find entrance to the Public Service in the Telugu Districts. When, therefore, after examining me about the agitation in favour of "Travancore for the Travancoreans" and "Mysore for the Mysoreans" Mr. Sly asked me whether there had been "another agitation in favour of the Andhra country for the Telugus," I replied that it was not supported by a large class of people or shared by any responsible (representative) persons or leaders of the community and that I for one had not joined such an agitation. I further stated that I had (recently) expressed my opinion that the Telugu community "ought not to hanker after offices and after political privileges," "otherwise they will be creating bickerings, jealousies and discord and retard the healthy progress of the community." I am afraid my answer did not satisfy him, and he seemed to challenge the correct-

ness of my statement that the agitation was not shared by a large class of people or by the leaders of the community. The information on which he relied might be gathered from his further questions on the subject: "That is your own opinion?"

"At the same time, there has been a public agitation in favour of 'Mysore for the Mysoreans' and 'the Andhra country for the Telugus and others?'" You will see how the Andhra movement has apparently been construed by gentlemen of the standing of Mr. Sly as one directed to getting offices and emoluments and placed on the same footing as the cry of "Travancore for the Travancoreans" and "Mysore for the Mysoreans."

In my next article, I shall deal with the Andhra movement and the question of constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate Province.

Rajahmundry,
30th January 1913.]

N. SUBBARAU.

Sir,— Having disposed of the question of 'the Andhra country for the Telugus,' as interpreted by Mr. Sly, I shall now proceed to consider whether the proposal made for constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate province is an integral part of the movement. In dealing with this question, I feel that I am at a disadvantage, as I have not had the benefit

of discussing it with those who have organized the Andhra Conference or who favour the creation of an Andhra province. As my information on the subject is entirely derived from what has appeared in the Press, I hope I shall be pardoned if I may not have fully grasped the different bearings of the question. The proposal has found warm advocates in some quarters and it has formed the subject of much correspondence and comment in the Press. Opinion is naturally divided on such an important question. Even its most ardent advocates, I believe, do not urge that the public service in the new province should be shut against all those belonging to other parts of India. In fact it would be impossible to do so in a British province where the highest service is, under the statute, open to all natural born subjects of His Majesty. In the Telugu Districts, there are now as many communities, races and creeds in the public service, such as Mahommadans, Christians, Tamils, Canarese, Mahrattas etc, as there are in the rest of the Presidency and it would make very little difference hereafter whether they are recruited from the new or the neighbouring province. The question of recruitment for the public service, therefore, is of little importance. As Dr. B. Pattabhi Saramayya of Masulipatam said in a recent communication it is "to vulgarize the Andhra movement by equating it to a desire for posts."

The main argument which is urged in favour of the proposal is that at present Telugu people are handicapped in the race of life, that the Government having to deal with diverse communities speaking different languages cannot be expected to adjust its machinery and its policy to suit the peculiarities and needs of the Andhras ; whereas if the Telugu Districts were separated and constituted into a new province, more care and attention would naturally be given for the development of the province and the advancement of the Telugus in harmony with their traditions, environment and genius. It would then be more easy to have a separate University established for the Telugu Districts and the Telugu language and literature would then receive proper encouragement and make rapid progress. It is pointed out that the Andhras are a historic race numbering about 15 millions in this Presidency alone and that their ancestors sat on the throne of Magadha and their conquests extended at one time as far as Cape Comorin. They are a gifted race as well, susceptible to new ideas and they would have a great future before them, if sufficient facilities for their development were provided, which could best be done by creating an Andhra province. In fact it is urged that the demand for a separate province is on the same footing as the recent agitation for the separation of "the over-weighted and neglected." Behar from Bengal, her more prosperous and influ-

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ential neighbour. The case for constituting Telugu Districts into a separate province has not been better put than by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Who can resist being attracted by the fascinating picture of an Andhra province presided over by a Governor and an Executive Council, composed partly of Andhra members, with an Andhra University and an Andhra High Court, whose proceedings are duly chronicled in the Andhra dailies eagerly read by hundreds of Andhras in remote villages ? Can we blame some of our young men who, fascinated by such a picture, indulge in language in no way complimentary to those who may not be enchanted by this vision (vide the Madras correspondent's letter to the 'Andhra, of Guntur' dated 24th January 1913.)

After all that is said in favour of the proposal it must be conceded that the arguments put forward in favour of a new province would apply with equal cogency to the different communities inhabiting this continent. The disabilities and disadvantages to which Telugas are subject are common to several other communities in different provinces. In fact it may well be argued that the more backward a community is, the greater the need for placing it under a separate administration. But one thing is clear. Whether the Andhra province comes into existence, or not, if this agitation is continued, it would certainly strengthen the hands of the Oriyas who have been persistently

agitating that the Oria portion of the Ganjam District should be cut off from the Madras Presidency and added on to Orissa,—an agitation against which the Telugus of Ganjam have been as vigorously protesting. According to the census of 1911 there are in the Ganjam District, Telugus numbering 839,449 in the plains and 6,000 in the Agency, total 843,449 as against Oriyas numbering 958,661 in the plains and 132,392 in the Agency, total, 1,091,053, leaving out of account 275,329 persons speaking other languages. I am sure that the Andhras of Ganjam would not be grateful to their brethern of these parts if the result of the agitation should be that a portion of the Ganjam District is added on to Orissa without the creation of an Andhra Province.

I may say that I am of opinion that it would be to the good of each community, at any rate, each important community, and helpful to their rapid and healthy advancement, if they could be placed under a separate administration. But the proposal to constitute provinces as far as possible according to languages, involves administrative changes of such a far reaching character that I shall be glad to see a practical scheme worked out, at least for the proposed Andhra province with its summer and winter capitals, with its University and its chief or High Court, if any. I have no fear that the establishment of a new province would, as is imagined by some create

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new walls of separation and further retard the growth and formation of an Indian nationality. To my mind the problem of the Indian nationality has to be solved in each home, in each caste, in each village and in each town and when that is done, the constitution of provinces according to languages would not stand in the way. On the other hand, if such a scheme could be devised it would facilitate the fusion of people in each Province and pave the way for the speedier realization of the Indian nationality.

N. SUBBARAU.

Date:— Feb. 4. 1913.

Sir,— I have been trying to work out this problem of constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate Province. As far as I can see portions of the plains in the Ganjam District as well as the whole of the Agency of the Ganjam District and a greater portion of the Agency of the Vizagapatam District shall have to go to Orissa, the Telugu speaking people in the Ganjam Agency being only 6,000 against 1,32,392 Oriya-speaking people and in the Vizagapatam Agency the Telugu-speaking people being 1,70,626 against 4,73,437 Oriya-speaking people. A portion of the Bellary District would have to be added to the Bombay Presidency, as there are only 320,693 Telugu-speaking people as against 5,34,479 Canarese-

speaking people in that District, perhaps some portions of the Chittore District as well which has officially been declared to be bilingual, might have to be added to the neighbouring Tamil district as there are 2,68,821 Tamil-speaking people, being between a third and a fourth of the Telugu-speaking people therein. The real Telugu Districts with the feudatory state of Banginapalli would then contain a Telugu-speaking population of nearly 15 millions with another million speaking Tamil, Hindustani, Mahrattee, Canarese and other languages.

Under these circumstances, I do not know whether the head of the administration of the proposed Andhra Province would be only a Chief Commissioner as in the Central Provinces which has a population of about 15 millions. I for my part would not care to have the new Andhra Province under a chief Commissioner and I should prefer to be under the present form of Government with a Governor in Council.

Apparently, the difficulties I have had in dealing with this question have not been lost light of by those responsible for organising the Andhra Conference who are no doubt cognisant of differences of opinion on the subject "among the members of the committee and also amongst those outside it" For in the notice issued on the 13th October last by Messrs.

K. Venkatappayya and V. Bhavanachary, as Secretaries of the Andhra Conference, convening the First Andhra Conference in the ensuing summer and suggesting subjects for consideration, no reference was made to any proposal for constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate Province. Again, the carefully drawn-up letter published by them in the Press on the 23rd January last explaining the scope of the Andhra movement, no mention whatever was made of this proposal for the creation of a new province nor was it even hinted at in the pamphlet published a few days ago on "the Andhra movement" under the authority of the Conference Committee at Guntur. It is stated therein that the chief work of the movement will be—

1. Creating among the people a greater love for education, culture and high ideal and making provision for their special educational needs by representation to the Government and by other means ;
2. Studying the agricultural and commercial conditions of the country and concerting measures for their progress by creating a spirit of Co-operation, and by developing mutual trust and confidence ;
3. Stimulating interest in sanitation, health and physical culture and suggesting the means of promoting the physique of the present generation ;
4. Promoting the development of Telugu

Literature by encouraging the publication of books in the Vernacular, which are intended to convey the principles of modern culture and enlightenment to the matter ;

5. Securing the advancement of the claims of the Telugus in Public Service."

In view of these facts, I believe, I am not wrong in concluding that the proposal to constitute the Telugu Districts into a separate province is not an integral part of the Andhra movement. In my opinion the Andhra Conference Committee have done well in not making the question of an Andhra Province—a plank in the Andhra movement. It is not right to raise unnecessary hopes and expectations of an Andhra Province, which would divert attention from the real and substantial work before us, requiring the untiring energy, the unbounded enthusiasm and the whole hearted sacrifice of all the workers available in the country. Besides it would cause friction interfering with the "chief work" of the movement as defined by the Secretaries—work, the first four items of which, I am sure, ought to satisfy the aspirations of the most ambitious patriot in the Telugu Districts which could not be hoped to be completed till after the most strenuous endeavour of some generations.

As Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya pointed out in

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his communication published in the Press on the 30th August last, "if the needs of the Government should ever decide upon a division of the Madras Presidency there would be nothing unseemly in the Andhras desiring a separate Andhra Province." No doubt the Dravidian races like brothers of one family have till now been living in amity and good-will under one (British) administration, though they had their quarrels in the past. The Tamils had a good start in the race of life and claim superiority by reason of their enterprise and intellectuality. They, like other communities, are proud of their past and the predominant position they occupy at present in almost all walks of life. Treating of Ceylon, Bishop Caldwell writes "wherever money is to be made, wherever a more apathetic or a more aristocratic people is waiting to be pushed aside, thither swarm the Tamilians, the Greeks or the Scotch of the East, the least superstitious and the most enterprising and persevering race of Hindus." The Tamil country can point to their three cities with a population of more than a lakh and seven cities with a population of more than half a lakh, whereas all the eleven Telugu Districts put together had not a single city at the Census of 1901 and have been able at the recent census to enter one city just over half a lakh. The architectural edifices on the banks of the Cauvery, the Vagai and the Tambraparni attract visitors from foreign shores, not to speak of thousands

from different parts of India. The Tamils claim that they have produced an indigenous literature second only in importance and antiquity to Sanskrit in the literatures of India. They are proud that theirs is the only Vernacular literature in India which has not been content with imitating Sanskrit but has honourably attempted to emulate and outshine it. The Tamil country has produced the great Ramanuja and a galaxy of Alvars of varied castes who have found an honoured place in the temples of Southern India. The Tamils have developed a religion and philosophy on their own lives, known as *Saiva Siddhanta* which Dr. Pope regards as the "most influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of the religions of India" and whose orthodox Vellala followers have adopted a strictly vegetarian diet, eschewing all liquor and claim to rank as high as the Brahmins in their intellectuality and purity of life. The Tamils are proud of their distinguished statesmen, administrators, judges, jurists, lawyers, and educationists and who adorn the modern annals of Southern India. A merchantile section of the Tamil community has established business centres in Rangoon, Singapur, Siam and far off Shanghai and are beginning to open branches even in England and their enterprise, organization and charities are the envy of their neighbours. Though the other Dravidian races like some younger brothers have lagged behind, they are strenuously endeavouring

to make up lost ground and become effective units in the building of the Indian nationality. There is no cause for despair. On their part the Telugus spread themselves over the South to such an extent that even to-day there are more than two and half millions of Telugu-speaking people in different Tamil Districts whereas the Tamils in all the Telugu Districts including Chittore do not number more than half a lakh. The time must come when this family of Dravidian races would become too large to commodiously live under one roof and when such a day comes the creation of an Andhra Province would be found to be an imperious necessity and it would certainly give a powerful impetus to the growing public spirit of the Telugu people and the rapid development of the Andhra country in all directions.

Rajahmundry,

N. SUBBA RAU.

Date:- Feb. 6. 1913.

VII

Sir,— The Andhra country, and likewise the rest of the province, is greatly obliged to Mr. Subbarao Pantulu for his articles regarding the Andhra movement. It is to be wished that all the past, present and future leaders of the community, the honouables, ex-honourables, the would-be-honourables, the 'responsibles' and the representatives had expressed their views and opinions regarding the Andhra

movement in the same manner as Mr. Subbarow has done, but in a more clinching and less non-committal fashion. Mr. Subbarow's articles have not covered what he would regard as the constructive phases of the movement (phases other than the cry for a province) and it is likely either that he will take them up later on or not take them up at all, as they are more or less of a non-contentious character, relating as they do to the moral and material, mental and physical, religious and social, economic and industrial, educational and archaeological, literary, scientific and technical, cultural and agri (horti, seri—, pisi—,) cultural, indeed anything but political aspects of communal development. We look to them in vain for any definite declaration of opinions, any over-powering statement of facts or any convincing presentation of arguments, or perhaps these were not necessary as any particular conclusions do not seem to have been either aimed or arrived at and therefore did not require to be buttressed up by an array of facts, arguments and opinions. What we rather find in the articles is what John Morley calls "a wise sense in forming opinions, a wise reserve in expressing them, and a wise tardiness in realizing them."

What he grants in theory he denies in practice. What he admits in principle, he condemns on grounds of expediency. A high and uplifting ideal

recognized and recommended by him as such is surrendered on account of the friction that may be involved in working it out. He is "of opinion that it would be to the good of each community, at any rate each important community, and helpful to their rapid and healthy advancement if they could be placed under a separate administration. But he fears it may not be easy to fix the summer and winter capitals and the seats of a University and a High (Chief) Court. He has "no fear that the establishment of a new province would, as is imagined by some, create new walls of separation and further retard the growth of an Indian Nationality," but he avers that the proposal of a separate province would cause friction interfering with the chief work of the movement as defined by the Secretaries of the Andhra Conference Committee." (Friction—how and why, he does not tell.) The population of the Telugus and the extent of land occupied by them may justify the demand for a separate province, but how would Ganjam, he asks, manage Oriya problem there? A province may be granted, but shall we submit to the rule of a Chief Commissioner? To put the whole thing briefly "the creation of an Andhra Province would one day be considered to be an imperious necessity, but (such a day is not yet and) the time must come when this family of Dravidian races would become too large to commodiously live under one roof." The Telugus may

be granted a province, but would not the Malayalees ask for one? Caldwell is quoted to support the superiority of the Tamils, but the Telugus are told there is no cause for despair. All these fears, doubts, difficulties and antitheses require close and careful examination. When once the theory of a separate province is granted, and the principle of a separate administration admitted, there can be no difficulty which will prove insurmountable, no power on earth that can stay the progress of events. Far off Ganjam, distant Bellary and borderland Chittore will have to be prepared to forego a portion of their respective territories and even then to remain bilingual. That cannot be helped. We may on the contrary snatch a portion of the Central Provinces (to which, by the way, Mr. Subbarow Pantulu makes no reference) and thus increase our extent as well as our population to the respectable proportions of a Governorate (or at least a Lieut-Governorate), so that if even if we lose all the Oryas of Ganjam and Vizag, Kanarese of Bellary and Tamils of Chittore, numbering according to Mr. Subbarow 1,409,129 from out of the 17,240,578 population of the Telugu Districts, we may hope to add at least a sixth of the 15 million population of the Central Provinces and thus attain to the responsibility of Bombay which had only a population of 18,559,561 in 1901 and must have had a considerably smaller population than is represented by the

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Telugus now when first it was constituted a regulation province. We must confess we cannot snatch any slices from Hyderabad or Mysore. Difficulties altogether insuperable lie that way. If the Telugus are granted a province it is feared the Malayalees will put forward their claims for separate recognition. We welcome such a demand and I for one would give priority to their claims recognizing as we all must that they are 4½ millions and are quite numerous enough for a divisional Commissionership, that they have laws of tenure and inheritance so wholly peculiar that it is nothing short of absurdity to yoke them to the Tamils or the Telugus or to both. The future map of India will have indeed to be recast in a measure which may very soon confound us and the geography we have learnt. The Malayalees may have to stand apart, portions of the Madras Presidency may have to be given to Bombay, the Central Provinces may have to be considerably dwarfed, portions being given over to Bombay and to Madras. Guzerat and the Guzeratis may claim separate entity leaving the Maharattas of Bombay and C. P. as one unit. Behar already stands apart and the Uriyas may one day have their own integrity recognized. It was by the operation of no natural laws that the present provinces came into existence. Later conquests were super-added to pre-existing possessions and a rough demarkation was made out between huge tracts of

country. Nor need we bemoan that the existing forms of administration, jurisdiction and rulership will remain perpetuated for ever. Fifteen millions need not always be equated to Chief Commissioner-ship. And after all a Chief Commissioner is not one always to be feared nor a Governor one to be enamoured of. If Mr. Subbarow Pantulu for one would not care to be under a Chief Commissioner, I for one would immensely prefer to be under a Chief Commissioner like Sir Henry Cotton, a Lieut. Governor like Sir John Hewett, Sir Antony Mac Donell or Sir James Meston as against a Governor like Lord Sandhurst or Sir Arthur Lawley. After all two factors must be recognized, one is that civilian antecedents do not *ipso facto* destroy human sympathies nor does the absence of them always breed a democratic instinct. Individuals have to be judged on their own merits as the truism goes. The second is that the days of bureaucracy itself are numbered. As Mr. V. P. Madhava Row said the other day, 'the bureaucracy has failed to understand the needs of the people and the requirements of the time. Rule by the servants of the company, which at one time became transferred to the servants of the Crown, will very soon have to be transferred from the servants to the subjects of the Crown themselves. The civil servants will then as Mr. Madhava Row said, and as their name implies, be the servants of the public. Under these circumst-

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ances shall we still cling to the delusion that conditions of administration and appointment, of power and authority will remain at the end of a decade or two much the same as they were a decade or two ago? Chief Commissioners have been saddled with Legislative Assemblies and Lieutenant Governors with Executive Councils. A Chief Commissioner may one day become a Commissioner in council. The day is not far off when the Indians themselves will be responsibly associated with the full work of administration. This is the significance, if not the actual meaning, of the recent reforms, and until lately it formed the burden of all the speeches and the counsels by which the elders sought to restrain the unbridled enthusiasm of the youngsters. It is the irony of fate and time that the youngsters have now to repeat it in order to widen the outlook of the elders.

When a new scheme is set on foot, all that we are privileged to do is to examine whether it is inherently sound in principle, and fairly workable in practice. The best of schemes in the world have numerous defects and drawbacks in them and it is not the part of statesmanship to pause to scan them and to condemn the scheme itself on account of them. We have set forth the merits of the scheme, we have sketched the claims advanced on behalf of it, and so long as the demerits and disqualifications do not outweigh the former, so long should the scheme be

admitted to be proper and valid and workable. Mr. Subbarow Pantulu speaks of friction. Whether he means thereby conflict between the problem of a province and the several problems of moral and material progress regarded as the legitimate factors of the Andhra movement or whether he speaks of real ill-will and ill-feelings between communities, it is not clear. That probably he does not mean the latter is suggested by a quotation already made that he does not apprehend the demand for a province as likely to create new walls of separation. If he meant the former, we cannot think of any conflict at all, for all that the cry for a province requires is a little crying, a little of cogent reasoning and a little more of courageous presentation of facts and calm appreciation of arguments. A resolution, a few articles and a few more speeches, above all, honest convictions and conscientious expression of them— it is these that the problem of a province demands and they do not conflict with any labours, however strenuous, directed towards other aims and objects. The purpose of quoting Bishop Caldwell is not apparent, for it is easy to quote better evidences than those of a clergyman in support of Andhra traditions, but these Mr. Subbarow Pantulu does not dispute and it is unnecessary to pursue this aspect further. But there is the formidable fact of three municipalities in the south aspiring to be cities whereas in the north there is only

one. If Masulipatam had not been washed away twice by the tidal wave during the past century and a quarter, there would have been 60,000 people more to carry on this controversy *re* the Andhra movement. If the East Coast Railway had been constructed a couple of decades earlier, if the sea at Masulipatam had not receded and become shallow for 10 miles, if the scheme of a harbour for Vizagapatam had been accomplished, if Agricultural, Commercial, Forest and Training Colleges had been established in the north by a beneficent Government there would have been not three but thirteen cities here. It is fruitless to raise such trivial issues. It only leads to the bandying of words and arguments. A thousand and one natural causes operate in determining the centres of human activity and not all are under human control, many perhaps are not within the range of human ken.

Mr. Subbarow Pantulu speaks of the time yet to come when the Dravidian races cannot live commodiously under one roof. A fine phrase indeed and fine figure of speech! Sense of comfort and commodiousness depends entirely upon individual tastes, ambitions and spirit of adjustment, upon the sense of equity that prevails in the management of joint affairs, upon the control that the head of the house is able to exercise. When tastes develop, when ambitions multiply, when difficulties generate, when equity fails and control relaxes, separation becomes inevitable.

Above all when brothers choose to separate they do so. They are happier and their relations are more harmonious when they do separate. I am only elaborating Mr. Subbarow Pantulu's figure of speech and mean nothing else. In good cause agitation can never begin too soon. No amount of tarrying can exalt a bad cause. These are platitudess but they require to be uttered. Let me utter one more before closing. Statesmanship requires three qualities. They are imagination, sympathy and courage. It is these qualities that mark off the man of politics from the statesman. It is these qualities that have made a Lloyd George of the Welsh Lawyer. Indian politicians cannot perhaps become Lloyd Georges in the near future, but they can yet become statesmen. Mere tact and diplomacy are dangerous forces. They cut both ways and profit none. One must have the necessary imagination not to be satisfied 'with the service rendered' to the objects of the present hour but to make one's contribution to growth, progress and the future. He must have the sympathy to co-operate in endeavours in which the initiative may have been taken by others. He must above all have the courage to transcribe visions that he alone sees and proclaim ideals that are not clear to the commonplace mind. The day may be distant when these visions and these ideals will cease to be such and become realized as facts and phenomena of the work-a-day world. There was a states-

man in Behar who is now no more. Mahesth Narayan began his agitation sometime in 1896 for the separation of Behar. He saw, he spoke, he succeeded, but he did not live to see the day of success. To those having eyes and see not may we say, having tongues speak ye not too.

B. PATTABHISITARAMAYYA.

27-2-1913.

VIII

Mr. N. Subba Rao gave evidence which was of a different kind. He was against class representation in the public service, yet in reply to Sir Valentine Chirol, he admitted that efficiency was not the sole consideration. If he had said this in support of his opinion that simultaneous examinations would not produce much result as far as the natives of India were concerned it would have been all right. But he said it in a connection which would admit of no other conclusion than that he did not care what became of the opinions and feelings of the people so far as the efficiency of the Service was ensured. He deprecated the Andhra movement which he said arose from irresponsible people. But we know, as a matter of fact, that the movement which he deprecated has a deeper foundation than he imagines, and we think that the chances are that those who disown the

movement will be themselves disowned. The Andhra movement is based on something higher than a claim for appointments. It has its genesis in a love of Telugu literature and history, of its traditional greatness, and of self-development which it is not possible to attain under the existing circumstances. To disown such a movement is not surely to discredit it. The claim for appointments in the public service is only subsidiary to other ends. It is not an end in itself. If the Andhras had started a movement for such a purpose, it is not difficult to say that it would have been altogether wanting in our sympathy. But they place it far higher, and claim it as national movement, subsidiary only to the Indian national movement. Before the Indian national movement can really be capable of achieving great things, it is necessary that every unit that contributes to it should itself be efficient and up to the mark.

The Indian Patriot.

14-1-1913

IX

This topic leads me to offer some remarks on the Andhra Movement which is agitating the public mind very considerably not only in this part of the country but also elsewhere. Though the Andhra Movement has hardly taken shape, yet it has already

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come in for a lot of adverse criticism. There has been a great divergence of opinion as to its aims and objects among those who are supposed to be responsible for it. It is a movement easily liable to be misunderstood and easily liable to be misused too if not kept under proper guidance. Since the movement attracted public notice, the Secretaries of the Andhra Conference Committee at Guntur have made a definite pronouncement as to how it has arisen, and what it seeks to achieve and this pronouncement coupled with the pamphlet on the Andhra Movement brought out by the same Committee have, I hope, allayed the apprehensions entertained in some quarters that it is clannish in character, conceived in a spirit of parochial patriotism, and cannot but be detrimental to our national interests. Whether the good flowing from it or the evil that it may bring in its train may preponderate, there seem to be indications that it is a movement that has come to be and is destined to play its part in the politics of the country. A sincere attempt must therefore be made to understand its real significance. As pointed out by the joint Secretaries in their communication published in the issue of the *Hindu* of the 23rd of January 1913, there is no doubt that the Andhra Movement is the result of an upheaval in the community brought about by various agencies, the most potent of them being the writings of Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu and others.

that have followed in his wake spreading liberal ideas and pleading for freedom of action chiefly in matters social. The influence of these writings combined with the new aspirations that have been roused in the minds of educated Indians by their study of Western political institutions and the progress of the democratic movement in Europe and America has instilled into the minds of the Telugu patriots ideas of progress which have taken a more or less practical turn. It is remarkable to what extent old Telugu poets whom students never formerly cared to study even for examination purposes have now become popular among them. In recent years we have often heard of Vardhanti celebrations for Nannayya and Tikkana. Telugu literature as such has endeared itself to the community. Hence the disinterested attempts made in various quarters to expand its bounds and fill it with works in all departments of thought and knowledge. The establishment of the Telugu Academy at Madras and the fairly begun attempt of Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao for the compilation of an Encyclopædia in the Telugu language are other practical manifestations of the same desire to perfect the Telugu language and literature. The Telugus have been made to realise that they have had a past of which they may well feel proud and that therefore they may yet hope to have a future consistent with their worthy past, however backward they may be found to be just now in the

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race of life. Notwithstanding this desire for progress and improvement, the numerous statistical tables appended to the pamphlet on the Andhra Movement already mentioned show how the Telugu community is behindhand the other communities of the Presidency in the matter of education, industries and in the public service. According to the latest census the population of the whole Presidency was 41,870,160; of which the population of the Telugu Districts amounted to 17,140,678. The population of the Telugu Districts is thus considerably over two-fifths of that of the whole Presidency and if such a large section of the total population of the Presidency should be roused to a sense of its own backwardness and put forth honest attempts for its healthy development in all directions, how is it possible to maintain that the movement is fraught with mischief? The goal of Indian Nationality cannot certainly be reached in the near future and many and varied will be the stages of development through which we should pass before reaching it. The process of evolution will undoubtedly be long and laborious. Each little section and community will have to develop and perfect itself with a view to become an efficient member of the body politic and when this process has been finished, there will emerge, as we all hope, the perfected Indian fitted to take his part as a unit of the Indian nation.

The real clue to the origin of the Andhra Movement has been suggested by Prof. Sundararaman in his letter to the *Hindu* on the subject. He says that the provincial sentiment—by which expression he apparently means the same thing as national feeling—has its origin really in language and culture and that it is not a thing peculiar to the racial subdivisions of India. No student of history will dispute that language and racial feeling are the most potent factors in the creation and development of the national sentiment. "To speak the same language," says Prof. Max Muller, "constitutes a closer union than to have drunk the same milk." I am aware that modern European history has proved the possibility of the national sentiment developing itself among people of divers tongues and races by reason of their being under the domination of the same sovereign power. But where the national sentiment arises out of a consciousness of allegiance to the same mother tongue and to the same social, intellectual and spiritual ideal, the foundations of it will be laid deep and the effects will be permanent and abiding. My own idea is that the perfected Indian nation cannot come into existence unless the whole Hindu community has not only been permeated by the political and democratic ideals of the West but also by the peculiar social and spiritual ideals of the East which have invested the Hindu civilization with its characteristic features and which

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are reflected in the Sanskrit literature.

P. NAGABHUSHANAM, M. A., B. L.

22-3-13.

*Presidential speech 22nd
Kistna Dt. Conference.*

X

The Province question is of the most far-reaching importance to the Teluga Districts. I stand for it as the best of things to desire. It is not desiring without deserving. The desire has been there before, and if it has been only a spark, it is kindled into a flame by the redistribution of provinces in the north and the very sound principles it was based on. This is the first time we give expression to our old desire at a representative gathering, and we must discuss the problem taking care to do nothing the object of which is likely to be misunderstood anywhere and to keep out mere sentiment, though the Government of Lord Hardinge in their despatch proposing a modification of the Bengal Partition, said, "We by no means wish to underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment even if it be exaggerated."

A good Government provides for the fullest possible development of every large community by placing each, so far as may be, under conditions which bring out what is best in it and by a due recognition of its talent. All races are not similarly conditioned

for it. Where two numerous races inhabit a province, and where one has over the other an advantage which proceeds more from adventitious circumstances than from anything which is intrinsically its own, the disabilities of the race less favourably conditioned, should be removed, and facilities for its development provided and its just aspirations realised. The presence of institutions to cultivate talent in many ways in the midst of a people or near them, gives them an advantage over a people who have not them or who have not the conveniences of the other to profit by those institutions to the extent that they would. If, added to this inequality, there is also inequality in State patronage, the consciousness of the less favourably situated race that it is as deserving as the other of having all those institutions and that its talent should have been better rewarded by the State, stirs its pulse and makes it sigh for these opportunities which have placed the other race at a considerable advantage over itself. It is in human nature that a race will do all it can to retain the influence and power under the State which it chanced upon, no matter how far in excess it may be of another; and when the story of that ascendancy continues, the merit balked of its reward, would naturally strive for those conditions under which it hopes to be able to satisfy its own claims. It seeks no concessions: no self-respecting race which is conscious of its worth-

ness for higher things than have fallen to it, does it. Nor is it jealous of the rewards of superior individual worth in another people: it is as proud of the worthies in the other as in its own fold. All that the race wants is that its talent should have equal facilities with the rest for development and a recognition commensurate with its worth. Look at the aspirations of the India of to-day and the India of a decade or two ago. She now demands more loudly than before a complete effacement of racial considerations and an abstract recognition of merit.

Now judge the question of a Telugu Province in the light of these universal laws of races. Since the East Coast Railway connected those parts with the North and South, its advantages have been largely availed of, and there has been remarkable progress all over the Telugu Districts. There are two Telugu Civilians and a large number of Telugu Barristers. Of late there has been a steady increase of Telugu Vakils at the Madras Bar, and a good many of them promise a distinguished future. A young gentleman of my place has been for years leading a distinguished journalistic career in the North. Our districts have been producing more graduates than in the pre-railway days. While on the side of industries we are as active as any in the province. From the figures quoted last year by my distinguished predecessor in the chair, you have seen what a deplorable amount of general

illiteracy there is in our district ; but where there is progress in higher education, it is very encouraging ; and we naturally expect adequate recognition for our talent in branches where it has shown itself, and improved facilities for its development where it lacks them. But how do we stand before the rest in the services ? A pamphlet published on "The Andhra Movement" gives that in the Revenue Department we get only 1/6th of the salary that the Tamils are getting, and only 1/7th in all other Departments. Writing to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Hardinge's Government said, "We are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi speaking people now included within the province of Bengal, a separate administration. The people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of Behar for Beharis has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments ; an excessive number of offices in Behar have been held by Bengalis. In reply to this the Secretary of State for India wrote, "It is equally certain that the provincial centre of gravity was unduly diverted to the western portion of the area and to Calcutta itself with the result that the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal were unintentionally deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention."

Now, gentlemen, we see how closely we resemble the Beharis [in being so unequally yoked with the Tamils, and when the Mahomedans are said to have been "deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention," what should be said of the Telugus who are far more advanced than the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal ? And how should we feel when the "provincial centre of gravity" has all along been diverted to the south, there being none or almost none of us in the provincial offices ?

Having proved that the conditions we live under make it "in the highest degree desirable" to give us Telugh-speaking people a separate administration, let us consider another important point in the question. Have the Teluga districts a sufficiently large area to warrant their getting a separate administration ? The area of Bengal as at present constituted into a province, is only 70,000 square miles while the Telugu districts measure a good 13,000 more square miles than Bengal. Bombay proper which is under a Governor-in-Council is only nearly 76,000 square miles.

It may however, be urged that the area is not all and that there is the population also to be considered. It is true that Bengal has a population of 42 millions while the Telugu districts have only 22 millions. The difference is, no doubt, enormous, but Bombay with only a population of 15 millions, enjoys the rule of a Governor-in-Council. Even with the population of

Sindh, it gets only 3 more millions aggregating far less than half the population of Bengal.

In tradition, instinct and language we are as different from the Tamils as the Beharis are from the Bengalis and we have the intellectual capacity that any other race in India has. These are our claims for a separate administration. When our claims were accepted in another people may we not hope they will be accepted in our case also? The supremely happy results which followed the redistribution of provinces in the north far outweigh the money spent and to be spent on it. May not the advancement of the Telugu race that had a part so ably described by Mr. B. N. Sarma at the Andhra Conference at Bapatla, be also found a sufficient compensation for the cost of a Telugu Province?

I have discussed the question with some friends of mine. While admitting the justice of the claims, they fear that a Telugu province would alienate us from our old brothers of the south and continuing as we are, we can develop a spirit of nationality with them. I confess my inability to see, how a desire in a class to advance in its own place could mean a spirit of exclusiveness from its neighbour. If in an unwieldy and heterogeneous class of a school, separating and grouping boys of similar tastes and capacity could be said to be done in an undesirable spirit, if it

were undesirable to group the plants in a garden according to their requirements of sun and shade and water, we might be charged with a spirit of exclusiveness in our desire to have a separate province for the Telugus. There are many Tamil *Sanghams* (associations) in Telugu districts. Are they organised and run in a spirit of exclusiveness from the Telugus they live among? As to the growth of a spirit of nationality between the Tamils and the Telugus, granting for the sake of argument that can be possible only under existing conditions, and that a different course would lead to different results, are we not, who are of the Indian National Congress, cutting the ground from under our feet? How could the Congress be *National* with the people under all Provincial Governments taking part in it? At this hour of the day is it necessary to remind or prove that, so long as there is the same Supreme Government to safeguard the interests of all, so long as the Provincial Governments continue to be British in character, so long as there are the same Imperial conditions which operate on all alike, so long there can be nothing to weaken a spirit of nationality between province and province. When Bengal was passing through her worst trials were not the sympathies of the other provinces with that country? Do we not all rejoice with her now, in her hour of peace? Nothing can be a stronger bond of union than those which have brought the

millions of India together, one pulse of filial love to the paternal throne of England, one feeling of deep gratitude to England for all that she has done for us, one common hope of rising together materially, intellectually and morally, all animating us into concerted action for the common weal of our motherland, India. The spirit is fast growing in us of looking upon India as a city of which each province is but a street. The provinces may be marked off from one another even more distinctly than they are, by difference of language, custom, habit, tradition and instinct, but nothing shall prevent their working together in perfect harmony—thanks to the great Indian National Congress, “that Political Conference of India”—for the common Empire to which we are proud to belong any more than the organs each with its own function, each with its sphere of enjoyment, each with a separate kind of treatment it requires when anything is wrong with it, working for the common happiness of the body. If by nationality anything else is meant the conditions extant would never change, and what is possible to-day will always be possible. Andhra Province or no. What a social intercourse of centuries has failed to effect between the Tamils and the Telugus may ever remain impossible, say intermarriages, when the fusion of the subjects of the same caste speaking the same language is yet as far as ever from our sight. A political nation,

all Indians are under the benign English Government and shall continue to be.

There is yet another objection taken to partition in our province. It is feared that, if there should be a Telugu province, it might be placed under a Lieutenant Governor and that would be the prize place of a civilian with all his deep-rooted prejudices and cast-iron views on Indian questions which show themselves even when those civilians after retirement have found their way into the British Parliament. If this was always the fear before, the evidence of the civilian witnesses before the recent Public Service Commission on the Indians' administrative capacity makes it most abundantly clear what to expect from a civilian ruler. But in the first place, why should we expect to come under a Lieutenant Governor when the United Bengal which is smaller in extent and Bombay which has a smaller population than the Telugu districts are under a Governor with Executive Councils? In the next place granting we shall have only a Lieutenant-Governor why should he be necessarily a civilian? The emoluments and position of a Lieutenant Governor may induce gentlemen straight from one of the political circles in England when advocates-General, Chief Justices and Finance Members are being recruited from England on lower salaries than that of a Lieutenant Governor.

Gentlemen, there is difference of opinion as to

the desirability of a separate administration for the Telugus. I have placed before you my views on the subject and shall be content if they stimulate thought in the Telugus on a subject of this importance to us.

Gentlemen, I have dwelt at some length on what strikes me as among the most important questions. After I wrote out my address, I learnt that there was a greater difference of opinion than it first appeared on the question of an Andhra Province. Still, from what I have read in the papers, I do not find any objection to the Province which I did not hear before. Any question newly brought before an assembly, will naturally be attacked from all sides. Exaggerated hopes and fears may find place in a first discussion of a new subject of all engrossing importance. In the wrestling, however, they will be rubbed off. It was suggested to me that the question might stand over till general opinion was gauged. I thought the best way to bring it out was to present the question to the public. The ball is set rolling and let the time come when it will, to find the goal. I have expressed my deliberate opinion as plainly as I could and you may or may not be inclined to commit yourself one way or the other at this Conference. It is enough, if it sets you after thinking on it. It is advised that what we should do first to gain influence in the Provincial offices is to get those institutions we want. But is not influence also required to get those institutions? What

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influence could we bring to bear to get back the lost L. T. class at Rajahmundry, or, to get a more reassuring reply than we got to our memorial to the Government about our Medical School. The best, rather the only way to do it is not to wait for influence under the existing circumstances but to secure unanimity among the Telugu districts and press the question on the attention of the Government. If that is impossible of achievement it must be a thousand times more impossible to get any influence which we have not now, to advance our cause. I cannot conceive the possibility of the Government turning a deaf ear to the representation of more than half the Presidency. If it is said that the time is not yet ripe to press the question, I should like to know if the time is not ripe when we begin to feel our disabilities and the need of united action to rise as a class. Else, what is the significance of the Andhra Conference? I cannot bring myself to apprehend the slightest possibility of anybody's taking reasonable offence in our hoping to get what another Indian race, similarly conditioned as we are, have got from a Govt. which has enunciated principles of high-minded statesmanship. Let the question be discussed threadbare but, let no unnecessary fears or doubts dim our vision. Why should we speculate what attitude the Govt. may have to the question. What means would the Govt. give us of knowing their attitude towards any question without

our moving it and making it a case for what we want? If only you see the righteousness of your cause, if only you think with me that it is never too early to better a state of things which, we feel conscious, has long been far from what it ought to be, work out the question and represent it to the Government. Remember, Gentlemen, Behar is not a more highly educated Province than this and this fact must answer a number of unasked questions.

Mr. M. SURYANARAYANA, B. A.

Chodavaram, } *Presidential address:*
9th June 13. } 8th Vizagapatam District Conference.

XI

I feel it my duty to deal next with a subject which rightly or wrongly is associated in several quarters with the Andhra movement.

I allude to the discussion as to whether the Northern and Central groups of districts are not likely to be benefited by their formation into a separate province.

The subject is sure to be discussed from time to time and it is necessary that we should have clear ideas about it. Many thoughtful persons believe that the most stable form of Government likely to be

evolved out of the conditions Indian society presents would be the federation of a number of small states, homogeneous as far as possible, subject to the control of a Central Government, and autonomous as far as their provincial affairs are concerned, under the protection and sovereignty of Great Britain. It is also believed that in the solution of essentially domestic questions, the smaller and the more homogeneous the states are, the greater would be the advantage they possess and that the facilities for a rapid harmonious development would be decidedly superior than in the case of larger states. The autonomy proposed to be granted to Ireland, Scotland and Wales with a population each of less than 5 millions, the smaller states of Europe and America are cited as instances in point. It is argued therefore that inasmuch as the districts in question possess a population of 17 millions, nearly equal to that of Bombay or the Punjab and larger than that of the Central Provinces or Burma, inasmuch as 13 out of the 17 millions speak the same language with 9 millions more in the immediate neighbourhood with the same mother-tongue, the interests of the districts their educational and economic development would be better looked after by a Government exclusively devoted to the purpose than if they should continue to be component parts of a more heterogeneous body. The educational and economic difficulties I have stated above are cited in their

support ; the financial question, they dismiss with the remark that if they be allowed to retain a proper share of the revenue they raise, it would amply suffice for their requirements and even if more money be necessary it would be easier to raise it for purposes they understand and directly benefiting them. A cynic may remark that at the back of it all is the ambition for place and power, and they dismiss him summarily with the statement, that even if it should be so it is perfectly legitimate, is sure to make them self-respecting and resourceful and that aspiration for higher things has never ruined a man. So much for theory, speculation and possibly good logic. It must be remembered that under some of the Chola Kings, under the sovereignty of the Vizianagaram Empire, under the Government of Fort Saint George, and possibly under the Ancient Andhra Emperors, almost the whole of the present territory, with some additions has been subject to a single Government ; and hence we find upwards of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Telugu people in the south and the west and a number of Tamilians in the north who have adopted the language of the country they settled in. It may be urged that during the rule of the Andhra Dynasty under the Pallavas, and eastern Chalukyas and later the boundaries of states have constantly changed, but historical continuity of over a century, nay even more is in favour of those who contend for the *status quo*.

Cp 2

It is under the Government of Fort Saint George that the Godaveri and Kistna deltas have been opened up, and large irrigation works have been constructed in numerous parts of the Telugu contry and the economic progress of the country can by no means be said to have been neglected. It may be said that no one denies the benefits conferred in the past but that the partition is sought with a view to the more rapid advancement of the divided units. The answer may be that a large province is likely to command credit while a smaller one cannot, and that by an agitation of the kind, more harm than good may be the result by the postponement of concerted action toward much-desired common ends. It should also be noted that the interests of the two northernmost districts as they are understood by the people therein at present, are opposed to a separation of the kind suggested, and that the Ceded Districts may not see eye to eye with those who believe in the advantages of a division into smaller groups for purposes of Government. It may be that some years hence, when either we or the Government discover that the Presidency is too large to be administered efficiently by a single central power, or we find that our educational and economic interests do not receive the attention they deserve, the districts affected would have conjointly to consider the propriety of such a measure. It must be clearly understood, however, Gentlemen, that the Andhra

Conference as such can have nothing to do with the discussion of such a proposition, except by leave of all concerned.

The Andhra movement and conferences are not confined to any particular province but propose to embrace within the sphere of their beneficent activity all Telugu-speaking people wherever they may be living, and whatever may be their domicile. It seems to my mind to be incongruous to invite the representatives of the 2½ millions of Andhras living in the southern districts to a conference to discuss as to whether they and we cannot be separated with advantage to each other. I know that minorities have to give way for the benefit or protection of majorities; a proposed measure conceived for the benefit of the majority may prove to be useful to all, and it may be that at some indefinite future time a step of the kind suggested may be brought up for discussion with the leave of all as to whether it would not be conducive to the benefit of the whole community but to my mind it would seem proper that those who believe in it should consider it in the District Conferences, and when there is a fair consensus of opinion it would be time enough to think as to whether the leave I suggested should be asked for. I am unhesitatingly of opinion that in the interests of the movement and of its harmonious working for the progress of the Andhra country as a whole, the subject should not be con-

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sidered as being within the scope of its activities.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur,

Bapatla, }
May 1913. }

B. NARASIMHESWARA SARMA, B. L.
Presidential address: Andhra Conjee.

XII

It is the opinion of some that we should work not only for the founding of an Andhra University but also for the creation of an Andhra province. The difference of opinion is great on this point. Some people seem to think that by desiring a province we would limit the offices in the Andhradesa to Andhras alone, that ill-will and malice might increase towards members of other communities, and that an impediment might be created to the realization of the ideal that all the Indians constitute one nationality; that a Lieutenant Governor or a chief commissioner would be appointed as the head of the administration without a Legislative Council, and that for these reasons it would not be desirable to demand a separate province. When it is the progress of the Andhra country that is principally contemplated, only those would be deserving of posts and places who are qualified by culture, capacity and character to ensure that progress without distinctions of races religion or color. It is therefore not to be doubted that appointments will be

made only by judging of men's attainments and capabilities, and without regard to the distinction whether they are Andhras, Dravidas or Kannadas. Moreover, in the despatch drawn up by Lord Hardinge on the eve of the King's visit, it has been hinted that India must consist of separate provinces autonomous in all provincial affairs and subject to the control of the Government of India. The desire for an Andhra Province is doubtless in conformity with the ideal sketched by Lord Hardinge. The present distinction of Madras and Bombay as provinces has not in any way militated against the ideal of an Indian nationality. The consciousness of this nationality has been already generated, and numerous are the efforts made to propagate such a faith in the different parts of the country. The constitution of the Andhradesa into a separate province is therefore not likely to throw an obstacle in the way of realizing the national ideal. It is not mete either that such a step would breed bad blood between the Andhras and the Dravidas. Some say that Government is not likely to rearrange the provinces in the near future and that even if they did so, the appointment of a Lieut Governor or a chief commissioner, without a Legislative Council, would not be conducive to the country's progress and that under the circumstances it would not be proper to press the demand of a province. Others hold that Government would not effect any changes

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without ascertaining people's wishes, and that in case changes be determined upon, a Legislative Council would unhesitatingly be associated with the administrative head in accordance with popular tendencies, that the extra expenditure likely to be entailed by the creation of a new province would cheerfully be borne by those who were likely to profit by the arrangement and that it is necessary that people should work for this ideal and make it known to Government. We are all familiar with the discussion on the subject and every one in the country must arrive at a decision, considering the different aspects of the problem. However this be, it is idle to deprecate the Andhra movement or deny its existence.

S. HANUMANTHA RAO,

*in his address as Chairman, Reception
Committee, 22nd Kistna Dt. Confe.*

March, 1913.

XIII

Prof. K. Sundararama Aiyar, M. A., writes :—
It is never pleasant to me to have to differ from the *Hindu*. But I have long lived both among the Malayalis and the Telugus. I know well how strong is the provincial—or what may be called Home Rule—sentiment among both these sections of the South Indian people. Nor is this provincial sentiment any thing

peculiar to the racial sub-divisions in India. We know how strong and enthusiastic is the feeling in favour of provincial self-Government or Home Rule not only in Ireland but also in Scotland, Wales, etc. Language and culture form the real basis of provincial feeling and the demand for Home Rule. At the same time, it does not mean that there is to be an absolute interdiction of free movement, from province to province, of individuals or families for the purpose of permanent or temporary settlement. Nor is the recognition of the demand of the provincial sentiment for Home Rule to be a bar to the warmth and depth of the feeling of National and Imperial Unity which animates ardent Home Rulers, wherever they are found, when they regard themselves as members of the larger whole to which the separate provinces belong. If the growth of the Home Rule sentiment in Great Britain, or the Colonial,—and even the State,—sentiment in Canada, South Africa or Australia, or the New National sentiment in India, cannot be a bar to the unity and strength of the British Isles or the British Empire, I do not see why the growth of the provincial sentiment in favour of Home Rule among the Telugu, Malayalam, or Canarese people in South India should be regarded as a sign of weakness, or stigmatised as the enemy of the new-born sentiment of Indian Nationality. I know that the Telugus and Malayalis have genuine feeling that the Tamil people encroach upon

their own preserves in various directions and to an undesirable extent. I know, also, from a long experience as a teacher both in the Telugu and Malayalam lands that the Telugu or Malayalam intellect has each its own peculiarities and excellences, and that each of them can have free scope when permitted to work itself out along its own lines of advance, instead of having itself set side by side and forced to move along with others in the Southern Presidency under the superstitious idea that all who speak a Dravidian language must have common or allied ethnological character. Ethnology—even if we suppose that its proportions are far more conclusively established than they really are—cannot be accepted as the determining factor in matters like these. Physical features, are more often than otherwise, calculated to mislead us when we are concerned with the settlement of social and political problems. Culture and civilisation, custom and character, language and literature should be allowed the prominence to which they are entitled in obtaining a solution. If we take our stand on these factors of the problem, I am sure that the special features in the social and cultural development of the Telugu people entitle them to demand that they should have fuller scope for advance along independent lines and ideals of development than they have now when they are forced to move along side by side with and in dependence on, their brethren in the south. As the

Bengalees have secured unity and strength for themselves by having full scope for independent movement along lines suited to their own racial and cultural development, so the Telugu people are entitled to agitate for those opportunities of advance which provincial independence and Home Rule are sure to bring in their train when they are freed from the necessity of having to win their prizes in a race in which they feel themselves handicapped by having to run alongside of their more assertive and noisy though not more capable or more self-reliant, brethren of the South.

The Hindu - 28-2-13.

XIV

The Hon'ble Justice Sir C. Sankaran Nair referring to the Andhra movement, said that the men competent to form an opinion as to whether such a movement was necessary or good, were their own elders. They no doubt were men who had taken part in the political and social struggles that had been going on. If they thought that such a movement was necessary in the interests of progress of their own Telugu community, they were quite right in inaugurating it. He took it that they did not and would not claim anything which would be to the injury of others. The Chairman then proceeded to say that the com-

munity, should show that by character they were fit for positions of trust. They should not be afraid to move if they once saw that a particular thing was in the interests of progress of their community, even though that thing might be opposed to old prejudices and though their opinions might be in conflict with those of others.

*Presiding over a meeting of the
N. C. P. Union, Madras on 10-3-13.*

XV

Sir,—It is a very legitimate and timely aspiration on the part of the Andhras to be a Province of British India. They are more numerous than Travancore with Cochin, but the Provinces and states should eschew exclusiveness in the services. All India is open to merit and competition for the residents of every Province and protected States and even for the European and Colonial British subjects. 25-4-1913.

Sir,—I have no doubt that the Telugus have compact homogeneity as Hindus and must soon have the autonomy of a sub-Kingdom like Travancore and Cochin. It was one under Hindu and Mohammadan Emperors, and the dissentients have no legs to stand upon, except perhaps their democratic hobbies and ambitions. Vizianagar is as good a capital as Benares.

In this spirit I was once for the union of the Travancore Royalty with Cochin.

A. SANKARIAH.
in the Indian Patriot.

XVI

The agitation for an Andhra Province is very much like the agitation against the partition of Bengal, with this difference, that in the latter case it is the exercise of the popular determination against an act of the Govt. which tended to disintegrate a homogeneous people, whereas, in the case of the Andhras, it is an effort of the people to get rid of a state of things which has been, I will not say killing, but keeping down their individuality by bracketing them with other races. The Andhra Movement being only a step in aid of the national movement aimed at the arrangement of the country into a number of well defined, self realized entities, with a view to their mutual federation, whatever helps to define and to develop the individuality of the Andhras as a race is desirable, and necessary. And there is not much doubt that the formation of a people having the same language and the same social customs into a province does help such a growth. But whether in the scheme of the British Government we can be given a separate province at all, and if so whether the province so

given would suit our growth are questions of practical politics well worthy of consideration.

That is a thing in the hands of others ; and we cannot pin our faith to it. We can only *hope* for a province, considering that the question of the province of Bengal has been for six long years tossed to and fro like a bad coin between Governors and Viceroy, but has met with the approval of none other than the most high in the state, His Majesty, the King Emperor. We can only hope for a province, and in that hope let us agitate. What if in spite of all our agitation we shall not be given what we ask ? Then shall we have agitated in a vain ? I think not. The consciousness that we have worked together in a common cause will have acted as a bond of union among us, and the agitation itself will strongly define our position and strengthen our determination to be one and we would be morally accomplishing what we might fail politically to achieve.

If on the other hand, the Government do give us a province, a separate province for the Andhras, what sort of a province would it be ? It is greatly feared that we might be put under a chief Commissioner. It is all a matter of personality. Sir Arthus Lawley was a Governor. Sir Henry Cotton was a commissioner. So it is all a matter of personality. And considering that chief Commissioners also are given Legislative Councils, considering also that sympathy has become

the guiding principle of our rulers ever since His Majesty's Coronation, the difference will be practically little. Moreover we are a civilised and enlightened race, and the principles which guide the rulers in governing a race like ours are bound to be different from those that guide the rulers of backward and uncivilised parts, though the technical name and style may in both cases be the same. So I am not much afraid of a Commissioner though I would not like to lose the dignity of being the subjects of a Governor, provided in other respects the formation of a separate province for the Andhras is beneficial to the growth of the Indian nation.

Lastly I come to the fifth objection. How can you bring together the Telugu settler in Tinnevely, the Nizam's subject in Hyderabad, and the domiciled Andhra of Nagapur,—the questioner might as well have added South Africa and the Fizi islands. The Andhra province would naturally comprise only that portion of the country which lies between such geographical limits as between which without an intermediate gap the Telugu tongue is the prevailing language. It can't be helped. If the war in Europe could bring together the Mahomedans of Turkey and the Mahomedans of India, if the Home Rule agitation could bring together the Irish settler in America and the Irish fighter at home, why doubt whether the Andhra Movement can bring together the Telugu

settler in Tinnevely, the Telugu Settler in Nagapur, the Telugu subject of the Nizam, and the Telugu speaker in Kistna and Guntur.

S. KAMBHOTLU, B.A. B. L.

in the 'Andhra', april 1913.

XVII

Resolution proposed at the Andhra Conference held at Bapatla on 26th and 27th May 1913.

“This Conference (1) records its opinion:—

(a) That to ensure efficient administration and the promotion of the best interests of the people of India, the Government will have to make sooner or later language areas the territorial bases for provincial administration.

(b) That provincial administration on such a basis is necessary in order that self-Government on colonial lines pleaded for by the Indian National Congress and provincial autonomy approved by the Government of India may develop on natural and healthy lines.

(2) And urges upon the Andhra public the desirability of focussing public opinion on the question whether Government should be asked to constitute the Telugu districts as a separate province.”

Mr. V. Ramadas pantulu, B.A.B.L., of Madras commended the proposition to the Conference for its acceptance, in an able and exceedingly forcible speech in Telugu. He said that the aspirations of the Andhras were legitimate and the demand for a separate province was in consonance with the Viceroy's despatch relating to Provincial Autonomy and to the ideal of Self Government on Colonial lines which was the Chief plank of the Indian National Congress.

Mr. V. Suryanarayana Row, B.A.B.L.L.T. of Masula supported the proposition in Telugu, explicitly expounding the numerous benefits that would accrue from the formation of the Andhra province. Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniab in opposing the proposition said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, (Cries of 'speak in Telugu') I do not propose to speak in Telugu and I trust you will suffer me to speak in a language which is not our own but in which I feel constrained to address you for reasons of explicit exposition of my views.

Gentlemen, I occupy a position which gives me a slender and doubtful connection with this great movement of the Andhra Conference. (cries of No, no.) In the marvellous condition in which your Conference still exists, I do not know what position or connexion I can claim in relation to you. Further,

if I speak, I fully realise that I speak with your indulgence and with your sufference and when I say I show to deference to all honest difference of opinion, I trust you will extend to me the same consideration and love. In my remarks, I am actuated by sincere and earnest desire for the welfare of the Andhra country. (Hear hear,) I will now proceed to lay my remarks in a few words only, for there are coming up behind me others, younger, and, no doubt, with more physical endnrance, who can place before you the question in all its aspects. Gentlemen, there are two reasons why I desire to oppose this proposition. One is that I consider it, under the circumstances which have preceded the discussion of this proposition that it is superfluous. The second is, that it is premature, that the suggestion which it throws out is unauthorised and that it emanates from a body which has not taken the whole public of the Andhra country into its confidence (no, no.) These are the reasons, gentlemen, and believe me, I speak not for the purpose of speaking but because I feel that everyone who has right as an Andhra of this land, is entitled to be heard. Gentlemen, why do I say that this proposition is superfluous? Yesterday, it was remarked by one of the speakers here that those who have come to this Conference know full well that this proposition of the creation of an Andhra province is a forgone conclusion and that it would come before this Conference for discussion.

(No, no) I disclaim it and I have reason for disclaiming it because in the programme authorised to be placed before this Conference, this proposition has not found a place. I cannot adduce to you a more satisfactory reason for the statement made than that we have not had any authorised intimation that this Conference was bent upon bringing this proposition before it for our consideration. We started with the idea, an idea with which every one who has Andhra blood in him sympathises, that we should all work for the welfare, for the uplift of the Andhra people who, at present, have reason to occupy a somewhat backward position as compared with the other communities of the land. It is a noble endeavour. It is not only those who are Andhras that are bound to represent that movement but all others as well from a common humanitarian standpoint, that are bound to help it, because it is for the good of our country that our own neighbours should be as prosperous as you are yourselves. We approach these questions not from any narrow point, but from the ideal of working to a higher standard of human tolerance, prosperity cordiality and inter-racial conduct towards each other (Hear, hear,) Well, I have said that it is superfluous. Having started with the idea that this Conference was mainly for the prosperity of the Telugu people, we thought that there were several means by which that prosperity can be pushed forward and furthered and it was only last

evening that we were told that this was the main object of the Conference. There was a great deal of trouble about it, but it was held that the creation of the Andhra province was only to uplift the Andhras. What is to be the ideal is a thing towards which we work. The means are those which we must plan and which we must use with reference to our condition, and with reference to the circumstances in which we find ourselves at the time. This morning, I believe, having expected that proposition as the ideal of this movement, we arranged that the means by which we should work was a matter on which we could not dogmatically lay any proposition but one which should be seriously deliberated and given earnest thought to by a committee representing all the leading men of the public of the several districts. Having done that, comes the necessity for us to indicate that the constitution of a Telugu province was the next thing which we must put forward in the fore front and represent as the thing that we have been working for. I myself think, gentlemen, that you are trying to force the opposition of those whose co-operation and cordial sympathy we desire to secure for ourselves. That is not a commendable procedure for us to adopt. Now, having demonstrated to you, gentlemen, as I honestly believe, that we started this conference with the idea of bettering the people and that we had not foregone conclusions as to what particular measures we should

dictate, I have honestly held the opinion that the embodiment or the inditing of a specific proposition pointing out that this is the goal, is undesirable. But having put our ideals as the betterment of the people, having entrusted the duty of devising a means to a special Committee, which, I believe, you all have confidence in, I think that this inditing of this proposition indicates what I cannot help believing was the main purpose hidden behind the minds of the people who were organising this Conference. (No, no) Well, I take that correction in a spirit of encouragement. It seems to me somewhat superfluous that you should be so doggedly persistent in framing a definite expression of that view. I have said that it is somewhat premature. Do you really know gentlemen, what is the form of Government we should follow for the constitution of a separate Andhra province. Do you really know what the size of the province is likely to be? We may have our imagination, you think old people have no imagination. Possibly our stock may be exhausted. Possibly it has become extinct now. Even if it be so why should you think gentlemen, that we cannot conceive that probably there may be danger lurking behind. We must know the importance and the magnitude of the province that we desire to have. People will get only that kind of Government which they deserve and which their interests call for. Are

you sure, gentlemen, you are starting this Conference to-day? Of course, I give credit to the fact that there was some kind of Conference held at Nidadavole, (Krishna District), where also this question probably had come up but pretty good care seems to have been taken not to have consulted many of the people whom you desire to call into your fold (No, no). Here is a friend of mine from Nellore from whom I learn that no such proposition was communicated to or placed for consideration before the district; you can also infer that this question could not have received much consideration at the hands of those people also. I now believe that none have attended from the Ceded Districts and how sure are you that Ganjam and Vizagapatam will join you in the idea to which you give your preponderant sanction. Gentlemen, these are all questions affecting the welfare of the people each in his individual home, influence, citizenship and lights as members of a large Government and a powerful society. These questions cannot be decided simply by unreasonable enthusiasm. They require calm and patient deliberation. They require consideration in their many-sided aspects before you can arrive at a conclusion which is satisfactory to all. I do not conceive that such opportunity for the consideration of the question has been accorded to anybody whom you desire to draw into your fold and it was manifest from the very small margin of majority was carried or

at any rate from the very strong feeling that was expressed on several occasions during the course of the deliberations incidental to this Conference that the matter is still not past the stage of very keen, interesting, and specially objectionable controversy. In these circumstances I presume that you would do well to drop this proposition altogether.

As I have said just now, if you assume that all these districts will join you, you will perhaps present a fairly respectable front. But if they consider that they cannot join you, your magnitude will be reduced to insignificant proportions, (no, never.) Will you be satisfied, Gentlemen, if you find yourselves rejected by Ganjam and Vizagapatam on one side and Nellore and Ananthapoor on the other, your activities, your hopes, and excited imagination had to confine themselves to a portion of Godavari Krishna and Guntur Districts. Would you dream that you would be in a position to demand at the hands of the Government a form of Government favouring autonomy in any way more desirable than the one you enjoy. It is not well to count your chickens before the eggs are hatched, you would do well to thrash out this question. You have responsible men—men who would do yeoman service, men like Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Row, Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai, Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Row, and other gentle men, not less honourable and not less interested in

the welfare of the Andhra country. Shall we gain much by setting aside deliberation with such people? If I ask you to drop this question till your Sub-Committee has reported on the matter, it is not from any want of sympathy with your aspirations for the uplift of the Andhra country, but because, I feel as much as any of you we may possibly be damaging, in directions more than one, the good purpose you have in view. (cries of 'no no')

This opposition was seconded by Rao. Saheb. Ganti Venkata Ramiah, B. A. B. L. Mr. Konda Venkappayya Pantulu, B. A. B. L., of Guntur, in proposing an amendment to the original proposition said that in view of the difference of opinion, among the representatives of the Telugu districts and the opposition of a small but appreciable minority, it would be well, in the interests of the conference, to refer the matter to the Standing Committee and wait for one more year. He said he was one with those who thought that a separate province would accelerate the progress of the Andhra people, but as it was the stern duty of all to see no schisms among them and to form always an united front he would advise under the circumstances to respect the feeling of the minority and postpone the question for the next year. Mean-while he hoped that there would be a great opportunity to educate the Telugu country upon the question and convert the opponents to their view.

The following is the extract of the speech of Mr. V. Ramadas who in the end rose to give a reply to Mr. Audinarayaniah. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, It is necessary for me to offer a few words in explanation in reply to what has been said against the proposition placed before you for your commendation. I yield to none in my admiration for the wisdom, statesmanship and patriotism of a veteran public worker like Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah. I am ready and willing to concede at once that none of us here ever cherish any doubt as to the sincerity of his motives and the honesty of his views.

Mr. Audinarayaniah raised two objections, namely, that the proposition is superfluous and premature. As regards the first objection I say not that the proposition is superfluous but that the conference is superfluous without it.

As for its being premature, I think, it is impossible to understand the criticism levelled by Mr. Audinarayaniah against this proposition and I think the criticism has no basis.

The Veteran public worker Mr. Audinarayaniah knows very well the basis of this organization and the way in which public opinion is fixed at such meetings. If 56 delegates in the name of the whole India, could meet at Bankipore to pass a resolution, I fail to see how an assembly of 800 delegates representing

a small territorial area like the twelve districts, can be said to be unauthorised.

Mr. Audinarayaniah says that there is no hurry for expressing the ideal or placing any such scheme before the Conference. My own humble opinion is that without it there is no motive, there is no driving power and there is no dominant passion that guides an assembly, like this...."

He concluded his speech by accepting the proposition as amended by Mr. M. Krishna Row, of Masula.

The proposition as amended embodied a single request to the Standing Committee of the Conference to focus public opinion regarding the question as some Andhras were of opinion that the formation of Telugu-speaking districts into a separate province was desirable.

XVIII

Resolution passed at the Vizag Dt. Conference held at Chodavaram.
(16-6-13.)

(a) This Conference welcomes the Andhra movement, and exhorts the people of the District to endeavour for the uplift of the people of the Telugu Districts in particular and the Telugu-speaking people in general.

(b) This Conference views with satisfaction the recognition of the principle of provincial autonomy as an important step in the attainment by the people of this country of self-government within the British Empire, and appoints a Committee to focus public opinion in the District on the question of a separate Province for the eleven Telugu Districts, with Mr. Y. S. Narayana as a convener, and submit a report with regard to the concensus of opinion within the end of March next, to the District Association. 16-6-13.

XIX

'The young enthusiasts' for the separation of the Telugus from the Tamils, would have only a politician from England for their Lieutenant-Governor! It indicates that the advocates of the separate province have a plan and a purpose. And they have no doubt calculated the cost of it also. The President * adds at the end, however, that "after I wrote out my address, I learnt that there was a greater difference of opinion than at first appeared on the question of an 'Andhra Province.'" It is creditable for him to state it. Yet, you || bless 'the young enthusiasts' with the choicest

* Presidential speech of Mr. M. SURYANARAYANA, at the Vizag Dt. Conference.

|| refers to the Indian Patriot.

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of expressions, namely "the oldest fool who parades in the cowardly robes of moderation and weighty wisdom will not deny that real progress lies in the division of provinces according to language." I do not know whether my opinion will count for anything with our friends, when the mature and deliberate opinions of Andhra veterans like Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu and Mr. M. Audinarayanayya, have not received due weight. The Andhra Conference itself, however, has put off its consideration of the subject for another year, and it may, therefore, be given to me to say a word, betimes. A Tamilian who has lived amidst the Telugus, deeply and for ever indebted to their love and sympathy, may also claim some voice on this sort of agitation, which will affect both the Telugus and the Tamilians.

According to your opinion and that of the 'enthusiasts,' the division of Provinces should be made according to language, to ensure real progress. Logically, then, you should carve out a province of each of the following, viz:— the Uriyas, Telugus, Tamilians, Malayalees, Canarese and for other communities of the Dravidian family. I hope the Telugus will not resent, if we would still count them as members of the Dravidian family, as an indignity cast upon the great 'Andhra, race.' The Uriyas were not far wrong then, when they demanded to be separated from the Telugus and added to their brethern in Orissa; and

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yet the Telugus of the Northern Districts in the Circars have furiously protested against such a rendition.

When we speak of the division of provinces according to languages; we should not forget that most of the districts are inhabited by people talking different languages and professing different religions; and that the southernmost Tamil districts have a larger number of Telugus, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, deeply rooted on the soil, than the Tamilians you may find in all the Telugu districts put together. All the domiciled people who are not Telugus by language, will be placed on equal footing with the Telugus and given full rights, say they. But when the demand is based on the strength of the past greatness of the 'Andhra valour and the Andhra superiority' and so on, 'their differences from the Tamilians in tradition, instinct and language,' it is idle to expect that the promise held out to the domiciled people of different persuasions and traditions, and instincts, whatever that may mean, who speak Tamil, Canarese, Hindustani, Mahrathi, and other languages, will not be broken by the would-be-dominant or predominant 'Andhras,' while we have had occasions to complain of even the sacred and solemn Proclamation of our good Sovereign, Queen Victoria, being treated as a ceremonial paper, and never intended to be fulfilled to the spirit and letter of it. Even the highest Jurist and statesmen like Justice Stephen of the Criminal Procedure

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Code fame, and Lord Curzon, were not immune from such an intellectual jugglery. How can we then hope that our Andhra brothers while in ascendancy will be more human than the Englishmen with their "British characteristics?"

— This cry for separation, and for the better recognition of the claims of the Andhras to the loaves and fishes of public service, give rise to sad thoughts worse than those that have flown from the pretensions of Mussalamans and Eurasians, not to mention the very natural prejudices and claims of the Civilians who are so severely criticised by the President. The much-talked of Indian nationality or even the unity of the Dravidian races bids fair to be as further off as the realisation of the Poet's dream of "the Parliament of Man," with such display of their so-called disabilities caused by being "unequally yoked," with their Tamil brethren. Men of the same faith, glorying in the old Hindu traditions, adhering to the same law of Manu, bound by the same social customs and divided and disabled by the same class and caste prejudices talk of possessing different 'instincts,' because they do not get equal opportunities to profit by office and emolument and to grow in their own way.

How can we object to others who do not share in the Andhra traditions and beliefs flaunting in our face their respective programmes.

We hear of the Asiatic races being despised. Even the Japanese, great as they have become, are to be turned out of California, because they are Asiatics. The story of the South African needs no telling. The Boers and the other whites are doing a service to us. Under their boot-heels, Asiatics (the Chinaman and the Indian, the Pariah, the Brahmin, the Parsee, and the Mussalman), are shaped into a people helping one another, loving one another, and suffering for one another. That is a great object-lesson, if you would learn it. It is no doubt very laudable that each village, each town, each taluk, each district, each group of districts, and each province should vie with one another in claiming preferment and consideration, where each may, in its own limited respective sphere, devote its attention and energies to promote the development, progress and welfare of all the people irrespective of their race, class, caste, religion, and language. That is civic life and true brotherhood. But the way in which this is done on the strength of a language and past deeds of those that talked the language, does not indicate that they reckon with other forces and sentiments.

Patriotism by religion a people profess, is pernicious enough to divide our villages, towns, provinces, and the country, in spite of a common language. We know that religious fanaticism, and the caste hatreds have culminated in sanguinary feuds and conflicts, which have so often disastrously disturbed the placid-

dity of our existence and retarded our progress. Love of one's language is one thing, and patriotism by language is another.

The disabilities of the Mahomedans, and their special claims for special representations and for lucrative posts, have attained statutory acknowledgments and we, Hindus, have complained of it.

Again, there is such a thing as the Brahmins vs. non-Brahmins in many a place, which no one can altogether ignore. Even the President of the Vizag District Conference had to expatiate on it to defend the Brahmin preponderance in service. Then there is the big problem of the horny-handed sons of India, slowly awakening to their rights and to a sense of the injuries inflicted on them by our social system. The Tamil Parian and the Telugu Mala and others of the kind talking other languages, who are educated enough to feel their 'disabilities' and degradation, are one in aim and objects. Their dim consciousness cries for justice, and will have it sooner or later. All the talk about the greatness of the Tamils, the Telugus, the Malayalees, the Canarese, the Mahomedans, the Kammalas, and other races, indulged in by the enthusiasts of the respective communities, will no more deceive these long-suffering millions, who have unmeritedly and voicelessly groaned under the weight of those that have squarely and unfeelingly sat upon them for centuries. They will all combine as they

should, though they may talk different languages, more easily than the socialists of different countries in Europe do combine at times. Those that are at the top, unless they mend their ways [with love and sympathy, have a heavy reckoning to make. The victory will be for the horny-handed sons of the land—not necessarily of the Pariah class alone. That will be but the fulfilment of the prophesy of Swami Vivekananda.

It is more pleasant and grateful to one's feelings to acknowledge that it is inspiring to see the activities of our brothers in Circars in the yield of social reform, literary achievements, and national education. When a Veerèsalingam is claimed for an Andhra, and that for the purpose of showing up the greatness of the Andhra race, to justify separation and for the Telugus being given preferential treatment to hold offices in Telugu Districts, one feels perplexed. Look at the picture of the 'Andhra Matha' in that valuable annual 'Andhra Patrica.' He has been honored as a hero throughout the Hindu world. And we feel that we have little claim on him now. We all loved and treated Raghunadha Row as a national hero, not as a Maharatta adventurer, settled among the Tamilians, to eat their substance.

'The Telugu districts for the Telugus' is a good cry, to catch the fancy of some people in the Telugu province. But what about the skeleton in the cupboard, the feeling of the Brahmins vs. non-Brahmans

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and *vice versa* being exploited. It found an expression through an Andhra gentleman also in an exaggerated form before the Royal Commission; and the same cry we had heard of during the last but one election in the Krishna-Guntur-Godavery group where the separation idea had originated. How is the appointment of an Andhra Brahmin of power and emolument in preference to a non-Brahmin Andhra aspirant liked by the non-Brahmin classes? I need not give a recent instance. Will the appointments of Telugus to the Telugu districts be preferable to the people that pay and endure, in preference to a man like the late Somasundara Sastry, a Tamilian, who administered so well the Pittapur Estate amidst the Telugu factions?

Well, have the Andhra separatists taken the trouble to ascertain whether all their enthusiastic ideas would commend themselves to the Telugus in Nellore, Chittore, and the four Ceded Districts? They are a less sentimental and emotional people, and will calculate before courting the luxury of being tacked as the tail of the new province. Fancy, their importance being enhanced and their interests better served by their Governor and the High Court being located at the far-off Rajahmundry. Even from the low point of view of obtaining official loaves and fishes, they may have more complaint to make than the Telugus have against the Tamils. As for the people that pay and are governed, do they care a coudre whether an offici-

al is a Telugu, Tamil, or Canarese, Brahmin, Kammala, Lingayat, Sudra, Pariah, Hindu, Mahomedan, or European? What always they have prayed for is to be placed under the officials endowed with the milk of human sympathy, sense of justice and courage of conviction.

Speaking the same language does not imply necessarily that they do not differ in "instinct and tradition." The Telugu Brahmin is more in unison with the Tamil Brahmin, than he is with the Baligas and Valamas not to mention Dudekala Mussalmans in his own province. And there are so many classes of people within the province who differ radically from one another in their customs and habits. To create more solidarity of interest among them in each district, to safe-guard their communal welfare, is the best and hardest work on hand for all of us before thinking of safe-guarding all the Telugus against the Tamils.

It will be interesting to know what the Telugus in the south think of an Andhra Province. Will they be tolerated to share in all the offices and emoluments in the Andhra province?

We have heard and known of innumerable Telugu Brahmins and non-Brahmins doing immense good among the Tamils, as administrators, officials and pioneers of benevolent movements, both of a religious and secular nature. The Telugus who speak so

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frankly, may remember, if they will only attempt it, what all good the advent of the Tamilians amidst them from the days of the great Chola Emperor, Kulatunga I, who ruled over all the Telugus up to the borders of Orissa to the days of the Tamil professors in their colleges, has wrought to the 'Andhras.' Still one may think that the interchange of thoughts, and intermixture of Telugus and Tamils, as well as others, are necessary to broaden our outlook and save us from provincial and insular conceits.

Our European over-lords, are, no doubt, watching these symptoms of mutual jealousy with amusing interest. Some Anglo-Indian publicists and even administrators have not been slow to set the Hindus and the Mahomedans by the ear, and what was their chagrin only the other day when they found a few Mussalman leaders relenting and throwing in their lot with the Congresswalas! They have shed tears over their short-sightedness! And to such of them this open declaration of the heart-burning of the Telugu patriots against the Tamil ascendancy should be a wind-fall!

Look at it how you like, this cry for a separate Province is *premature*, and the open complaint of a few of a class on behalf of all the *Telugus* for preferment is a false and provocative step. It is more likely than not that the dying embers in other matters, will be stirred up, and the prospects of cordial co-

operation and common endeavour for the public good lost amidst the squabbles.

Enthusiasm of our Circar brothers which is always remarkable and nourishing in the service of their fellowmen, may degenerate into fury and passion when their cry for separation meets with indifference, lukewarm sympathies, and a sure opposition from both inside and outside. We have at the very outset, the earnest of what is to follow. All those that are against the enthusiasts are put down for fools and cowards.

Better they concentrate their thoughts and energies on the many beneficial and humanizing objects and institutions they have on hand, rather than worrying their brains and bruising their good hearts by ruminating over the so called aggressiveness and the preponderance of the Tamils, and the disabilities arising from a Lieutenant-Governor not being appointed to rule over all the Telugus. I for one may pray for and hope in trust for higher and immediate aims and purposes.

XX

Sir,—I have carefully read the letter of the Honorable Mr. Kesava Pillai in the Madras Indian Dailies of the 13th instant, and I am sorry to find that

most of his arguments against the present agitation for a separate Andhra province are altogether, beside the point, and ignore the main issue. He has lost sight of the political ideal that forms the basis of his movement. I believe he along with other Indians has faith and trust in the ideal placed before the Indian people by the National Congress—the attainment of Swaraj or self-Government such as obtains in the British Colonies. I also believe that he entertains a hope of getting provincial autonomy clearly set forth in a solemn State document. The ideal of a United States of India with free autonomous and self-contained provinces under the suzerainty of an Imperial Government at Delhi is one quite possible of attainment, though not in the immediate future. If it were at once or within measurable distance of time attainable it will be no longer an ideal. How does Mr. Kesava Pillai propose to attain this ideal? Does he ask us to wait till all the races in India are ‘shaped’ into one nation by the bootheels of foreigners? Is this commingling of races ever possible? If not both in the interests of good administration and for the fair development of the latent energies in each race what better distinctive landmarks for the proper division of India into provinces does he propose than the languages spoken by the majority of people therein?

The old division of India into presidencies and commissionership is a clumsy, out-of-date arrangement.

It is but an accident based on historical conquests, bargains and chicanery, and is really an antiquated one. It is like an ugly building whose small original structure has been gradually extended in all sorts of directions within the last 250 years with no definite ideas as to shape, form or symmetry of any part thereof, but only according to the exigencies of the times and to the whims of the successive architects. For instance, there is no sanctity attached to the present limits of the Madras Presidency, and surely there is no sanity in conglomerating around the little town of Fort St. George a number of districts inhabited by different races, speaking different languages and acquired at different times from different native rulers by different methods; but as regards these long-standing divisions at least in one case that of Bengal the settled fact has been unsettled, and Behar has been converted into a separate province though it is an anomaly that Orissa should have been tacked on to it. Three Telugu sections of the Central Provinces have been joined to the Godavary district. Our Government has lately divided North Arcot into two and annexed Chittoor to the Northern group, thus we see that even our rulers clearly recognise the advisability of dividing territories according to languages for their administrative convenience. Why should not such changes be made in regard to Uriya Taluqs in Vizagapatam and Ganjam district, to South Canara and the Canarese



Telugus in Bellary and to Malabar. There is no harm if a province be large or small. We have before us the clear example of the United States of America.

Now I shall deal seriatim with the chief arguments of the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai. The Tamils, the Telugus the Malayalees and the Canarese might or might not have belonged to one original Dravidian stock but at present we plainly see their dissimilarities in manners, customs, language and historic traditions. They differ as much if not more from one another as a German from an Englishman, or even a Scotchman from an Englishman, though all these originally belonged to Anglo Saxon stock. Ethnologically considered, there is a mixture of blood of various distinct nationalities in each and every caste and subcaste in India. Let no Indian pose himself as one of pure and unadulterated descent, but he cannot at the same time ignore the present wide gulfs between the various peoples inhabiting India and their distinctive national characteristics. We ask for a re-distribution of provinces according to the prevailing languages spoken thereon, as far as possible. In the Telugu province Mr. Kesava Pillai whom I am proud to call a domiciled Andhra will of course have the same privileges as the indigenous Andhra; so also, a Tamilian a Maharatta a Mahomedan or a Christian. All these are Andhras, no matter what religion they profess, provided they are domiciled in the Andhra Province. In the

same way there may be thousands of Andhras domiciled in other provinces and Native States of India. Mr. Kesava Pillai falls foul of Andhra patriots for their references to Andhra's past greatness and to Andhra valour, and suggests that such things create bad blood among other peoples in India, but let us not forget that every race and land has its own heroes. Is it a sin if an Andhra be specially proud of Mr. Veeresalingam, though he may be an all India hero? Do not the Maharattas feel a special pride in their Ramade, Gokhale, Tukaram, Ramadas, and Sivajee, though all these are revered throughout India?

The reference to loaves and fishes of office in Mr. Pillai's letter is most unfortunate. We entirely repudiate the suggestion that this agitation is primarily for getting a few more lucrative posts than now in the administration, though I admit it is an honourable ambition for anybody to bring about certain conditions wherein better opportunities may arise for his countrymen to efficiently serve the State. The creation of a separate Andhra province, will of course in its train bring a High Court, a University, a Governor nearer home to our people. It will have its own executive and legislative Councils, where the sons of the soil will have greater opportunities than now of distinguishing themselves. I do not minimise the importance of this aspect of the matter too, but the leaders in this agitation stand on a far higher ground—

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the urgent necessity of creating strong, self-contained, provincial units throughout India for the development of a puissant Indian nation. All the past history of the European races has taught us one important lesson—how the long and wearisome political struggles have culminated in the realization of the idea of nationality and in the division of the continent according to race and language. In some countries like Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, where different races dwell provincial autonomy has been adopted, after dividing the countries into provinces according to race and language. We therefore believe that to attain the ideal of Colonial system of Government repeatedly and solemnly propounded by our Indian National Congress the division of India into smaller provinces according to language is the only practical and feasible method. Without this contrivance, an Indian Nation will ever remain a myth and an unreality.

Why should, then, this reasonable and sensible agitation create bad blood among other Indian races and why should our European landlords chuckle with glee at our petty squabbles? Neither of these two surmises is in fact true, and if the opposition to the creation of an Andhra Province is to be based on such flimsy grounds, some uncharitable persons may be prone to ascribe it to the jealousy of other races lest they may lose their ascendancy in the administration

of the Telugu districts. Let us eschew all such things in this discussion. As regards false patriotism I think parochial and provincial patriotism within proper limits is greatly conducive to the development of individuals as well as communities and are but the necessary stepping-stones for true national patriotism.

Mr. Kesava Pillai raises the spectre of Brahmins versus non-brahmins, but at the same time quietly ignores the existence of this and many other social problems in every province of India on whatever lines it may be constituted. I ask Mr. Pillai, in all sincerity how the dragging of this gaunt spectre into the present discussion is either pertinent to or useful in the selection of this political problem. The social problems, just as our poor, are always with us, to whatever Community or part of India we may belong. Why should the creation of separate provinces for political purposes be regarded as *premature* because certain social evils and disabilities are present in more or less aggravated form throughout India? These have to be gradually removed, not only by the Brahmins but also by the Vysyas and the high caste Sudras of each province. So far as I am aware, wealth and influence are with the non-Brahmins both in towns and villages though mere intellect of the Brahmin still reigns supreme at least in Southern India.

Let us turn to another spectre raised by Mr. Kesava Pillai—Ceded Districts and Nellore *versus*

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Northern Circars. If the former unmistakably show their disapprobation of a separate Andhra Province, then farewell to all this agitation but why should they set their face against this movement, or granting for a moment that the official of the Northern Circars will swamp this district, why should their present dumping by other races be approved? We all know the saying that blood is thicker than water and in the present instance there can be no stronger tie for all the people living in the Telugu district than language. The mere thought that the descendants of the Telugu subjects of the Kings of Vijianagar will scout the idea of an Andhra province is ridiculous in the extreme and even if one here and one there, in ignorance of the past history and traditions of the Andhras, tries to imagine that there is some barrier in the way of the fusion of all the Telugus the bulk of the people will be loyal to the cause. We of the Northern Circars have the highest reverence for the sacred land of Krishnadevaraya, Pothana, Sreenadha, Tikkana, Peddana, Ramaraja Bhushana, Dhujati and scores of our national bards and heroes. The past isolation must necessarily hereafter give place to greater coalescence and consolidation of all the Telugu speaking communities and sweeten all the more their renewed love towards one another. For my part, I should like to have our provincial capital on the ruins of Humpi in preference to any other flourishing town

in the Andhradesa. Who knows that after all, in the fulness of time, the Andhra Province itself may be still further subdivided into self-contained units, like the old 13 English Puritan States on the shores of the Atlantic for their administrative convenience.

As this agitation for a separate Andhra Province cannot be easily nipped in the bud by mere pooh-poohing and mere expressions of contempt and as the movement has come to stay let the question of cost and other allied questions be calmly discussed and dispassionately considered without raising irrelevant issues and having recourse to flippant arguments. In the light of Mr. Kesava Pillai's remarks in his letter I humbly beg to inform him that though I am an enthusiast, I am an old and sober one, and that though I am not a veteran and an honourable, those that have known me do not include me among the irresponsibles.

15-6-'13, }
Masulipatam. }

V. SURYANARAYANA RAO.

XXI

Sir,—I shall be much obliged if you kindly give space to the following few lines in reply to the Hon. Mr. Kesava Pillai's letter about the Andhra Province in your valuable paper. I was rather amused and surprised at the letter of Mr. Pillai. However, he deserves

the thanks of the Andhra world by his free expression of opinion on the subject.

The address of Mr. M. Suryanarayana, as President of the District Conference, Vizagapatam, has come down as a bolt from the blue and has stirred the Andhra and outside world to meditate about the Province question, which has taken firm hold of young Andhras and strongly appealed to their imagination. The question of a separate province is a simple one to my mind. You have already various provinces in India, both major and minor. It is settled that India cannot be one province, to ensure the much misunderstood national unity and consolidation. The formation of provinces on ethnic and linguistic basis has already been recognised in the case of Bengal, Behar and Assam. Our goal has been held out by our rulers. Each province would be an autonomous, administrative unit with the Imperial Government controlling all these units. What the Andhras desire is the formation of an Andhra Province on ethnic and linguistic basis basing their claim on the principle that India must sooner or later be divided into similar provinces on the language basis. Each province will develop without hindrance and at the same time contribute to the progress of Indian nationality. Where then is the obstacle to the unity of Indian races? The separation of Behar from Bengal has not prevented both the races from joining hands in the Bankipore Congress.

Though we were separated from Bengal, we sympathised with her national grievances and the separate development in different provinces has not created any ill feeling as yet between Bengalees, or Panjabis on the one hand and the Madrasis on the other. Likewise even if India were ever to be divided on language basis, the same unity will surely prevail. Those who urge Scottish Home Rule and Irish Home Rule are not unmindful of their being Britishers. All the same, the modern tendency all over the world is to restrict the area of provinces and to unite in federation. This federal ideal has been promised to India also and India must move with the times. It is impossible to remove language differences and wisdom lies in recognising this difference and perceiving unity in diversity. Prof. Max Muller said, "To speak the same language constitutes a closer union than to have drunk the same milk." The main languages may be 17 or so in India and India is fit enough to be divided into 17 provinces. I do not care whether Andhra Province gets a Governor or a Lieutenant Governor. When once the Telugus are brought under one administration, they will get the administration that is suited to them. It is the look out of the rulers. In many instances a Chief Commissioner like Sir Henry Cotton may prove a better administrator than a Governor like Sir Arthur Lawley.

It seems to me that the letter of Mr Pillai re-

quires no reply, if it had not proceeded from him. His arguments against the separation are beside the point and in the judicial language irrelevant. I cannot for a moment understand what the Brahmin and non-Brahmin feeling has to do with the question of the Andhra Province. One thing is certain, such ill-feeling does not exist to such an extent as there is in the Southern country and is fast disappearing. Gradually sympathy is extending to the depressed classes and some of this class attended the Andhra Conference. The granting of a separate Province cannot of itself prevent the Brahmin extending his sympathy to the Pariah. The Brahmins of Andhra Desa have no caste distinction and they are trying for the elevation of the lower classes. But suppose a Province is granted. What prevents us from elevating the Panchamas then. This argument is beside the point and it is unfair to tack one thing to another to create class prejudice. Mr. Pillai knows full well the ancient Andhra history and does that not betoken a specific tradition for Andhras? If the Andhra is proud of his past, how does that obstruct his admitting the domiciled Tamilian to his fold? Suppose a Hindu gets the rights of a European citizen. Then does he expect the Englishman to forsake his past for the sake of the domiciled Hindu or the Chinaman? As for the question of appointments, the Andhra wants that only merit may be given its due. A Telugu official can better know and appre-

ciate the wants of his fellowmen better than a non-Telugu unacquainted with the genius of the language. Efficiency is not impaired thereby but the happiness of the people is sure to be promoted. I find a historical error. Kulatunga I, was an Andhra and not a Tamilian as was supposed by Mr. Pillai. In the past, the Provinces were based on language basis in India. Yet there was national sentiment and we will have that feeling all the more at present, living as the whole of India does under one British overlordship. We are all a political nation and we may become more advanced under the federal rule. When once we are convinced that Andhra Province is desirable, we do not care for what a few Anglo-Indians may do to create dissensions. When we rightly understand a certain problem, no body can harm us, if we stand firm. If we are to cease our work, because somebody may sow dissensions, then we had better stop all public work. If a cause is righteous, its progress cannot be arrested by such trivial incidents. I have firm belief that our administrators will not do anything of the sort to sow dissensions between Tamilians and Telugus. Granting for the sake of argument that that will be the case, we are sensible enough not to unnecessarily retard the unity of Indian races. Our aim is our own progress with the goal of Indian Nationality before us and is not to come up at the expense of others. It appears to me that it is most insulting to

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the Andhras to make them responsible for the words : "All those that are against the enthusiasts are put down for fools and cowards." No enthusiast amongst Andhras has ever said that.

I am only sorry that Mr. Pillai has not argued the question on its merits but has brought in altogether irrelevant matters to prejudice the Province discussion. This letter may stimulate further discussion and give an opportunity to judge on what slender foundations the opponents of the Andhra Province base their reasons.

Guntur, June 15.

C. SESHAGIRI RAO

XXII

Sir,—The Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai deserves well of the public of the Ceded Districts in particular, and of the presidency in general, for his fearless advocacy of the popular cause at the bar of the local legislature. But Mr. Pillai in the 13th June issue does not afford us any edifying reading, his contribution evincing neither good logic, nor sound reasoning, nor healthy patriotism. In the first place, let me assure him that I would prefer the company of that band of "youthful enthusiasts" who seeing things in the right perspective would lose no time and spare no effort to have the existing institutions assimilated to

a better standard furnished to the world by the working of the relentless laws of political evolution, to that of the 'Sun-dried fossils' who refuse to see anything good anywhere except in the four corners of their cast-iron compartments most often based on a misreading of the teachings of History, misappreciation of the force of current events and the but not least on the misconstruction of the aims of those who would have the misfortune to differ from them. Mr. Pillai's objections to the Andhra movement seem to me on a perusal of his article to be four-fold :—

Firstly, Mr. Pillai betrays an undue anxiety for the fate of the minor communities in case the Andhra movement is to materialise into an Andhra province. Secondly, he foresees in the movement, if it is to be turned out into an actuality, a necessary conflict with the ideal of national unity as set forth by the Indian National Congress during all these years of its work. Thirdly, Mr. Pillai seriously reckons with the jeerings of a certain section of the Anglo Indian Press at the fight of the Andhras for a Province of their own. Finally, Mr. Pillai enters in a plea of prematurity of the movement.

The first objection of Mr. Pillai very unhappily blends a question of pure social reform with one of political reconstruction which would afford equal opportunities for all who could lay any pretensions to

the same historic genius, instinct and language. I fail to see how the creation of an Andhra Province would help to solve or would not help to solve the vexed question of the amelioration of the 'horny-handed.' This is a question to which the best intelligence of India would have to address itself in right earnest in the near future, Andhra Province or no Andhra Province. On the other hand the creation of Andhra Province would lend powerful support to the effort at the elevation of the depressed classes as it would have the effect of circumscribing the activities of Andhra reformers to a smaller orbit, that is to the depressed classes in the Andhra Province, thus expediting the participation of this unit in the commingling of national harmony.

One would fail to see how Mr. Pillai apprehends the domination of one race in the Andhra province which implies nothing else than the mere adjustment of the Andhra country on ethnological lines. If it is the intelligence, talent and force of character that is brought to the top by the creation of a province, the mere accident that intelligence, talent and force of character happens to belong to a particular class would be no argument for anybody to vote against the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest because the fittest happen to belong to a particular community. If this part of Mr. Pillai's argument stands to reason one can vehemently cry with reason against the ar-

liamentary elections, simply because the Prime-Minister, who is the creature of the legislature happens to belong to a particular party which does not happen to be in the good graces of a particular person. This portion of Mr. Pillai's argument which is evidently intended to be his strongest is really his weakest; it partakes more of the vague fear of the ascendancy of the Brahmin over the non-Brahmin than of any appreciation of any solid results that may eventuate by the creation of a province. If we are, as we are, domineered by the Brahmin intellect, the creation of the province would not affect the situation worse. If we are not under the ascendancy of the Brahmins, the creation of the province would not bring about the undesirable consummation of Brahman ascendancy. If at all the creation of the province would effect anything in the direction, it would improve the chances of the non-Brahmins in the country coming out prominent as these would have to brave competition only with the Brahmins in the Andhra country and not with those in the south who, according to the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew, are the keenest in intellect. Therefore, Mr. Pillai's invocation of the Brahman versus non-Brahman, or the Brahman versus the depressed classes or of the minor communities is absolutely irrelevant to the question of a province and carries with it its own condemnation.

The second objection of Mr. Pillai's for an An-

dhra province is no longer original. It has reached the domain of the state. It must be first understood (I am not writing an exposition of the Andhra movement or province which I mean reserving for an article in the *Modern Review* as an act of political hedonism which nobody would help otherwise. If a newborn child, unknown and untaught, drawing itself to the breast of its mother by some mysterious force of Nature does not mean a necessary conflict with its growth to man-hood or woman-hood, if the training of a boy in a course of gymnastics under well disciplined teachers does not mean a conflict with the development to man-hood, if the starting of the river Amazon in a small stream at its source does not necessarily mean a conflict with its growth to a mighty volume at its entrance to the sea, if the rising of the morning Sun just after the twilight in an indefinite and vague form does not necessarily mean a conflict with its growing into power at mid day, the creation of an Andhra Province or the recognition of the Andhras as a political unit does not necessarily mean a conflict with the ideal of an Indian Nationality. It is the beginning of a great end. It is rendering perfect our a particular organ to play its destined part effectively and well in the economy of general organism, taking stock of the differences in the historical genus, traditional antecedents, physical formation and community of language of the different organs and pro-

viding suitable pabulum for the growth of each. If sanctions are at all necessary for the desirability of such a procedure, the wealth of History shall be our first sanction. Lord Hardinge in his State despatch standing for a separate administration for the Hindi-speaking population shall be our first witness. Our road shall be in essentials Unity, in non-essentials Liberty, and in all things Charity. Our activities for our own self-improvement on the lines of least resistance do not imply ill-will towards our Tamilian brethren or anybody else for that matter. Those who would urge the second objection of Mr. Pillai would seriously miss the goal at which India is proceeding or at any rate, the goal at which it sought to proceed if the recent despatch of Lord Hardinge is to be duly given effect to. The despatch strikes the note of heterogeneous Nationalism not homogeneous Nationalism. Heterogeneous Nationalism may mean one which would help us to view India in the words of the president of the 8th Vizagapatam District Conference 'as a city of which each province is a street, The provinces may be marked off from one another even more distinctly than they are by differences of language, custom, habit, tradition and instinct, but nothing shall prevent their working together in perfect harmony, thanks to that great Indian National Congress that political conscience of India for the common empire to which we are proud to belong to any more than the organs

each with its own functions, its own sphere of enjoyment and separate kind of treatment it requires when anything is wrong with it, working for the common happiness of the body." What does the Hindu University Movement stand for? It stands for the drawing forth of all that is best in the Hindu youth so as to perfect him with all the necessary panoply for playing his part in the national economy. Is it viewed as a separatist move? The movement is on a par with the Hindu University movement, the one being territorial and the other educational. Some would have the Andhra movement divorced from the Andhra province. How human nature would vegetate if there is no powerful incentive to work, need hardly be expatiated upon.

The third objection is not worth any serious consideration.

Coming to the fourth of Mr. Pillai it reveals a serious self-contradiction. While fighting all the while against the movement and the province that he should in the end enter in the plea of prematurity reminds one of the legal defence set up by an ignorant client that the note on which he issued is both discharged and the time for its payment is not yet due. Prematurity is the argument of those who would admit the desirability of any movement. It is not too premature for any good cause to be initiated. Who can say or fix the limits of maturity? Was China mature for a

democracy at the time when democracy was really imposed on it?

So far I have only revealed the weakness of Mr. Pillai's position, while reserving the strength of the movement to a further article.

Ongole,	{	N. CHELAPATI ROW, B. A.
16th June 1913.		<i>First Grade Pleader Ongole.</i>

XXIII

The Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai writes :—

When I said in my letter against the separation of the Andhras, advocated by some of them on the strength of "their language, traditions and instincts," that the agitation for a separate province was "premature" I should have made myself more clear. What I meant was that an agitation for a separate province even on administrative grounds, *not necessarily* of all the Telugu Districts, *was premature*. Commercial progress, trade interests development of industries and other circumstances may arise to necessitate such a course in the dim future. As for "the keenest intellect" in Southern India, it will add to the glory of the Telugu Brahmins to come into conflict with them and win their spurs. The Telugu intellect need not shrink from it. The non-Brahmin intellect too is in no way inferior to the Brahmin. It is want of

proper industry and application that is lacking to have each his share in the race.

XXIV

SIR,—I may at once say that I am one of those, who are responsible for the drafting of the original proposition in regard to the Andhra Province and am neither afraid nor ashamed of it. This spirit *came over* me or it would be right to say, it has *evolved* in me after a very deliberate consideration for a year, fighting for and against within myself and with others. I confess that it may count for nothing. Having carefully studied the literature on the subject and Mr. Subba Rau Pantulu's answers to Mr. Sly, between the lines, and to crown all, the Presidential address of Mr. Sarma—containing a chain of incontrovertible arguments, I, with many others, became converted to that ideal, which inspiration proceeded from the heads of the Guntur moderates rather than from any so-called extremist-heads elsewhere. However, I think I am right in saying that one who held a more responsible position, that is to say, President of the Vizagapatam Conference, Mr. M. Suryanarayana Rao, cut the guardian knot, with an unflinching hand, though Mr. Sarma wanted to try to untie the knot with a quivering hand, and though he was *certainly*

aware that the knot should be disturbed any way! To my mind it appears to be only a difference in the *modus operandi*. One should have wit enough to appreciate both! From what I have gathered, from what occurred on the spot, it was understood that Messrs. Adinarayanayya, Krishna Row and Venkata-ramayya and other opposers *did not* oppose on the grounds stated by our friend Mr. Pillay, but entirely on one single ground, namely, that it was either premature or that the public mind was not prepared for it then. So there is no use of Mr. Pillay's trying to convince the world, that *he* is on the same platform with Messrs. Adinarayanayya and others. His grounds are quite different and they may be right or they may be wrong. I will tell you Sir, why Vizagapatam and Ganjam are supposed to be against an Andhra Province. Language division is in *their* way but not anything else. Nearly three fourths of Ganjam and Vizagapatam is Uriya country. The Andhras of those two Districts have acquired large properties in that part of the country. If necessary Uriya country will have to be separated from the Andhra country; then some Andhras undoubtedly suffer, but certainly not the Uriyas, as they have always been welcoming it and I think rightly too. If language is not the criterion, Mr. Pillai would be disappointed to know that Vizag and Ganjam will join hands with us as first participants in their weal or woe. Mr. Sarma and Mr. Surya-

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narayana, the president of the District Conference, a responsible person, both say, but in different language. that a province is conducive to the welfare of the Andhras and it is good in the interests of the Empire itself. No dissentient voice was heard at the Conference nor any criticism of it after. Why, Mr. Sarma himself was present there probably to give his support. It is also a myth to say that Nellore is against it. We *must* remember that there is a vast deal of difference (and we must not confound one with the other,) between having a Province *at all* and a province *now*. So far as my intelligence permitted, I can only say, among the Andhras there is no serious difference of opinion as regards the establishment of a Province. But Mr. Kesava Pillay doubts whether the Ceded Districts would agree. I am not sure whether he himself consulted within this short time the 'Ceded Districts' men. At first we thought the people of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, would oppose *en masse* but we are agreeably disappointed by the speech of Mr. Surya-narayana, immediately after the Andhra Conference. In these matters it is nothing but boldness to assert one way or the other. Now we are not asking for the Province but only wished to know the public opinion on the matter because some important persons think that it would be for the good of the people. If public opinion is against us, certainly we would not be so foolhardy as to press the matter home. To ascertain

public opinion a very impartial committee has been appointed, of which the opposers like Mr. Pillay and others also are members. Knowing as I do most of them personally, I may venture to say that a fairer committee we had not had at any time previously in any public movement. There is not any harm done, yet. There is ample time before us.

We have no quarrel with any nor is the movement like some of the movements mentioned by our friend, which ask for special treatment. I appeal to Mr. Pillay and other impartial men of his stamp to read Mr. Sarma's address once more and twice and thrice if necessary and carefully ascertain intelligent public opinion on the matter and let them be ready with their best arguments and convincing facts at the next Conference. That to day all Tamilians will resent our conduct, is neither right nor charitable. At any rate that does not bespeak of their toleration and I don't think that any cultured Tamilian would resent as there is nothing in it to resent. Some facts are given and they are all true. Why should truth be resented? Comparisons are always odious to some. Since the birth of these new Legislative Councils, equal opportunities being given, it cannot be said the Andhra Councillors have fallen below the mark? All parts of the body should be strong, then only you call it a healthy body. Local ailments should first be cured by local applications and along with them tonics should be

given so that the body might keep on its strength.

My Honourable friend has been writing of some young "enthusiasts," and I am one of those "young enthusiasts" but only my age is *fifty two*. I am afraid that Mr. Kesava Pillay's age also is 50 but he is old he thinks.

One word more and I have done! There is no doubt whatever, that the question should be well threshed out in the public Press and on the platform and it is for giving us the opportunity to do so in the former way we are much obliged to you.

MITTADODDI VENKATASUBBA RAU,

Ongole, June 15.

Pleader, Ongole.

XXV

The Andhra Movement is still in its infancy; it is just beginning to assume shape. Any attempt at describing its nature and scope will therefore be necessarily imperfect. The immediate causes that led to the manifestation of the movement are many and varied. It may be that the Andhras are discontented with their backwardness in education. It may be that their self respect was wounded by the army regulations which prohibit their enlistment into His Majesty's Army. It may be that they find with humiliation that they are nowhere in the public services of the country

for causes for which they are not entirely to blame. It may be that the degenerate condition in which they find their language and literature to-day has opened their eyes to the deterioration that has come over their social and literary ideals. It may be that they have become alive to the sad fact that want of enterprise and co-operation amongst them has led to the failure of practically every attempt that has hitherto been made by them to develop their industrial life, notwithstanding the superior economic resources of the country inhabited by them. These and other causes for dissatisfaction with their present condition have doubtless stimulated the Andhras into activity and contributed to the hastening of the movement. But the movement itself is of a slow growth. It did not owe its origin to any sudden or stirring event in the political or social life of the Andhras even in the partial sense that the national movement in Bengal had its origin in the partition of that province. There has been a slow awakening among the Andhras for sometime past. Some young men by translating their zeal for reform into action imparted a new vigour to their social life. Genuine efforts are being put forth for the spread of education among the Andhras. There has already been a marked revival in the Telugu language and literature. Attempts at turning into account their economic resources, although very feeble, are not altogether absent. Feelings of patriotism and self-reliance are

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germinating in the minds of the Andhras. These and other signs of activity among the Telugu speaking people have naturally inspired them with a desire to put forth their combined efforts to uplift themselves. The attempt to focus the apparently disconnected efforts that are now scattered in various directions into an organisation, the various parts of which so act and react on each other as to reveal its utility and gather round it the life that is so essential for its natural growth, is what is called *the Andhra movement*. Those that characterise the movement as a cry of "Andhra for Andhras" and those that condemn it as a communal movement which tends to foster exclusiveness are either absolutely ignorant of its true significance or are trying to give it a bad name in order to hang it. There is no trace of exclusivism in it. It is a movement that is inspired by ideals which are as universal in their application and catholic in their spirit as any which ever inspired a national movement.

The immediate and apparent causes that are believed to have given rise to the movement are only secondary. A desire to grasp a few more appointments in the public service, a desire to expand the usefulness of a Vernacular literature and a desire to take more largely to wealth-producing avocations, however stimulative in themselves, are wholly inadequate to sustain a movement for the regeneration of a people. Every great movement has a far-reaching and noble ideal

within it. So long as that ideal is not understood the true meaning of the movement itself remains unknown. While the movement itself undergoes various changes and assumes different forms at different times the ideal that lies behind it and supports it will remain constant for ever. Ours is a national ideal. It applies to all the peoples of India equally. It is not inconsistent with the ideals of the Indian National Congress. If the aim of the National Congress is the consolidation of the Indian Nation and the attainment of some form of self-Government within the British Empire and under the sway of Britain, the aim of the Andhra movement is precisely the same. The Andhra movement is but the form into which the national ideal has to be transformed when its actuality is to be realised. The Andhra movement is the resultant shape which the conception of the Indian nation assumes in its practical exemplification. The one aim of the Andhra movement is the helping forward of the process of national consolidation.

The idea of creating an Indian nation by so re-forming the Bengalee, the Beharee, the Maharatta ; the Guzarattae the Punjabee, the Telugu and the Tamil, as to make them forget their well marked social, linguistic and other peculiarities and then welding them together into a homogeneous mass, is now generally believed to be altogether fanciful. The idea is opposed to all notions of history and social evolution.

There is already an Indian nation in the process of making. There are features, conditions and affinities common to the various peoples that now inhabit India. It is by developing these features, utilising these conditions, intensifying these affinities and at the same time helping forward to the fullest possible extent, the growth of the different peoples who are characterised by their peculiar and common linguistic and social features along modern lines, congenial to their past history, tradition, civilisation and culture, that we can ever hope to form an Indian nation. But it will be a process of federation and not of fusion. In harmonising the different civilisations and cultures of India and in determining the place of India in the British Empire federation is the only principle of nation-building that can be thought of. History furnishes us with striking examples of the working of this principle in modern times although it is true that new difficulties yet unsolved elsewhere arise in its application to India. The extension of the principle, to countries which present a variety of conditions, all the world over, inspires as with hope. The vision of a united and federated Indian nationality is drawn closer to us to-day by the spectacle of the unity of the South African Federation and the prospective view of Ireland with its Home Rule, Wales with its disestablished Church and Scotland with its separate Parliament. The Andhra Movement aims at making the ideal of a fede-

rated and perfected Indian Nation a reality. The problem of Indian Nationalism will find its solution in the Andhra Movement.

In my next letter I will deal with the means we have to adopt in solving this problem and in realising this vision.

XXVI

It is proved by the deeper experience of every race that has known the fulness of life on earth, that every fresh movement of the people towards moral and spiritual freedom, has had to win its way through strong and persistent opposition. Some strange psychological law has always created a subtle social resistance to the passage of new ideas through human communities. Ethically perhaps this spirit of resistance holds as vital a place in nature's organisation as the impulse to unfold. But the pages of national experience bear it out abundantly that all such opposition exists only to be overpowered calling into play all the hidden energy and emotion of the communal soul. And indeed wherever a movement has represented primal human rights, the right of a people to be born as a nation, the demand for equal opportunity among the elements of a social order, the struggle of the individual for perfect freedom of growth and self-expression such a move-

ment, with the formative forces of life behind it, though frequently set back, has ultimately borne down all opposition, leaving a glow of joy, a flush of moral victory over a whole epoch of national existence. Among such stirrings of a people's soul pulsing with the passion of desire for a fuller life and individuality, the Andhra movement claims to be accorded a place, with what justness only the future can prove. But it is curious to note how swiftly the deadweight of social indifference has ranged itself on the side of active opposition. Many minor notes of feeling have doubtless helped to swell the seeming strength of it—subtle prejudices springing from long-standing associations, whispers of self-interest which half-unknowingly pervert human judgment, shallow concessions to old-time friendships, vague fears, needless apprehensions, and crude misgivings, all these have raised each a note of alarm against the Andhra movement. But far more than these petty prejudices or perverted sentiment a real ignorance of the essentials of it has been responsible for much of the vague suspicion which still clouds the minds of men. Through all the discursive criticism of it that has found its way into the public press one searches in vain for any clear comprehension of the true heart of the movement. The air is, however, thick with broken fragments of ideas which pretend to express the full purpose of the movement but emphasise particular aspects of it only.

Thus, there seems to be a notion that the aim of the Andhra movement is to help to multiply the numbers of Andhras in high places with the Government and to start and maintain an agitation to make the Andhra land a close preserve for the race. So also not a few seem to hold that the Andhra Conference would serve its highest purpose by functioning as a pure social gathering of the Andhra, and adjunct to the political, literary and other conferences already in existence. Finally, there seems to be a strong section of opinion which looks forward to the creation of Andhra province as the end and aim of all Andhra effort.

Let us discuss these ideas one by one to show where each of them falls short of the highest ideals in National evolution. The question of racial preferment for high service and its emoluments is morally indistinguishable from that of racial exclusion such as the nations of Europe and their descendants in other colonies have been so unblushingly exercising both in the new and old worlds. In either aspect, the hardness and selfishness of the rule, though allowed by the code of western morals, is one utterly alien to and unknown in the wide empire of the east. Among all oriental people not only has there never been the least hindrance offered to the incomer, but the law of domicile has ever been of the slenderest, admitting a stranger almost immediately to equal rights of citizenship and the full protection and privileges of the law and custom of the

land. This is of the essence of the Eastern soul receptive, tolerant, magnanimous, so fearless of individual expansion and so assured of the infinite harmonies of life and being. Need we then add that the rule is equally opposed to the inherited temper and tradition of the Indian nation, and to the very constitution of the mother country that has left a clear gateway in an otherwise impregnable frontier wall of granite, bidding the world welcome into the rich plains of Hindoosthan. How then shall the Andhra movement be guilty of such a narrowing of imaginative vision, such a decline in purity and breadth of moral purpose as to desire to exclude any stranger from full participation in the privileges and blessings of his land? Further, it is evident that such a desire for self-protection in national life is a confession of moral and intellectual weakness and as an accepted principle in national life, bound to prove disastrous to any community of men by steadily and insidiously taking away from the strength of racial self-respect and racial dignity. While here, in India, where a culture must evolve out of a thousand harmonies of temper and character it would mean a serious spiritual loss which might frustrate the highest purpose of India Nationalism. If such and so serious be the objections to the doctrine of racial preference in the island, may one not emphatically declare in the name of the Andhra people that the new movement is utterly clear of all preference for any race or

community of men, and strongly condemnatory of every feeling which may harden into racial prejudice or foster class jealousy.

Now, taking the second of the misconceptions noticed above in regard to the significance of the Andhra Movement, it must be remembered that the most important feature of the movement is that it is not like the political, social, literary and other conferences sectional in its interests. It does not limit itself to any particular course of action, nor to the pursuit of any one specific line of inquiry. It is so, to speak, a whole-life movement embracing every aspect of a people's activities. In other words, it stands for the evolution of the race through all the complex phases of life in the modern. Even so in the new centuries, among the civilised nations of the world, great communal institutions tend steadily to draw into themselves all the varied tributaries of a people's life—political, social, and spiritual. Such a tendency is only in line with the deepening consciousness that human life is essentially and inextricably one and that it will be an unmeaning and infructuous artificiality to judge of its various phases apart from one another as if they did not reveal the workings of but one inner tendency. How, then, shall we conceive of an Andhra movement limited in the range of its application, unresponsive to certain sides of the National Life?

But, there is another aspect to the situation from

which the plea of an all-round unity speaks even more powerfully. The dominant motive of an Andhra Conference is, strange as it might seem, less the achievement of any immediate end than the embodying of the idea of Andhra unity. It is the creation of a symbol which would adequately express the passion-laden story of centuries of varied racial experience. Speaking thus we conceive of the Andhra movement and conference not as an effort wedded to action but as an idea in repose idealising, so to speak, the fulness of a racial life. It is clear that any the least imperfection in the symbol so sought would dull the fine point of its symbolic character and may even tend to take away from its influence on the popular mind. Thus arises the clear necessity of leaving the scope and significance of the Andhra Conference as wide as the life and interests of the Andhra people, nay perhaps wider, so as to endow it with the needed power to lead every line of social activity into the fuller circle of National existence.

Turning to the third of the misconceptions noticed above which interprets the movement as an agitation for the securing of an Andhra Province, a mere glance at the conditions of the Andhra land and people would suffice to show that it but imperfectly renders the nature and scope of the movement. It is too narrow in that it confines itself to a mere political demand. And there the object of desire is such that, under pre-

sent political conditions, it finds no legitimate place for a substantial section of the Andhras who live under the Nizam. But this is not the only objection to receiving a purely political object as the end and aim of the movement and conference. The Andhra movement is primarily a people's movement, its full purpose being the awakening of those emotions and the creation of such political, social, literary, and other institutions as would enable the Andhras to realise and achieve their essential unity. For the greater portion of this ideal can be realised only through a people's self-effort and even such political institutions as powerfully subserve racial unity would remain of no value if they be not informed with a sense of their ultimate bearing on the inner struggles of a people's soul.

But it is undoubted that the conception of one integral province for the Andhras is a fundamental, if not the most important item, in the programme of the Andhra movement. For nothing gathers to ahead the whole sphere of a people's activities as a common political life. And under right conditions the unity of common political institutions may be and often is the strongest expression of a sense of national unity. But while the Andhras openly strive to secure such political integrity even in the measure in which it is now practicable, they cannot afford to ignore a wider unity which enfolds all the Andhras into a single clearly-

outlined race. That under present conditions on the political side such an integration is well-nigh impossible need not detract from the strength of common feeling nay rather it may add a zest to the desire for the realisation of oneness through all the arbitrary lines of an accidental division, and be an ever living stimulus to that finer self-discipline of emotions which would learn to regard the Andhra movement as an essentially spiritual and self-educative effort.

If the object of the Andhra movement be wider and purer than any of these ideas, would suffice to indicate, how then shall we define it so as to bring out its full and living significance. In a manner a good definition is easily framed by referring only to the far ideal in the distance. And certainly and irrefutably the Andhra Ideal is and will be so to sustain and advance the conception of Andhra Unity that in preserving its own clear individuality, it shall seem only to enrich the Ideal of Indian Nationalism. Implied in such a definition are two fundamental notions that, within the fulness of national unity, there may be many component races and that these latter may develop clear and firm outlines of their own without interfering with the harmony and singleness of National whole. This is not the place to attempt a vindication of the ethical soundness or spiritual sufficiency of such a statement, but it must be unequivocally told that at the very root of this Andhra claim for

recognition is the conception of an Andhra Race, delicately formed and delicately distinguished from the National portrait, with a full, clear, living individuality of its own. To explain the fundamental points of this individuality or to strive to account for them would be a task, subtle, difficult, perhaps illusive and indeterminate. But the essential truth of such a race-personality is among the unquestionable verities of human experience proved by the spontaneous love and veneration of an ancient people. This must be believed in wholly, for, in the last analysis, the surest and deepest justification of the Andhra movement is here, bottomed in the conception of an Andhra Desa and Race as a great and wonderful unity, a pure and living fountain of life and culture. To embody this unity, to deepen and strengthen the emotion which would nourish and sustain it, to uphold and advance the culture which is the blossom of it in that characteristic purity and loveliness which the spirit of human evolution has here chosen to wear, to preserve and enrich the peculiar strain of temper and manners in all of its delicate detail of picturesque variation on the national type—this must remain now and for ever the burden of the Andhra movement. While other things helping in the realisation of this central purpose,—a great university which incarnates the soul of national aspirations through a language and literature growing and mellowing in power and beauty

of self-expression, popular institutions, sabhas, parishads and other gatherings of the people, which with serious earnestness of intention, seek to recall and revive the spirit of an ancient civilisation through all the manifold concerns of the present, the creation of a central Government which will gather the political life of the people into one splendid centre of racial strength—all this would be proper matter for study and deliberation at the Andhra conference of every year. Details of such schemes must necessarily vary from epoch to epoch of racial life but can never affect the heart and motive of a movement. Such as are vital to the present will be in coming articles discussed and the bringing about of many changes in popular conceptions and the compassing of many new ideas advocated, such as will tend to foster and deepen a sense of unity among the Andhras and so help to build up an Andhra race strong, valiant, frank and free which shall know itself as a vital and component element in the great ideal of an Indian Nationality. K. HANUMANATHA RAO M. A., B. L.

XXVII

II (V. RAMADAS GARU, B. A. B. L.)

The progress of a people lies mainly in their own hands. In every scheme for the amelioration of a nation or a race the exertions of the people themselves

occupy the first place. It may be that the scope for self-advancement is circumscribed within certain sharp limits by the political and the social environment in which those who struggle for advancement are placed. In our country both the administration and social machinery place peculiar limitations on our progress in several directions and guide very largely our attempt at the furtherance of our aims. But subject to these limitations the way to such progress as is possible lies along the path of self exertion. We should therefore recognise the supreme importance of self-reliance and embark upon a programme of work which is at once practical and useful. The educational problem, on the solution of which our destiny depends to a very great extent, should occupy the foremost place in our programme. Relatively speaking the Andhras are the most backward in education among the important communities that inhabit the Presidency of Madras. Only *eight* out of the *thirty* colleges in the province are in the Telugu districts. There is not a single college in the Andhra country where students are trained to any profession, engineering, medicine, teaching or the like. Out of the 756 secondary schools in the Presidency there are only 178 in the Telugu districts. The total number of technical, industrial and art schools in the Presidency is *fifty*; of these the Telugu speaking people have the benefit of only *nine*. The number of scholars and literates is correspondingly

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small. Of the fourteen thousand and odd graduates manufactured by our University only two thousand four hundred are Andhras, whereas the figure should have been 5400 relatively to the population. The number of graduates in Medicine, Engineering and teaching can be counted on one's fingers. The most literate of the Telugu districts, Kistna with its percentage of 11-23 occupies the thirteenth place in the list of the districts in the Presidency arranged according to their literacy. A comparison based on the number of Elementary and Primary schools and the institutions under private management has its own story to tell but it is unnecessary to prolong the sad tale. Our efforts should therefore be mainly directed towards the spread of education in the Telugu districts. If Andhras are not able to start and maintain institutions that are intended for their benefit they will not be credited with the possession of patriotism and self-respect so essential for sustaining a national organisation like the Andhra movement. The question of our education is again inextricably mixed up with that of our language. The task of so enriching and developing our language as to make it the vehicle of modern thought and the medium for the spread of knowledge among the people speaking it, is one which demands all our energies and can no longer be neglected. It is a matter for regret that this problem to which the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma gave great prominence in

his presidency should have been altogether left unnoticed in the public press. Notwithstanding the indifference with which it is sure to force itself upon our attention constantly. The enthusiasm with which the discussion regarding the founding of a separate University for the Andhra Desa was received at the first Andhra Conference shows the direction in which the current of our national aspiration is flowing and points to the object for the attainment of which every Andhra should strive to do his best.

So far most people have no objection to go with us or to sympathise with us. But they advise us not to be very ambitious in constructing our programme and to begin our work with some object which is easy of accomplishment and carry it to a successful termination before we proceed with another. To me it seems that it is neither wise nor possible to confine our activities solely to progress in one particular direction, for the various parts of our national progress are not arranged for us in pigeon-holes to be pulled out at pleasure in such order as we please. It is no more possible for a nation to develop certain parts only of its life to the entire exclusion of its other parts than it is for an animal to grow only in one direction. That we should complete our programme of social or educational reform before we deserve a large measure of civic freedom and so forth are pieces of advice which are neither true nor sane and

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people do not believe in them any longer. If social disorganisation and extravagance of caste-exclusiveness are impediments to the development of our political life the absence of institutions which are calculated to develop our faculty of self Government is even greater impediment to the reconstruction of our social fabric. Absence of education among the people may be a reasonable ground for excluding them from the control of the affairs of their own country, but unless a certain measure of effective control over their own affairs is vouchsafed to them they can never become really educated. Progress in one direction depends upon that in another and can never be unilateral. It is bound to be simultaneous though not equal in all directions. In order to draw out all the latent powers of a race and develop them it is necessary that it should be provided either by itself or by those who are placed in authority over it with institutions which afford facilities for its advancement all round. The establishment of a few more schools or colleges or even the founding of a separate University in the Andhra Desa will not enable the Andhras to solve effectively their educational problem. Nor does the establishment of a High Court in the midst of the Andhras enable them to produce justices and Judges of eminence. Similarly, no other single institution by itself however beneficial may be its results so far as they go, will en-

able a people to conduct their national life on solid foundation. The Andhras should not therefore be merely content with asking for this institution or that but strive to obtain a recognition of their claim to occupy an honoured place among the races of India. We should however never attempt to obtain this recognition by seeking protection or preference, not because such a course is morally indefensible as Mr. K. Hanumantharao thinks, but on account of its political inexpediency under present conditions. I fail to see why the correction of the inequality of adjustment in the elements of a social order which is not always or necessarily the result of moral and intellectual weakness of one or other of the elements is morally unjustifiable under all conditions. In my opinion it bears no analogy whatever to the racial exclusion pursued by some of the powerful nations of the west to the detriment of the weaker races. But for a wholly different reason namely the extreme undesirability of racial considerations shaping the policy of British administration in India I am strongly opposed to the idea of Andhras ever claiming any preferment in any matter by reason of finding themselves handicapped in the race of life. It speaks volumes for the wisdom and foresight of the organisers of the Andhras Conference and of its first President that no question relating to a claim by the Andhra for preferential treatment was permitted to be brought

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forward for discussion before that assembly. This decision of the organisers was in complete accord with the unanimous wish of those who assembled in the Conference. This fact had probably escaped the notice of the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai who evidently took it for granted that the movement was the product of the brains of those men who "talk of Andhras possessing different instincts because they did not get an equal opportunity to profit by office and emolument." Otherwise it is difficult to understand his condemnation of the "cry for separation and for the better recognition of the claims of the Andhras to the loaves and fishes of public service, a cry even a whisper of which was heard nowhere within the sacred precincts of the first great assembly of the Andhras.

If not by protection or preference, how are the Andhras to obtain a recognition of their claim to occupy their legitimate place among the people of India and to make their contribution to the upbuilding of the Indian nation? The best means by which this can be accomplished is to constitute the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency into a separate administrative unit so that the civic life of the Andhras may receive its fullest expansion. The constitution of an Andhra province is thus the means to an end and not the end in itself. Like many other means which are devised for the accomplishment of an end, it may fail to produce the anticipated results. No one be-

believe that with the creation of an Andhra Province the progress of the Andhras will be complete. On the other hand, those who favour the creation of a Province believe that with its creation their progress will commence. How long the process is to go on and what form it is to take can only be determined by time and experience. Judging from present conditions it seems to me that identity of political interest in the various people of India can be best promoted by grouping them into separate administrative units and that such identity of interest is conducive to their individual growth. The bureaucratic Government of India is essentially British in its conception. In the modern civilised world the State stands for much more than what was understood by the word Government in olden times. The State now not only governs the people but also looks after their educational, commercial, economic and other affairs. In the west by social reform they mean what we in India generally call political reform. With the growth of democracy the people are voluntarily resigning their power more and more into the hands of State which stands for the collective will of the people. England is a thoroughly democratic country in which all the affairs of the people are in the hands of the State. The range of the control of the Government of India over the affairs of its subjects is much the same as that of the Government in England. The Government

of India make laws for us in social matters. They govern our Universities. They control and guide the education that we receive in schools and colleges. They direct our commerce. They superintend our factories. They supervise our industries. They initiate and nourish our co-operative movement. So the administration in India enters into every detail of the people's civic life. It follows that the development or expansion of that life is identical with the development or expansion of the administration which sustains it. If an administration is to serve its purpose effectively and usefully it should adjust itself to the needs and conditions of the people placed under its fostering care. Such an adjustment as that, seems to be well nigh impossible when people speaking different languages, having different cultures and traditions and possessing different standards of efficiency and attainments are grouped together in one province for purposes of administration not with any deliberation or purpose but by mere historical or political accident. The British administration will therefore be in an infinitely better position to develop the national life of the people committed to its care if its efforts at their uplifting are not hampered by a conflict of its duties towards them. The conflict can be avoided, so far as it is possible under present conditions, by so grouping the peoples of India for purposes of Provincial Government as to foster their

racial unity and political integrity, in other words, by the creation of separate provinces consistently with the administrative exigencies of the country and needs of its people.

The idea of a separate province for Andhras has evoked much adverse criticism from some of our prominent contrymen like the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai and Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayanayya. I will try to answer in my next letter some of the objections urged against it.

XXVIII

The Andhra movement, which had its birth not long ago, has already made such wonderful progress that it has come to be recognised and accepted by all Andhras. The movement is the result of the general awakening in the East and in India in particular since the new spirit pervaded the country. During the last half a dozen years, the Andhras have been making rapid progress in the various walks of progressive life and activity in literature and education, in foreign travel and social reform, journalism and public work. The Andhra Conference held at Papatla was the result of the movement itself and was convened with the object of giving a public, and responsible statement and definition of its aims, ideas

and aspirations. The Conference was of a thoroughly representative character, as all the leading public men in the Andhra country were either present at its sittings or sent messages expressing sympathy with the objects of and wishing success to the Conference. Over 800 delegates were present from all parts of the Andhra country and interest or enthusiasm displayed by these delegates and about 2 thousand visitors in the proceedings was so keen that one of your local daily contemporaries was constrained to observe that "it could not be found even at the Indian National Congress." The various Resolutions have been accepted unanimously by all; but the Resolution around which the keenest interest and enthusiasm were displayed, on which a wide difference or division of opinion was felt, which formed the very crux and essence of the movement itself, which created the same feelings and aroused similar passions as the Boycott Resolution did at the Calcutta Congress in 1906, which it was feared would, if carried, create a split and a secession in the very first session—which, however, was approved in the heart of hearts by almost every delegate present, but was considered by some as premature and hasty at the present juncture and under the existing conditions which young Andhras the delegates from the Krishna and Guntur districts almost in a body favoured and supported, which was passed by a narrow majority in the subjects Committee and would, if put

to be. have been carried by a decidedly overwhelming majority by the House—dealt about the Andhra Province. It is significant to note that no one actually opposed the principle underlying the Resolution, but what some elderly leaders considered was that it was premature and that public opinion about the question might be gathered and gauged before it is passed.

From certain quarters the charge has been brought forward that the Andhra movement and the agitation for an Andhra Province are opposed to the national ideal and in conflict with the spirit and principle of Indian Nationality. I shall in this letter attempt to examine a little this aspect of the question.

The ideal of the Indian Nation is swaraj or Self Government within the British Empire-Colonial, as defined in the creed of the Indian National Congress and suited to conditions and requirements of the country, according to the All-India Muslim League. This ideal is admitted by all to be a far-off, distant and ultimate goal for the attainment of which the country should pass through various phases of progress and improvement and wait for several generations more. However, as practical politicians, the Indian public would do well to place before themselves for immediate achievement the goal of provincial autonomy, described by Lord Hardinge in his famous dispatch to the Secretary of State for India. We must, if we wish to achieve any progress, proceed

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with our work from the bottom to the top, from the village to the country through various intermediate steps and stages in order that a strong nation and a healthy national spirit may be created. As the Hon^r Mr. Gokhale observed last August at a meeting held in his honor in London under the presidentship of Sir M. M. Bhowmaggree; we must in spite of Lord Crewe's interpretation, put forth our efforts, muster our forces and direct our agitation for the rapid attainment of provincial autonomy, of course without losing sight of the higher national ideal. The very fact that non-official majorities have been granted in the various Provincial Legislative Councils shows that the Government itself is not opposed to any such consummation.

Let us examine on what basis and under what conditions this provincial autonomy can be attained if it is conducive to the rapid achievement ultimately of the national ideal itself. India consists of various important races with different traditions, history and languages and in varying degrees and standards of progress and capacity. Each race should be allowed to progress and work out its own salvation independently and untrammelled by its neighbouring races, so that it might develop according to its own latent capacity and inherent strength and on lines best suited for its uplift. As Sir. H. Cotton sketched out in 1904 at the Congress held at Bombay, the

ultimate form of Government in India would be a United States of India under the aegis of Great Britain. We have to see whether the present grouping of the country into provinces is conducive to the easy and rapid progress of the provinces themselves and for the attainment of the national ideal. The formation of modern provinces is based on no intelligible principle, but is the result purely of accidental acquisitions and additions. The present map of India is heterogeneous and irregular and a new map has to be constructed on some scientific basis and intelligent principle. In India we have several large and distinct races, each of which is bound together by unity of language, origin, nationality, traditions and history; and a division of India into provinces on this ethnological and linguistic basis would seem best suited for the rapid achievement of provincial autonomy and ultimately for the Indian nation. As has been pointed out by an English writer the modern tendency of all races "as they advance in civilisation, stability and self-reliance is not to coalesce and fuse and form self-contained new races, but, on the contrary, to diverge from each other and assert their own individuality as separate peoples." The truth of this statement is illustrated by such glaring examples in Europe as the division of the Empire of Turkey in Europe into the separate independent States of Turkey proper, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Rumania, the political

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bifurcation of Scandinavia into Norway and Sweden, and the proposed division of the British Isles themselves—as propounded by Mr. W. Churchill in a detailed and well-thought-out scheme, into different provincial states like Ireland, Scotland, Wales etc, and by the agitation that is made almost successfully as evidenced by the Irish and Scotch Home Rule Bills by these countries for distinct self-Government of their separate races. All these examples and the principle illustrated by them yield lessons to the Government and the people of India and teach them that the classification or division of the country into provinces should be based as far as possible on unity of race and language.

In support of the above contentions I shall quote here at some length from the book "The Political future of India" published in 1908 by Horder and Stoughton, London. It contains three select and best essays contributed to the Laidlaw competition, which offered a prize of Rs, 2000 for the best essay on the aspirations of educated Indians. I take the extracts from the second essay written evidently by an English-man with vast Indian official experience under the non-de-plume of Action Front. The essayist treats the subject and examines the regeneration of the country on a racial basis and shows therein great scientific, political and philosophic knowledge.

From the following extract (Chp VI, p. 223-224)

we gather how our political agitation is viewed by an Englishman and the necessity for agitating for autonomy of provinces based on racial and linguistic unity:—

"If I were an irresponsible despot with absolute sovereignty over all India, I would to maintain my absolutism, consistently encourage the propagation of the one-nation idea. For so long as the misguided Indians pursued this phantasm I would feel sure in my power, as the stupid would always be dragging down the intelligent, the backward would retard the progress of the more advanced, and the pace of the whole movement would be that of the slowest and least developed race. Aeons of ages would elapse before even a semblance of union emerged from such chaotic elements. The very futility of such impractical efforts would be the mainstay of my despotism for an indefinitely remote period.

"But, on the other hand, if the day dawned when each one of my subject races started a propaganda for separate racial self-development, apart and distinct from each other, I would have to recognise that the beginning of the end of my despotic rule had come. This conclusion would be forced on me for the following reasons:—(a) As each separate race advanced independently in civilisation it would gradually become self-contained, and would strongly resist being dragged down, or even retarded in its progress, by its other less enterprising neighbours.

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(b) as a practical man, though a despotic ruler, it would be to my interest and advantage to placate and help on the development of the inherent good qualities of such a progressive race till it could, metaphorically speaking, stand on its own feet; (c) the same procedure would be followed with successive races as they showed tendencies towards self-improvement, till at last a time would come when all the races in India would form separate self-governed states, acknowledging one suzerain power over the Indian continent.

"It is possible in the far dim future, when all the Indian races have separately developed a high state of civilisation and self-government, that they may for purposes of defence against foreign aggression form themselves into the confederated states of India, and so in an indirect way eventually become a community internally dissimilar, but one in union against the outside world."

The author, Action Front devotes a whole chapter to the examination of the subject of ethnological Provinces wherein he says (pages 238-129):—

"I propose that a new map of India be constructed on an ethnological and linguistic basis. Boundaries have to be demarcated round the habitat of each race. For instance the Sindhi-Speaking people should be separated from the Punjabis on the north and the Rajputs and Cutchis on the west and south. There should be a Punjabi province, a Maharatt

province, a Tamil province, a Telugu province, and so on throughout India. The above are only a few of the leading divisions, but they will serve to explain my meaning...when a division was composed of entirely one race, there would be no difficulty of forming a simple system of self Government on a national basis.

The writer goes on to explain at great length and in detail his thesis by taking into consideration the suppositious land of Rishiwara and formulates his scheme of self-contained and autonomous provincial administration of a land with people speaking the same language, derived of the same race and nourished upon the same traditions. Action Front clearly shows how under such an administration primary education would be made compulsory for both men and women and imparted entirely in the Rishi language, how steps would be taken to develop the industries, commerce, agriculture and science and how education would become really national by being made practical instead of theoretical etc. The writer concludes.

"Rishiwara would in fact be practically self-governing and quite independent of all other such States in India. Its internal administration would not be directly interfered with by the Supreme Government except in matters of Imperial policy, and the inhabitants would be left to progress in civilisation at their own pace. There would be no hustling and

no maudlin philanthropy. If they had any virility and capacity for advancement it would come out under such conditions, and if they had not, they would be allowed to go their own pace without any sentimental anxiety on our part. In either case they would be happy in their own way, and would have nobody but themselves to blame if other Indian nations went ahead of them towards the goal of independence.

"All the various nationalities in India would thus be simultaneously started on the road to self development and ultimate self-Government. Those which advanced rapidly would be given greater facilities and would necessarily be more independent than those that lagged behind. No greater facilities could be given to the peoples of India than the fostering of local patriotism and the consequent friendly inter-racial competition for civilised progress and ultimate autonomy."

In this racial progress and development Action Front discovers the solution of the Partition of Bengal, which has come to be proven true by the Durbar changes. He says:—

In this mental affinity lies the hope of a future solution to the partition question in Bengal. If, for instance, Bengal proper (excluding Oryas, Nagpuris, Beharis, Assamis and all other border races) could be constituted into a new state on an ethnological basis, with a Governor of its own, it is quite possible

that a real Bengali nation might eventually be evolved comprising both Hindus and Mahommadans of Eastern and Western Bengal. Such a union of Bengali-speaking people is very desirable, and devoutly to be wished." The wish enunciated and ideal prophesied in the above words have been fulfilled within 4 years after they have been penned. Bengal, which has through her persistency been able to achieve the object upon which she set her heart has many lessons to teach the Andhras in their present position. There are besides many points of resemblance between the Bengalees and the Andhras. Both share in an emotional temperament and have a fine and rich language and are forward in all reforms, social, religious and political. It is invidious on my part to enlarge on the merits of the Andhras.

It is not impossible for a race with a notable past history to achieve anything upon which they rightly set their heart. But before approaching Government with the plea for a separate province, the duty devolves upon the Andhra patriots to convince their more backward brethren in the Ceded and other districts upon the necessity and desirability of a separate provincial unit for their general uplift and ultimately for the realisation of the national ideal itself.

G. RAMACHANDRA RAO, M. A.
Rajahmundry, June 28.

XXIX

Mr. G. Lakshman Reddy, B. A. First Grade Pleader, Gooty, writes:—

Mr. N. K. Ramaswamy is an erudite expounder of Herbert Spencer and a Vedantist. We have been accustomed from our younger days to his philosophical and political disquisitions and we are not surprised that he should be the philosophical exponent of the Andhra movement for a separate Province. But it is not possible for a younger man like me to follow such a master in his flights on general principles.

Now, we have 1,870,925 persons in Ganjam of whom 958,661 are Oriyas, 839,449, Telugus and in Agency Ganjam out of 350,446, 132,392, are Oriyas and 6,000 are Telugus; Vizagapatam - agency 473,439 Oriyas and Telugus, leaving other languages. These tracts are far away from the seat of Government, I can quite understand the desire of the Oriyas in these parts to be added to Orissa.

Well, about the Telugu aspirations for a separate Province. The Northern Districts in the Circars may have a Province, if the British Government would give them. The people in those parts differ from the Telugus in Nellore, Chittore, Cudpha, Kurnool, Bellary, as much as they differ from the Telugus in the Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam Districts who

number 3,403,389: and the Telugus in the six Southern Districts of the Northern Group have more in common with the Telugus and Tamils, the people of Madras, Chinglepet North Arcot, South Arcot and Coimbatore, than with the Telugus especially in the Northern Districts. The Telugus in Coimbatore, Madurai. N. Arcot, Trichinopoly, Salem, South Arcot, Ramnad and Tinnevely are respectively 446,134,131 694, 322,859, 273833, 259, 336, 207, 800, 192, 527 168031, and 73221. Whereas all the Tamils are not more than 321,645 in all the Telugu Districts while Chittor alone has 268,211. The Telugu Districts in the Northern Circars have amidst them about in all 10.795 Tamilians, which is less than the Telugus in Malabar alone which has 19,675 Telugus-

In the Northern Circars, we shall take it, that all the people call for a separate Province. They have no reason to complain of the Tamil inundation. They are unequally yoked with the Tamils, say they, and they are not able to beat them. Now the Colleges are open to them, the High Court does not exclude them, and the Legislative Council is not shut against them. South Canara is further off from Madras than Vizag and Ganjam. Why should the taxation be increased to maintain a High Court, a College, a Government House, a summer residence, and a winter quarter and all that. certainly not to experiment on the lines of Mr. N. K. Ramaswamy Iyer?

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As for the Ceded Districts, Chittore, and Nellore what madness should possess them to wish to get themselves severed from the near Madras where they have trade connections, command credit system, easily educate their children, possess facilities to carry on their appeals and litigation and what not. How will the 107561 Telugu traders and south Telugu professionals in the town of Madras like a patriotic selfsacrifice, so that the Telugus in the Northern Circars may have their hobby; with a separate university for the Telugus Madras will not spend enough of money for Telugus living in and South of Madras to go to the Telugu Colleges of the Telugu University.

Beliary which has a Canarese population of 534 479 out of 969,228 and only 320, 693 Telugus will for the very sentiment of the language which is the accredited basis of this agitation oppose it. And Anantapur which has 91,804 Canarese who are as a class richer and more powerful would find it hard to make up its mind, even for the love of the tongue.

By all means let the Northern Circars, if the tax paying communities agree to the proposal of Mr Suryanarayana Row, have a separate province. The Tamils we have seen will not suffer very much if they lose offices and emoluments. The Telugus who go now to the south will not go there mutatis mutandis but both the Tamils and the Telugus who do not think of these offices and emoluments will have to bear the burden.

If the prophets and the apostles should have their dreams realised, it will be really grand to bring all the Telugus in the Mysore and Hyderabad Dominions as well as in the British Provinces under one Governor, all the Canarese speaking-people in Mysore, Bombay Presidency as well as in this Presidency one Governor, all the Malayalis under one ruler, and the Tamils under one Governor. Of course we do not take the Mahommadans into account though they do not share in our "Traditions and Instincts", of course philosophy does not allow consideration to practical difficulties.

I have consulted many leading gentlemen of the Ceded Districts and I have known so far none who would like to be tied to the Northern Circars to the exclusion of Madras and the adjoining Districts of South Arcot, North Arcot etc. At Chidambaram when people were asked what they thought of the Andhra movement for a separate Province, they opened their eyes and said what was that for. So the people in these parts are not likely to be influenced to join this cry.

I do not like to refer to the smaller sentiments which are potent factors in the life of our society, such as Bramhins non-Brahmins, Neogis vaidyakis, right hand castes left hand castes, or Hindus and Mahomedans. One only thinks we have more than enough to bring about harmony among these before contem-

plating on the divine vision of "Andhra for Andhras."

We are proud of our Telugu country and of our Telugu literature, and we will co-operate with our Circars brethren in all their endeavours to uplift and glorify them. But we must part company with them when they talk of a separate Province which if we shortsightedly accept their leadership, will be suicidal to the interests of the people.

These are but a few out of many practical difficulties and impediments that bristle in our way.

The Indians may now work shoulder to shoulder and strive by their character, education and industry to attain the rights of citizenship. We are sharply reminded of our impotence and helplessness by the recent message from South Africa, and it is but meet and proper that we should rest our thoughts on the problem involved, rather than devote the little energy and capacity we may possess for public work, on quixotic notions.

Therefore, we are thankful that the Honble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai has echoed our feeling in this respect.

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(2) PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL IDEALS.

Mr. K. Hanumanta Rao. M. A., B. L. writes from Masulipatam:— It has been urged with a brave show

of argument in it that all effort to build a provincial unity must necessarily cut short the subtle currents of feeling which go to sustain the further idea of Nationalism among a people. Strange as it ought to seem, an exactly similar argument was very recently used against Nationalism itself possibly by these same modern advocates of it, as taking away from the strength and influence of the ideal of Humanity. Whatever the inner truth and sincerity of these varying moods of reasoning, it is certain that all such notions of antagonism between Nationalism and provincial unity on the one hand, and Nationalism and the ideal of Humanity on the other, proceed in the first instance out of narrow, unreal, and merely mechanical views of life and Nature, as if Man's spirit were not a spring eternal in its flow, yielding the more, the more it is drawn upon, unrestricted in its measure of response, infinite in its power of unfoldment. But other and graver misconceptions are also there confusing the very principles involved in the upbuilding of a free and pure nationality. Thus, there seems to be an idea that a higher integration of life must necessarily empty of their vitality all simpler groupings of the national life and that these, in later stages of evolution, must slowly be absorbed into one wide, clear unity of communal existence. Such a conception of nationality, void of all picturesque variety and undistinguished by any differences in temper or char-

acter, is perhaps theoretically possible, but would certainly be out of tune with the great scheme of Nature, which through every moment of her being, shows not dull sameness but subtle wealth of individuality, an endless variety in self-expression. It is perhaps among the deeper secrets of Nature's life and art that an impression of true grandeur is everywhere sought to be realized not merely by an enlargement of proportions but through an infinite enrichment of detail. Thus, for instance, in all noble mountain and river scenery the sense of the sublime is the result not only of great sweeping lines which the eye follows with joy but also of a wonderful detail from and a delicate gradation of colour, lost to view in a first unity of impression. Similarly through the height and depth of national existence may be found an equally delicate and wonderful detail of manners and characteristics, all outwardly but at the right perspective of imaginative vision gathering readily and spontaneously into the well remembered national expression of countenance. And as the world's civilization advances and human culture grows deeper and richer in undertones of melody, that Nationalism would surely be accounted highest which is compounded of the finest contrasts and the most delicate harmonies of temper and character within the unity of one culture-type.

If then the highest nationalism is most strongly

characterised by subordinate groupings of national life into provinces and races, how shall these be distinguished among themselves and from out of the fundamental unity of a composite national existence? A closer analysis on these same lines would readily reveal the fact that such component races would be marked by the possession of certain specific points in physical and mental characteristics. In a manner all such distinguishing elements would be akin to those wider unities which sustain the plea of Nationalism for a people—a natural basis of contiguous country, a common language, a distinctive culture, and a peculiar strain of temper and manners which would follow, though not without a lively change, the broad lines of national character. All these or less than these with just that undefinable something which would suffice to stamp the impress of individuality and uphold the title to a specific name, like and yet unlike the national ideal, clear, personal, characteristic but only in a minor, subdued, and subordinate way, self-contained but with a strange sense of imperfection in it and full of a haunting suggestion of a wider life and a larger personality.

Such grouping of communal life seems inevitable in the evolution of a great and well-organised nationality. Not however that it forms a natural and necessary stage in the process of an unfolding civilisation for always the just original limit of such differentia-

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tion must come straight from the heart of nature herself. But where the primal necessity of such inner variegation is inherent in a land, the physical feature and outline of it, it must from epoch to epoch of racial history grow in intensity of human and cultural characteristics until various subordinate centres of self-consciousness come into existence around which National Life groups itself into clear and distinct unities. And as the world's life and culture progress on lines that already seem well-established and unchangeable, it must become more and more evident that the only possible solution of a well organised communal life among nations must lie in a happy reconciliation between the increasing insistence of the individual type and the mystery of power and passion hid in the Nationalistic ideal.

The reason for such a statement of nature's law as governing national evolution lies hidden in the spiritual meaning of the relationship between the individual Life and the Eternal Essence but without taking the argument down to its fountain-springs in Vedantic thought we might content ourselves with the idea, clear and incontestable that all nationalism is of significance only insofar as it helps the individual soul in the realisation of a Life larger and diviner than its own. So that, the true end of Nationalism is not to create a nation great in aims, renowned for power of mind, and strong in civil govern-

rnment, but to so sustain and unfold itself that every component individual thereof shall know himself as the emblem and representative of the Race. Something of the nation's past, the tendencies of spirit and the impulses of character must under Nature's established Law re-appear as unseen instincts and intuitions, but the full import of its spiritual evolution may be felt and expressed only through the self-experience of each individual soul. In the developing of this new range of consciousness this sense of identity with the great, the immense conclusion of National evolution many and various factors of individual and social life are of value and significance. Pride of birth, love of family, reverence for the great and good of one's own Desa—all these are powerful aids to individual self-realisation as the vehicle of the National Spirit. And in this widening circle of experiences the sense of oneness with a race must surely find a place as nearest allied to National self-consciousness, especially where such a race owns a clear and a distinct individuality of its own. Nor need we regard the result of these broadening emotions as preparation for the sense of Nationality only. For, they may and under right natural conditions surely will grow upward into an enthusiasm for all humanity. Otherwise, even as the purest love of one's own nearest and dearest without reference to the Universal Soul, which there has found a partial expression, is

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but vain expense of spirit, so the profoundest love of country and nation would remain fruitless and futile if it do not broaden into sympathy with the wider vicissitudes of life on earth. And though it is possible and has sometimes occurred in the history of rare human souls that the higher stages in evolution are reached without the earlier experiences of heart, still the law of spiritual growth is clear and would remain true to the end of time that all right emotion must widen from a sense of self outward to the infinities of Life and Personality which constitute God's self-revelation to the human spirit.

If any illustrations be needed of such a tendency in National life what better can be found than are evidenced by the long-resounding cry of Ireland for a separate existence from England, the already insistent demand of Scotland for a similar recognition of her integrity, and the quick birth of self-consciousness in mountainous Wales, all instances from out of the very home of purple Imperialism? And if the need of self-variegation be inherent in the constitution of even compact and close-knit nations of the modern day, why should it be wondered at that here in India, the home of divers races and civilisations, of long-unfolding thought and ancient growth of spirit the need for a surer and sounder organisation of national should express itself as a distinct sense [of provincial] autonomy and under the stress of this new feeling

should arise re-vivified the idea of Andhra unity. Nor would this new idea be found lacking even when judged by the strictest canons of racial idealism. A clear stretch of contiguous territory, a common language and literature which have found reverence of twenty million souls, common traditions of heroes, poets, warriors and Kings, and deep down a strong similarity of temper and character, these constitute the full and just title of the Andhras to be outlined into a single race and accorded all those accessories of communal and political institutions which illustrate and feed that unity.

But, be it remembered that in the recognition of this unity there is no fragmentation of the higher idea of Indian Nationalism. The spirit indeed may never be divided, for it concentrates in equal fulness into every fragment. But even on the ethical and intellectual planes there is here no fragmentation. For the Andhra entity holds within itself almost every characteristic of feature and element of contrast which give such striking picturesqueness, such spiritual richness to the Ideal of Indian Nationality. The three great cultures that have during these centuries found their way into the country are here also represented and in no insufficient measure. All that variety of human elements, the castes, guilds, persuasions and professions which have so long lent such a warm depth of colour to the fabric of Indian Society forms

as marked a feature of Andhra Life, calling out as insistently for a re-adjustment with the fundamental issues of modern existence. While, it is truly fortunate that amidst such profound variousness in contents the spiritual setting of the Andhra Movement is as noble and inspiring as that for the national ideal. Far back to the fountain-springs of Aryan life the Andhras may trace their course and at every turn in national fortunes be found pouring their contribution into the stream of national culture. Through the long and picturesque story of Andhra evolution the pure Aryan temper is ever in evidence sanctifying the whole range of national emotion and spiritualising the very mountains and rivers and all holy places into harmony with that noble tradition which makes of all Aryavarttha one great and golden unity. While for the deeper culture of spirit nothing has ever more truly expressed the oriental soul with its yearning for the infinite, its passion of self-forgetting devotion than those ecstatic harmonies of melody in which Andhra sages and bhaktas have poured out the pure devotion of their hearts. Thus is the conception of Andhra unity one with the National Ideal, one in its human bearings, one in the richness of its intellectual and ethical contents and one also in the ultimate harmony of the spiritual life. How then shall hesitation, doubt or discord lie on its daily broadening path !

Prof. K. B. RAMANADHAM, M. A., B. L., L. T.,

The lecturer who rose amidst cheers said that each people had its language and the genius of the people was enshrined in their language and literature. The acquisition of the language and the literature in such a language would be helpful in understanding the different people speaking different languages. Such an enrichment of individual experience would be a very necessary thing. The world is found to be full of interest, because of the different ways in which men developed, and the division of languages must also contribute to something of the manifoldness of the interest of the world. If that was admitted, they should get a knowledge of as many languages as they could. They must have at least the minimum kind of language equipment. They must know which language they could and must effectively study. Cultivation of language and literature was part of the wide nationality movement and it was characteristic of the latter part of the 19th century. The Welsh and Irish people cultivated their own languages with great assiduity. In India also the echoes of that movement were found after an appreciable interval. The movements in Bengal and Poona and the Andhra movement in Madras Presidency were such echoes. They were not inconsistent with the ultimate union of the Indian nation.

Leaving the question of Provincial autonomy aside for the present, I think that, as far as Local Self Government in rural tracts is concerned, we may assert with confidence that Madras may safely be granted this privilege. If our Rulers are serious about introducing it throughout the Presidency it may first be tried in the Tamil portion of the Province.

We have here one common language and ethnologically the people of the Tamil Districts belong to the same group. The districts are continuous and are marked off from the Malayalam, Canarese and Telugu speaking tracts by a well defined boundary.

We have a history and traditions of our own and the Tamils have all along been characterised as an intellectual and enterprising race. In spite of waves of conquest that have passed over the country,— the Telugus of Vijayanagar Empire, later on the Maharatnas and now the English.— the mental habit and outlook of the people and their culture is mainly Chola. Cholas were a powerful people who had at one time extended their conquests to Bengal and gave their name to the Coromandal Coast.

V. P. MADHAVA ROW AVGL.

Presidential address, Tanjore Dt. Confec. 1913-

XXXIII

The average educated Indian is still so little a political animal that he hardly cares to understand the movement and developments in provinces other than his own, unless they be on some such colossal a scale as those in connection with the partition of Bengal. For instance, in the United Provinces there were not even half a dozen publicists who had any definite knowledge of the great movement extending over twenty years, in the neighbouring province of Behar, for its constitution as a separate administrative unit, and one of our most capable and well-informed publicists declared from the platform of the Congress that Behar had come by a Lieutenant Governor in Council, as it were by a freak of fortune. Such being the case in even best-informed circles, it is not surprising that what is known at present of the Andhra movement in Southern India, has not attracted the attention it deserves outside the limits of the Madras Presidency. The Madras papers have been, of late, pretty full of it and of the various conferences and meetings held to carry on its propaganda, and their columns have been flooded with hundreds of letters from correspondents. Yet all this has practically passed unnoticed in Northern India and even the Bengalee press has had hardly anything to say about it. Our local contemporary, the Leader, has referred to it but sparingly and guardedly, and has failed to

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sympathize with the full programme of the movement. For ourselves, we unhesitatingly endorse the justice of its demands and, though the cloud may be no bigger at present than a man's hand, we are confident that the movement will grow and expand till its powerful voice shall be heard all over India and even across the seas, in Britain : for it is an essentially just and righteous movement which seeks the amelioration of the lot of a large community, linked together by the bonds of common historic traditions, a common language, and common customs and manners. The *raison-d'être* of the movement is as follows. The Madras Presidency is inhabited principally by four races, speaking as many distinct languages,—namely the Telugus, the Tamils, the Canarese and the Malayalis. Of these it is the first who having resurrected the old obsolete but historic name of Andhras, have organized the new movement. Its ultimate object is the constitution of the Telugus into a self-contained provincial administration like that of Behar, and in the meantime the recognition of their claims to public offices and educational aids to a much larger extent than has hitherto been the case in fact, on the basis of their being a distinct political unit as a people in the presidency. There can be no doubt that the movement has been largely moulded in its inception by the "Beharee" movement and that it is the result of the reflex influence of the success of the latter. This

is actually admitted by Mr. Suryanarayana, one of the most capable leaders of the movement in his recent presidential address at the eighth Vizagapatam District Conference in which he says: "We see how closely we resemble the Beharees." True the first Andhra Conference, recently held, avoided raising the question of a separate province and some leading Telugus are opposed to the idea at present, but we may safely venture upon the rising tide in favour of a self-contained provincial administration, for the Telugus will in due course, carry all before it. Both the less forward and more forward sections are agreed that those people have not had fair play in the past and though the former yet hope great things from the Madras Government the latter are likely to carry the day in the long run, as their conception of a provincial administration based upon common traditions and language is the only feasible solution of the problem of making India a self-Governing country and is the one that is clearly foreshadowed if not styled in so many words, in the memorable despatch of the Government of India, of August 1911. It is in this view of the matter that we gave our unqualified support to the Behar movement since the Hindustan Review came into existence and for the same reason extend now our support to those who desire an Andhara province. It is a pity that Mr. Suryanarayana's able and, to us, convincing arguments leave the Lea-

der "unconvinced," in favour of a Telugu province. The talented editor of our local contemporary is himself an Andhra-not, of course in its Hindustani sense of "blind," for he is much too wide-awake a journalist-which gave an opening to a junior Civilian of these provinces to refer to him in his evidence before the Public Service Commission as a foreign editor: His full support of the great movement inaugurated by his people would have been therefore, invaluable to them. His non-adhesion to their cause should however, enable them to realize the difficulties they have yet to contend against and the perseverance still required of them in converting even some prominent men in their own community. But they have well begun real work, they have already made themselves heard in their own Presidency, and if they will put forth a dogged persistence and agitate constitutionally for their just dues, they will carry with them the sympathy of all their Indian fellow-countrymen and their labours will, beyond the shade of a shadow of doubt, be crowned with the success, they well deserve.—

Hindustan Review.

XXXIV.

(1) B. PATTABHISITARAMAYYA,

The new spirit in the country which has, for over 7 years agitated men's minds and convulsed men's feelings, has found its true reflex amongst the An-

dhra who, by the wide and ready receptivity of their hearts and the emotional character of their temperament have responded more especially than others to the chastening influences of the new ideals by which it has transfigured national life and activity. How else should we understand this new movement in the Andhra land which has rapidly gained both in volume and strength, which has afforded a fresh stimulus to national endeavours and supplied a new key to the solution of national problems? Not a little was the energy spent in belittling and besmirching the movement by processes which continue to operate despite the most assiduous efforts to present it in its true bearings. Some would fondly call it sectional or sectarian; not a few would jeeringly describe it as a protectionist movement. Many piously hope it were only social or educational. 'What is the nature of the Andhra movement' asked one Andhra Honourable. 'Is it political, or is it social and educational?' 'It is neither social nor Educational, nor even political; it is a national movement or if you please, it is a sub-national movement' was the reply. And how much would the progress of this national or sub-national movement have been accelerated if instead of seeking to compartmentalize life people had only cared to grasp its comprehensive character and how much again would the march of national progress have been quickened if our Dravidian brothers had set on foot a sympathetic movement amongst the members of their

own community instead of watching its vicissitudes in a spirit of apathy, contempt or condescension.

For some time previous to the first manifestation of the movement, there had been a slow concentration of thought at various centres and in varying ways tending to culminate in the new and full formed idea. It was no sudden or profound event in history nor any stirring convulsion of social conditions that sowed the seed of this new birth. The unifying and uplifting thought of the motherland which a cruel wrong has kindled and resuscitated elsewhere has brought back to the popular mind memories of the neglected and forgotten integrity of the Andhras and when once popular feelings were awakened and popular imagination was roused, men gloried in their past traditions and sought to quicken their culture by permeating it with them. Men sought to stimulate their national life by reviving memories of their heroes, Martyrs and Saints, men drew their inspiration from their ancient painters, poets and musicians. Here was an Andhra National College, there was an Andhra Bhashabhi Varthani Sangham. Elsewhere was the celebration of the national festivals in special relation to the Vala-halla of Andhra Mahathmas. Krishnadeva Raya Reading Room, Tikkana Literary Society, Veerasalingam Young Men's Library—these were some of the institutions through which the new feeling sought expression. The one thought was of the Andhra language and Andhra Literature. Andhra journals and An-

dhra Societies; Everywhere it was Andhra. Was this then a sectional or sectarian or an antagonistic Movement, was it a social or a religious movement, was it a deliberating, conscious or calculating movement? It was a mass movement progressing under impulsive, automatic and unconscious cerebration, limiting its operation to no single sphere of endeavour but embracing within its compass every legitimate ambition and end which a rapid and spontaneous unfolding of self-consciousness would silently reveal to the foremost men of society. Activities may be many but life is one; means and methods may vary but the ideal is single. Social regeneration and Educational advancement may be essential handmaids to progress but they are not "Progress" itself. They are but parts of a whole: they are only accessories to an end. They are worthy factors of the Andhra movement but do not constitute the movement in its entirety. Some people have the knack of thinking and working in compartments or departments and little realize the need and the value of the "full" life, the many-sided life, the all-comprehending life. "Departmentalism may not be moral delinquency; but it is an intellectual hiatus." Individual working in departments may in a measure be allowed in individuals, but not in movements especially communal movements, race movements, sub-national or national movements. They cannot be designed to serve the passing needs of the hour, to gratify the fleeting fancies of a few.

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They have their being in eternality and are answerable to the universe for their conduct. They cannot be delimited in time or scope. They must serve their purpose in the economy of national destiny and help in the fulfilment of national ends, such an end is national self-government. The powers that hold sway over this country have acknowledged this new aspect of the problem. Not good government but self-government is the ideal granted alike by the rulers and the ruled: To think of social reconstruction in precedence of political, to yield place, to educational problems in supercession of administrative are methods of work suited to an earlier era and ill-suited to the changed conditions of a new age. The new ideal demands concurrent progress in all directions, uniform allegiance from all men. Self-government is not an event subject to limitations of time and scope. It cannot have definite beginning and well-defined end. It implies a march already in progress which will continue for ever. Self-government is no mean political ideal. If that were so, the social or economic problem would be far more important, because it would be both more fundamental and more far-reaching. The question of self-government goes much deeper and is synonymous with the question of National self-fulfilment. The unrestricted opportunity for self-development and for the service of country and humanity, which it would necessarily bring in its train, requiring to be evolved through processes of time and cir-

umstance, would transform all branches of National life and activity, would bring social and Economic reform on a plane such as occupied by similar problems in other countries, would afford a stimulus to Art, science and literature as nothing else could, and one would heighten the stature alike of the individual and the nation." Between the nation and the individual stands and must continue to stand the community the political equivalent of which is the province requiring its integrity to be recognize and its resources to be developed.

It is only then that the different provinces composing this vast Empire would by years of effort and training and by processes both long and weary, be fitted to hasten the realization of the ideal sketched in the Government of India Despatch of 24th August. 1911. Times without number, both in the press and from platform, in private discourses and at conferences, has been pointed out by a responsible and thoughtful public, that if India is destined to work her way to self-government, it must be by processes not medieval and antiquated but by those which are thoroughly consistent with modern life and modern conditions.

What are these processes and what are those units whose integration will lead to the fulfilment of the national destiny and the realization of the ideal of self-governments based on the principle of local aut-

onomy clearly set forth in the Hardinge Despatch?

II

That in the interests of national destiny the country should be re-mapped out and demarkated into units whose integration will serve to facilitate and hasten its fulfilment is the idea underlying the scheme of an Andhra province and stimulating the volume of public opinion that is working it out. Even in the interests of good administration which is a small matter altogether compared to the larger idea already set forth such a demarkation would become necessary for administration too must have its ideals leading to uplift of humanity and not contenting itself with making men mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. We have survived the medieval notions of Government which obviously regarded the collection of taxes and the maintenance of law and order as its highest achievements. We know on the contrary that these former are but elementary factors in the modern conception of the state and have learnt to regard government as a living, ever changing instrument of human progress made by man for man's advancement and not for mere maintenance of any political creed, yet none the less cautious in experiment and change. We have ourselves witnessed the stages and steps through which the country has passed. Codes of law, courts of justice, police and prisons, post and telegraph, roads and railways-all these had to be slowly

established. Then the great rivers were taken in hand "But" says Sir Thomas Holderness "as an Explorer may climb a hill only to find the prospect blocked by higher summits, so the Indian Government, as the results of its labours is faced by new demands and problems." Much water has flowed under the bridge since the partition agitation was set on foot. That was an agitation rooted in sentiment offended by irritating measures; Ours is one rooted likewise in sentiment but kindled into activity by a new vision and a new hope. That was a movement contenting itself with good government, this is one that is struggling for self-government. That sought and found its culmination in the Hardinge despatch; this found its birth in it. The Andhra movement constitutes but one of the several "new problems and demands by which the political explorer of Sir. T. Holderness finds the prospect blocked. What these new demands and these new problems are and to what extent they are legitimate are the questions we have to consider.

It might be mentioned that amongst the numerous items comprised by the Andhra movement is the question of a separate province which has given birth to a strong controversy. While some have frankly arrayed themselves against every demand embraced by the movement, some have taken exception only to the question of a province. The first thought that strikes the onlooker is the fact that the creation

of the Madras presidency was based on the operation of no natural laws, the influence of no historical events the observation of no Geographical limits, the recognition of no linguistic considerations, in fact on the exercise of no logical principles. It was a pure chronological growth. The process of acquiring territory extended from 1611 when a Trading settlement was established at Masulipatam to 1825 when Tranquebar was ceded by the Danes; 1639, 1683, and 1690 serve as landmarks on account of the construction of Forts in Madras, Tellichéri and Tevanapatnam (St. David) in those years. The area was little more than these 4 dots till 1749 when the first footing was gained in Tanjore. In 1767 the Padsha of Delhi and in 1768 the Nizam ceded the five circars of Ellore, Chicacole, Rajamundry, Mustafanagar and Murtuza nagar. A treaty in 1795 finally ceded Pulicut, Sadras and Nagapatam. Three years earlier Malabar, Salem and Dindigal division of Madura were acquired while in 1799 in the partition of Tippu's territories Canara and Coimbatore fell to the British share and the Raja of Tanjore resigned the administration of the kingdom into the hands of the British. The titular dignity became extinct in 1855 through failure of male heirs. In 1800 the Nizam ceded the districts of Bellary, Anantapur and Kadapa. The help given by the English to Mahamad Ali, navab of Karnatic, the war expenses he had to pay, and a treaty

to allow the British to manage certain specified areas brought in 1795 Tinneveli, Madura, Ramnad and Chingalput districts under the English, and a dispute in regard to succession ended in Azimudollah being declared by the British the successor, in return for an arrangement by which he resigned the Government of the Karnatic into the hands of the British. In 1833 an armed force occupied the Kingdom of the nabab of Kurnool and annexed it on account of mal-administration and intrigue.

These facts may serve to remind that Madras province was not found to exist as one unit of administration by the British at any time. Indeed in 1839 it was a common topic of conversation in the London East India Circles that the Madras Presidency was to be abolished and apportioned between Bengal and Bombay and that the seat of the supreme Government was to be transferred to the Bombay presidency and in consequence one Mr. Melville had his two sons who were writers in Bengal, transferred to Bombay. If such a thing happened would people have fondly clung to it because it was so? It may be interesting to mention here, that North Canara belonged to us till 1862 when it was transferred to Bombay. Sir Bamfylde Fuller wrote "It would have been well for the Country had its division into provinces for purposes of Government, followed the lines marked by race and language so as to reinforce the

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sympathy which arises from similarity by feelings of pride in the local Government. The existing administrative divisions are so heterogeneous as to have a directly contrary effect (to the growth of national sentiment)". Sir John Strachey has pointed out that "the political limits of the provinces have little connection with any physical characteristics" and Sir Thomas Holderness draws attention to the fact that "with the exception of Burma no province represents a natural unit: that is to say, they do not stand for differences of race or language or geographical distinctions. They are purely administrative divisions of territory. An Indian province is not what we mean by a nation though it tends to create a provincial spirit which is not far removed from the beginning of national life." Sir Thomas himself grants and we shall have presently occasion to show that the provincial spirit rightly understood and properly cultivated is not only not far-removed from but proves positively helpful in the growth of national life and the development of the nation idea. How then is this spirit to be fostered, how then is this idea to be cultivated. As Sir Bamfylde Fuller said "the nearest approach to national sentiment in India is that which springs from language. This is the keynote of the whole movement. Cultivate the culture it embodies; cultivate the sentiment it generates; cultivate the self-consciousness that it justifies. Then

you are true to your history, and to your traditions, then you love your country, then you know your needs and realize your aspirations. The Andhra language is to the patriotic Andhra not merely an alphabet, a stringing of letters, or a conglomeration of words, but it is the embodiment of the national thoughts, traditions, history and aspirations. In a word it is the vital point of a community's Life, seeking manifestation and requiring an organism through which to manifest itself. The organism must be such as while able to nourish itself is also capable of furnishing a stimulus to the growth of the national life that it represents and helping it to keep pace with the progress of life and character elsewhere. Such a possibility is attained only through a province delimited by language and to ask for it is true patriotism, while to get it, marks the first step in the up-building of the national Edifice.

III

A true sense of responsibility and a generous spirit of Tolerance are only promoted when local autonomy is granted to provinces which become fit for this great fulfilment only when they are handy, compact and homogeneous, when all the binding forces of society such as language and literature, custom and tradition, culture and sentiment operate in equal measure upon the different factors of the community, that is, in brief, to say, when the divisions are based upon the difference of language. It was

John Bright that originally foreshadowed the destiny of India in which "the different provinces shall ultimately form locally autonomous states, with separate Governments, separate armies and so on, based upon a policy of a sort of Home rule all round". And it was Macaulay that predicted the advent of the proud day when India would be fit for self-government. In our own generation Sir Henry Cotton depicted in 1904 the ideal inspired by Bright and Macaulay and in our own day Lord Hardinge as Governor-General in Council, discussing the question of development of devolution has definitely declared that the only possible solution would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a large measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all the provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern.' The day of realization of the ideal herein set forth may be distant but it is the duty of each province to qualify and prepare itself for the day. And what are the essential conditions that Lord Hardinge would lay down as necessary for a settlement (of boundaries) to be satisfactory and conclusive?" " It must (1) provide convenient administrative units, (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the (Bengalis) people and (3) be clearly based upon broad grounds of political and

administrative expediency" and how has Lord Hardinge carried these into effect? He details "scheme to satisfy all these conditions" and begins by speaking "to reunite the five Bengali speaking divisions and form them into a presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council". In para 19 he proceeds to say of the Beharees "We are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people now included within the province of Bengal a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalees and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years and a strong belief has grown up among Beharis that Behar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our own initiative a thoroughly sound and much deserved change." Judged from the standpoint of "broad grounds of political and administrative expediency" the third of the conditions laid down by the Viceroy in the settlement of provinces, few will deny the legitimacy and appropriateness of the demand of an Andhra province. Not to demand it would be unfair and unjust. The "grounds of political expediency" have been set forth at some length in the foregoing paragraphs. The chief amongst them

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is to satisfy the growing sentiment in favour of the change, amongst the people. If the sentiment is not universal, two things have to be remembered, first that it shows how tardy and apathetic and even suspicious people are re the in-receiving of a new idea and should only stimulate activity in the matter of popularizing it; secondly it must be remembered that in India "influence is not a question of numbers as Lord Curzon said, "It is a question of ability and character and organization." and we shall succeed according to the measure in which we can enlist these three assets in our cause. and thereby intensify the sentiment in favour of it. What is the force of this sentiment in life or politics? Is it a factor worth reckoning? Let Lord Hardinge answer: Para 12:—"No doubt sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis and in saying this, we by no means underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment, even if it be exaggerated." Nor is 'sentiment' a commodity that we can afford to ignore or neglect. It must be distinguished from its base and purposeless counterfeit-Sentimentality. It implies the "readiness to react against the despotism of fact." It is not so much "the vulgar satisfaction of sense" that it implies as a ready susceptibility to the stimulus of emotion and excitement. It alone helps to make an organization quick to feel impressions and feel them very strongly and "invests it with a lively personality keenly

sensitive to joy and sorrow."

Let us now consider the grounds of administrative expediency upon which, according to the Viceroy, the settlement of boundaries must be based. In order to comprehend the full administrative benefit that may accrue to the people of a tract by constituting that tract as an administrative unit, we must recall the results of the division of East Bengal into a separate province. "The new province advanced in education, in good government, in every kind of prosperity". These words of Lord Curzon's need not be viewed with suspicion for few, even the worst opponents of the Partition had questioned the benefits of the arrangements to the people in the new province. The despatch itself says (para 12) it relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal and gave the Mahamaden population of Eastern Bengal advantages, and opportunities of which they had perhaps hitherto not had their fair share. Speaking of the progress of Education in E. Bengal Lord Hardinge says, "I need only point out that when the new province was formed not a single College was in receipt of Govt. aid while the Govt. were spending less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs in aiding private institutions. In 1910 there were 4 aided Colleges and the Govt. spent over $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs in aiding private institutions. E. Bengal was very backward in Education before partition, since 1906 College students increased from 1698 to 2560 and expenditure

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from Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs to Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. Pupils in public institutions increased from 7 lacs to $9\frac{1}{2}$ lacs and the provincial contributions were doubled, as well as expenditure. (1) Of all the possible benefits that an Andhra province may bring in its train, the spread of education would be the most outstanding. A new era has begun in Education. On every side we are confronted with a struggle directed to reestablish the ascendancy of the Vernaculars as media of instruction. Those who ardently ask for their inclusion as subjects of compulsory study in the College course only shift the centre of gravity of the problem from the right spot. What promotes the cultivation of the vernacular languages, what enhances popular regard for them is not a cursory study of a couple of text books in the F. A. or B. A. classes, but the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the Indian Universities and as the court language in courts of justice. It is Sir Theodore Morrison, member of the India council that has recently opened a debate at the East and West society in London on the question of vernaculars being made the media of instruction and expressed himself as follows, "Indeed I claim to be as keen an advocate as ever of the communication of Western ideas and Western learning through the universities, only I think, now the mother tongue of the people would be the most useful channel for the purpose. Mr. K. S. Sambasiva Iyer, a

frank and genuine Tamil friend of Trichinopoly. while emphasizing this very idea draws pointed attention to the deplorable habit of people's rights being asserted and argued in a foreign language even in courts presided over by Indians. The day is not far off when the majority of civil and Revenue courts in the mofussil would be manned by Indians leaving the fullest scope for the adoption of vernaculars as the court language. These arguments would amply justify the demand of an Andhra University and afford full facilities for the rapid spread of mass education and the promotion of people's happiness. In this way the wide estrangement which has come between the classes and the masses in the present system of education and administration would become gradually annihilated and both become many times more popular than they are at present.

(ii) "Advance in good government" as the result of a separate province is so palpable a truth that no arguments are necessary to prove it. A small province with the head of its administration ready to meet people, receive deputations and study grievances first hand, with all its resources spent within a short radius and with the principles of civic representation and social progress keenly appreciated and carefully fostered is bound to bring to the people all the privileges of a well-ordered and beneficent administration in the path of self-government. A particular advantage that may be singled

out is that the frequent transfer of officers from one quarter to another of the province does not entail that hardship arising from a difference in vernacular which now besets the administration in our presidency.

(iii) Advance in every kind of prosperity always follows in the wake of advance in education and good government. An educated people know their needs and make their demands discriminately and with a single eye to popular happiness and good Government, while a good Government readily recognizes its functions and exercises them to the internal advantages, alike of the rulers and the ruled. Thus an educated subject population and a well intentioned and good government exercise unlimited influence over each other so as to cause an advance in every kind of prosperity. How and when are these influences best exercised? The metropolis in any province is the centre of culture and enlightenment, the source of all influence, the fountain-head of healthy ideas and beneficent schemes. The large aggregation of courts, Colleges and public offices leads to the concentration alike of wealth and intellect and there is no mark of prosperity which is not traceable to either of these ruling factors of society. A tract of country or community of men that cannot boast of such a city in their midst must be content to forego the numerous advantages that culture and opulence can bring to the door of the populace. One reason why in Bengal

there are two seats of Government—Calcutta and Dacca, and in Bombay there are three including the summer capital is that it is intended to equalise the mutual influences which the rulers and the ruled exercise over each other. In Madras the absence of such facilities justifies the complaint of the Andhras which may be described in the very words which the Viceroy has adopted in his despatch in relation to the Bengalis. Para 12:— As matters now stand the Bengalis can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time as the representative character of Legislative councils increases, and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is therefore, only too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down, the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute." To comment on this would be to mar its effect, but one observation may be permitted: If this could be said of the Bengalis who had a province and a capital in which they were not altogether negligible how much more appropriately would it be applicable to the Andhras whose present position would fully justify their craving for a separate province and a separate capital. To ask for two capitals is only second best and would involve an amount of expenditure with-

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out corresponding and commensurate advantages. The medical school at Vizagpatam is about to be crippled. The second grade Colleges at Ongole and Bellary fell a prey to the new University regulations which made exorbitant demands upon their limited resources. Bellary, Cuddapa Kurnool, Anantapur, Chittur and Nellore have not all of them a College amongst themselves. Young men have to go to far off Calicut and Coimbatour for commercial and agricultural studies. North of Madras there is not a single technical institution. And yet when the Andhra conference asked for these institutions the demand made some ask whether it was seriously meant to be urged. We are serious, we are solemn. Patna asked for a first grade college in every District. The spectacle of boys hunting about the country for a place in the college classes is most demoralizing. There is not an increase in Educational institutions proportionate to the growing numbers that seek entrance into the University Course. In the ceded Districts and Nellore there is a considerable fall in the number of secondary schools since 1906. The feeling of degradation and disgust is so intense that the idea of a voluntary cess of 3 pies in the rupee may not be unwelcome provided it is devoted exclusively to higher secondary Education. With a capital in the Andhra country it should never have been subjected to such a degree of disgrace. The long neglect which the scheme of a

harbour at Vizagapatam has been allowed to suffer furnishes ground for another just complaint. A part of this neglect may not incorrectly, be attributed, to the natural feeling between two rival cities, of jealousy which may develop to a measure to which as Lord Curzon says, "rival lovers and even rival politicians seldom attain." It is well-known that Glasgow and Edinburgh, Manchester and Liverpool, Milan and Turin, Petersburg and Moscow, and we may add Bombay and Karachee, Calcutta and Dacca, these cities exchange no great warmth of affection between themselves and it is impossible to believe that Madras would be too ready to forego her commerce in favour of Vizag.

IV

Let us for one moment imagine that the English have come into possession of India for the first time in the month of September of the year of our Lord 1913. Would British statesmanship content itself with the pell mell admixture of the Telugas, the Tamils and the Malayalies with a few Konkans into the Madras presidency, with a conglomerate of Telugu, Hindi, and Mahrathi speaking people into the central provinces, with Bombay having in a corner a Canara district and the rest divided between two rival communities-the Gujarathis and the Maharattas, and a small sprinkling of Parsis all over, with Sindh kicked about like a foot-ball between Bombay

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and the Panjab, with the Orias scattered between Madras and Orissa? Since Sir Thomas Holderness pronounced his verdict on the character of the existing provinces, the map of India has been recast by wise and far-seeing statesmanship and the ugly dismemberment of Bengal has been set right by a revision of Boundaries on principles the application of which we are seeking to extend to other tracts of the country. The problem of the readjustment of Indian provinces has not been now raised for the first time. So early as in 1902 Lord Curzon complainingly wrote 'Secretaries and Deputy secretaries have been calmly carving out and re-arranging provinces on paper, coloring and recoloring the map of India.' and in the same year the Government of India wrote to the secretary of State in the despatch dated 3rd December "The question of territorial and administrative redistribution in India, is, indeed, in our judgment one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present endeavouring to find a solution." And in the solution of these problems the views, opinions and sentiments of the people concerned are of overwhelming importance and come only next to the broad and basal principles upon which such a redistribution should depend. Various plans have been discussed in the past. At one time the formation of a chief commissionership of Behar including the Patna division, the Hindi speaking districts of Chota Nagpur, the Bena-

res division of the United Provinces, was under contemplation. Another scheme was to transfer Orissa to Central Provinces and convert it into a Lieut-Governorship.

In amending the partition of Bengal, the Government of Lord Hardinge considered various alternatives such as the making over of Chota Nagpur and of Orissa to the Central provinces and the creation of a chief commissionership instead of Lieut-Governorship for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. It was only 6 or 7 years ago that the three sections, Nagur and Seruvancha and Albaka were transferred from the Central provinces to the Godavari District in order to set the balance even in the redistribution of the Godavary, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore districts. We have already drawn attention to the transference of North Canara from Madras to Bombay in the sixties of the last century and to an earlier effort in the thirties to abolish the Madras presidency and distribute it between Bengal and Bombay. Only recently the Berars were snatched from the Nizam's dominions and superadded to the Central provinces.

All these incidents show that the last word has not been said on the problem of the redistribution of the existing twelve provinces of India, and to ask for a separate Andhra province at this stage and under the conditions detailed in the foregoing paragraphs,

would be the most natural, the most legitimate and the most justifiable demand. Our attitude towards our opponents would be exactly and entirely analogous to that of Sir Edward Grey to Mr. Asquith in the matter of votes for women. When Mr. Asquith complained in the Commons that no adequate case had been made out for votes for women, Sir Edward Grey retorted by saying that to ask for votes for women was the most natural and legitimate demand and that the burden of setting forth the opposition lay on those who opposed the idea. Likewise we hold that if there is a body of intelligent, reasonable and foresighted individuals who are bold enough to oppose a demand so natural, so legitimate and so just, then we say with Sir Edward Grey that it is for the opponents to point out the dangers, and defects that may underlie such an innovation. Said Sir Edward, "the prime minister based a great deal of his argument upon the fact that there was not a strong enough case for giving women the vote. It seems to me that what you have to do is to make out an exceedingly strong case for not giving women the vote." For our part we content ourselves with emphasizing the propriety of our demand, describing the numerous advantages that may flow from it and quoting the authority of eminent men and journals in favour of our position. The view of Sir Thomas Holderness, the present permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir John Strachey,

an eminent Anglo Indian, and Sir Bamfylde Fuller a scholar of great repute, have been quoted here and elsewhere and the opinion of Action Front also has been quoted in the volume of literature that has sprung up on the subject. In our own presidency and in contemporary life Devan Sankarayya, Prof. K. Sundararamen and K. B. Ramanatham, have blessed the movement from the bottom of their hearts. Justices Sadasivayer and Sankar nair see nothing preposterous or objectionable in the idea. The latest accession of strength has been derived from an unexpected and unsuspected source. Mr. V. P. Madhavarao in his presidential address at the Tanjore District conference (held at Shiyali, August 1913) has elaborated a position for the Tamilians which is exceedingly interesting and suggestive. (vide extract on p. 183)

Mr. V. P. Madhavarao adds:

"How are these first essentials (bases of physical comfort and decency) in the construction of a national life with a character, a dignity and an outlook of its own, according with national sentiment and being distinctly national, and a system of education with a national basis and founded on the history and literature of the country, of the sound building up of a new rural civilization on which the success of the whole movement depends, to be secured without grouping the people according to their language and adopting with regard to each group methods suited to

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their history and tradition."

These words indicate a position the obverse of which is represented by the Andhra movement. And we must consider ourselves singularly fortunate that the regret expressed in the opening paragraphs of this series of articles, regarding the apathy of Tamil friends has been in some measure obviated by the unequivocal utterance of a responsible and representative statesman who had presided over the destinies of the two premier native states of our province.

Mr. M. Suryanarayana emphatically supports the scheme of an Andhra province in his presidential address at the Vizag Dt. Conference (Chodavaram 1913) and Mr. P. Nagabhushanam at the Kistna Dt. Conference in March 1913.

Then amongst the journals of the day, the Modern review, the Indian World and the Hindustan Review, the Indian Social Reformer, the Madras Standard, and the Indian Patriot have recorded their approval of the scheme of an Andhra Province in terms at once emphatic and unmistakable. The question of a province is not the be-all and-end-all of the Andhra movement, but only an incident in the march of Andhra progress, an event in the realization of Andhra unity, a unit in the accomplishment of the Andhra solidarity. The question which has caused the greatest perturbation in the minds of some is of no greater significance than that is is regarded as a fac-

tor of the utmost value "in getting to a head the whole sphere of a people's activities and that under right conditions the unity of common political institutions may be and is the strongest expression of the sense of National unity." The question of a province is but one out of a group of items that comprise the Andhra movement. Though it is not put forward by the Andhra conference as a specific demand or proposition, still the very recognition, granted on all hands, of the necessity for the Andhras to gather together and deliberate on their common needs carries with it the concurrent recognition of the necessity of a province. Those needs relate to the economic and social, the moral and material progress of the community and can be satisfactorily met only by a Government that can comprehend a wider range of functions and discharge them with a sole eye to the happiness of the people whom it governs. It is at any rate within the experience of people elsewhere in our country that new Universities have been sanctioned as at Dacca and Patna or are about to be established as at Nagpur and Rangoon only after the constitution of new provinces and though we may not on that account have to postpone our demand for an Andhra University till after we get an Andhra province, still the fact remains that each leads to the other, whichever be the earlier. The two aspects are so closely connected with each other that any body ostensibly organized

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for one purpose gradually transforms itself into one wedded to more comprehensive aims and objects. The Muslim leaders who scrupulously avoided politics and agitated for educational reform have ended in asking for a form of self-Government suited to India.

V

One evening a somewhat astounding dictum was laid down in political science that the creation of a new province would only devise fresh walls of separation and forbid unification amongst the Indian peoples. This has raised the question of provincial and national ideals, of the character of Indian nationalism, and the helps and hindrances to it and above all of the type of self-Government in India and of the principle of Federation on which it must be based. These and other aspects have been discussed at length, the Home Rule spirit of Ireland, Wales and Scotland has been instanced, and the authorities of eminent statesmen like Lord Acton, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Asquith have been quoted to show that "growth and development are possible only with the maintenance of the harmony of different nations within a single Federation, so as to enrich the central stream of national life through the confluence of its several tributaries, each carrying its own waters kept clean and pure and undefiled." It is time indeed that we survived the silly and mechanical notions that the capacity of the human heart is

fixed and the objects on which it can lavish its affection are limited. "All right emotion must widen from a sense of Self outward to the Infinities of life and personality" and the man who loves his country need not for that reason despise his family. "Man's spirit is a spring eternal in its flow yielding the more it is drawn upon, unrestricted in its measure of response and infinite in its power of unfoldment." The love of one's own province is not therefore inconsistent with the love of one's country. Says Balfour, "We Scotsmen have seen how absolutely to reconcile the principle of nationality, the feeling of nationality, the consciousness of a separate history in many respects during many formative and important centuries, and yet to be able to do this without feeling that there is in it any antagonism whatever to that patriotism not more ardent indeed but larger in its scope which includes not Great Britain only, but the whole Empire of which we are citizens. Do not let us discourage the feeling of Local patriotism of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand. Let us only ask them to follow the example of Scotland and to cultivate that feeling of Nationality for themselves, the Canadians for Canada, the Australian for the Australians, but all for the British empire. It is because this conception so new in the history of the world, was not understood and let us, in fairness say, could not be understood by our forefathers 150 years ago that the great and unhappy division between us and our

American colonies took place. It perhaps required that great lesson and the British empire is seeing how to work these two apparently antagonistic principles so that even those who profess them both never even see that there can possibly be any inconsistency between them." It is false and futile to say that a higher integration should destroy the integrity of smaller groupings and in the recognition of the latter there is "no fragmentation of the higher idea of Indian Nationalism. The spirit indeed may never be divided, for (amaeba like) it concentrates in equal measure in every fragment."

Says Mr. Asquith "the great virtues which we call patriotism and which cement the unity of a people comes from many sources as it assumes many different shapes. No one ventures in these days to think still less to speak disrespectfully of the smaller nations which are the members of our imperial partnership. Praise of the Scotch is and has been long in men's minds, and under impulse of a strong sense of nationality, our Irish and our Welsh fellow-subjects do not fail to remind us of the glories of their past and of the debt that we owe to their distinctive qualities. In England we, Yorkshire men, are found to think that we belong to the premier country and speaking to-day, as a son of Morley, though one who left it early, I should be sorry to see it lose its individuality."

The excuse for quoting the following lengthy

speech of Lloyd George's which he addressed to a Welsh organization some twenty years ago is that it applies with equal force to this day, not only to Wales but *mutatis mutandis* to the Andhra country.

"The formation of such a society as this is an earnest of your desire and intention to labour for Wales. The exuberance and sanguine temperament of youth is inclined to chafe against any limits placed upon the range of its usefulness. Youth is just the season when one is apt to imagine that it would be an easy task to turn the world upside down and afterwards have energy and power enough to spare for the accomplishment of a few necessary reforms in the other planets. but as we grow older-at any rate this is my experience - you find that to effect anything at all you must confine your energies to the bringing about of much less drastic changes in a comparatively small area of the world's superficies. The men who have attained the most lasting and worldwide reputation as benefactors of the human race have all laboured in spheres more limited than even Wales-the intellectual giants of Greece and Judaea the greatest of them [all. So to my mind it is a compliment to your sound sense and appreciation of the great difficulties obstructing the path of every great onward movement that you should not despise the task of improving the political and social conditions of your native country because it is small. And Wales is not so small after all, I have travelled Wales to

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preach the gospel of national unity, and national hope and addressed hundreds of audiences but I have not met a 1/100 th of my countrymen. Wales is too large for my compass, at any rate. But there are some men who disdain its insignificance. It is too microscopical to engage their concern. Their eye sweeps over empires and continents and Wales is but a speck in their mental landscape. Their lofty soul declines to be cribbed within the confines of its narrow valleys.

Their ideas soar high above its mountains and sail far beyond its seas. Such colossal intellects would be lost upon so modest a programme as that of your society, heaven preserve you from such superior persons!

In determining to associate yourselves for the purpose of assisting in schemes for the amelioration and elevation of Wales, you have proceeded wisely in calling the spirit of nationality to your aid. In endeavouring to operate on a community for good or evil you must discover first the elements which exercise the greatest influence upon its life and character. You are true to the highest scientific instincts in recognising that there is nothing deeper or more permanent than race. Now there are men in high positions who deny the fact of our national existence. But you will find that those who most angrily repudiate the idea of racial difference in Britain are also the very men who scorn the assumption that the Welsh and

Irish people are equal in any respect to the race they belong to. If Englishmen are so superior a race to Wales or Ireland it must follow that the latter are a different race and thus stand in need of different treatment. So some politicians handle facts to fit into the superstructure of their political action.

Our separate nationality ought to be the starting point in the study of every Welsh question. It is true that the human nature is the same all the world over. One man possesses every quality which his neighbour enjoys, but you will find that Nature has endowed one man with certain qualities to such an extent as to give tone and bent to his whole temperament. It is that predominance that constitutes character and any one possessing the least tact must take this balance of qualities into account if he wishes successfully to deal with that individual. It is equally true of nations. We do not claim to monopolize any national gifts nor do the English. Nevertheless in its distribution of mental and moral gifts nature has been more prodigal of certain faculties in endowing our nation, and of different qualities in its equipment of the other, and the politician must be tactless indeed who overlooks the fact in appealing to a nation. By the formation of this organization, you show that you fully appreciate the importance of recognizing it as a basis of political action.

But you have to contend with another objection

that is, that while the existence of Welsh nationality may be admitted, it is said, the sooner it disappears the better it will be for the country. But is that so? I have a superstitious confidence in the prescience of Providence in these matters. Welsh nationality has survived 2000 years, in spite of every human effort to crush out its vitality. The strongest Government forces in the world have successfully attempted to crush it, to coax it and even prey it out of existence. After centuries of effort this way, we are still forming Welsh nationalist societies, establishing Welsh Universities and claiming the same measure of Welsh national self-Government as our forefathers fought and died for, hundreds of years ago. The strength of our nationality shows no sign of any decay or any symptom of senility and I will continue to believe that its vigour has been fostered for the purpose of serving some beneficent purpose in the elevation of the race which it inspires by its influence. In forming this organization you are indicating your shrewdness as men of the world by recognizing the most patent and potent agency in Welsh life. Above all on higher grounds, you are doing well to tread the path to which the finger of providence unmistakably points.

Now, admitting our separate Nationality, it may be asked, what has that to do with politics? My first answer is this, Racial... characteristics affect, even

if they do not determine the social condition of a people. Racial characteristics have a large share in the moulding of the political opinion of a people. The Welsh fringe is deeply Liberal, the English is stolidly conservative. And just look at their respective attitudes towards suggested Reform. Politics are very much a matter of temperament. You can bring enough logic to satisfy any ordinary mind of the reasonableness of any side of political argument. It is the temperament of men that determines the issue for them. That is why racial characteristics possess such an influence upon the predominant political opinion of the Nationality and they have a still greater indirect influence. They fashion the habits, the pastimes and the moral discipline of a people. Whatever the map of the Metropolis may think of himself, the peasant with his vivid imagination sees, more of heaven and earth from his hillsides than the shrewdest man of the world from his fog-enveloped clubwindows. What is more, he possesses a more favourable environment and temper for reflection upon what he observes.

My third answer is this:- that patriotism is the powerful incentive to unselfish action and that in an age when every motive power is pressed into the service of humanity, we ought not to neglect such a beneficent agent for good. We have already seen what it can do for the cause of education. It has built and endowed colleges, the pride of the land. It has... If

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believe so much in these branches of national education, why not in others? You have but to harness the political slow coach and it will soon run full. Military men are, I suppose, the most consistent, as far as their views are concerned and there is no class that so thoroughly recognizes the importance of local patriotism as an incentive to noble deeds. Sir Colling Campbell when he wished his Scotsmen to storm a dangerous position, never appealed to those Imperial instincts which are supposed by Unionist politicians to be the only safe and sure incentive to right political execution. He simply said, 'Highlanders, remember your hills', and they faced death with shouts of triumph, all for the honour of those beloved hills."

If therefore, we seek to reestablish the integrity of the Andhra country it is because, we claim to have a true conception of patriotism and of Nationalism whose best manifestation lies in service of the country and of the nation. and while a beginning cannot be made too soon in this direction, we would urge upon the attention of all patriotic men in the country that the present is the most opportune time for taking on hand the solution of questions in relation to which our duty lies in taking the initiative and sustaining the work, leaving the fruition to the Future and to Destiny.

VI

In this the closing section other objections and other difficulties will be met. These are of diverse types. (1) One leading member of the group has viewed the movement as anti-Tamilian, as anti-Ceded Districts, as anti non-brahman, as anti-hindu. This kind of antithetic analysis and negative interpretation is not calculated to unfold the inner meaning of a constructive endeavour. People that see in it only a 'separation' and array themselves 'against' it are respectfully requested to treat it as a positive, affirming and synthetic movement. Again to say that (2) the whole cry is for posts and (3) to urge that one group of districts may have the capital in their midst to the detriment of the interests of the rest of the Telugus are palpably silly and vulgar imputations and argue a studied desire to burk the real issues of the problem. As a matter of fact an analysis of facts and figures has revealed the remarkable circumstance that for no appreciable fault of theirs the Telugus are consigned to a subordinate place in the ranks of officialdom. Whatever that be no one claims a privilege to which the community is not entitled by culture and by character. (4) Some have denied that the Telugus have any traditions and history markedly different from those of the Tamilians. To them we make a present of the pregnant observation on the question by Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao in August last at the Tanjore District conference held

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at Sheyali. (5) Others assert that "the Telugus of the Circars differ from those of the Ceded Districts as much as they differ from the Telugus in the Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam Districts; and that the Telugus in the six southern Districts of the northern group have more in common with the Telugus and Tamils, the people of Madras, Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Coimbatore." This is a most astounding statement and may well be read side by side with Dewan Madhavarao's observations. It is unnecessary to deal with this argument at any great length for the same writer (Mr. G. Lakshmanreddi, B. A. of Gooty) has fortunately pointed out elsewhere that "we are proud of our Telugu country and our Telugu Literature and we will co-operate with our Circars brethren in all their endeavours to uplift and glorify them. But we must part company with them, when they talk of a separate province." By all means let independent views be entertained on the question of a province; but let not our judgment in regard to history and traditions be vitiated by prejudices relating to other subjects.

The pride which all Telugus, it is admitted, feel for their country and their literature is the only thing that is sought of our brethren. That being granted, it readily follows that all of them have equal attachment to their motherland, cherish with equal regard the memory of the long and illustrious roll of its kings, warriors, poets, statesmen.

philosophers, saints, martyrs and heroes, derive equal inspiration from its temples, palaces, battlefields and places of pilgrimage, and pay equal homage to Krisnadevaraya, Yugandhara, Prataparudra, Venkata-dri Nayana, Potana, Nannaya, Tikkana, Vidyaranya, Ramadasa, Tyagaraya, Apastambha, Rukminidevi, Rukmini, Sasibindu, Chakravarti, Damayanti, Molla, Vemana, Raja Narandra, Salivahan, Alivishu, Timmarasa, Anegondi, Kondavidu, Dhanakataka, Bobbili. When people say that "the affinity between the people of the Ceded and of other districts lies in language" they grant all that has been described in the foregoing lines, they grant all that is made the common basis of our organization and thereafter the question of province may be considered on its own merits according to individual lights. (6) Others there be who grant all the charms of a common language and all the influence of a literature but deplore that it is not possible to have a province because all the Telugus cannot be grouped into that province. We deplore the fact ourselves but the principle to be recognized is that practical efforts should not be overawed by theoretical imperfections. It is possible to get a slice from Central provinces (indeed 3 sections have already been added to the Godavary district) but we cannot make the Nizam digorge a portion of his country as Curzon had made him the Berars, nor can we disturb the Mysore provinces. In the words of an eminent Bengali Mahomaden, "In

all parts of the world, in Europe, America, Australasia and Africa there is a strong tendency to unite peoples belonging to a common race or having a common history, but in India and in India alone, the Government keeps disunited people who possessed a common history and a common ancestry and keeps peoples joined together whose descent and history are absolutely dissimilar." The Government has obviated this reproach since these words were written in 1904 and there is little doubt that the errors of division hitherto in vogue will be repaired as sentiment grows amongst the people against the error. It may be mentioned incidentally that the Benares division (a Hindi speaking area) was at one time tried to be added to Behar and that Behar and United Provinces are two separate provinces though both are Hindi speaking. (7) The difficulty of bilingual population in border areas cannot be helped. Laws and administration cannot suit every single individual's convenience or comfort. They are designed to subserve the happiness of the largest majority possible. The inconvenience must be put up with and yield place to larger principles. A portion of Ganjam will probably be sliced off from Andhra and have to be added to the Uria country. It is thus that vested interests come into operation and warp judgement on the question of the province. But Patriotism and statesmanship must rise above self-interest (8) Some are so much taken aback by the de-

mand of an Andhra province that they ask us and Kannada, and Malayalam too have separate deed of vices?" If a volume of sentiment and public opinion grow in these tracts which will not be content with any thing short of the recognition of their integrity, then their wishes must be gratified. If, however, they are apathetic or they be considered too small in area and population, they will have to share the fate of border districts in the Tamil or Telugu or Behar provinces. In any case it serves no purpose to embarrass us by raising such issues for they are best dealt with by the Government who alone are competent to settle and unsettle the boundaries. We are agitated because our agitation is just. Would it have been right to meet the demands of the Beharis for a separate province between 16-10-1905 and 12-12-1911 by the question "shall the Andhras also have a separate province?" Of course they shall have, if they demand it. At present Coorg forms a chief commissionership subject to the Resident of Mysore and why not Malabar or South Canara And Coorg has an area of 1600 sq. miles and a population of 2 lacs. 9. Some doubting believers ask the question whether Government will accede to our request. We have certainly an excellent prospect of being placated much earlier than the Indian national congress may hope to have 1. the repeal of the Arms Act, 2. the holding of simultaneous, exns: 3. the abolition of the Secretary of state's council, 4. the complete separation of the judi-

cial and the executive, 5. the curtailment of military expenditure, 6. the obliteration of the race factor in the Government of the Empire. Our duty is to ask. It is for the Government to give. If we cannot exactly succeed, we shall at any rate have bestirred the dormant element of self-consciousness in ourselves and disciplined our life and character in a manner in which no other stimulus could operate. The agitation for a separate Behar province evoked in 1896 the reply from Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the lieutenant Governor of the Lower provinces of Bengal, that the agitation was "a mere balloon without any substance whatever in it", that it was like a purely "newspaper agitation at home in what is called the silly season, when Parliament is not sitting and newspapers start some such discussion "Is marriage a failure?" or describe the proportions of some portentous goosebery. The Lieutenant Governor ended by saying "It is the last thing likely to happen within our time. Neither the Government of India nor the secretary of state is likely to propose the creation of another Local Government in Upper India." Let facts belie prophecies. 10. A few wise men have asked us to fix the summer and winter capitals. We shall not be so presumptuous or so silly as to discuss the question at length. Suffice it to say that in the thousand and one difficulties discussed in connection with the redistribution of Bengal, the question of capitals was never considered to be a bar to the creation of new

provinces. Truth to speak, every question has its place and time and we need not stake the solution of the larger problem on trivial issues. 11. There remains the difficulty of expenditure. The creation of a new capital involves according to the despatch an initial nonrecurring outlay of 50 to 60 lacs and the new province will feel itself entitled to half the estimated value of the metropolitan assets and attributes of the Madras presidency. Is not the Government of India driving a bargain with Bengal in the disposal of the buildings of Calcutta? The remaining amount is a paltry sum and can be raised as a 3½ o/o loan or otherwise secured.

The creation of a new Metropolis involves a reduction of the administrative machinery in the Metropolis which at present consumes annually 69½ lacs. Out of this (1) Revenue survey, Revenue Settlement, Land Records, stamps and registration cost Rs. 1,94,999. (2) Law and justice including the High court, Law officers, administrator-general, City civil court Presidency magistrate's courts, cost Rs. 13,92,400. (3) Police training school and Railway police cost Rs. 46,411. (4) Education including Director and University cost Rs. 2,12,600 Government colleges (Law, Teaching, Engineering and Medical) cost Rs. 4,72,300. (5) (a) Medical superintendence, General Hospital, Maternity) Ophthalmic and Voluntary venereal hospitals cost

Rs. 6,27,280. (b) Malaria, sanitary, vaccination and preventive medicine cost Rs. 2,74,000. (c) scientific and other minor departments cost Rs. 17,54,000. (6) stationery and printing costs Rs. 71,300 and (7) P. W. D. Direction costs Rs. 2,68,697. (8) The Legislative council costs Rs. 17,700. (9) Board of Revenue costs Rs. 5,52,100. (10). Financial commissioner and establishment Rs. 1,85,700. (11). Civil offices of account and audit Rs. 1,12,700. (12). Under general administration in addition to (8), (9), (10) and (11) we get His Excellency costing Rs. 1,20,000; staff and house hold 65,400; Expenditure for contract allowance including band, private secretary and surgeon, 94,000; Tour expenses 5,300 and Executive council 2,13,000 making a total under this head alone of 5,47,700. Now out of the total annual recurring expenditure of nearly 70 lacs, Andhra country is contributing a half. A smaller presidency does not require courts and offices and equipment exactly on the scale that is necessary for the present presidency. It is possible to cut down the establishment to about 50 lacs a year including the Governor's expenses. Out of this we have already been finding 35 lacs. An annual recurring extra expenditure of 15 lacs is not too high a price for all the advantages destined to flow from a separate province. What Sir Harvey Adamson said in regard to Judicial and the executive we are disposed to repeat to our 'economic' friends, viz

"The experiment may be costly, but the object is a worthy one." Lord Curzon wrote on 2-2-05, "The formation of a new province will necessarily involve a substantial increase of expenditure, but need not involve additional taxation on the people. Part of the surplus revenue under the control of the Government of India will be applied for the purpose. So far from Bengal paying for its reforms, it will get it largely from the rest of the Empire". (12) Some fear the advent of a Lieutenant Governor. Our reply is that Bombay with no larger population has a Governor. There is no doubt that sometimes we would prefer a Lieutenant Governor. Every thing depends on the personality of the individual. If Lord Morley's prophecy proves true and India's rule continues to be personal and absolute 'so far as his imagination could peer' then we are only concerned with the personality of our ruler. If however democratic spirit and representative institutions come into being, then it is of little consequence, whether we get a Governor or Lieutenant Governor. In any case we must admit that Sir Antony m^{rs}, Donell, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir John Hewett and Sir James Meston have given as good an account of themselves as Sir Arthur Lawley, Sir George Clarke or Lord Sandhurst. and executive and legislative councils are slowly coming to be associated with Lieut governors and commissioners as well. The despatch says that financially a Lieutenant Governor's pay and allowances

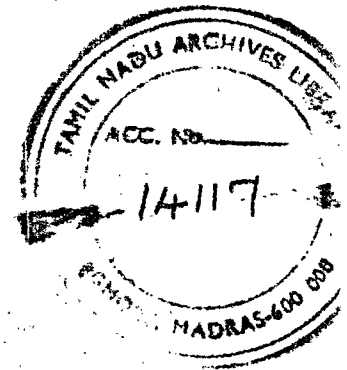
come to a little more than a Governor's. 13. Lastly like the man in the proverb, after hearing all this story there are some who ask 'who are Andhras'? To those who put such a question whether sincerely, foolishly or scoffingly, the only reply is that whoso calls himself an Andhra is that. Anybody may claim the privileges of Andhra citizenship provided he accepts the law and the constitution:

These form the bulk of the objections advanced to the scheme of an Andhra province. He who opposes it pervertedly will be h^{is}t on his own petard. So were the Bengalis. They would not for a long time accede to the proposal of separating Behar. They pinned their faith to the scheme of a Governor-in-council and it was not until they were themselves sought to be divided that they recognized the wisdom underlying the suggestions of Mahesh Narayan and Sacchidananda Sinha. Mr. Ghokale in his presidential address in 1905 distinctly suggested the formation into a province of Behar as an ideally perfect plan of partition and pleaded for the separation of Behar, Chota Nagapur and Orissa from Bengal." The congress, recognized the principles upon which the Hindi-speaking populace of Behar sought to integrate themselves. Though not in so many words, it is evident that there has been an unconscious and impulsive struggle seeking to base divisions upon natural delimitations. There is little doubt that as years roll by the Congress will

recognize the inner meaning of this new struggle and accord its sanction to the ideal by which it is sustained. Every day brings new votaries of the Andhra movement and the most encouraging circumstance is the support that is more readily and more ungrudgingly given by eminent men in the South while those of the North are nervous, vacillating and pusillanimous.

The Andhra province will have a population of over 17 millions, a figure which approaches the population of Bombay which has been a province ever since the Regulations. In extent it will be about 70,000 sq miles and will nearly equal the Bengal province, or the Behar province. The United States with an area more than twice that of India, but with a population of about one fourth of that of our country, comprise 45 States of which the smallest in area is Columbia covering 70 sq. miles, and the smallest in population is Nevada with 45,000 people. There are not more than 7 states whose area exceeds 100,000 sq. miles each. They form integral states each with its laws and administration, but all forming the great American nation. Other examples may be quoted such as Switzerland with 1/9 th of the area of the Madras presidency and yet divided into 22 Cantons, each with an independent administration, and of Tasmania and Nova scotia. The future Andhra province will be more than twice the size of Scotland, Ireland, Bulgaria

or Greece, more than five times the size of Belgium, Holland or Denmark, more than four times the size of Switzerland or Servia, a little larger than Turkey and a little smaller than Italy. It will develop the economic and moral resources of the people. It will promote education, good government and every mark of prosperity amongst the Andhras. It will facilitate and hasten the realization of the ideal of self government. It will enrich, strengthen and invigorate the future Indian nationality.



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