

**Speaking Critically: Portuguese Goa and the
Editorials of Bharatkar,
1912-1949**

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I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Speaking Critically: Portuguese Goa and the Editorials of Bharatkar, 1912-1949" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the History Discipline at the D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the Supervision of Dr. Parag Parobo and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University will be not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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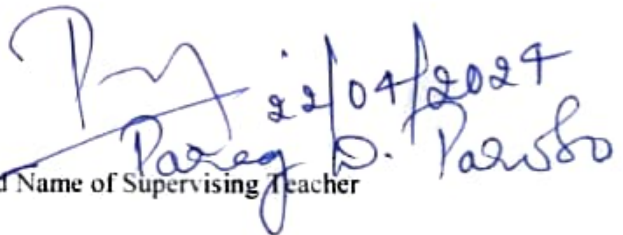
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COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report "Speaking Critically: Portuguese Goa and the Editorials of Bharatkar, 1912- 1949" is a bonafide work carried out by Ms. Rati Ramesh Parab under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master's of Arts in the History discipline at the D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.


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PREFACE

Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai was an important journalist and a social reformer in the early half of the twentieth century. His editorials in *O' Bharat* are important for understanding the colonial rule and Goan society. The editorials were written for almost four decades during 1912–1949 and they reflect the nature of colonial government.

Bharatkar was not just an editor of *O' Bharat*, he also participated in the various social movements of that time and inspired young minds to stand up and fight for the nation.

It was looking at his immense contribution to the field of journalism in Goa and given his popularity I developed an interest to do my dissertation on his editorials. I was determined to understand his writings closely and further analyse them. More importantly, Bharatkar's editorials are simple and had wider reach. This dissertation will thus analyse editorials of Bharatkar and the critical voices it raised on colonial state, politics, society and economy.

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Glossary

Bhavini: women who worked in the temple.

Chambhar: a caste whose traditional occupation was leather work.

Devadasi: female servant of God.

Devuli: servant to clean temple.

Feni: Alcoholic liquor made from coconut sap or cashew juice.

Kalavants: the community of singing and dancing girls who performed in the temples and for patrons

Mahajan: male custodian of a temple.

Mahars: caste of untouchables.

Puja: act of worship.

Samaj: community

Shens: a type of ritual, where girl got married to an object mainly knife, or a girl dressed up like a groom, after this ceremony the girl was bonded to a temple and God.

Satyanarayan: ritual of God Vishnu.

Swaraj: Self-rule.

Swadesh: products produce within the country.

Topi: a hat or cap

Abstract

The Marathi periodical press emerged as an important public space since the late nineteenth centuries. Many Marathi periodicals were established since the 1880s through the individual efforts. While most of the Marathi periodicals were short lived, *O Bharat*, a bilingual and at times trilingual weekly in Marathi, Portuguese and Konkani was in circulation for almost 36 years. The work examines Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai's popularly known as Bharatkar and his editorials from 1912-1949. During this time, Bharatkar wrote on various issues on colonial Goa. Although the editorials of Bharatkar are important for understanding Goa in the early half of the twentieth century, there are no much on his writings. In this research I have analysed Bharatkar and his editorials with a focus on social issues, economic conditions and nationalist thought. This study also examines the role of Bharatkar in addressing social issues and mobilising popular support.

Keywords: Bharatkar, *O Bharat*, Portuguese colonialism, colonial Goa, periodical press.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai is prominently known for his periodical *Bharat*, a bilingual weekly newspaper in Marathi and Portuguese. While the Portuguese were the first to bring printing press in India in 1556, the Marathi newspapers started coming up only at the end of nineteenth century. More importantly, *Bharat* was published during 1910s to 1940s, making it perhaps one of the periodicals with longest run. During this period of more than three decades Hegdo Desai was popularly known as Bharatkar. Even today, he is known more by his popular epithet. While, Bharatkar is popularly known for his journalism there has been no attempt made to analyse his writings. More importantly, his writings have come down to us through his editorials and are important for understanding Portuguese colonialism, colonial society and economy.

Bharatkar was born on 7 November 1885 in Rivona village.¹

Bharatkar took his primary education in Marathi and completed

¹ Varsha Kamat, “Bharatkar and his attempt towards Saraswat Lusitanization,” in *The Colonial Periodical Press in the Indian and Pacific Ocean Regions*, ed. Sandra Ataide Lobo, Jessica

higher education in Central High School at Nova Goa in Portuguese. While studying in the high school he established an association named Literary Association of Hindus. Here Bharatkar used to take remedial classes for the needy Hindu students and also organise other activities such elocution. Later he did his higher studies in law but was more interested in journalism.²

Bharatkar's career in journalism began in 1911 with *Prabhat* (A New Dawn), a bilingual weekly newspaper in Marathi and Portuguese and was edited by Dr. Purshottam Waman Shirgaonkar. It is important to note that Dr. Purshottam Waman Shirgaonkar had played an important role in spreading nationalist ideas in Goa since the late nineteenth century.³ In 1894, he had come to Goa to practice medicine. The main aim of the Hindu Club was to fight for the rights of Hindus and influence government policies on education and public employment.

Falconi, Remy Dias and Dave A. Smith (New York: Routledge, 2023), 232.

² Kamat, "Bharatkar and his," 232.

³ Parag D. Parobo, "Power and the Politics of a Hindu Upper Caste in Colonial Goa (1740–1961)," *Economic & Political Weekly* 57, no. 33 (2022): 51–59.

Bharatkar's articles in *Prabhat* became popular with locals and the government officials.⁴ Subsequently as there were differences with Dr. Purshottam Waman Shirgaonkar, some individuals like Bharatkar and Shambarao Sardesai left *Prabhat* and started *O' Bharat* in 1912 from Panjim.⁵ It was shut down for some time and then was taken over by Bharatkar who shifted the publication of *O' Bharat* to Quepem and continued it until his death in 1949. More importantly, Bharat proved to be the longest lasting Marathi periodical in Goa since the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Bharatkar was proud about India and so he named his newspaper *Bharat*. *Bharat* was a bilingual newspaper however for a short period it was trilingual and published in Konkani. The Konkani section was started on 5 January 1933 and published in Roman script. This section in Konkani was especially aimed at the Christian

⁴ Shashikant Narvekar, *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai Hyanchey Nivdak Agralekh, Khanda 1* (Panjim: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 1999), 7.

⁵ Rekha Mishra, "History of Press in Goa," (PhD diss., Goa University, 2004), 160–161.

non-elite classes. The Portuguese, Marathi and Konkani sections were looked after by Bharatkar himself.

The weekly *Bharat* was first published on 6 November 1912 from Panjim, but then it was shifted to Quepem in 1915.⁶ Until his death on 15 August 1949 the newspaper was published from Quepem. During these thirty-five years, *Bharat* carried news and editorials on political, social, religious, economic issues and British India. He put forward the issues about the people to the colonial state and critiqued the nature of colonial governance.

Bharatkar was influenced by the thoughts of Swami Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and strongly opposed the colonialism.⁷ His writings were mainly against polices and administration of the Portuguese state. At that time, it was not easy to write against the colonial government but he had the courage to write regularly in his newspaper. His

⁶ Shashikant Narvekar, *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai Hyanchey Nivdak Agralekh, Khanda 2* (Panjim: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 2001), 10.

⁷ Suhas Savardekar, *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai Jivan Katha* (Curchotim: Joginbha, 1988).

writings were very impressive and his editorials were popular.⁸ During the period of thirty-five years of *O' Bharat* around twenty-five cases were slapped against Bharatkar for expressing his views straightforwardly and he was put behind bars on three occasions.⁹

In 1930, the *Acto Colonial* was passed by the Portuguese Parliament. This act completely reduced the people of the colonies to a state of subservience and denied civil liberties to the Goan people. It designated the citizens of Goa as *assimilados* (assimilated) and *indígenas* (indigenous) or '*nativos*' (natives). Denial of civil liberties censorship of press, freedom of speech and political association became more rigid under the dictatorship of Antonio Oliveira Salazar, during the period of *Estado Novo* (1933-1961) in Goa.

As there was censorship of press there was no freedom of expression, even wedding invitation cards were censored. News had to be submitted to a censorship committee for screening and then only it could be published. Those periodicals that did not follow

⁸ Narendra Desai, "Sankataini Ayusha Ghetlye Tari," *Navaprabha*, November 4, 1984.

⁹ Mishra, "History of Press in Goa," 160–161.

these rules and regulations, strict action was taken. At times their publication was suspended or closed down and editors and writers were arrested.

Bharatkar was against this policy and at times it placed restrictions on his writings. Further he was forced to travel for almost 43 kilometres from Quepem to Panjim to censor his Portuguese newspaper. This policy and those procedures had weakened him both physically and financially, because of travelling issues and no proper transport.

Bharatkar died on the day of India's independence. When he took his last breath, he was only thinking about Goa and India. Bharatkar worked for the betterment of people throughout his life and was not a self-centred person. He struggled for the cause of Goa's freedom. In fact, during his last breath Bharatkar was trying to check the *O' Bharat* Portuguese section newspaper which was to be published on 18 August 1949, but he died on 15th August 1949.

1.1 Research problem

Bharatkar made intelligent use of editorials to convey his thoughts, ideas and emotions on the colonial state and repeatedly employed arguments, images and stories that had deep resonance

with Goan society. This research will examine colonial state, local society and nationalism in Goa through a study of editorials of Bharatkar in the *Bharat* newspaper.

1.2 Objectives

The present study is an attempt to deal with the following aspects of the research problem:

- 1). To analyse the sentiments and values that motivated Bharatkar to take up pen against colonial state.
- 2). To understand the nature and significance of Bharatkar's editorials and how widespread and effective these editorials truly were.
- 3). To understand Bharatkar's nationalist thought, ideas, values, hopes and aspiration.
- 4). To examine the role of Bharatkar in local debates on colonial oppression.
- 5). To analyse the significance of Bharatkar's editorials for understanding colonial society straddling tradition and modernity.

1.3 Review of literature

Bharatkar Hegdo Desai Hyanchey Nivdak Agralekh (Bharatkar Hegdo Desai's Selected Editorials) in two volumes is a

collection of Bharatkar's editorials by Shashikant Narvekar. These are an important volume that has reproduced some of the editorials. The volume one deals with political and social aspects.¹⁰ Narvekar briefly mentions about the political situation, however, there are not much details and analysis about the Portuguese Goa. The second volume contains Bharatkar's editorials on language, religion, education, economy and culture.¹¹ Here again there is no much analysis on the editorials.

Gomantakiya Niyatkalikye: Gomantakiya Niyatkalikayencha Itihas (Periodicals from Goa: History of Goan Periodicals) by Narayan Bhaskar Nayak gives information about the various newspapers during the colonial period. This is perhaps the first book on the history of Goan newspapers and covers information on editor, publisher, important articles and establishment and end of newspapers.¹² Here too there is information on the Bharatkar's *Bharat*. Nayak discusses about the background leading to the establishment of *Bharat* and the important editorials. However, there

¹⁰ Narvekar, *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai, Khanda 1*, 10.

¹¹ Narvekar, *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai, Khanda 2*, 10-17.

¹² Narayan Bhaskar Nayak, *Gomantakiya Niyatkalikayencha Itihas* (Margao: Nutan Printing Press, 1965), 37-47.

are not much details and analyses on how Bharatkar was debating and opposing colonial policies.

“Prabhavi Patrakarita” (Effective Journalism), is an important editorial of Narayan Bhaskar Nayak in the Marathi newspaper *Navaprabha*.¹³ Here Nayak discusses about the effective journalism and ideas of *Bharatkar*. The writer says that his journalist ideas were very powerful and his writings were very effective. He used to write in such a way that people were forced to think much deep on that topic. Nayak himself was also impressed by Bharatkar’s writings, ideas and thoughts.

Paresh Vasudeva Prabhu edited book *Gomantakiya Marathi Patrakarita ani Bharatkarancha Varsa* (Marathi Journalism in Goa and Bharatkar’s Legacy), also deals with various editorials of Bharatkar.¹⁴ Is important because here in this book there are different writers who have discussed specific editorials of Bharatkar. For

¹³ Narayan Bhaskar Nayak, “Prabhavi Patrakarita,” *Navaprabha*, November 6, 1984, 5.

¹⁴ Paresh Vasudeva Prabhu, ed. *Gomantakiya Marathi Patrakarita ani Bharatkarancha Varsa* (Panjim: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 1987).

instance, Sanjay Dhavlikar, has discussed political editorials of Bharatkar.¹⁵ Sudir Sabnis has written on Bharatkar's social thoughts.¹⁶ Paresh Prabhu discusses about the Bharatkar's linguistic role.¹⁷ Suhas Belekhar writes about Bharatkar's economic thoughts.¹⁸ In Part II, Prabhakar Dhagey discusses about colonial Goa and contribution of Bharatkar.¹⁹ But there is not much analysis of all the editorials but they took references of the editorials and put forth their

¹⁵ Sanjay Dhavlikar, "Bharatkaracha Rajakiya Vichar Ani Tatkalin Paristhiti" (Bharatkar's Political and Contemporary situations), in Prabhu, *Gomantakiya Marathi Patrakarita*, 17-25.

¹⁶ Sudir Sabnis, "Bharatkaracha Samajik Vichar" (Bharatkar's Social Thoughts), in Prabhu, *Gomantakiya Marathi Patrakarita*, 27.

¹⁷ Paresh Prabhu, "Bharatkaranchi Bhashik Bhumika" (Bharatkar's linguistic role), in Prabhu, *Gomantakiya Marathi Patrakarita*, 27-40.

¹⁸ Suhas Belekhar, "Bharatkaranchey arthik Vichar va Navakalpana" (Bharatkar's economic thoughts and modern innovations), in Prabhu, *Gomantakiya Marathi Patrakarita*, 40-45.

¹⁹ Prabhakar Dhagey, "Muktipurva Kalakhandatil Gomantakiya Patrakarita Ani Bharatkaranchey yogdan" (Colonial Goa and Contribution of Bharatkar), Prabhu, *Gomantakiya Marathi Patrakarita*, 73.

point and opinion about the editorials of Bharatkar. The book is very useful to know overall about the Bharatkar ideas, thoughts and opinions about the different issues and how he was handling the issues and giving solutions on those.

Suhas Savardekar's *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai: Jeevan Katha* (Bharatkar Hegdo Desai: Life Story), is a short biography of Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai. Savardekar gives details on Bharatkar's early life. He discusses about his son and wife and how they struggled as Bharatkar was totally in the work of social reform and journalism. It also highlights Bharatkar's role during the freedom movements and the court cases that he fought. The biography rather brief but covers important details on the personal life of Bharatkar²⁰

Rochelle Pinto's *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa* discusses about the print and politics in Goa in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It largely discusses about elite Catholic Goans in the nineteenth century Goa and how print has played an

²⁰ Suhas Savardekar, *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai: Jivan Katha* (Curchorim: Joginbha, 1988).

important role in discussing and debating identities and memory, local press and influence of Bombay (now Mumbai).²¹

The Printing Press in India: The Beginning and Early Development by Anant Kakra Priolkar discusses arrival of the printing press to India in 1556 and its development in British India and Portuguese Goa.²² However no much importance is given to the periodicals from Goa and there is no mention about the Bharatkar and his newspaper.

Joan Rebello's *The changing face of Journalism*, discusses about the press in India and Goa. While, the focus of this work is on how the press has changed there are a references to the newspaper *Bharat* and a brief introduction of Govind Hegdo Desai and his contribution.²³

²¹ Rochelle Pinto, *Between Empires Print and Politics in Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²² Anant K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India: The Beginning and Early Development* (Bombay: Marathi Sanshodhan Mandal, 1958).

²³ Joan Rebello, *The changing Face of Journalism* (Quepem: Communication Study Circle, 1992).

“Sankataini Ayusha Gherlye Tari Dheyashi Pratarna Nahi”
(Even if life is surrounded by adversity, there is no sacrifice on goal)
is an article by Narendra Hegdo Desai that deals with the sacrifices
and problems of the Bharatkar for the cause of journalism.²⁴ The
author says that he had to face many hurdles on his way as a
journalist. In the beginning, Bharatkar managed to get printing press
with the help of Balkrishan Vaman Savardekar. His nationalist
writings were powerful and impressive which led to 50 cases
registered against him. In spite of this, he never stopped writing and
his main aim was freedom of India and Goa.

Ajit Paiginkar’s “Maharashtrat Kesari tasa Govyat O’
Bharat: Dr. Govinda Hedgo Desai Hyanche Kary” (Maharashtra
has Kesari and Goa O’ Bharat) discusses about how impressive was
Bharatkar’s writing style.²⁵ The author highlights the courage of
Bharatkar who even wrote on the Portuguese governor generals.

²⁴ Narendra Hegdo Desai, “Sankataini Ayusha Gherlye,”
Navaprabha, November 6, 1984, 5.

²⁵ Ajit Paiginkar, “Maharashtra Kesari Tasa Govyat O’ Bharat,”
Navaprabha, November 15, 1984.

Shashikant Narvekar's "Bharatkar Hegdo Desai: Zunzar Patrakaranchi Vivechana," (Bharatkar Hegdo Desai: Analysis of a courageous journalist) is an article published on the death anniversary of Bharatkar Hegdo Desai. The author discusses about the life of Bharatkar and how he contributed towards the establishment and development of the *Bharat*. In this article, the author discusses about the 23 letters that Hegdo Desai wrote to Shivram Kundaikar during 1941 to 1949.²⁶ During the 1940s due to Salazar's dictatorial regime, Bharatkar and Kundaikar were not able to meet and so these letters were written. These letters also help us to understand the contemporary developments. Kundaikar had also provided the financial assistance to Bharatkar for setting up printing press. Shivram Kundaikar had played a very important role in Bharatkar's life and throughout his career as a journalist.

Varsha Kamat's article "Bharat'kar and his attempt towards Saraswat Lusitanization," is an important article where she talks about the Bharatkar and Saraswat Lusitanization.²⁷ She says that the Saraswats are a Hindu Brahmin Community in Goa, who also called

²⁶ Shashikant Narvekar, "Zunzar Patrakaranchi Viveynchana," *Navaprabha*, August 15, 1989, 4.

²⁷ Kamat, "Bharatkar and his," 245.

as Gaud Saraswat Brahmin and they mainly speak the Konkani language. She says that this community derives its name from the river Saraswati. The time when Portuguese came to Goa, they started dominating the people. They forcefully changed them from practicing the Indian Culture to the adoption of Portuguese way of life and that's why the author calls it the Saraswats Lusitanization.²⁸ Kamat says that Bharatkar had made efforts towards development and modernisation of the Saraswats community.

Kamat also says that while going through Bharatkar's writings one can understand that he was not an orthodox. She also talks about the Bharatkar who was totally influenced by Gandhiji's and he was also taking ideas from Tilak's Kesari to start his newspaper. Bharatkar supported movement against untouchability and made various changes in the life of untouchables as being Saraswat Brahman. His contribution left a mark that cannot be removed on the canvas of journalism in colonial Goa.

Varsha Kamat's, *Resurgent Goa: Goan Society from 1900-1961*, discusses about the socio- religious conditions of the Hindu in

²⁸ Kamat, "Bhartkar and his," 232.

the early half of the twentieth century.²⁹ It discusses the social reform movement among the Hindus. Kamat has also highlighted the role of the Republican and the social changes government. She also discusses the dictatorial regime of Salazar and its impact on the Goan people. Although the work does not deal much with Bharatkar, it gives an understanding on social, political and economic issues through *Bharat*.

Rekha Mishra's study *History of the Press in Goa* deals with the history of press in Goa. It also briefly deals with the *Bharat* newspaper and Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai.³⁰ She gives brief details of periodicals established during colonial period in Goa; however, there are not much details and analysis about the Bharatkar and his editorials.

Manohar Hirba Sardesai's *Gomantakache Ase Te Divas* (Those Days in Goa) deals with the important developments in

²⁹ Varsha Kamat, *Resurgent Goa: Goan Society from 1900–1961* (Panaji: Broadway Publishing House, 2019).

³⁰ Rekha Mishra, "History of the Press in Goa" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2004), 190-191.

colonial Goa during the nineteenth and twentieth century's.³¹ Sardesai has discussed about the early life of Bharatkar and his role in establishing *Bharat*. More importantly, Sardesai highlights the nationalist spirit of Bharatkar and his outspokenness in critiquing colonial state. Manohar Hirba Sardesai's other work *Goa, Daman and Diu Swatantrya Ladhyacha Itihas* (History of Freedom Movement of Goa, Daman and Diu), briefly discusses about the role of *Bharat* in developing nationalist consciousness.³² Sardesai also highlights the role of Bharatkar and his editorials that criticised the Portuguese government for secondary treatment of the Hindus.

V. B. Prabhudesai and Ravindra Ghavi's *Marathi Vagmayacha Ethihis Khanda: 1* (History of Marathi Literature, volume: 1) gives important information about Bharatkar and his

³¹ Manohar Hirba Sardesai, *Gomantakache Ase Te Divas* (Caranzalim: Purogami Prakashan, 1994), 58-59.

³² Manohar Hirba Sardesai, *Goa, Daman and Diu Swatantrya Ladhyacha Itihas* (Panaji: Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, 1986), 184-185.

interest towards journalism.³³ In this book there is one chapter on Bharatkar that is mainly concerned about Bharatkar's journey of journalism. Apart from *Bharat*, it gives details on *Prabhat* and *Bhartyodai* periodicals in which Bharatkar used to write.

Zotica P. de Souza's *The Freedom Movement Down the years* discuss the dictatorship of Salazar and censorship of press.³⁴ It also highlights how Goan's suffered under the dictatorship.

P. P. Shirodkar's edited book *Who's Who of Freedom Fighters: Goa, Daman and Diu* briefly discuss about the Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai as a freedom fighter.³⁵ Desai was the member

³³ V. B. Prabhudesai and Ravindra Ghavi, *Gomantakiya Marathi Vagmayacha Itihas: Khanda 1* (Panjim: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 2003), 214-219.

³⁴ Zotica P. de Souza, "The Freedom Movement Down the years," in *Goa Freedom Struggle (A Window on Events)*, ed. Lambert Mascarenhas (Panjim: Freedom Fighters Association Panjim, 2021), 18-19.

³⁵ P. P. Shirodkar, ed., *Who's Who of Freedom Fighters: Goa, Daman and Diu*, vol. 1 (Panjim: Goa Gazetteer Department, Government of the Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, 1986), 66-67.

of the Nation Congress Goa and played an important role motivating youth to fight for the cause of Goa's freedom. Besides, Bharatkar was also a social reformer and his editorials played an important role to wake up the people to fight against social issues.

Valmiki Faleiro's book *Goa, 1961: The complete story of Nationalism and Integration* mainly discuss about the Operation Vijay and Goa's Liberation.³⁶ The book also discusses about the occupation of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510 and deals with the life and politics in Goa during Portuguese rule. Faleiro traces the rise of Dr. Antonio Oliver de Salazar, his dictatorial powers in 1928, his colonial act of 1930, the non- violent steps taken by Indians from 1947-1961. It deals with the economic blockade, innovative ways of smuggling gold and *satyagrahas* against the Portuguese rule.

Madhav Gadkari's *Asa ha Gomantak*. One of the chapter from book deals with Bharatkar Hegdo Desai.³⁷ Gadkari has given details about life of Bharatkar and his career in journalism. He says

³⁶ Valmiki Faleiro's book *Goa, 1961: The Complete Story of Nationalism and Integration* (New Delhi: Vintage, 2023)

³⁷ Madhav Gadkari, *Asa ha Gomantak* (Panjim: Kohinoor Prakashan, 1974), 216.

that he used to publish his newspaper from his house in Rivona. He was connected to nation such that he took his breath on the day of India's independence in 1949. Bharatkar was inspired by *Kesari* and *Sudharak* newspapers from Maharashtra. Gadkari also discusses about the Dr. Telo Mascarenhas who used to write for *Bharat*. One of the editorials on Dr. Telo Mascarenhas was published by Bharatkar in his newspaper and Portuguese government punished him for writing such types of editorials and without saying a word Desai took that punishment. Gadkari says that Bharatkar published his editorials in Portuguese and Marathi. Due to this command over Portuguese and critical writings many Catholics in Goan were also influenced by him and supported him. As a result of this popularity, around 1800 *Bharat* newspaper s were sold at that time and it was a big achievement. Gadkari concludes that the future generations will not know who was Bharatkar and to remember him the government needs to build a small statue of Bharatkar for his cause to Goa' freedom struggle and journalism.

In Quest of freedom by James Fernandes, discusses about the freedom movement.³⁸ Fernandes says that Goa was under the

³⁸ James Fernandes, *In Quest of freedom* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990).

colonial power for four and half centuries. During the Portuguese rule there were various revolts by various sections of the people. Fernandes says that Goa's freedom movement was a planned movement and many year of struggle by the Goans led to liberation of Goan in 1961. Further adds that Goa's liberation was due to the unity of Goans, who set up many political organisations such as the National Congress, *satyagrahas* and participation by the Indians. Fernandes highlights that Goa's struggle was largely nonviolent struggle and Goans were not alone but received support from the India.

Dr. Juliao Menezes book *Goa's Freedom Struggle* gives a glimpse of early history of Goa and discusses about the Ashoka Empire, Kadambs and how the Portuguese invaded Goa. He also discusses in much detail about Goa's struggle for liberation that began on 16th June 1946, with the arrival of Dr. Ram Mohan Lohia in Goa. He also discusses about the prominent Goan nationalists such as Francis Luis Gomes who preached the message of Indianess. Menezes also highlights the role of Luis de Menezes Braganza and T. B. Cunha. More importantly, Menezes discusses about the ways

in which the British supported to Salazar's Fascism which he called as *Estado Novo* (new state).³⁹

Balkrishna Vaman Savardekar's *Gomantak Parichay* gives brief introduction to Goa, its geography, people, places and monuments.⁴⁰ Savardekar also discusses about the political condition and economic situation in the 1930s and how the people were suffering because of government policies. He also describes society and mainly focuses on the Christian and Hindu communities. He also highlights the development of Marathi education and the role that Marathi has played in the progress of Goa.

Rajan Narayan's book *Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story of Goa's Liberation Struggle 1928-1961*, talks about the Goa's Liberation struggle. Narayan discusses about the role of T. B. Cunha

³⁹ Juliao Menezes, *Goa's freedom struggle* (Velim: Alzirada Almeida Charitable Trust, 1947).

⁴⁰ Balkrishna Vaman Savardekar, *Gomantak Parichay* (Introduction of Goa) (Mumbai: Vaibhav Press, 1930).

in Goa's freedom struggle and for identifying Goa with India.⁴¹ The author also briefly mentions about role of Azad Gomantak Dal and the Operation Vijay.

Apart from the above studies on role of press in Goa and some studies on Bharatkar there are important works on British India that has contributed towards understanding of print culture.

Francesca Orsini's *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920 -1940: Language and Literature in the age of Nationalism* discusses about how Hindi language became important in creating a regional public sphere in North India in the early twentieth century. By examining the colonial dynamics and public discussions through Hindi newspapers and periodicals, Orsini gives an overview of how Hindi language became important between 1920 to 1940 and emerged as a national language.⁴² Further it brings to light the early twentieth

⁴¹ Rajan Narayan, *Sampoorna Swaraj: The story of Goa's Liberation Struggle 1928-1961* (Panjim: The Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa, 2012).

⁴² Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1-15.

century discourses on language, literature, gender, history and politics from the core of the Hindi culture that evolved from the first half of the nineteenth century.

Veena Naregal's *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere* examines the formation of a public sphere in Western India analyses histories of Marathi pamphlets and newspapers and emphasises that print is not only the way for communication or a new technology but it also plays an important role for the distribution of cultural and political power.⁴³ Further, this work makes an argument about the links between education policy, colonial bilingualism and the strategies of the native intelligentsia in western India.

1.5 Methodology

In this study an attempt is made to assess the editorials of Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai. Primary and secondary sources are consulted. The major sources for the study are the editorials of Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai from the newspaper *Bharat*. The

⁴³ Venna Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere: Western India Under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 1-6.

study aims to speaking critically about the Portuguese Goa through the editorials of Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai.

1.6 Chapterisation

Chapter 1 is introduction and deals with objectives, methodology and literature review.

Chapter 2 deals with Goa's stagnant economy. Here the focus will be on important issues such as government policies, migration, agriculture, employment, industry and trade that are prominently reflected in Bharatkar's editorials. It will also discuss the suggestions made by Bharatkar.

Chapter 4 explores the transformation of the Goan society and various social issues taken up as a part of social reform. In the early decades of the twentieth century there were demands on modernising Hindu society. This led to debates on *devadasi* system, movement against untouchability, gambling and alcoholism and Bharatkar actively participated.

Chapter 4 examines the central themes of Bharatkar's nationalist thought, emerging issues of nationalism, Civil disobedience movement in Goa and the role of Dr. Ram Manohar

Lohia, who had encouraged the Goans to fight for their own state and the struggle for India's independence. Chapter 5 is conclusion.

1.7 Scope and Relevance of the study

Although there are some related works on this subject, there is no specific study on the editorials of Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai. The present research is largely based on Bharatkar's editorials. The present study attempts to fill this gap by conducting a detailed analysis of Bharatkar's editorials and his role in educating public opinion, national identity formation and political mobilisation.

Chapter II

BHARATKAR'S VIEWS ON ECONOMY OF GOA

The economy of colonial Goa was backward during the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹The Portuguese did not make much effort to develop agriculture and industry in Goa. There were no much employment opportunities for Goans. This led to migration of Goans to the Portuguese colonials and British India. On the other hand, the Portuguese government spent much on maintaining military and police force. There are many editorials of Bharatkar that deal with the issues of backwardness of Goan economy and the efforts that could be made to develop economic life. The Chapter is divided into the different sections: (i) agriculture and economy (ii) Industry (iii) Goan immigration and economy (iv) Taxation (v) Employment and (vi) Temples and Revenues.

2.1 Agriculture and economy

Agriculture has been the backbone of the Goans economy. The horticultural foods were produced in Goa like Cashews,

¹ N. Shyam Bhat, "Goan economy in the colonial context (late 19th century to liberation)," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, no. 69 (2008): 625-634, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44147226>.

mangoes, Jackfruit and Banana. Besides Goans were producing salt, arecanut, betel leaves, coconuts, sweet potatoes, sugarcane and onions. No much food grains were produced and consequently Goa was importing the food grains from the British India.² The other factor for the neglect of agriculture was lack of mechanisation, the labour shortage because of migration of the people, lack of irrigation facilities etc.

The geographical conditions in Goa were suitable for the agricultural and it could have produced a wide variety of crops and rice as well in large quantities. However, Portuguese government failed to introduce modern methods of cultivation and agricultural produce was mostly for domestic consumption. Majority of the people who cultivated land were tenants. As they were tenants, they were not aware about the machinery and those who knew about them did not want to introduce better methods of production.

² Hariharan Shanthala, "Portuguese approach to direct collection and farming out of taxes and duties," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, no. 64 (2003): 637-45, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44145499>.

Besides there were few land owners who were doing agriculture but they also did not want to introduce the better methods of cultivation. Bharatkar says that every year Goa was importing rice of almost 25 lakhs from the other countries. To overcome this Bharatkar makes important suggestions and if they are introduced Goa could save money on its imports. Bharatkar says that every year India was importing 25 lakhs rupees of rice from outside the countries. Rice was a staple food of Goa as well as all over India and in Goa soil and the geographical conditions were favorable to produce rice in enough quantity.³

Bharatkar says that Goa had abundance of water and if there are proper irrigation facilities peasants could take two crops a year. The Portuguese government was also making some efforts towards providing irrigational facilities. For instance, Paroda canal was built in Quepem and it linked five villages of the region.

Apart from the modest beginning of building canals, Bharatkar suggests that more wells must be dug and small ponds in the villages must be connected to fields. If there is direct supply of

³ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Shetkikhatey Va Janata," *Bharat*, February 5, 1913.

water to flood, the Goan farmers could grow cash crops like sugarcane. Apart from supply of water to the fields, government must educate peasants towards modern methods of farming, use of fertilisers and different kinds of manure.

Bharatkar further states that while it is easy to emphasise use of fertilisers, it is a difficult option for the farmers as they are expensive. Since farmers cannot afford to purchase fertilisers, he advocates animal manure. Firstly, farmers have to take care of the cows, cow dung and the urine is the best fertilisers in the world and they come free of cost. He discourages use of cow dung cakes for fuel and highlights that their role in producing rice is more economical than burning it for cooking food.⁴ Understanding the significance of cow to the agricultural production, Bharatkar was against killing of cows for meat during feast and festivals. This made him to support the cow protection movement. Bharatkar also emphasised on self-sufficiency in agricultural produce. He appealed to the Goans that they should produce something for their families on the lands they own and is around their houses.⁵

⁴ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Gorakhshan," *Bharat*, July 16, 1913.

⁵ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Me Swatahapurtey Tari Dhanya Pikavanar," *Bharat*, January 21, 1943.

In terms of the government approach to the agriculture, Bharatkar states that there are some steps taken by the agricultural department to improve agriculture in Goa, however, the farmers were illiterate to take these benefits. As a result, Bharatkar emphasises that government should first educate the farmers. Besides, agriculture should be a part of school curriculum from the early age.

2.2 Industry

In the early half of the twentieth century, Goa did not have any prominent industry. As a result, the Goans were importing products from the other countries. Bharatkar also emphasises that India has become supplier of raw materials and countries are exporting finished products at higher rates.⁶ He says that Goans and Indians should establish their own industries rather than selling raw materials. Once industries are established Goa could export.

What kind of the industries should Goa establish? Bharatkar's suggestion is largely related to the industries dealing with the everyday life like flour mills, paper, glass and matchbox.

⁶ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Uudoygi Bana," *Bharat*, January 13, 1921.

He highlights the scale at which these goods are used and the employment potential of these industries.

Portuguese had neglected the industrial sector in Goa.⁷ Although Goa had plenty of raw materials and natural resources but colonial government had not encouraged starting of industries. According to Bharatkar availability of credit is important and highlights the role of banking. Although coconut was the prominent produce of Goa most of its materials were not utilised for market. In case proper credit facilities were made available coconut industries could develop.

2.3 Goan Immigration and Economy

Since the nineteenth century Goa was backward and this forced Goans to migrate in increasing numbers. Feudal nature of agriculture and lack of industries were major reasons for emigration.⁸ Over the centuries, Goa was mostly known for the

⁷ Silvia M. de Mendonca Noronha, “The Economic Scene in Goa 1926-61,” in *Goa Through the Ages*, vol. II, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 263–295.

⁸ J. B. Pinto, *Goan Emigration: Tales of determination and Grits* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2019), 64.

migration and today also Goans are known for migration. In the sixteenth century, the Hindus migrated to escape from conversion. In the nineteenth century Goans migrated for employment opportunities. In the twentieth century, apart from economic reason there were political reasons for the migration. In 1930, the colonial act was passed and it gave less political freedom. This forced some people to migrate to the British colonies.⁹

In nineteenth century and half of the twentieth century, Goan immigration was largely socio-economic nature.¹⁰ Mainly, Goans migrated for the employment due to poverty and at times for education. Most of the emigrants were Christians, because they were educated in English. Their western lifestyle and English language gave them employment opportunities in the Portuguese and British colonies and also emerging port cities like Karachi, Calcutta and Bombay in British India. Some who migrated to Africa, they sometimes came back to their motherland to take his family or gave better and western education to their children. According to

⁹ Alfred Braganza, *The discovery of Goa* (Bombay: Brooks publication, 1964), 6.

¹⁰ Mendonca Noronha, "The Economic Scene in Goa 1926-61," 282–283.

Bharatkar, emigration was better than doing nothing in Goa.¹¹ The emigration brought in much needed revenue in the form of the remittances that sustained Goan economy.¹² More importantly, in the early half of the twentieth century Goan economy was remittance based.

2.4 Taxation

Bharatkar critiqued the government for its high taxation policy and expenditure on bureaucracy. During the Republican government salaries of the government employees were increased. This led to a situation whereby Goans looked for government service as the only sources of employment.¹³ Besides, the pensions of the retired government were doubled. The increase in salaries and pensions were not related to the development in economy and Goans were forced to pay high taxes. The high taxation not only affected economic life of people but also discouraged development of industries.

¹¹ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Pardeshgaman," *Bharat*, August 11, 1923.

¹² Mendonca Noronha, "The Economic Scene in Goa 1926-61," 263-291.

¹³ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Junya Anubhavachi Punavrutti," *Bharat*, February 16, 1916.

Further it is important to note that the rising salaries were used as a pretext by the government to justify economic growth. However, Bharatkar voiced political critique of this prosperity. He says government and government servants are getting rich by taxing people and this is a bad solution to develop economy. In fact, this kind of prosperity was putting more burdens on the Goans people.¹⁴ Further higher taxes on basic goods which were used daily became expensive. Instead, Bharatkar states that government should have imposed high taxes on tobacco and alcohol. This would have not only increased revenue of the government but addiction to tobacco and alcohol would have declined. According to Bharatkar, high taxes were also one of the reasons why younger generation was more attracted towards government employment rather than agriculture.¹⁵

A major part of the revenue was spent on administration and travel of the government officials.¹⁶ Bharatkar had carried a strong element of political critique from the start on taxation policy of the

¹⁴ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Karanchey Rajya," *Bharat*, November 4, 1920.

¹⁵ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Killa Sar Kara," *Bharat*, May 24, 1922.

¹⁶ G.P. Hegdo Desai, "Hat Aatopa," *Bharat*, August 19, 1920.

government. The critique of taxation policy produced very powerful editorials, which also carried a more general argument about welfare of Goans.¹⁷

2.5 Employment

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Goans were taking education largely for government employment. The issue of education as a means to employment was debated. Bharatkar was not support of the idea that education had to be only for employment and instead envisaged education as an instrument of self-improvement that would encourage the youth to practice farming and establish industries.¹⁸ Questions were raised about youth leaving traditional occupations. Bharatkar emphasised that practice of traditional occupations was a real necessity for many youth and that could be a form of service to society and state.

Bharatkar sates that the trend for government service had forced Goans to accept low paid jobs in the government. Further, the youths doing jobs spent major part of their salaries buying western

¹⁷ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Kar Ani Governor," *Bharat*, April 22, 1920.

¹⁸ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Amchi Sampatik Unati Kashi Hoyil," *Bharat*, March 17, 1931.

clothes, goods, on cigarette, alcohols and taking western products. As a result, Bharatkar says that agriculture and traditional occupation were more useful and could give more income.¹⁹ Instead going to the jobs and wasting that money on a unwanted things which doesn't gave income to the country but the Europeans.

2.6 Temples and Revenue

The Goan temples had huge moveable and immoveable property. On the one side the Portuguese has taxed people and on the other side attempts were made to tax temple treasury. Temples were made to pay for various works and new rules and restrictions were placed on temple administration. While temple *mahajans* were following the revenue demands of the government, Bharatkar appealed to the *mahajans* to unite and fight against the economic demands.²⁰

¹⁹ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Goamantakachey Taranopayachey Bij," *Bharat*, September 2, 1943.

²⁰ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Chada Lavlach Pahijey," *Bharat*, December 11, 1912.

Chapter III

TRANSFORMATION OF THE GOAN SOCIETY

In the early decades of the twentieth century there were demands made on modernising Hindu society. The European influence and Western education led to a demand for social reform and Bharatkar took up various social issues to improve the Goan Hindu Society.¹ Social reform movements focused predominantly on improving the conditions of women's lives and there were debates on *devadasi* system, practice of dowry, untouchability, alcoholism and gambling. According to Bharatkar while the Catholics had progressed Hindus had remained backward.

3.1 *Devadasi* system

The *devadasi* system was prevalent in the early decades of the twentieth century. According to Vaman Radhakrishnan, *devdasis* meaning maid of the god were temple servants who performed in temples during festivals and private household. Some of the *devadasis* like *Bhavin* and *Devli* had to clean the temples. It was

¹ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Samajik Sudharna," *Bharat*, June 23, 1915.

popularly believed that *devadasis* were offering made to god.² However, these *devadasis* were exploited by the temple priests and the *Mahajan's* and subsequently they were transformed into 'prostitutes'.

Under the *devadasi* system Bharatkar says that these Hindu girls were not living a happy life. At that time unmarried girls from *devadasi* community were forced to become a *dasi* as people believed it a tradition. Once they were married to God, they enjoyed limited freedom. They were not allowed to marry, had to stay alone and make a living on their own.

Devadasis were getting inferior treatment in the society and people were looking at them as if they have done some crime. However, the custom was supported as people believed that it was a tradition. According to Bharatkar there were two reasons for the continuation of the *devadasi* system. Firstly, the young *devadasis* from the community underwent a ceremony of dedication to the

² Vaman Radhakrishnan, *Purushartha* (Panjim: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1998).

deity of the local temple.³ Secondly, it could be a vow to dedicate a girl child to god.

There was exploitation of the girls under the name of tradition. Bharatkar prominently wrote against the *devadasi* system and also against the *mahajans*. This genuine injustice of society towards the *devadasis* was brought to the attention of the general public by Bharatkar. He worked with the *devadasi* community and was associated with the establishment of 'Gomantakiya Maratha Gayak Samaj'. He founded 'Gomantakiya Maratha Gayak Samaj' with the help of people from the *devadasi* community mainly Anand Kakodkar, Kanta Jambhavlikar and Rajaram Paiginkar.⁴ The First session of this *Samaj* was held at Kakode on 26 December 1917 and the president of this session was Bharatkar.

Bharatkar played a very important role in the upliftment of *devadasi* community and demand education and equal rights. He also appealed the community to stop practicing of becoming

³ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Ha kon vyamoha?" *Bharat*, September 29, 1916.

⁴ Rajaram Rangaji Paiginkar, *Mee Kon?* Vol.II (Margao: Gomantak Chapkhana, 1971) 73-75.

devdasis.⁵ Bharatkar believed that once the community was educated it will realise the injustice done to them and would fight for their rights. The question of *devdasis* had loomed large in the mind of Bharatkar and he appealed to people to abolish this system. Bharatkar was critical about the role of *mahajans* and how they had exploited the devadasis and sought to abolish the institution of the *devadasis*. As a result, *mahajans* criticised Bharatkar during his campaign to reform the community. They even got the members from the *devadasi* community to criticise Bharatkar.

Apart from the access to education, Bharatkar argued that *shens-vidhi* must be abolished. This was a mock marriage ceremony where woman was married to an object or a girl.⁶ One becomes groom and one becomes bride. The groom holds a coconut and knife in her hand. The belief was that those who married with that knife could not marry to any other male.

⁵ G. P. Hegdo Desai, “Veshyavyavasayachey Vuchatan,” *Bharat*, January 25, 1934.

⁶ Rajaram Rangaji Paiginkar, *Mee Kon?* Vol . I (Margao: Gomantak Chapkhana, 1969), 157-159.

The Gomantak Maratha Gayak Samaj did much effort to ban this *shens-vidhi* but they were unsuccessful and at the end they decided to write a letter for the Portuguese government. The Portuguese decided to ban this under the legislative no. 425 dated 31st July 1930 in the territory of *Estado da India*.

3.2 The problem of alcohol

Bharatkar says that Portuguese were the one who had encouraged alcoholism and gambling in Goa and they have affected the Hindu people.⁷ Many families had been destroyed because of alcoholism and gambling. According to Bharatkar, while the Portuguese had initiated modernisation of Goa, they had also introduced negative things like alcoholism and gambling.⁸

According to Bharatkar, Hindus were totally against alcohol. They were not allowed to touch alcohol except people for few

⁷ G. P. Hegdo Desai, “Jugar Apratibandach Rahanar kai?,” *Bharat*, June 11, 1913.

⁸ G. P. Hegdo Desai, “Madhayapanacha Prasar,” *Bharat*, August 13, 1913.

communities.⁹ It is only after the Portuguese rule over Goa that the Hindus started drinking alcohol. The Christians were allowed to drink on various occasions. This influenced the Hindus who were close to the Christians to drink. On the contrary, Christians saw the Hindus who are more in numbers as responsible for the spread of alcoholism in India.

The reason things why people get addicted to alcohol were that earlier the workers were getting daily wages in kind. Usually, these workers were offered as *feni* to drink as their wage.¹⁰ So, after regularly consuming the alcohol, people got addicted to it and that led to poverty. Later when the labourers were paid in cash, they used to spend major amount on alcohol and this lead to starvation of families.

Some labourers didn't go to work, but because of addiction they cannot live without drinking and so they used to buy alcohol on

⁹ G. P. Hedo Desai, "Amchey Dolye Ugadnar tari kadhi," *Bharat*, December 15, 1915.

¹⁰ Lourdes Bravo da costa, "Food History of Goa: Reserching it's multifacted Aspects from 1900 up to 1961," (PhD diss., Goa University, 2022), 132-137.

credit. This led to increasing debt and crimes. Majority who were addicted to alcohol was a labourer. When there were restrictions on production and transportation of alcohol from 1920 to 1921, there was reduction in the crimes related to alcohol.¹¹ Bharatkar strongly wrote against alcoholism. He stated that many are facing problem because of this addiction and there are thousands of family who got destroyed. There are children who have become orphans and people pushed towards poverty.

According to Bharatkar, there are many other countries that are developing, but they are not just developing in alcohol but in other things also.¹² However, Portuguese India has developed only in the production and consumption of alcohol. There was no a restriction or limit to the production and sale of alcohol. So, the problem of alcohol was increasing day by day but government was not doing anything as government was getting huge revenue.

¹¹ G. P. Hegdo Desai, “ Madhyapan Pratibanda,” *Bharat*, January 4, 1923.

¹² G. P. Hegdo Desai, “Madhayapanacha Prasar,” *Bharat*, August 13, 1913.

Bharatkar states that the Parsi community is controlling trade in alcohol in British India. Besides, Parsis were also appointed to high government offices. As the Parsis were an influential community in British India they opposed any moves to ban alcohol.

The consumption of alcohol had touched levels undesirable levels in Goa on which the Portuguese government refused to take any action. Bharatkar prominently wrote against rising alcohol consumption. In fact, rising consumption was seen as a major problem for Goan society that was discussed and debated at the Provincial Congresses (Congressos Provincial). The editorials of Baharatkar discussed many problems affecting the consumption of alcohol and suggested solutions to overcome the disgraceful vice. Bharatkar understood the dangers on Goan society that moving towards self-destruction because of the alcohol addictions and suggested higher taxes on alcohol to discourage its consumption and the role of education as a crucial field of struggle and activism.¹³

3.3 Colonial state and Gambling

¹³ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Madhyapan Pratibanda," *Bharat*, January 11, 1923.

Gambling was another addiction which had supported alcoholism. The alcoholism and gambling go hand in hand. Both have a very close relationship and they were responsible to destroy families. Bharatkar says that gambling was done by person who wants to double their money. More importantly, engaging in gambling games during feasts and festivals had led to serious problems like addiction. The Portuguese government instead of stopping gambling they supported it as after alcohol gambling was the second to give a large amount of revenue to the government.¹⁴

Apart from gambling in cards second most popular way of gambling was the Goan lotteries. The people were forced to buy lotteries at a very low rate to win high jackpots. The Portuguese government earned major revenue from the sale of lotteries in Goa and British India.¹⁵ This revenue was used as charity but not for the Indian people but for the Europeans.

3.4 Eradication of Untouchability

¹⁴ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Jugar, Sarkar va Pratikar," *Bharat*, November 29, 1923.

¹⁵ T. B. Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Bombay: T.B. Cunha memorial committee, 1961), 42-44.

The untouchable community was small in population size. They are divided into two communities, *Maharas* and *Chambhars*. *Mahars* were in a larger number than *Chambhar* and they were referred as untouchables. They performed drumming in temples during festivals, dragged dead animals outside villages and made products from animal skin and bamboo. It was for these occupations that they were considered as untouchables. Further, they were judged on their social environment, bodily cleanliness, eating meat and alcohol drinking.

This community were not allowed to attain any public festivals nor could they enter temples. The non- Hindus were allowed to enter into the temples but the untouchables were not allowed to enter and take blessings from the god.¹⁶

The untouchables were denied public spaces: they could not seat and drink at the teashops and freely move around temple and houses. Once the upper caste people visited their settlement they had to take bath. In 1930, many *Maharas* had changed their caste name

¹⁶ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Asprushyodharachey mul," *Bharat*, April 27, 1933.

Parwar to Pawar to avoid inferior treatment and to hide that they are untouchables.¹⁷

To remove untouchability, *Bharat* periodical and Bharatkar had made huge efforts. Bharatkar participated in a various movements against untouchability. In 1930, Bharatkar launched a movement to abolish untouchability and encouraged the untouchables to perform *satyanarayan puja*. In 1932, Bharatkar had arranged a *satyanarayan puja* which was done by Brahmin priest at chambhar household in Goa and it led to a major debate. The upper caste got disturbed because of this *puja* and they immediately complained to the Swami of GSBs. It was stated that Bharatkar and others had visited the house of untouchables, had participated in *satyanarayan puja* and had consumed *prasad* (devotional food offering) from that house. However, Bharatkar defended by saying that they had gone there for *puja* and not for any other things and the *prasad* which they consumed was not made by the untouchables. They argued that if they had not consumed *prasad* it would be an insult of god.

¹⁷ Parag D. Parobo, “Colonial Goa and the ‘Asprushya Questions,’” *Economic and Political weekly* 8, no.13 (2023): 45-49.

Bharatkar actively toured villages and tried to convince people to stop untouchability. He appealed to Hindus not to discriminate them and that they are not less equal to other Hindus.¹⁸ Bharatkar also says that this distinction between castes as lower and higher was not created by god but by selfish people who wants control the village. Bharatkar often makes reference to Mahatma Gandhi who had accepted the deep-rooted existence of untouchability and was making efforts to abolish it. Bharatkar was influenced by Gandhi's efforts and suggested a fourfold programme to uplift Untouchables.¹⁹

First, the removal of untouchability could be accomplished through equal treatment of the untouchables in public places. Second, by providing access to education. Third was by respecting their rights as human beings. Fourth, temple entry whereby *mahajans* should play an active role. Further it was not just temple entry; the untouchables should have all the rights enjoyed by the

¹⁸ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Asprushata Dur Kara," *Bharat*, September 29, 1933.

¹⁹ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Asprushata Dur Kara," *Bharat*, September 14, 1933.

other Hindus and there should not be any restrictions.²⁰ According to Bharatkar, things will not change by temple entry. One has to work towards to improve their social life: they were living in an unclean environment and their houses were dirty. In fact, it is the responsibility of the upper castes to develop untouchables.²¹

After this, the *mahajans* of Mahalaxmi temple from Panjim decided give permission to untouchables to enter into the temples. Apart from Bharatkar, Vinayak Karaguppikar who had come to Goa in the 1930s played an important role in giving education to the untouchables. Karaguppikar was of the opinion that there was no movement to give education to untouchables. In 1934, Karaguppikar went into the *Mahar* settlement. Here there were Portuguese schools and upper castes were not taking untouchables in schools and so he decided to start a school for them. In 1937, he established two schools at Shiroda and Kakoda in the *Mahar* settlement and he started teaching them informally. In 1944, he named his school after

²⁰ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Gomantakiya Harijanancha Prashna," *Bharat*, March 17, 1938.

²¹ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Asprushata Dur Kara!" *Bharat*, September 28, 1933.

Saint Chokhamela. Bharatkar had taken up the important step in the society as Bharatkar says.

3.5 Dowry as social evil

Bharatkar wrote against the evil custom of dowry. While emphasising destruction of dowry system, Bharatkar linked the fate of women to issues such as dowry and *devadasi* systems. He highlighted the desperate helplessness of parents who did not had money to offer could not offer enough dowry. Usually, dowry requests were high and this had led to the privileging of male child.

Bharatkar also critiqued the tradition of child marriage in Goa and expressed his shock and disdain for early marriages. If the girls were not married at young age, it was considered to be rather disgraceful for parents and girls. More prominently, this shows the patriarchal mentality and Bharatkar highlighted the consequences that the girls who were married off at a young age endure and demanded rising the age of marriage. He also felt it was important to educate young girls and spoke out against child marriage. Bharatkar also appealed to boys to become independent, resist their parents in accepting dowry and to make marriages simpler and less

expensive.²² He believed that when the young boys oppose the dowry system, parents will be forced to give up their demands.²³

²² G. P. Hegdo Desai, “Pariksheychi Vhel Aahe,” *Bharat*, December 1, 1115.

²³ G. P. Hegdo Desai, “Ek Samajik Prashna – Varadakshina,” *Bharat*, May 26, 1921.

Chapter IV

NATIONALIST THOUGHTS OF BHARATKAR

Govind Pundalik Hegdo Desai shared his strong national pride by naming his periodical as *Bharat*. Through his editorials in *Bharat* he campaigned vigorously awakening the Goans masses.¹ His editorials were critical of the Portuguese government and through them one understands his nationalist thoughts.

4.1 The name ‘*Bharat*’

During the colonial period taking name *Bharat* was not easy. The name Bharat had ancient roots and was used in many scriptures and texts to refer to the Indian subcontinent. It was associated with the legendary emperor Bharat mentioned in ancient Indian texts like Mahabharata. During colonial rule, British termed it as “India”. However, Bharatkar took a pride in the name Bharat. After the establishment of Republican government in Portugal in 1910, Bharatkar thought that it was necessary to name his periodical as

¹ P. D. Xavier, “Role of the press in the freedom struggle in Goa,” in the *Goa wins freedom: Reflection and Reminiscences*, ed. B. Sheikh Ali (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986), 79-95.

Bharat to indicate the larger community which Goans belonged.² He not only named it but continued his newspaper almost 36 years.³ There were cases registered against him by the Portuguese for publishing news's against government and at times Bharatkar went to jail.

4.2 Bharatkar views on Mahatma Gandhi

There were three phases of Indian nationalism. The first phase was of Moderates, second of the Extremists and the third phase began with the coming up of Mahatma Gandhi in India from South Africa in 1915. After the death of Tilak on 1 August 1920, Gandhi became the leader of the Indian National Congress and this was the starting point of the Gandhian era in the nationalist politics of India. From the 1930's, Bharatkar was influenced by Gandhian ideals and from that year he started thinking about Gandhian thoughts and started writing through his editorials.⁴

² G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Mukhabandha," *Bharat*, November 6, 1912.

³ Shashikant Narvekar, *Bharatkar Hegdo Desai Hyanchey Nivdak Agralekh Khanda: 1* (Panjim: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 1999), 17.

⁴ Alfred Braganza, *The discovery of Goa* (Bombay: Brooks publication, 1964), 26.

Gandhi *Topi*

The Gandhi *Topi* or a Gandhi cap was popularised during the Indian independence movement. The adoption of the *topi* served as important symbol of the rejection of European culture, and embrace of Indian traditions. Gandhi *topi* became synonymous with Mahatma Gandhi who popularised it first during the Non-Cooperation movement of 1921-22. During this period Gandhi *topi* was worn regularly by Indian leaders to show their attachment to nation.

Bharatkar was influenced by the Gandhian ideology. However, before Gandhi *topi* became popular Bharatkar had used it Goa to symbolise his love for nation. When Bharatkar was studying in *Liceu*, a Portuguese comprising of a Portuguese teacher and largely Catholic students, he decided to wear Gandhi *topi*. This was not liked by the Portuguese teachers. At times he was forced to remove his Gandhi *topi* and his refusal made him to leave class.

Bharatkar was respected Gandhiji and followed his ideology. According to Bharatkar, Indians were fortune that Gandhiji was born in India. Mahatma Gandhi fought for independence in non-violent ways. He was of the opinion that with violence and bloodshed will not get any peaceful and long-lasting outcome. This idea was taken

up by Bharatkar.⁵ Bharatkar's struggle against untouchability was influenced by Gandhis movement against untouchability in British India.

After Gandhi's death, Bharatkar was of the opinion that besides building his memorials it was more important to adopt his thoughts and ideas.

4.3 Civil Disobedience Movement and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

The movement for civil liberties in Goa was started by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia 18th June 1946 at Margao. It was against the dictatorial regime of Salazar. Dr. Lohia was prominent socialist leader who led the 1946 movement in Goa and this inaugurated a new phase in Goa's struggle for freedom. The aim of the civil disobedience movement was to win in civil liberties.

When Dr. Lohia came to Goa; he was briefed about the situation in Goa. Lohia believed that Goa was a part of India.⁶ The

⁵ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Mahatma Gandhi Yugapurush," *Bharat*, December 21, 1922.

⁶ Ram Manohar Lohia, *Action in Goa* (Bombay: August Publication House, 1947), 30.

movement against civil liberties was being planned in Goa but it could be implemented only after the arrival of Lohia.⁷ Bharatkar says that, Lohia arrived in Goa, just to take rest at his friend's house Dr. Juliao Menezes on 10th July 1946. The younger leaders of Goa met Lohia because they were fed up of dictatorial policies of Salazar.

On 18th June 1946, Lohia arrived at 4.15 at Margao municipal ground. According to Bharatkar, Dr. Lohia's attempt to speak and defy a ban imposed on holding public meeting started the movement.⁸ Dr. Lohia was arrested but had lighted up flames of freedom in the heart of Goans. Dr. Lohia also gave the confidence to the people to fight, not only confidence but to fearlessly face anything in future.⁹ The Goans were encouraged by the thoughts of Lohia.

⁷ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Aplya Chalvalichi Disha," *Bharat*, May 11, 1946.

⁸ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Madgaochan Nidarshanachey Digdarshan," *Bharat*, July 4, 1946.

⁹ P. P. Shirodkar, *Goa's struggle for freedom* (Delhi: Ajanta publication, 1988), 46.

Bharatkar says that the credit of this movement should not only be given to the leaders but the credit is for each and every Goans who participated in this movement. It is the support of the people which made the movement important. Once Dr. Lohia launched the movement, Goans came forward and continued the movement. Vatsala Kirtani a young girl without any fear took a great pride in shouting the slogan “Jai Hind”. During the freedom movement Goan leaders were arrested and deported.

Mahatma Gandhi also appreciated the role of Lohia to awake the Goans to fight for their own rights. In his writings, Bharatkar says that the movement was not to liberate Goa or to become Goa a part of India but it was to get civil liberties to the Goans people which were denied by the Portuguese. It was for the basic rights like freedom of speech, freedom to read and write, freedom to attend public meetings and organise Bharatkar states that there are some people in Goa who are not happy about this movement as they are supporting the Portuguese. Many Goans who were appointed to high positions in Portuguese administration supported the Portuguese.¹⁰

¹⁰ G.P. Hegdo Desai, “ Thodey Atmanirikshan karuya,” *Bharat*, July 18,1946.

Bharatkar appeals to Goans to unite and fight for their Goa. While there are many movements launched they have not lasted for long. However, it was important to sustain these movements towards success.¹¹ There should not be misunderstanding between leaders and people and Goans must follow only non-violence.¹²

4.4 *Swarajya* and *swadeshi* movement

The *swadeshi* movement began around 1905 when the partition of Bengal was proposed. This movement brought a spirit of self-reliance among the Indians. By using strategies like *swaraj* and *swadeshi*, the movement aimed to challenge the dominance of British imperialism. Bharatkar was also trying to tell people to boycott the western goods and use the Indian goods. He says that there are people from all over India fighting for the *swaraj*, without caring their own lives.¹³

¹¹ G. P. Hegdo Desai, “ Adhikarayna Ishara,” *Bharat*, August 29, 1946.

¹² G. P. Hegdo Desai, “ Satya. Va Ahimsa,” *Bharat*, May 28, 1931.

¹³ G.P. Hegdo Desai, “ Swayatta Gomantak,” *Bharat*, November 11, 1930.

The *swadeshi* movement included using goods produced in India and boycotting British-made goods. It encouraged the growth of indigenous industries. Bharatkar appealed to Goans to use local products and take pride in them.¹⁴ Like *Khadi* clothes, most of the people don't like the Indian clothes but they like the western clothes, they find it more fashionable but they don't know the value of *Khadi*. Here he gives example about Gandhiji and what Gandhiji was telling about the *khadi* clothes.

Bharatkar emphasised that it was important to take the western education but not the western goods. According to Bharatkar initially Goans were largely buying foreign goods, however, with the Gandhi's call for boycott there were attempts made to use local goods.¹⁵ In main cities of Goa Mapusa, Panjim and Margao *swadeshi* shops were opened.

Bharatkar appealed to the educated youth to popularise the ideals of *swaraj* and *swadeshi* among the masses.

¹⁴ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Swadeshicha Prabhav," *Bharat*, May 4, 1922.

¹⁵ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "He swarajya ki Samrajya," *Bharat*, October 21, 1930.

4.6 India's Independence

On 15 August 1947 India gained Independence from British rule. According to Bharatkar, 15 August will be remembered as a golden day in the history of India. It was a day people waited for years, thousands of people had sacrificed their lives and thousands got punishments.¹⁶ Bharatkar states that after so many centuries finally India was going to get independence and everyone including Goans should celebrate it like a festival. Further independence of India will remain incomplete until freedom of Goa.

Bharatkar always referred to Goa as an important part of India and was sure that once India got Independence then Goa will surely get liberation.¹⁷

¹⁶ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Graham Nivalye," Bharat, August 14, 1947.

¹⁷ G. P. Hegdo Desai, "Pandhara August," Bharat, *August 7*, 1947.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

This research has studied the editorials of Bharatkar from 1912-1949, for understanding Portuguese Colonialism, colonial society and economy during this period. The objective of this study was to analyse the sentiments which had motivated Bharatkar to take up pen against the Portuguese and how effective his editorials were.

Bharatkar was better known for his editorials and his writings skills. He was strongly influenced by the Swami Vivekananda, Lokmanya Tilak's nationalism and Mahatma Gandhiji's non-violence.¹ Salazars dictatorship and censorship on press had affected had affected journalism of Bharatkar. However, he openly wrote against the colonial government. Bharatkar's main aim was to free India from the British rule and Goa from the Portuguese rule. More importantly, Bharatkar always considered Goa as an important part of India.

5.1 Goan economy

¹ Kamat, Bharatkar and his, 236

The Bharatkar not only wrote the editorials about the issues but also gave suggestions and solutions on the problems. The Goan economy was backward during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Bharatkar discussed about the problems and ways to improve economy. He highlights the role of agriculture in the development of economy and appealed to the government to encourage modern methods of cultivation. He believed that farmers need to be educated for modernising agriculture. Besides just giving the speeches on economy of Goa the government should start taking steps to provide irrigation facilities for increasing production and this would lead to two crops in a year. He also highlighted use of fertilisers and as they were beyond the reach of the farmers, he appealed for natural manure. Here Bharatkar discusses about the use of cow for the cow dung and urine.

The Bharatkar was trying his best to convince the people on how they are becoming fool by taking the products from outside the state in a double amount.

Bharatkar appealed to the colonial government to start industries that would provide employment. More importantly, he highlighted the role of credit on developing industries. He appealed

to the government to develop banking in Goa and provide cheap credit.

In the early half of the twentieth century the colonial government were getting much of the revenue into their treasury mainly because of remittance. So, Bharatkar says that besides seating at home without job, it is better to migrate in other countries and work. Bharatkar highlighted the role of migration in transforming the mode of life of the Catholics in Goa.

Bharatkar was critical of higher taxation in Portuguese Goa. The Portuguese government had without any need increased the salaries of Portuguese employees and pensions of the retired employees. Bharatkar appealed to the government that they have reduced taxes and this could happen only when the expenditure on administration is rationalised.

5.2 Bharatkar's Social reform

First, made efforts to stop the *devadasi* system which was very prevalent during those times. Bharatkar took steps to establish the *Gomantak Maratha Gayak Samaj* for the betterment of *devadasi* community. Bharatkar was also critical of *Mahajans* who were supporting *devadasi* system. Bharatkar demanded education and

equal rights for them. He also put much of his efforts to ban the *shens-vidhi* and finally it was banned in 1930.

Bhartkar was also critical about gambling and alcohol and highlighted its impact on families and social life. He suggested higher taxation on alcohol to reduce its consumption. Influenced by Gandhi's movements in India, Bharatkar also worked towards the abolition of untouchability. In 1930, Bharatkar along with others launched a movement to abolish untouchability and encouraged untouchables to perform *satyanarayann puja*. He convinced the Hindus not to discriminate between untouchables and the higher caste. Bharatkar's solution to untouchability was through equality, access to education and respect as human beings. The temple entry was another effort which he had made for removing untouchability. He also of the opinion that it was a responsibility of upper caste people to improve them.

Bharatkar highlighted abuses of dowry system and made efforts to abolish it. He says that young girl should take education and speak out against child marriage. Further boys should be independent and should oppose their parents in taking dowry.

5.3 Bharatkar's opinion on National Movements

Bharatkar's pride in nation made him to name his newspaper as *Bharat*. He was influenced by Gandhi's ideology and wrote many articles on popularising his methods in Goa. He also followed the ideals of *swaraj* and *swadeshi* for the betterment of the nation. He appealed to Goans to use local goods. He felt very sad about Goans attraction to the western goods.

Bharatkar discussed the importance of the 18 June 1946 movement and how it has transformed the approach of Goans towards their freedom movement. He was also of the opinion that the success of the movement was not only of Lohia but also of Goans who gathered in large numbers and sustained the movement even after Lohia's arrest. Bharatkar wrote an important editorial on India's independence and was optimist about liberation of Goa.

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