

**Press,
Public-
Opinion
And
Government
In
India**

BY

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Preface

The 20th century is the century of increasing political consciousness involving the masses in the national and international affairs. Consequently, the newspaper has become an important means of mass communication, hence the study of the mass communication media becomes important. Keeping this in view, I have made an attempt to study the relation of the press with the Government and public opinion in India from 1900 to 1935. The press developed into a national institution by playing an important role in the struggle for independence and in shaping and moulding public opinion. It was a medium of inter-communication between the Government and the public.

The political developments in the country extended to all the regions speaking different languages. To study the vast material published in all the languages and to study those languages themselves is a physical impossibility; so I had to limit the sources of my study to the books, magazines, newspapers and official records available, mainly in Hindi and English and some in Gujarati and a few translations from Marathi and Bangla.

Above all, I am highly thankful to prof. A. B. Lal now the Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, whose illuminating suggestions and constructive criticism enabled me to grasp the problems in their true perspective and thus smoothened my work.

I am indebted to the Ministry of Home Affairs for releasing the official records after 1901 which helped me to study the attitude of the Government towards the press during this period. But most of the documents were either missing or destroyed.

I am highly thankful to late Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose for his valuable help in providing facilities to go through the material collected by him from the beginning of this century. I am highly obliged to the late Mr. Satyendra Nath Majumdar whose suggestions gave me an insight into the subject.

SUSHILA AGRAWAL

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Introduction

“Many are the miracles of the modern age” wrote C. R. Srinivasan. “Of them all, I should think the greatest is the modern newspaper. It is not only a miracle in itself. It has laid the foundation for many miracles that we have witnessed in modern life. It makes and unmakes things. It creates and destroys the strength of the nation. It is a pivot around which revolves the universe. It occupies the nuclear position in the life of the world. The present is essentially the age of the newspaper and the immediate future is not likely to be different.”¹

The pen is always recognised to be mightier than the sword- and the power of the press is the power of the pen. The physical power of the nations is being replaced by the power of science. Science studies the forces of nature, and ultimately harnesses them to the use of man, the political animal. To be able to organise scientific research on a mass scale and conduct newspapers money is badly needed. Science alone could not make man powerful. He must be backed up by political ideologies and this is best done with the help of the press propaganda. Hence science, press and finance are called the 20th century trinity. As we have had in history the “Stone Age” and the “Iron Age” similarly C. L. R. Sastri calls the present the “Propaganda Age”. The press is the main vehicle of propaganda. But the value of the press is not only propaganda value, it is something more. Wickham Steed has said- “The press is the central problem of modern democracy.”² The power of the press may be realised from what the great philosopher

1. The Press and the Public by C. R. Srinivasan P-1.

2. The Press by Wickham Steed P-7.

Emerson said—"No power in England is more felt, more feared, or more obeyed; what you read in the morning in the Times you shall hear in the evening in all societies, it has ears everywhere, and its information is earliest, completest and surest."

The immortal Burke said on a memorable occasion pointing to the Reporters' gallery—"Yonder sits the fourth Estate." Burke died in 1797 and at that time the other Estates were the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the Commons. Within a century and a half the Lords Spiritual have faded away, the Lords Temporals too faced the same fate even in England. Now remains the common people. Two of the four Estates therefore remain—the Parliament and the Press. The press is also a parliament of the people always in session.

The immeasurable power of the press had been noticed by Abraham Lincoln when he said in 1861 "The Times is one of the greatest powers in the world, in fact I do not know anything which has more power except the Mississipi." The press was a formidable weapon in the hands of the European people during the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. It helped them in organizing their struggles against feudal nobility.

With the exception of Abraham Lincoln, no president was so much criticised as Jefferson. Even then once he said that he would rather live in a country without a government but with newspapers than in a country with good government and no newspapers. The words are surprising as they come not from the mouth of a journalist but a man like the president of the U. S. A. who was a victim of press criticism himself. The truth lies in the fact that a country with a good government but with no newspapers can deteriorate and there would be no hope for it. The newspapers can bring order out of anarchy. For the newspapers inform the masses, and not only inform them but awaken them to perform their duties. They are the sentinels of common weal. They are vigilant day and night to see to it that men in power remain on their toes. For power corrupts, and nothing can stand up to political power save a conscientious and courageous press. It is the watch-dog of the country. The electorate passes its judgements once in four or five years but through the press it can pass its judgement on the deeds of the government and give its opinion and

thunder over their misdeeds almost daily. As Sastri says—"Wars come and wars go, peace is declared and is again made to depart, but newspapers remain—the one enduring picture or panorama in an otherwise perpetually changing landscape. They remain because they fulfil a vital function: because, not to put too fine a point upon it, they are the greatest need of the world."¹

The human being is guided by two prominent instincts, sense of security and sense of curiosity. The instinct of curiosity compels him to know not only about himself and the fellow beings he comes in contact with but also things which he has not seen and persons he has not met. In the words of Herbert Brueker "Journalism, then, is the instrument we use to stock our heads with information about the world that we can never know for ourselves."²

The history of journalism is the history of man's striving for ways and means of satisfying this curiosity and learning what is going on in the world. Man, from times immemorial has striven for knowledge and knowledge has ever been esteemed in terms of power. In the dawn of history, it was considered as the patrimony of select and exclusive groups. So long as the art of writing was not originated it was handed down from father to son and from teacher to the taught by word of mouth. After the discovery of writing, it became possible to preserve in writing the discoveries and advances made in science, art and literature. But there was no access for the common folk to them, only a few could get access to those discoveries and advances. But the invention of printing spread them among the common folk too. The printing press made the material available cheaper and quicker to all those who desired it. And the newspaper brought the news to the people's own door. It became the medium of mass communication and "The careful reader of a few good newspapers can learn more in a year than most scholars do in their great libraries." (F. B. Sanborn)

Textbooks cannot deal with the fast changing world and its day to day problems. The newspapers are the only means by which people can discuss the current problems. So the newspapers are fragments of history. True history aims at ascertaining the true

1. Journalism by C. L. R. Sastri P-39.

2. Freedom of Information by Herbert Brueker P-4

causes and true effects of events, So does a true daily aims at giving a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day which leads to right judgement and the monthly aims at giving a calm and dispassionate survey of events which helps in bringing out the true causes and effects of events constituting these fragments of history. Even then, they cannot claim to be the final verdict on history as the nearness of events does not make it possible to attempt a final analysis—they are but evidence.

Writing on newspapers, Norman Angell writes that “the newspapers are practically the only means which the community has of informing itself of the facts which determine its collective decisions social or political. The papers are the witnesses upon whose evidence, mainly, the daily judgements of civilised mankind today are based. To a society whose purview has come to embrace the whole world—a society which has so developed that the hasty decisions of busy and preoccupied folk, reading “catch headlines” in underground trains, offices and tea shops, are laws of war and peace in Delhi, Dublin and Berlin—to such a society the press is at times, and generally in times of crisis, its eyes and its ears, if not indeed its pulpit and its forum”.¹

The newspapers are the world’s encyclopaedia of life. They tell us everything from every quarter of the globe. They are a universal whispering gallery for mankind, only their whispers are thunders when the people are sleeping or the governments are slothful. They act as a whip. The press is truly a powerful, national and political institution. By the press I mean the newspapers and the magazines appearing periodically dealing with political problems.

The modern age is the age of conflicting ideals and ideologies such as communism and capitalism, democracy and dictatorship, requiring discussion and the formulation of mass opinion speedily and effectively. Modern civilised society has been called “a working system of ideas”, which lives and advances by ideas; so it is in the realm of ideas that the destiny of the world is being worked out. Every ideology, every conflict and every cataclysm, however world-wide its ultimate dimensions may be, began first in the brain cells of some individual. It existed as a thought in

1. The Press and the Organisation of the Society by Norman Angell P-15.

the mind of man before it was communicated to other minds and ultimately became the thought of a people. The press is a vital instrument of spreading views, holding discussions, making opinions effectively and quickly through its numerous issues available to the public.

Disraeli, the great statesman, said—"The press is not only free, it is powerful. That power is ours. It is the proudest that man can enjoy. It was not granted by monarch; it was not gained for us by aristocrats, but it sprang from the people, and, with an immortal instinct it has always worked for the people".¹

That is the reason, the press has been hailed by our ancestors as a means of popular freedom, and enlightenment. Today it is the people's university. After finishing their education, few bother to go through the literature on all subjects, and the paper is an endless book which furnishes us with all we desire.

A problem arises here whether the press and public opinion can be identified. It may be said that the press is public opinion and vice-versa. It can be argued that whatever the press says is public opinion. But I have got reasons to differentiate the two. Public opinion, besides including the opinion of the press, includes the platform, the various associations, the electorate, the radio, groups, political parties and several other organisations which may or may not be represented by the press yet they are important as organs of opinion. In modern times, the press has become such an important weapon that all the organs of opinion, excepting the radio, in order to get publicity, approach the press, and they exercise more influence if they have got a press to support them. Hence some persons take the press and public opinion to be one and the same. Though the platform has a limited audience, and an association has limited membership; yet they are not negligible in their influence. They play an important role in shaping public opinion.

The radio has changed the whole world into an Aristotelian society where one man's voice can be heard by all. The radio has developed into an important factor of public opinion, yet it cannot compete with the press. The public wants to read in the

1. Dictionary of Thoughts P-497.

papers whatever it has heard on the radio. The printed word is lasting and the public acquires more permanent impression by reading than by listening over the radio. Besides the editorial comments play a vital role in moulding public opinion. Reporting, criticisms and comments cannot be as full and detailed on the radio as in the press.

The press is the most important, effective, extensive, popular and convenient; and the cheapest and the surest method of moulding and formulating public opinion. It is the most important of the elements which constitute public opinion but it is not public opinion itself.

In India, where a large number of people were illiterate, the platform played an important role in shaping, moulding and expressing public opinion, yet the role of the press has been more important.

The study of public opinion is the study of human thought and behaviour. It is the study of the sociology of knowledge, belief and conduct. As man's actions are guided by his background, present environment, education and many other factors, so is public opinion based on the structure of society, the political system, the education of the people and historical background.

Though the fundamentals are the same yet the elements in its development vary from nation to nation. America got a blank slate to write on, while India inherited a rich past; one had only to look forward while the other had to keep a link with the past too. According to Marx man makes history out of the material he gets. India inherited a philosophical outlook towards life, which thought more of the world beyond than the material world we live in. This philosophy was the outcome of the times when there was abundance. Numerous expeditions by foreigners and internal strifes during the eighteenth century were great shocks for the country which dulled the nerves of the people and developed a feeling of helplessness which resulted in the loss of self confidence and the development of an inferiority-complex. It made the people inactive and fatalist. In this state of affairs the philosophical outlook proved fatal and inertia prevailed among the masses.

In the 19th century the materialist outlook of the west made an impact on the philosophical outlook of the East. The Indian

mind was charmed by their progressive machine civilization, vigour and practical outlook towards life.

The British Government in India tried to arrest the progress of the nation and to keep Indians away from new inventions and discoveries as well as from the radical literature of their own country. In spite of that, it was compelled by the circumstances to introduce the printing press, railways and telegraphs to facilitate the administration and education which was introduced in order to get subordinate clerks brought a part of modern Europe before the Indians. The education was slow, perverted and limited, yet inquisitive Indians explored the avenues of knowledge. The study of the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, the War of Italian independence, and of English literature, especially the writings of Burke and Mill, whose freedom of thought and vigour were propagated through the press and the platform, played a vital role in shaping the mind of modern India. The Indian social structure which was originated to preserve the diversities and give security to the people became a bar for the progress of society. "In trying to avoid collisions" writes Tagore "she set up boundaries of immovable walls, thus giving to her numerous races the negative benefit of peace and order but not the positive opportunity of expansion and movement."¹ The lack of mobility and the rigid walls of society made the people inactive and isolated from other countries. They didn't travel far and wide to see the progress and changes in other countries. Consequently, India lagged behind in many matters.

In the nineteenth century, the impact of western society, the foreign domination and its consequences, progressive poverty and illiteracy, the extinction of trade and industries, the study and appreciation of India's literature and her glorious past by many foreigners such as Max Muller etc. made Indians realise their existing condition and their inherent capacity. This created restlessness. During this period men of genius like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Devendra Nath Tagore etc., were born to direct and educate the public mind and to infuse the spirit for action. In India, all the movements were started from above. By and by they were propagated among the masses

1. Nationalism by Rabindranath Tagore, P-116.

and became the thought of the people. A picture of independent India was presented to them and they were supplied with the causes of their decay and progressive poverty and illiteracy. In the beginning it revolutionised the thought of a few educated persons but by and by the public mind was affected. With the broadening of outlook the masses required somebody to tell them what to do, which way to proceed. The social, religious and political movements provided them a proper scope for their spirit to act and the press was a proper medium to guide, and infuse the spirit of nationalism.

The nineteenth century is the century of the beginning of consciousness in India in the modern sense of the word. It was the foundation of our struggle for independence. It combined the past with the present and prepared the mind of the people for future social, political and economic developments. It made the people national-minded and in the course of time international minded too. It proved what Harold Benjamin says: "Communication is a necessary tool of learning, and mass communication is prerequisite to mass education. A public spirited press is a chief instrument whereby, contemporary society orders and changes its ways in the direction of clearly visioned goals of increased human welfare."¹

The press, which exercised influence everywhere in all the spheres is certainly a powerful institution and if properly used, it is bound to work for the good of humanity. But our political science is taught, as if there is no information system and there is no existence of newspapers. "The idea" writes Lippmann, "that men have to go forth and study the world in order to govern it, has played a very minor part in political thought."² If the democracies are to work successfully the information system must be improved; it is the arms, eyes and ears of democracy.

A. G. Cummings writes on what journalism is. "Unlike medicine, or law or specialized pursuits in any branch of applied science, journalism is not an exact profession. It is an art and a business."³ It is an art because it not only informs but depicts the way we are living, what we are doing and sometimes draws a

1 Quoted in *New Survey of Journalism* edited by G. F. Mott, P-1.

2 *Public Opinion* by Walter Lippmann P-317.

3 *The Press and Changing Civilization* by A. G. Cummings. P-XIV.

future line of action too. It is a business to earn money to manage the press. But, at the same time, "It is not a business pure and simple, partly because the product is regularly sold below cost, but chiefly because the community applies the ethical measure to the press and another to trade or manufacture. Ethically a newspaper is judged as if it were a church or a school. But if you try to compare it with these two you fail, the taxpayer pays for the public school, the private school is endowed or supported by tuition fees, there are subsidies and collections for the church—You cannot compare journalism with law, medicine or engineering, for in every one of these professions the consumer pays for the service. A free press, if you judge by the attitude of the readers, means newspapers that are virtually given a way."¹

The press to be successful must look after the public interest. It gets money to run the management through the sources of advertisement mostly. Even then, "A newspaper can flout an advertiser, it can attack a powerful banking or traction interest, but if it alienated the buying public, it loses the one indispensable asset of its existence."² The advertisers pay for the popularity of the newspaper and the popularity of the newspaper depends upon many important things. If those essentials are not looked after, the newspaper will never achieve the aim.

According to the old notion, the newspaper was a responsible adviser to the public. Its first duty was to provide the news, 'uncoloured by any motive', its second duty was to present 'a certain view of public policy' which it believed to be for the good of the state and the community. It treated life as a 'serious matter.' It had an antiquated respect for truth and believed in the moral governance of things. It aimed at something and that something was 'guided for the good of the society'. This made Wickham Steed to say that "the printing and the selling of news is a social service."³ It is an aid to the administration and a spokesman of the public. It will bridge the gulf between the public and the government. In its relationship with the public and the government, a triangle can be formed. It is the arms of a democratic society. It is a communication between the

1. Public Opinion by Walter Lippmann, P. 321-322.

2. Ibid, P. 322.

3. The Press by Wickham Steed P. 7.

government and the governed. It is a profession where so many decisions involving so great a responsibility are to be taken at such a pace. Today, most of the people read nothing else except the morning or the evening newspaper. They spend more time in reading the newspapers and discussing what they contain than upon any other occupation of leisure hours.

Journalism says W. Steed, as the basis of the "newspaper industry," holds a special position because its raw material is really the public mind and it trades chiefly in "moral values."¹ The institution whose raw material is the public mind is a great institution. The study of the human mind is the most interesting thing and even more interesting is it to inform, guide, teach and help it in coming to a decision. This makes journalism a fascinating study. Men with an adventurous attitude of mind or an imaginative aptitude of mind, i. e., literary figures mostly join it. If a comparison is made between the two types, the former type outnumbers the latter.

Journalism is not only interesting but involves responsibility also. If journalists are dishonest they can play with the human mind. A doctor, if dishonest, will not cause the death of more than a few dozen people but the journalist would poison the minds of hundreds and thousands. He must observe honesty, truthfulness, sincerity of purpose and a high standard of morality. Ramsay Macdonald said in 1924 that "The journalist is a man whose craft means that by instinctive ability he can gather together and co-ordinate all those feelings that go to the making of public opinion."² According to Renel R. Barlow the press as a political force acts in the following nine ways upon Government and public opinion. First, the newspaper reports the news. Secondly, it interprets public affairs either in special column or news pages. Thirdly, the newspaper criticises, attacks and proposes through the editorial page. Fourthly, the political cartoons which employ a pictorial form rather than words exert influence in politics and government. Fifthly, the newspapers conduct campaigns. They inaugurate movements in the realm of public affairs which take the form of crusades, campaigns, the raising of funds, and the conduct of special investigations by reporters. This helps in alleviating the evil in public life and brings constructive

1. Ibid P. 14-15.

2. Quoted in *Mightier Than the Sword*, edited by E. Sommerland. P. 6.

improvement. Sixthly, a newspaper propagandizes the policies or movements or anything of this sort. Seventhly, it organises extramural promotional activities, e. g., taxpayer's service bureau polls of public opinion. Eighthly, the newspaper adopts a platform to bring out some reforms. And lastly, political advertisements through the columns of the newspapers by political parties exert influence in politics.

News is the 'life-blood' of a democratic society and that 'life-blood' must be 'sacred'. The first function of the newspaper is indicated in its name. It is an instrument for the collection and dissemination of the news. What should be the news? The word NEWS stands for North-East-West and South. Everything good or bad, trivial or not, important or unimportant from all the corners of the earth is news. For animals, the smelling of danger was news.

The Manchester Guardian once offered prizes for the best definition of news. The first prize was awarded to the following definition on account apparently of its gravity and brevity: "News, is the initial announcement of a novel or striking event, not generally known, which is of immediate interest to the greatest number of people."¹ The human being, to some extent, is guided by the instinct of curiosity; he takes keen interest in the world, its affairs, its people, their customs and manners, their system of governance and such other things. Human life is the most interesting thing to study. In man and his societies we find diversity and unity. Every man is different in his physical as well as mental make up, and at the same time so similar. The societies with their diversities are very interesting, and so we desire to know all about them. Newspapers bring these unknown things to our knowledge. President Wilson said in his favourite phrase that the test of news "is the acid test of quality". Quality is possible when news is based on truth. So truth is the chief quality of news. But this is not all. The newspaper administers to knowledge, to curiosity, to education; in a real sense it makes the whole world one. Truth will give us the right knowledge of things. Merely a true picture of affairs is not sufficient to understand and understand in a right way, the views the minds and the culture of the persons we do not come in contact with. We have to

1. Quoted by S. P. Thaiga Rajan in *Introduction to Journalism*, P. 3.

read about them in our daily press. We read the history of ancient and medieval times, but we cannot develop a correct understanding of those times unless we have a sympathetic attitude. To develop a sympathetic attitude one must be impartial. Impartiality doesn't mean indifference, 'impartiality is the atrophy of the sympathies, impartiality is the poise of mind'.

J. A. Spender has set down three functions of a modern news paper. Its first function is to supply the news. Secondly it is a medium of advertisements and thirdly it furnishes opinion and comment on affairs of public importance. In the year 1943, a commission was appointed in America to enquire into 'the present state and future prospects of the freedom of the Press.' It said in its report that 'A free and responsible Press' has five requirements for being a medium of information. Its first duty is the accuracy of news; the second duty of newspapers is to function as 'common carriers of public discussion'. Thirdly the reports of the press must be in accordance with the society which includes its vices as well as virtues. Fourthly, the press must discuss the values and goals of the society. "There should be a realistic reporting of the events and forces that militate against the attainment of social goals as well as those which work for them. The agencies of mass communication are an educational instrument; and they must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals towards which the community should strive." And fifthly the report recommends the wide distribution of news and opinion to meet the daily increasing demand of the public.

The press must keep pace with the ideals and needs of society, because the accuracy of news enlightens public opinion. The foundation of a democratic government is enlightened public opinion, otherwise it will fall a prey to illusion and corruption. Secondly, the press may focus attention upon certain issues and influence the public minds as the Indian press made independence the central problem of the country. Thirdly, the press criticism aids reforms, and the press discussions clarify public affairs and issues. Fourthly, Publicity improves the Government and the political affairs of the country. Fifthly, the press plays an important role in maintaining international amity. The role of the press in society is the role of a watch-dog.

Those who go to journalism must possess some qualities of head and heart which are not essential for other professions, because their raw material is the public mind and those who are creatively employed in shaping it are engaged in the most significant work.

W. T. Stead advising would-be journalists wrote, "The first quality of a journalist, if he would be a real journalist, is the possession of a heart. Hence I would say to anyone who wanted to become a successful journalist; be sympathetic. Avoid cynicism and indifference as the very devil. Regard indifference to any subject whatever as a proof of ignorance and, therefore, of incompetence. Touch life at as many points as you can, and always touch it so as to revive and retain its best impressions. If you don't feel strongly you will not, as a rule, be able to write powerfully; and if your sympathies are deadened and the eyes of understanding are dulled, you will become a bore and an abomination, whose copy will descend into the waste paper basket. For the first duty of a journalist is to be alive, and he who does not feel does not live".¹ The second duty of the journalist, he advised, is to be timely. He must be up-to-date in his profession, getting an article accepted by a newspaper is like getting into a train; if you are not in time, you will not be there at all. A journalist should not join the profession until he feels a 'call'. According to him a person must ask himself "If I am to teach, what am I to teach; what is my message; what have I to say that is worth saying, why should I out of all the millions of my countrymen and county women be selected to fill the post of public preacher to the daily congregation."² "Similarly" writes Kalinath Roy of the *Tribune*, "the essential qualifications for those who undertake to create and mould public opinion are a mind free from pre-possession, an independence which is proof against temptation, scrupulous honesty and rectitude of purpose and, above all, absolute incorruptibility."³ The person who is going to take up such an important work must be endowed with all qualities such as regard for truth, a sound and up-to-date knowledge of history and world affairs, a command over language and a good

1. Quoted by M. K. Bose—*The Press and its problems*, P. 2-3.

2. *Ibid* P. 8.

3. Foreward to *The Press and its problems*, By M. K. Bose P. XII.

style so that his expression will be lucid, attractive, forcible and compressed. He must have an analytical mind (which can distinguish between essentials and non-essentials), deep understanding, the power of perception, quickness of grasp, honesty and sincerity of purpose; because most people equip themselves with facts and ideas from the daily printed page. So the fountain source must be kept pure and underfiled.

The advancement of science has provided the human being with all the necessities and comforts cheaper and quicker. The world, though not in our purview, has come within our reach. Television has brought the world within the reach of our eyes and the Radio has made it an Aristotelian society where one speaker can address the whole republic. These instruments are supplementary to the press. At the same time scientific developments require big finance to organize big industries. The newspaper of today, a printed sheet of a few pages, undergoes a highly centralised and complicated process to come before the public. Consequently money plays an important part. Lord Northcliffe challenged the old order; in this competitive age, he was bound to be successful with a dynamic outlook and an energetic organization but commercialism and syndicalism killed the soul of old journalism. He read the public mind and gave it the hot ginger it wanted. "From our point of view", writes C. L. R. Sastri "he was the greatest democrat of this age. Once he saw the light he never wavered; he went right ahead and did not look back."¹ But A.G. Gardiner said in sorrow that journalism was a profession and he had made it into a trade. It had a moral function, in his hands it had no more moral significance than the manufacture of soap. At the same time, he made the papers cheaper so as to reach the common man and be quicker to get the latest news.

The papers of today are owned by a few press-lords. The editor has lost the influence, the views of the proprietor are advocated. Capitalists are the pillars of the papers. In India, the commercial basis of the press developed in the later thirties. It is a recent development and even so it is not so well developed as in America. In the course of time, it may proceed on the same lines.

1. Journalism, by C. L. R. Sastri, P. 58.

In the Press of the world, two systems are prevalent—the Russian system and the American system. In Russia though freedom of speech is guaranteed by the constitution yet private owners of the organs of opinion cannot exist. Free opinion is not allowed. In America, government control is not so terrific yet the tyranny of the capitalists exist. To be powerful and influential, the press must be free from the influence of both, and this depends on a change in our social system. One must get an accurate and comprehensive account of the events without any fear or favour.

In India, the press was born with the aim to make the rulers conscious of their misdeeds. Hicky aimed to root out the corruption of the East India Company. The Indian press was born with the courage of defying the authorities. When Indians took to journalism the struggle was intensified. The earlier journalists were not merely news-vendors, they were crusaders for political and social reforms. Our country was in chains and the first duty of a slave country was to free herself from bondage; and the leaders of public opinion as well as the press realised the task before them. Though their methods were different yet the goal was the same. Politics dominated Indian journalism. Journalism was a mission before independence. The journalists braved many risks, though the profession was not very remunerative. The doctor, the engineer, the lawyer and the professor were free to pursue their avocations without getting entangled in law but the very nature of his duty made the journalist a controversial figure, which evolved measures affecting his career. But he pursued his task with undaunted zeal and sacrifice, in fact he created literature on a little dal-bhat as the saying goes. His belief in moral values made him powerful enough to exert enormous influence on the public mind and journalism rose from modest beginning to unbounded power.

The influence of the press was realised by the leaders of public opinion like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Surendra Nath Bannerjee, B. C. Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi and many others. The press served as the medium of their daily preachings.

The press in India was handicapped due to two main factors, i. e., illiteracy and poverty. The educated public was only 5% to 10% of the population. How the press can exert much influence

on the mass mind. Yet in the Indian villages, the villagers will spend their evenings together. In many villages, it used to be a feature of the evening gossip that an educated man would read out newspapers. The words in print used to exert more influence on the simple villagers and one newspaper used to be the medium of information for the whole village.

As regards the educated community of India, the main section where the press can exert its influence, may be divided into two divisions. The official class was mostly guided by the Anglo-Indian papers which were concerned more with the interests of the ruling class. This section of the reading public was small. The Anglo-Indian section of the press, though not in close contact with the public, exerted influence on the actions of the government. It supported the government looked after the interests of the ruling class and it was also better equipped which gave it a superiority complex. In return it received many privileges from the government. Where the interests of the government and the public clashed, the press could either advocate the policies of the government or utter the grievances of the public or be above both and preach what it considered to be right. But the Anglo-Indian press generally did not aim at amity and right criticism. The other section of the educated class was influenced by the nationalist press. The nationalist section of the press, desired the freedom of the country from foreign bondage. It was the friend of the masses and advocated their interests in democracy, this section would have been the opposition press. "A study of the Indian press", writes Margarita Burns "is necessarily also a study of the gradual and continued enlargement of this public opinion."¹ The consciousness of their rights and position among the public is more apparent with the growth of national movement and the press. The laboratory of the press is the whole nation, and the public mind is the 'raw material'. With such a vast laboratory and the large number of experiments going on, it is not only difficult but impossible to draw exact conclusions like mathematical formulae. We can only find out the trend of the press and the trend of public mind, and the only conclusion we can draw is that one follows the other. In India, the press has influenced public mind but at the same time, if it had gone against the current,

1. The Indian Press by Margarita Burns P. XIII.

it would have failed. The government realised its power and enacted special legislation to deal with the newspapers. If the press was not influential, the government would not have been vigilant about the writings and comments in the press.

Secondly, our poverty was an important factor which marred the development of the press. A newspaper subsists on the money earned by advertisements. No newspaper can be successful without advertisements. The newspapers in industrialised countries get a large number of them. Our industries were not developed, so the newspaper had to depend mostly on the reading public. Lack of finance made the press illequipped and the best brains were never attracted towards journalism. Only persons with a mission for freedom who were ready to sacrifice their lives joined it.

The reading public was also poor in comparison to other countries. A newspaper was supposed to be a luxury. Those who could not afford to eat properly, how could they purchase a newspaper? If we take into consideration the number of literate people in India, it is not less than the number of literate people of England, but the newspaper consumption is much less than in that country.

Journalism is truly one of the greatest driving forces in modern times. The constant and direct contact of the newspapers with the public shortens the gulf between the two and brings them closer to each other; which is bound to exert great influence on both. But this mechanical age of rapid and vast production and of the centralisation of news and views has made the press two dimensional. It possesses width and breadth and lacks depth. The demand of the time is to make it three dimensional. The task of the press in the world of today is of particular importance because "the world is too much with us." It comes in direct and constant contact with thousands of persons to whom, by sheer force of habit it becomes almost an oracle, giving the news of the world and its own views. By adding the third dimension, it will be able to carry on its duty more successfully than now.

The relation of the press with the government on the one side and the public on the other, forms a triangle. This position thrusts great responsibility on it. The press should neither play up to the capitalists as in the U. S. A. nor be an instrument in the

hands of the government but should stand separately as a great institution in co-operation with the other institutions of the country to exert a beneficial influence. But the problem of finances makes it dependent on one or the other and this problem becomes difficult to solve, unless the newspaper-men, with firm determination, take up the task of being accurate and fair and act in a balanced manner.

Growth of the Indian Press

(from the earliest times to the year 1900 A.D.)

The history of the Indian Press is the history of the slow and systematic development of national thought, the growth of public opinion and the struggle for Indian independence. "Newspaper history in India" writes A.E. Charlton, "is inextricably tangled with political history".¹ It is an institution which has exercised beneficent influence upon the social and political life of the country.

Like Indian Jurisprudence the Press in India has got its roots in its English counterpart, therefore it has been called an off-shoot of the British Press. But unlike jurisprudence it was brought to this country not as a result of "conscious and calculated thought by those who had built slowly the magnificent empire as a miracle, but by a band of adventurous men who were allured to this country in the expectation of shaking the Pagoda Tree."² Pat Lovett has rightly said, "Journalism in India, gentlemen, derives from journalism in England, and in spite of faults and shortcomings is a credit to the parent stock. Patrisest filius, more especially in maintaining the most cherished English tradition that it is the duty of the political journalist to publish his opinions even at the risk of fine and imprisonment; there is also another strong family resemblance in making the leading article a potent factor in shaping public opinion."³ This spirit is found through out the history of the press.

1. Journalism in Modern India, Edited by A.E. Charlton P. 3

2. History of Journalism in India : By S.C. Sanial. Calcutta Review, July 1907. P. 355

3. Journalism in India. by Pat Lovett. P. 4

The pioneers of the press were enthusiastic in carrying on their profession. They were ready to undergo any trouble and trials at the hands of the authorities. They expressed their views at the risk of fine, imprisonment and deportation. That is why the Indian Press has inherent strength. It has fought many uphill battles to develop nationalism in the country. It advocated that unity alone can bring our birth-right, freedom. The growth of national consciousness and public awakening owes more to the insistent, consistent and persistent preaching of the press than anything else.

In handing down the unanimous decision of the court in a case against the 'Chicago Tribune' Chief Justice Thompson of Illinois said :—

"The struggle for freedom of speech has marched hand in hand in the advance of civilization with the struggle for other human liberties. History teaches that human liberty cannot be secured unless there is freedom to express grievances. As civilization advanced and as the means for expressing grievances multiplied, the struggle between the people and their despotic rulers became more bitter. With the opening of the 17th century the people began to publish newspapers, and history begins to record unspeakable prosecutions of the editors."¹ The Indian Press affords ample confirmation of the truth of this statement. Here the foreign government tried its best to circumscribe the liberty of the press because "A free Press and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and which cannot long exist together."

When India was in bondage, the press made a mission to preach Swaraj and Nationalism at the cost of risk—risk is the touchstone that tests the sincerity of the pioneer. The pioneer journalists held the view that the newspaper was an adviser, guide and helper to the public. Its first duty was to provide news uncoloured by any motive and its second duty was to put forward a certain policy which was good for the country. Therefore the newspapers burgeoned forth magnificently and in the war of independence acted as a second front—the first being the Congress.

The human mind is always dominated by the instinct of curiosity which creates an appetite for knowledge. Human craving for

1. The Freedom of the Press by R. McCormick P. 43

knowledge gives rise to news and news plus the printing press brought the newspapers of today into existence. From the dawn of history man's inquisitiveness made him find out ways and means to know things about others and that is called 'news'. The ancient postal system of Europe and Western Asia and the ancient spy system and the banjara system of India, though the banjara system was not so regular, may be called the earliest forms of journalism.

(1) Before the invention of printing, the dissemination of news prevailed by word of mouth, the exchange of private documents, the posting of notices in public places such as the *Aeta Diurna* issued during days of the Roman Empire, the erection of columns and edicts with inscriptions embodying instructions etc., and information gathered by news writers posted at various courts or centres of interest.

(2) For the public, the coffee houses in England and the market place in India served as a kind of exchange where bits of news, important or trivial, were bruited about and discussed. Travellers meeting on the roads would exchange bits of news in a spirit of fraternity. It was a show of good manners and a fair return of hospitality to relate news they had picked up.

(3) India has recognised the importance of news services from ancient times. Under the ancient Hindu rulers, an effective intelligence department was maintained with agents at home and abroad. Ambassadors and envoys were accredited to foreign states and were assisted by such agents. These ambassadors depended upon secret emissaries for procuring information to send home. Decisions were taken on this information. "These emissaries and intelligencers of the Ancient Hindu Sovereigns can be regarded as the earliest journalists of India—the humble precursors of modern journalism—the rude forefathers of the colossus of the press of our day".¹

(4) After the conquest of India, the Mohammedans also adopted the ancient system of ruling the country with the help of emissaries. But they improved it and made it a workmanlike organization. The Moghul Emperor made further improvements and the news services took the shape of journalism which could be reorganized to give modern regularity after the art of printing had been discovered.

1. History of Journalism in India by S. C. Sanial, Calcutta Review July 1907.

The state was maintaining a regular department for the supply of news, the description of events, ceremonies and complaints etc. to the Court regularly in the form of waqias or newsletters. The Waqia nawis or news-writer used to write regularly in the news books of the state which were kept at all the centres of Government. The head of this department was called Waquia Nigar. Reference to the Bengal Public Consultation show that during the first half of the 18th century the English factories utilised these news-agents at Hooghly to bring their grievances to the notice of the Moghul Empirors. During the regime of Aurangzeb, from the prevalent system of information can be traced the origin of modern Indian journalism. As Sanial writes—"The earliest distinct mention of ante-typographic newspaper is to be found in the Muntakhabat-Al-Lubab of Khafi Khan where we find the death news of Raja Ram of the House of Shivaji, brought to the Imperial Camp by the newspapers. The great historian also gives us clearly to understand that the common soldiers in Aurangzeb's time were supplied with the newspapers."¹

Aurangzeb allowed great liberty to the papers. The newspapers were commenting on the relation between Aurangzeb and his grandson Azim Oshan. The liberty of writing can be judged from the saying that "the monarchs of Asia were more afraid of the pen of Abulfaziah than the sword of the mighty Akbar."

In the year 1828 Colonel James Tod had sent to the Royal Asiatic Society in London hundreds of original manuscript newspapers of the Moghul Court (1660). According to H. Beveridge the size of the papers was eight inches by four and half inches, written in different hands.² They give notices about promotions, visits by the Emperor to mosques etc., hunting expeditions, the bestowal of presents and items of other interests.

The press of a country is the outcome of its political, cultural and economic conditions. To understand its growth, development and influence it is essential to know the prevalent conditions of that country. The history of the press in India is the history of the

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1. History of Journalism in India by S. C. Sanial. Calcutta Review July 1907, P. 355.
 2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1908, 1121

consolidation and extension of the British rule in India. Margarita Barns has rightly observed that "A history of the Indian Press must, to a certain extent, be a history of the British occupation of India, or a cross section of that history."¹

The East India Company had originally established itself for trading purposes and its military establishment was meant to protect this trade. Gradually and almost unnoticed by others, it had extended the territory under its control. It used to take sides in local disputes. People looked upon the Company's troops as mercenaries to be hired. When it was realized that the British were playing nobody's game but their own, and were out for the political domination of India, it was too late; they had established themselves firmly in the country.

The battle of Plassey (1757) decided the fate of India in favour of the British and the Company was put on an administrative footing. So far there was no necessity of any journal as the Company was a trading body; but now with the Company assuming power, there started disputes among the people and the dissatisfied section of the people started the press. They wanted to acquaint the authorities with their grievances.

The newspapers in India came comparatively late. The European residents in India were few in number and all of them were connected with the Company. So the news used to spread by word of mouth. They were interested in European affairs and they used to get newspapers from England, reaching here nine or ten months after their publication. But as the community increased by the addition of interlopers, the identity of interests gave way to differences of opinion. To acquaint the authorities with their differences the necessity of newspapers was felt. Necessity is the mother of invention. The first definite step to publish a newspaper was taken by Mr. William Bolts in 1766. But on April 18, 1767, he was served with a notice for deportation. It was held that he, by his attempt to utter "an odium upon the administration and to promote friction and discontent in the settlements, has rendered himself unworthy of any further indulgence from the Company and of the

1. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns, P. xiii

Company's protection".¹ He was directed to proceed to Madras and from there sail for England by the first ship. But the stone set rolling by him was not to be stopped.

For twelve years to come, no venture was undertaken to publish any newspaper. On January 29, 1780, the first Indian newspaper, the *Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser*, was published by James Augustus Hicky, and was popularly known as Hicky's Gazette. He was a printer by trade and for his newspaper venture he says—"I have no particular passion for printing newspapers; I have no propensity. I was not bred to a slavish life of hard work, yet I take a pleasure in enslaving my body in order to purchase freedom for my mind and soul."

Hicky's Gazette was proscribed within ten months by coming in conflict with the then Governor-General, Warren Hastings, who promulgated an order in November, 1780, withdrawing permission for the newspaper to be promulgated through the post office, on the ground that the newspaper contained improper paragraphs tending to vilify private character and to disturb the peace of the English Settlement in Calcutta and after this no copy was to pass through the channels of the post office.

After the battle of Plassey, English society here became corrupt to the core. No time in history had ever witnessed such corruption, and Hicky had to cater to this society. Drinking, gambling and profane swearing were universally practised. The newspapers, to maintain their existence, must cater to the tastes of the society they serve.

Hicky was bitterly opposed to those who were in power and attacked Governor General Hastings and other officials in an indecent way. In June 1781, he was imprisoned for being unable to pay a fine of Rs. 80,000/- but his imprisonment did not extinguish his paper.

Though *Hicky's Gazette* was soon destroyed by the innate force of its own corruption, yet it was the progenitor of a healthier offspring. He is truly a pioneer of the Indian Press. So in its early days the press offended the Government by libelling private persons or writing libellous articles against the Company's servants. Later on, these papers began to receive the resolutions and minutes of the

1. *The Indian Press* by Margarita Barns P. 45

Council and Military secrets and the like were published as news. The Government objected to this kind of publication in 1785.

The second Indian newspaper was *The India Gazette* started in November 1780 by B. Massink. His aim was to counteract the evils brought out by *Hicky's Gazette*. In February 1784, under the auspices of the Government *The Calcutta Gazette* was started. Within a few years after *Hicky's Gazette* many papers came into existence, e. g. *The Bengal Journal* in 1785, *The Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement* in 1785, *The Madras Courier* 1785, *The Calcutta Chronicle* 1786, *The Bombay Herald* 1789 and *The Bombay Courier* 1790. *The Madras Courier* got recognition from the Government notifications which were published at the Sea Gate were now published in this paper. It was allowed to circulate free of charges through the postal system.

There has been a tug of war between liberty and control since the birth of the Indian Press.

No excesses on the part of the press are noticed from 1780 to 1790. The Madras press was on hostile terms with the Government for it published some libels on the Government. The Madras Government imposed censorship on December 12, 1795 on *The Madras Gazette*, which was prevented from publishing the General Orders of the Government, without prior inspection by the Military Secretary. Four years later, on June 29, 1799, all the papers were ordered pre-censorship. Government was getting more and more alarmed at the criticism, so it withdrew the free facilities of newspaper circulation in the Madras Presidency.

In Bombay Presidency *The Bombay Herald* was the first newspaper published in the year 1789, the second was *The Bombay Courier* started the following year. In 1791 was started *The Bombay Gazette* which became a Government paper soon.

The Company was busy with the consolidation of its conquests. Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor General on 1786. He was entrusted with the uphill task of consolidation on the one hand, and the reform of administration on the other. Corruption had to be checked, so that the administration of the Company would not be held in contempt and suspicion any more. Though he was an admirer of the press and not oversensitive to adverse criticism of the

Government; yet he had to punish Duan of *Bengal Journal* for publishing some articles capable of creating a rift between him and the French authorities. He ordered the cancellation of his permit to stay within the territories of the Company. But the French authorities interfered and the order for embarkation was revoked and Duan continued his journalistic career,

Sir John Shore succeeded Lord Cornwallis in 1793. Duan again wrote some indecent articles, this time his permit was cancelled and he was exiled.

Sometimes, the papers of the 18th Century had most of the features which enliven the press of today, e.g. Parliamentary reports, editorials on subjects of interest, the events in England, the army, the reported plans of Indian rulers etc. In addition to this type of information there were newsletters and reports from Paris, Stockholm, Vienna, Madrid, China, etc. There were letters to the editor, government notices, social news, poet's corner, advertisements and even fashion notes. "In India Gazette of 1792 we have a strange medley of news; they range from Paris commotions that heralded the French Revolution and the trial of the Birmingham rioters in England to Lord Cornwallis' despatches announcing the taking of Bangalore and his advance on Srirangapatam."¹ As regards the tone and temper of these printers of the press, they were content to reproduce voluminous extracts from the British press. The English mail was due about once a month; and the editor's duty was to make the bundle of newspapers from 'home' last till the next contingent arrived. To this was added some stray news and notes, which served to give a thin local colour.

Lord Wellesly in 1789 assumed the office of Governor General. When Mr. Bruce, the editor of *Asiatic Mirror*, published an article on the relative strength of the Europeans and native populations, Wellesly got furious and he wrote privately from Madras to Sir Alfred Clarke in Calcutta in April 1799: "I shall take an opportunity for transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors, in the meantime if you cannot tranquillize this and other

1. The Press in India by C. S. Srinivasachari. The Golden Jubilee Souvenir number "The Hindu" October 1928

mischievous publications be so good as to suppress the papers by force and send their persons to Europe."¹

This threat was immediately put into action and a fresh set of rules was published to shackle the press on May 13, 1799. It provided that every newspaper should bear the name of the printer, that the name and address of the editor and proprietor should be communicated to the Government and that no newspaper should be published unless it had been inspected by the Government censor appointed for the purpose. The penalty for a breach of the regulations was immediate embarkation for Europe. The censor was instructed to prevent publication of matter relating to subjects like "Public credit". These measures were justified on the ground of emergency so long as the necessity existed for the maintenance of absolute power. Wellesely was busy in fighting those days and the Tories who were in the majority believed in keeping the press circumscribed. This was their policy since they thought that the British Empire could not endure very long if the Indian public was not kept ignorant. These new rules were communicated to *The Harkaru*, *The Morning Post*, *The Calcutta Courier*, *The Telegraph*, *The Oriental Star*, *The India Gazette* and *The Asiatic Mirror*. The editors viewed these regulations with dismay yet they did not resent them.

The 19th century is important from the Indian as well as Englishmen's point of view. It marked the consolidation of British power in India. But simultaneously with the British getting a firm footing in India, Indians realised that no foreign administration, however gifted and perfect, could prevent national poverty and famines when its fiscal policy was for the trade of another country. Secondly, the introduction of a new agricultural system in India, the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis was also one of the factors which gave life, impetus and encouragement to the Indian national movement and Indian public awakening.

"The establishment of British rule in India was entirely a novel phenomenon for her, not comparable with any other invasion or political or economical change."² . Mr. K. S. Shelavankar explains "She had never lost her independence, never been enslaved. That is to say

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1. *The Press in India*, by Margarita Barns P. 67
 2. *The Discovery of India* by J. L. Nehru, P. 280.

she had never been drawn into a political and economic system whose centre of gravity lay outside her soil, never been subjected to a ruling class which was, and which remained, permanently alien in origin and character.”¹

This century prepares the ground for the activities of the 20th century. Consciousness in the public of its miserable position under foreign domination is the main development of this period and this was mainly due to the social, political and religious movements started by the reforms and advanced by the press. Richard Cobden, the leading figure of the liberal school of thought, writing in his letter to Mr. Ashworth on October 16, 1867, remarked :—

“The entire scheme of our Indian rule is based upon the assumption that the natives will be willing instruments of their own humiliation. Nay, so confident are we in this faith, that we offer the light of Christianity and a free press and still we believe that they (Indians) will not have wit to measure their rights by our own standards.”²

The Indian society was slow-moving, complete in itself and wedded to medieval customs and manners which couldn't advance with the times. Every good custom loses its vitality in the course of time. The walls of India's caste system created to preserve diversity and give peace and security to the society became a bar in the way of progress. Progress was stopped and society became static. Modern European thought was brought to this country not by officials but thinkers and writers and the press created consciousness among the people. The discovery and appreciation of her past by the heralds of modern civilization gave to the people a feeling of their latent power and a knowledge of their existing miserable condition. Bengal and a part of Madras were first occupied by the English. As a result of the Western impact Bengal developed modern consciousness earlier than other parts of the country. Pt Nehru writes, “Change came to India because of this impact of the West, but it came almost in spite of the British in India. They succeeded in slowing down the pace of that change to such an extent that even today

1. Quoted in *The Discovery of India*, by J. L. Nehru, P. 280

2. Quoted by I. N. Topa, *Growth and Development of National Thought in India*, P. 78

the transition is very far from complete.”¹ The second half of the nineteenth century is the ‘epilogue’ of the British conquest and the ‘preface’ to the Indian independence movement.

The Christian Missionaries achieved a legal position to facilitate their work of evangelization according to the Charter Act of 1813. This made it possible for them to start weeklies, monthlies and periodical pamphlets. Though the influence of the Missionary journals was not much because of the reactionary elements in them which were fought tooth and nail by progressive Indian forces (especially Arya Samaj Journalism) yet this proved an indirect cause of public awakening. Their direct contribution was that they moulded types in the vernaculars for the propagation of the Bible, but this helped in the development of our modern Indian languages.

The Anglo-Indian press had nothing to do with Indians and Indian aspirations. It was in form, as well as in spirit, wholly foreign. Nevertheless, its importance in the history of native journalism cannot be under-valued, for it gave not only the complete model of a newspaper to work upon but also the spirit of questioning and criticism that characterized the Anglo-Indian Press from its very birth, since it was the outcome of a dissatisfaction with the authorities. Indians learnt journalism in those schools and these schools were good and helpful masters. Though started by foreigners, the Indian Press developed into an Indian institution. Dynamic personalities made it into a forceful institution.

The Englishman is proud of his love for liberty. But in the conquered countries the authorities cannot tolerate free criticism. When the English journalists experienced the contrast with England, they raised their voices of protest against the limitations imposed on the press. Many prominent editors who were staying in foreign lands organized this movement for the emancipation of the Indian press, and some noble Englishmen in England made speeches in protest and carried on pamphleteering for the cause.

The Government had been a witness to the power of the press and from that time onwards it has never been willing to recognize the utility of a free and sympathetic critic that newspapers could be turned into. Henceforward, the press was virtually in a state of

1. The Discovery of India by Jawahar Lal Nehru P. 269

seige for years to come with a jealous censorship hanging over its head like the sword of Democles.

This was the reason why there was no growth in the newspaper press from the days of Lord Wellesley to those of Lord Minto (1810-1813). The policy was to crush the power of the press so that it may not be strong enough to make the ease loving, irresponsible and arrogant officers of the Company and the representatives of Britain in India uncomfortable. Though the protests and adverse criticism came exclusively from Englishmen and Europeans as there was no native press in the beginning, the authorities were not slow to notice that this criticism worked direct into the minds of educated Indians. The reason for strict censorship is acknowledged: "It was our policy in those days to keep the natives of India in the profoundest possible state of barbarism and darkness and every attempt to diffuse the light of knowledge among the people was vehemently opposed and resented."¹

Captain Sydenham wishing to gratify a desire expressed by the Nizam to see some of the appliances of European science procured for him three specimen in the shape of an air pump, a printing press and the model of a man-of-war. Having mentioned this in his demi-official correspondence with the Chief Secretary, he was censured for having placed in the hands of a native prince so dangerous an instrument as a printing press and the Resident offered to get it broken up secretly if the Government desired so.

In two years (1800-1801) Wellesley found that editors were not prompt in submitting their proofs for examination, so on May 28, 1801 they were warned. The Government was specially interested in the non-publication of the war news, army lists and official orders excepting those which were sent for publication under the signature of the Secretary.

During the Second Maratha War (1802-1804), the Government viewed with alarm the publication of news concerning the movements of the Company's ships. The Governor General himself wrote to the editors not to publish the information "which may be obtained by the enemy of the situation or strength of any part of

1. Life of Metcalfe-Kaye Vol. II P. 248

His Majesty's Naval Forces in the Indian Sea." The regulations were also applied in Bombay and Madras.

Sir George Barlow, after 1805, continued to give warnings to the editors. In 1807 Minto became the Governor General. In 1811, he issued the order accordingly "it was the duty of the proprietors of all public presses established in this presidency or its dependencies to cause, the name of the printer to be affixed to all works, papers and advertisements printed at or issuing from those presses, and that any breach of these Regulations hereafter would incur the severe displeasure of Government." The reason for the above regulation is that the Serampore missionaries published some pamphlets on the religious beliefs of the Hindus and Muslims. Lord Minto had seen the effect of these pamphlets as preparing the ground for the Vellor Mutiny.

Lord Hastings became Governor-General in 1813. He viewed the Indian Press with sympathy and wanted to liberate it. His influence was extensive on the press as well as on public opinion. When he arrived he saw that the press "was small, disorganized, poor, badly supported by the public, with no worthy traditions, yet groping its way to better things, finding in itself the courage and resources necessary in pioneers and by no means lacking in the view that independence is a condition essential if journalism is to serve the country."¹ And shortly after his arrival in Calcutta he enforced new rules for the control of the printing presses.

Dr. James Bryce, the editor of *The Calcutta Journal* vigorously attacked the censor. If Lord Hastings' administration marked a new era in the affairs of British India, Dr. Bryce's advent might be said to have been accompanied by a radical change in the position and influence of the Indian press. Lord Hastings privately encouraged the Scottish Chaplain Dr. Bryce to be independent of the Company's policy. Hastings was willing to tolerate the press even to the limit of licentiousness. He did not mind an institution of permanent good doing harm temporarily.

Welleseley, by shackling the press, shackled the news itself. England for more than twenty years was deprived of all information about India except that obtained from the servants of her Govern.

1. Modern India and the West. P. 193 Article by W.K. Wordsworth.

ment. Stanhope says—"An endless list, indeed of dangers and oppressions would have been averted by the Press. Among the rest, free discussions might have prevented the military disturbances that took place under the Censorship at Madras. The armies of India never have been so tranquil as during the wise administration of the Marquis of Hastings, though the newspapers were full of discussions on military matters. The soldiers of France, Spain, Portugal and Italy promoted revolutions in those countries. Instead of being abandoned to such desperate remedies, had those countries been in possession of a free press, its timely suppression would have gradually checked and put down abuses."¹

At the instance of Dr. Bryce censorship was abolished in 1818, but the Directors in England didn't like it. So to appease them Lord Hastings had to promulgate the following rules:—

"The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, viz: (1) Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of Council, of the judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. (2) Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population or any interested interference with their religious opinions or observances. (3) The republication, from English or other newspapers, of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to effect the British power or reputation in India.

(4) Private scandals, and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society."

These regulations were hailed in India and the newspaper press once again breathed free air. People again got busy starting new journals, when a few days ago none had dared to do such a thing. Margarita Barns writes that "Most contemporary commentators regarded the new regulations as opening the way to a free press."²

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1. Stanhope—Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India, P. 8.
 2. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns. P. 91

Latter on, the similar regulations were promulgated in Bombay also.

It was during Hastings' time that the first vernacular paper was started by Gangadhar Bhattacharya-The *Bengal Gazette* in 1816. Though its existence was short-lived yet it was the pioneer of the hundreds and thousands of Indian owned newspapers to come.

Hastings showed sympathy to the Vernacular Press and he believed in its utility. In April 1818, Serampore missionaries started their monthly magazine in Bengalee the *Dig Darshan* and on 23rd May 1818 the *Samachar Darpan*.

The same year (1818) in October, James Silk Buckingham started the *Calcutta Journal*. He was a whig and a severe critic of the East India Company's monopoly, taxation etc. As an editor he conceived it his duty "to admonish Governors of their duties, to warn them furiously of their faults, and to tell disagreeable truths."¹ In the absence of a Legislature he considered the Press to be a very necessary check on an irresponsible Government; in his words the Government would be subject to "the control of public scrutiny."² In 1819, he was warned for attacking the then Governor of Madras, His straight forward manner of telling the truth made him unpopular with the authorities and, as a consequence he was served with the sentence of deportation on February 12, 1823, when by an irony of fate John Adam, after Lord Hastings became officiating Governor General on January 13, 1823.

In 1822, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had taken over the charge of *Samvad Kaumudi*, a vernacular paper. He also published a newspaper in persian the *Miratool Akhabar*, in which in addition to comments on news, he also engaged in theological controversy and propoganda for social reform. As he wrote "My only object is that I may lay before the public such articles of intelligence as may increase their experience and tend to their social improvement and that to the extent of my abilities, I may indicate to the Rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects."³

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1. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns P. 95
 2. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns P. 95
 3. Life and letters of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, P. 103

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the father of Indian nationalism, Indian political thought and constitutional agitation.

Within the fortnight after Buckingham's departure; Adam, the Acting Governor-General issued a nine point Ordinance making prior registration and licence of every publication compulsory.

Public opinion was considerably excited at the arbitrary interference of the Government with the liberty of the press. A joint petition by six eminent Indians-Chander Coomar Tagore, Dwarka Nath Tagore, Ram Mohan Roy, Hur Chunder Ghose, Gowree Charan Bannerjee and Prosunn Coomar Tagore was presented. Miss Sophia Collet has rightly called it the "Areopagitica of the Indian Press". The spirit to acquire knowledge is marked everywhere in it. It contained the following passages :

"A complete stop will be put to the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translations into the popular dialects of this country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications.

"Every good ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford to every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed."¹

Nowhere else the reasons for the liberty of the press had been put forward more clearly and more pressingly. But the petition was lost and Raja Ram Mohan Roy in protest declared his paper *Mirat-ul-Akhabar* closed.

Lord Amherst succeeded Adam. He did not like to strangle the press. When certain objectionable passages from the newspapers were submitted for orders in 1825, he said that it would be undesirable for the Government frequently to impose its authority in matters relating to the periodical press; but the Court of Directors in

P. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns, P. 123-124.

England never liked a free press in India. And he had to issue the regulations of 1825, prohibiting the servants of the East India Company from having any connection with the press. This decision was the result of an incident in Bombay, where a member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay was the owner of a newspaper. The Regulation was promulgated in Bombay, Bengal and Madras simultaneously in December 1825.

The first Hindi newspaper *Oodunt Martand* was published in 1826.

The year 1835, when Metcalfe liberated the press, was a turning point in the history of the Indian Press and so in the growth of public consciousness. But a reaction had already begun from 1826. From this year to 1857 the press kept dealing with Indian aspiration and it was waking the sleeping giants of the country. There were several literary, social and religious movements which affected the growth of the press. The first and foremost event which led to the awakening of public consciousness and consequently the press, was the abolition of Sati in 1829. There was much public agitation which resulted in the growth of the Bengali newspaper; so that the people could get a means to propagate their views. With the growth of the press and the awakening of public opinion, the question of the control of the press again came to the fore in 1830. The immediate issue related to the reduction of the allowances given to the Army officers and the proposal to prohibit newspapers from commenting on the orders of Government reducing the allowances. Charles Metcalfe, at this time Member of the Governor-General's Council, expressed his views that on the present occasion it would be definitely better to allow anything to be said than to furnish a new source of discontent by crushing the expression of public opinion which was accepted.

This was a period of renaissance for the Hindu religion. Decadent Hinduism came in contact with virile Christianity which resulted in (a) the development of a new school of thought, professing Hinduism but interpreting it in newer lights, i. e. Neo-Hinduism;

(b) the development of Reformists under the various names of Free-Masons, Brahma-Samaj and Neo-Brahm Samaj;

(c) reactionary orthodox Hinduism asserting itself and fighting to the bitter end for its very existence.

The press enabled these reformers to give wide publicity to their thoughts. All the reformers had a paper or two to propagate their views. In 1828, Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj, its mouth piece was the *Samvad Kaumudi*. In 1839, Devendra Nath Tagore was conducting a separate society Tattva-Bodhini Sabha and its paper was *Tattwa Bodhini Patrika*.

All the above religious movements produced a wave of reaction among the orthodox Hindus. In 1838, Kashi Prasad Ghose founded the Dharma Sabha and as a counter blast to Ram Mohan Roy's *Samvad Kaumudi* started an orthodox journal, *Samvad Timir Nashak*.

About 1849, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar started an agitation for legalising the re-marriage of widows which became an act in 1856.

Though religious movements dominated the period under review, yet political questions were agitating Indian minds. In 1826, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio came to the Hindu College, Calcutta as a professor of History and English Literature. He gave impetus to free discussion on social, moral, religious and political topics. The advanced students of the Hindu College started their Academic Association in 1828 with Derozio as the president. Such associations were advanced by David Hare later on. These young men, better known as "Young Bengal", later on, became the leaders of the community in political and social activities. The Young Bengal movement gave birth to the Enquirer, an English journal *Jnanesu* in Bengali. This movement was inspired by the French revolution and English radicalism, and its inspirer was Derozio. These papers advocated the freedom of the press, the abolition of forced labour among the coolies employed by the Government department and a better treatment of the Indian labour in distant Mauritius. In 1842, the *Bengal Spectator* was started by the same society and this paper dealt with economics and politics. Though it did not last long yet it left a lasting influence on Indian political thought. It advocated a Radical politics of the Western type. Prasanna Kumar Tagore conducted the *Reformer*, the moderate

counterpart of the radical *Enquirer* in the early thirties. Amit Sen writes "This periodical in its reputation lived upto its proud title which refers to the realisation and inculcation of serious thought. There was the germ of a new thought movement, less spectacular but more solid than Young Bengal."¹

The period from 1826 onwards saw the rise of the press of all the sections and in 1832 there were 600 papers in all.

Metcalf was appointed Governor-General in 1835; he has been called the "Liberator of the Press." Social and religious causes had already been taken up and now came the freedom of the press; so the Indian press got impetus from all sides. Metcalfe wanted to establish a perfect uniformity in laws regarding the Press throughout the Indian Empire. As Macaulay wrote while drafting this law, "No Government in the world is better provided with the means of meeting extraordinary dangers by extraordinary precautions. Five persons who may be brought together in half an hour whose deliberations are secret, who are not shocked by any of those forms which elsewhere delay legislative measures, can, in a single sitting make a law for stopping every press in India—— It is acknowledged that in reality liberty is and ought to be the general rule, and restraint the rare and temporary exception."²

The Governor General wrote in the Minute of 27th April, 1835—

"I think that in all our legislation we ought to be very careful not to make invidious distinctions between European and Native Subjects."

"The Native Press has for years been as free as the European and I am not aware that any evil has ensued. It is not certain that effect of free discussions on the minds of the natives must be wholly and solely bad. It may in many respects be otherwise. It may remove erroneous and substitute just impressions."³

The Indian Press was liberated. This gave an impetus to the newspapers and a large number came into existence. The public regarded the measure with favour and testified their admiration by erecting the Metcalfe Hall in Calcutta.

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1. Notes on the Bengal Renaissance by Amit Sen P. 24.
 2. Indian Press by Margarita Barns PP. 210-211.
 3. Indian Press by Margarita Barns P. 218.

The authorities in England looked upon the action of Metcalfe with displeasure yet the Indian press for twenty years to come was not shackled. The direct result of his action was renewed journalistic enterprise, as Marshman and others started the *Calcutta Review*.

The indirect result can be gathered from the following expression given in 1843 :—

“More progressive thought had been made in the past seven years than in the previous twenty six years, educated Indians were beginning to want a newspaper and twentyone vernacular periodicals were appearing there (in Bengal).”¹

Lord Auckland was completely in favour of Sir Charles Metcalfe's liberation of the Indian press, and during his regime cordial relations existed between the press and the government.

New journalistic enterprise was visible soon—“*Sangbad Rosraj*” and *Sambad Bhaskar* were founded in 1839. The following year Marshman published the *Bengal Government Gazette* which aimed at explaining the proceedings of the Government from the constitutional point of view.

At this time atleast five Persian newspapers were in existence. The *Jam-i-Jahannauma*, *Sultan-ul-Akhabar*, the *Mohi-Alam Afraz*, *Mihir Munir* and one more.

By 1839, Calcutta had twenty six European newspapers (six of which were dailies) and nine Indian newspapers. Bombay had ten European journals and four Indian. Madras had nine European journals. Ludhiana, Delhi, Moulmein, Agra and Srirampore had one newspaper each.

Public consciousness had been growing more and more in social and religious fields, now it started going into politics also. Social and religious associations and their papers had been described earlier. In politics, the publications of the Hindu College students were dealt with by such papers as the *Parthenon*, the *Bengal Spectator*, *Hindu Pioneer* and *Jnanesu*.

Jnanesu was giving instructions in the science of Government and Jurisprudence. The *Hindu Pioneer* published articles on Freedom,

1. Modern Indian and the West. Edited by O'Mally P. 191.

'India under foreigners' and the like, while the *India Gazette* wrote on the 'Colonization of India'. Clearly a consciousness of the foreign bondage was coming into existence.

The *Friend of India* quoted the views of Dakshinaranjan who suggested two remedies for Police and other corruption—the Indianization of services and the organisation of public opinion. He said "It is public opinion and not the fear of legal consequences which keeps the Bench in England pure."¹

Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland in 1842. He had no sympathy with the press which resulted in a wide gulf between the government and the press.

J.H. Stocqueler left India in the forties. Commenting on the Indian press he said "I found that (the press) of Western India in 1823 in a childish condition, that of Bengal essentially weakened by commercial failures and gubernatorial prosecution. I remained long enough, with the exception of two brief visits to England, to see it reach a healthy maturity, and to become literally the organ of public sentiment and useful auxiliary of the government."²

Lord Hardinge's reign was peaceful on the press front, In 1848, Lord Dalhousie a curious compound of the radical and the despot came to India as Governor General.

Lord Dalhousie's policy of the annexation of those states whose rulers died without any issue and the annexation of Oudh on the ground of maladministration extended the territories of the Company, but the people of India were becoming more and more discontented with their rulers. The reasons were many along-with policy of annexation, the economic drain resulted in the impoverishment of the people; the racial arrogance of the ruling race and the establishment of the foreign rule which was for the sake of gain created resentment and discontent.

In the expansion of the public mind and political ideas many factors have worked. The press was the main source of educating the public; the secondary sources were the associations which sprang up like oases in the desert. They were the British Indian Association in Bengal (1851), the Bombay Association in Bombay (1851) and

1. Political Thought in Indian by B. Majumadar P. 121.

2. Memories of a Journalist P. 125.

the Madras Native Association in Madras (1851). Besides, new inventions which annihilated space and time played an important part. Telegraph lines were opened and railways constructed. People came closer by the exchange of ideas. The second stage began in fifties when the public mind began to expand.

In 1856, Lord Canning became Governor-General, the last of the line and the first Viceroy appointed by the Crown. He was unlike Dalhousie, sympathetic and liberal but the seeds sown by Dalhousie were to sprout. In fact the seeds had not been sown by any particular person but by the ideology on which British imperialism was based. A Revolt broke out in 1857 against foreign rule, the last armed attempt to throw off this yoke. As Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes—

“It was undoubtedly tinged with some religious motives but the fact that the titular Emperor of Delhi and Peshawa of Poona were the rallying points round whom the efforts to establish Indian Raj revolved, shows the Revolt represented not only the accumulated effect of all that had been perpetrated during a hundred years since Plassey in 1757, but also the natural desire in the human breast of every country and community to be ruled by its own people and no other.”¹

The papers of those times very well reflected the mind of the people and they voiced the burning desire of the nation even before the mutiny started if only Englishmen had cared to see the newspapers. They openly spoke of revolt. Mr. Long in his Report on the Native Press in Bengal, 1859, wrote—

“The opinions of the native Press may often be regarded as the safety valve which gives warning of danger, thus had the Delhi Native Newspapers of January 1857 been consulted by European functionaries they would have seen in them how the Natives were rife for the revolt and were expecting aid from Persia and Russia.”²

It is of course doubtful if the Muslims had actually any reason to expect aid from Russia, but it is true that they were

1. History of Indian National Congress by Pattabhi Sitaramayya P. 6.

2. Quoted by J. Natarajan. History of Indian Journalism P. 66.

seeking the help of the Moslem countries; a Moslem Embassy had actually been sent to Persia.

As soon as the revolt broke out, the Government gagged the Press with an ordinance akin to the press laws of 1823. A permit was necessary for launching any new paper or periodical and the Government observed utmost discretion in granting such a permit. The Ordinance was equally applied to the Indian and the Anglo-Indian papers. In fact the Anglo-Indian press proved more troublesome than the Indian Press. Writing in 1863—Sir George Trevelyn says of the Mutiny papers that :—

“The tone of the press (Anglo-Indian) was horrible. Never did the cry for blood swell so loud as among these Christians and Englishmen in the middle of the 19th century. The pages of those brutal and grotesque journals published by Herbert and Meral during the agony of the French Revolution contained nothing that was not matched and surpassed in the files of some Calcutta Papers.”¹

He further writes—

“To read the (Anglo-Indian) newspapers of that day you would believe that Lord Canning was at the bottom of the whole mutiny; that upon his head was the guilt of the terros of Cawnpore and Allahabad.”

The *Friend of India* wrote an article the ‘Centenary of Plassey’—which offended Indians as it was full of racial arrogance and the editor was warned for publishing the article. The Bombay Anglo-Indian Press was also as furious as that of Calcutta. The Editor of *Bombay Times*, George, Buist, called the Indians “ferocious tigers, treacherous barbarians and cruel savages.”

In Bengal, Harish Chandra Mukerjee, Editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, played the part of peace-maker through the columns of his paper. The *Gujarati* of Bombay also maintained peace. But the *Somprakash* championed the cause of the people who were fighting for liberation.

1. Quoted in the *Rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism* by R. R. Bhatnagar P. 86.

The censorship was limited for one year and when it was withdrawn the production of books, pamphlets and newspapers by Indian writers both in English and Indian languages resumed its growth. Its attitude towards the Government grew more and more critical. After the Mutiny the criticism tended to develop into positive hostility and occasionally an official warning was given to the editors. After the Mutiny, the Indian Empire was taken over by the British Government from the Company and the administration was overhauled from the top to the bottom. But there was no change in the attitude of the Government. The first step Canning took was the establishment of a separate room—known as the Editors Room in his office and he placed before them the papers of public interest. He wanted to compensate for his action taken under the Gagging Act on the *Doorbeen*, the *Sultan-ul-Akhabar*, the *Samachar-Sudhavarshan* etc.

In 1860, when the Indian penal Code came up for final adoption Canning recommended the omission of the sedition section on the ground that it could be injudiciously used against the liberty of the press and the section was omitted.

The mutiny was an upheaval in the Indian life from the political point of view. Indians were deprived of arms so that they may not rise again in an armed revolt. The public became more conscious than it was before the event. The educated class was voicing its criticism of British rule and aspirations for the future. The Hindu Patriot, fast becoming a power, started a campaign of reassurance, strongly supporting the middle path of Lord Canning, disowning the Mutiny on the one hand and resisting on the other, the panicky European clamour for vengeance.

The Indigo disturbances of 1860 made the Bengal Press active again soon after the Mutiny. The two pioneer papers, the *Somprakash* of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and the Hindu Patriot of Harish Chandra, upheld the cause of Indigo cultivators with such success that the European Indigo planters had to yield. They made the peasants combine to demand and secure their rights. Their writings brought about the first organised passive resistance movement in India.

The Government announced that Indigo cultivation was to be carried on a voluntary basis. It provoked a real mass upsurge

amongst the cultivators which has been noted even by the Royal Institute of International Affairs as "a landmark in the history of nationalism." It was a landmark in the growth of public consciousness which created self-confidence among the people.

In 1861, the first constitutional advancement India Councils Act came up, and it stirred the public opinion and resulted in the establishment of a number of newspapers like the Times of India (1861), the Pioneer (1865) and the Gramvarta Prakash (1863).

The Press took a new turn after the mutiny. It became nationalistic in character and aspirations. The vernacular press became more important as it appealed direct to the masses and spoke their own language.

Nanimadhab Chaudhari writes—"In those early days of the second half of the nineteenth century Bengal was the leader of progressive thought, in all matters, of the rest of India, and the Bengal Press was the model for the Press in the rest of India. Political parties had not yet grown up and the leaders of the educated people were the talented editors of Bengal Papers of the time."¹

The press of that day showed a tendency to criticise the misdeeds of the Government. The *Somprakash* in reply to the Harkaru, which charged the paper for spreading disaffection by a criticism of the Government on the Bhutan expedition wrote in 1865 "Every tax-payer has a right to express his opinion on the expenditure of the public money. The troops in Bhutan have become dissatisfied. Are we to be counted enemies to Government because we brought this fact to the notice of Government for redress."² The *Somprakash* pointed out the same year the necessity of framing an Advisory Committee and consulting public opinion before any expenditure was made.

The national movement in the later sixties was started in the press on the following issues —

Constitutional agitation, demand for responsible Government, criticism of finance, the position of Indians, and the rule of the people themselves. This movement got impetus from the writings of J. S. Mill, whose philosophy is discussed later on. The press demanded these rights and powers for the people which our National Con-

1. and 2. Quoted-The Modern Review January, 1954 P: 67.

gress demanded after 30 or 40 years. The demand put forward by the *SomPrakash* in 1865 was "will it not be proper to grant as a favour now those rights which will have to be granted of necessity as a due in the end? It is ridiculous like an old wives' tale to say, 'First become fit and then you will get.' The English certainly possess extraordinary energy and power, but that power has its limits. Let Government commence to introduce gradually an independent constitution in this country."¹ Not only this But the right of taxation was repeatedly emphasised.

The political philosophy of John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) gave impetus to the whole of political thought at this time. He was an expounder of democratic ideas. He wrote "the Government of a people by itself has a meaning and reality; but such a thing as Government of one people by another does not and cannot exist." If such a sort of Government exists then he remarked that "one people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants." His political doctrine was that only the people and none else constituted the Government. The complete participation of the people in the government of their own country was not only political sagacity and expediency but the people's cooperation made the existence of the government real and genuine. According to Mill "the ideally best form of Government is that in which the sovereignty or supreme controlling power, in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty; but being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government; the personal discharge of some public function, local or general."² The Indian newspapers nourished the public mind on these political ideas from the sixties of the 19th century with the hope of realising these ideals. As Mill says "a people may be unprepared for good institution; but to kindle a desire for them is a necessary part of the preparation. To recommend and advocate a particular institution or form of Government, and set its advantages in the strongest light, is one of the modes, often the mode

1. Quoted-The Modern Review. January, 1954 P. 68.

2. Representative Government by J. S. Mill . P. 53.

within reach, of educating the mind of the nation, not only for accepting or claiming, but also for working the institutions.”¹ Our newspapers kindled the desire for good government in the heart of the nation and promised for the people a very good future. To teach a nation didn't mean to lay down the programme for her, but to kindle a desire for good government meant that the nation should acquire an intellectual conviction of the utility of a good government.

In this book he emphatically spoke about the non-participation of the people in their own government and its effect on their general mentality.

“If a people have omitted, or from outward pressure have not had it in their power, to give themselves a constitution by the tentative process of applying a corrective to each evil as it arose, or as the sufferers gained strength to resist it, this retardation of political progress is no doubt a great disadvantage to them.”² He meant that the loss of political power was a great set back for the nation, because “By their own hands only can any positive and durable improvement of their circumstances in life be worked out.”³

Mill's conception of political rights which became the cry of the Indians in the last decade of the 19th century opened the eyes of the educated Indians. The activities of the Indian National Congress and the political agitation by the public were influenced by Mill's ideas who attached great value to public opinion. “It is the duty of Governments and of individuals to form the truest opinions they can; to form them carefully, and never impose them upon others unless they are quite sure of being right. But when they are sure (such reasoners may say), it is not conscientiousness, but cowardice, to shrink from acting on their opinions, and allow doctrines which they honestly think dangerous to the welfare of mankind, either in this life or in another, to be scattered abroad without restraint, because other people in less enlightened times, have persecuted opinions now

1. J. S. Mill *Representative Government*. P. 11

2. *Ibid.* P. 11

3. *Ibid.* P. 11

believed to be true.”¹ The demands were increasing with the time and the papers compared India's position with that of other dominions. The *Somparkash* wrote that the benefits which were sufficient in 1857 were insufficient after mutiny. By what rules are Canada and Australia governed? “Thoughtful Indians compared their situation with that of the inhabitants of these places. Education is rapidly spreading and the people are able to understand the state of the country and what their natural rights are.”² The paper demanded a representative form of Government with the control of the public on the finance and home administration. The Government which fails to take into consideration public opinion, can't be popular. The *Somprakash* wrote in 1870 “Popular opinion is opposed to the Government to an extent which has never been known throughout the whole period of British rule in India.”³ The public grievances were apparent in the sixties of the nineteenth century. “Although” wrote the *Somprakash* (1868) “it is generally allowed that England's mission is to raise India in the scale of civilization and fit her for self Government, yet when the time comes for India to claim independence it will be denied.”

Nanimadhab Chaudhari, referring to a poem published in the *Education Gazette* of the year 1870 wrote :

“As an illustration of the revolutionary twist in the Bengali mind the poem in question is a remarkable piece of literature. The intellectuals of the Renaissance movement in Bengal who propagated all Indian unity and nationalism and recalled past national glories discovered Rajputana and Maharashtra. Shivaji as the symbol of Hindu revival was frequently referred to in the papers, and the appeal to all the provinces of India to unite and dye the soil of India red with the blood of hated aliens are a remarkable performance in 1870. Only twelve years after the Sepoy Mutiny one finds the seed of revolution germinating in the soil of Bengal.”⁴

1. Essays on Liberty by J. S. MILL P. 22

2. The Modern Review. January, 1954 6. 68

3. Ibid, P. 68

4. Ibid, P. 68-69.

In 1862, Lord Elgin became the Viceroy and in 1864 John Lawrence succeeded him. In his regime in the year 1867 for the regulation of the printing presses and the newspapers Act No XXV of 1867 the Press and Registration of Books Act was promulgated.

After 1867 in 1869-70 the Wahabi Conspiracy was discovered so the government felt the necessity of a new measure and Act XXVIII of 1870 was passed which added Section 124-A of, I.P.C. as follows:-

“Who-so-ever, by words, either spoken or intended to be read or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise excites or attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or without fine.”

This section was very vast and vague and could be applied according to the wishes of the rulers and it was done so in the coming years.

The Indian owned English and vernacular journals were growing in strength and number because :

(a) After the Mutiny the people began to clamour for more and more knowledge and the newspapers became a potent force in diffusing knowledge, so they were well received.

(b) A number of social and religious movements such as the Brahma-Samaj, Arya Samaj, Hinduism orthodoxy and the Aligarh movement etc. started with new vigour to propagate their ideas and every institution set up a paper of its own.

(c) The Act of 1867 proved a blessing in disguise. The press became conscious of itself and it started struggling for its own freedom. This is more true of vernacular journals.

The growth of the papers increased with their growing influence. By 1870 there were 644 papers in British India of which 400 were in the vernaculars. Vernacular journals outnumbered the British journals in number as well as in influence.

In 1868, Sisir Kumar Ghosh started the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to ventilate grievances and to educate the public.

In 1870, he put forward a clear demand for Western Parliamentary institutions for India. In the seventies, militant Hinduism (as manifested in the Hindu Mela of the sixties) was a little softened and the national consciousness took on a wider form to include other elements like the militant Brahmos and their associates. The result was sustained political agitation of a modern type and the free use of Western ideas and technique which tended to eclipse the methods of the Hindu Mela and made the movement more political. This in its turn led on directly to the emergence of the Congress.

Sisir Kumar Ghosh wrote in his paper :—

“The chief function of the opposition member is to oppose the Government measures or in other words to seek the interest of the people.”¹

On January 1, 1874, he wrote that the only instrument with which the people could fight the Government was the newspaper. And the public was realising the truth of this. Discussing the Freedom of the Press on July 1, 1875, he wrote “It diverts the discontent of the public from the internal system where it may prove dangerous to the surface.”²

The Anglo-Indian press in the Seventies was strong as well as critical of the Government, like the Indian press. The *Bombay Times* was the most prominent Anglo-Indian paper in Western India, and very influential too, as it was the only organ which employed the Reuters News Services. Almost all the foreign news in the English and the Vernacular papers was borrowed from this paper. In 1875, Knight started the *Statesman* and took charge of the *Friend of India* and in 1872 the *Civil and Military Gazette* was published at Simla.

In 1877, Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, a prince among men, took upon himself the duty of spreading education in the Punjab, so he started the *Tribune*.

In Madras the *Hindu* was the first important Indian Newspaper. It was started in 1878 (20th September). Its first Editors were Messrs. G. Subramaniya Aiyar and M. Viraghavachari.

1. Quoted in the History of Political Thought in India by B. Majumdar P. 374

2. *Ibid.*

“They were potent wheels in the machine that has made Indian journalism the hand-maiden if not something more of Indian nationalism.”¹

The Indian papers were crying for a national government. The preachings of the press prepared the minds of the people for a national struggle. The *Hindoo Patriot* of Kristodas Pal, the organ of land-holders, wrote in 1874 i. e. ten years before the collective wisdom of the nation succeeded in founding the Indian National Congress, after the controversy over the Ilbert Bill that—

“Home Rule for India ought to be our cry and it ought to be based upon the same constitutional basis that is recognised in the colonies.”

The question of the extent to which officers other than Army officers in the services of Government were permitted to associate themselves with the press was re-agitated in 1875, when the Government passed orders that no officer in the service of Government should be permitted without previous sanction to become proprietor of any periodical or to edit or manage any periodical. Officers were not prohibited from contributing to the press, but were directed, in view of their position, to confine themselves within the limits of temperate and reasonable discussion. They were prohibited from making public, without previous sanction, any documents or information which they might be possessing in their official capacity. It was provided that, in cases of doubt, the Government should decide whether any associations of officers with the press were consistent with the discharge of their duties to the Government.

Surendra Nath Banerji resuscitated the *Bengalee* in 1878. The *Hindustan* and the *Hindi Pradeep* advocated nationalism.

With the Russo-Turkish war of 1876, which was joined by the English, the people became critical of the foreign policy of the Government. The most critical was the *Bengalee* press which had long practised political journalism. The Government was immediately conscious of a danger so it promulgated the Vernacular Press Act IX of 1878. It was aimed at the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.²

1. The Newspaper in India. By H. P. Ghosh P. 35.

2. The comments of the Statesman on May 2, 1881 as quoted by J. Natarajan in History of Indian Journalism P. 83.

The administration was alarmed at the rapid growth of the power of the press and began to complain of the extreme nature of the criticisms published in the Vernacular Press. The all comprehensive provisions of Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code could punish offenders after the crime had been committed but could not check the crime being committed. The matter had been receiving consideration for the past two years but in 1878 it assumed sudden importance. On March 13th the Viceroy sent a telegram to the Marquis of Salisbury, then the Secretary of State, stating that "The increasing seditious violence of the native press now directly provocative to rebellion has necessitated the immediate enactment of a special measure on the lines of the Irish Coercion Act of 1870. The provisions of the Bill were outlined in the telegram, and the sanction of the Secretary of State was immediately requested, as the measure was to be passed at a single sitting on the plea of urgency."

"The Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council the very same day, and passed into law within a couple of hours. Thus was the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 more popularly known as the Gagging Act."¹ The Act empowered the Government, if necessary to require the editor of a Vernacular newspaper either to give a bond to print nothing calculated to excite disaffection or to submit his proofs for censoring. In case of a breach of this undertaking, the security deposit with the district magistrate would be confiscated.

The Bill was bitterly resented in India and even in England. The leader of the opposition Mr. Gladstone criticised the Act. On July 23, 1878 speaking in the House of Commons he said:—

"I regret exceedingly the suddenness and rapidity of Lord Salisbury's proceedings in this matter. A telegraphic despatch was addressed to him from India on the 13th of March proposing an entire and immediate change in a fundamental branch of the law in India because I cannot think that the law relating to the press of India is less than a fundamental branch of the law relating to the liberty and the general conditions of the country....."

"But the most unfortunate feature which the measure presents is the removal of Press prosecutions from the judicial establishments of the country, in order that they may be dealt with as matters of

1. Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, Vol. I P. 96 By H. P. Mody.

Executive discretion. I may say that anything more trivial, more important than the pleas that are argued on behalf of this peculiar proceedings, I cannot conceive.

“I am sorry to find in these papers reference to the Irish Press as a sanction and an example to guide Indian Legislation. In the first place I am not prepared to say that our own Press Acts when we have resorted to them under a sense of necessity, have entirely attained their end. I conceive it to be a very arguable question whether the precise thing has been done was exactly wise or not. But whether that be so or not, it had nothing to do with the action taken by the Viceroy of India. It was an Act essentially temporary which was passed for the Irish Press; it was never intended to bring about a permanent change in the status of the Irish Press; and in the next place and what is more important and vital in this case, we did not restrain the Irish Press for mere disaffection but for the security of human life.”

The Press Act aroused a storm of opposition in Indian educated circles especially in Bengal where it was strictly enforced. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* knowing the fact that the Act was specially meant for it turned into English over night. It had grown into an institution in itself by now.

Any contravention of the provisions of the Act was punishable not only with forfeiture of the bond but also with seizure of the Press (of Emergency Powers Act of 1831.) The British Government objected to the provision which allowed the editor to avoid the necessity of depositing a security by submitting to a censorship on the ground that, having regard to the wide variety of languages in India, the censor would have to go into the question of motives and that he would, in point of fact, have to write the newspapers. Accordingly, the provisions regarding censorship were deleted, and Government appointed a Press Commissioner in order to keep the Press fully and impartially furnished with accurate current information in reference to such measures or intentions on the part of Government as were susceptible of immediate publication without injury to the interests for which the Government was responsible. The press Commissionership was abolished in 1881 by Lord Rippon.

In the first issue of the *Kesari*, which appeared on 4th January 1881 it was observed "the voice of flunkeyism has been spreading since the beginning of imperial rule; but every straightforward man will admit that it is injurious to the true interests of our country." The *Maharatta* proclaimed in its first issue on 2nd January 1881, the need of combating the following—(1) Ryotwari system of land tenure, (2) the destruction of native municipal and judicial institutions, (3) grinding taxation and (4) costly government machinery. These papers educated the people how to criticise the bureaucracy at its early stages.

Lord Ripon, in consonance with his policy of conciliation and reforms, took measures for the liberation of the Vernacular Press. He came to India with instructions from the Government of Gladstone which came into power in 1880 to repeal the obnoxious Act.

It was repealed in 1882 by Act III of the year, which however, maintained the power of the Post Office authorities to search for and seize any Vernacular publication of a seditious nature, and to seize any seditious material the importation of which had been prohibited under the Sea Customs Act, 1875.

By the repeal of the Press Act, the Vernacular Press was freed. The insistent preachings of all the sections of the press resulted in creating the ideas of united nationality, national interest and politics in their wider aspects for the good of the country in the eighties of the 19th century. This patriotic fervour had thrown aside all local and sectional considerations into the back-ground. It was not the growth of a year or two. Even before 1880 economic conditions had been growing more and more straightened. And the people were looking for a single organisation to come up to guide them.

The Ilbert Bill agitation pushed the fervour a step forward. The Indians realised that individual efforts would not be so useful in political world as organised efforts. "Forces were thus at work driving the people from different points of compass to a common fold and to concentrate their thoughts, ideas and activities to a common focuss for the attainment of the political rights and privileges of the people who being under a common rule, it was understood could have but a common good and a common destiny. All

the time the Indian Press throughout the country was incessantly urging the people to unite under a common standard."¹

Almost simultaneously with the close of the Ilbert Bill Agitation, some political associations like the National League of Calcutta, the Madras Mahajan Sabha and the Bombay Presidency Association became active. The Mahajan Sabha and the newspaper, the Hindu became the thoughtful and sagacious guide of public life in Madras. In Bengal, at the instance of the Indian Association in 1883, a National Conference was held at Calcutta with the same programme as was subsequently formulated by the first Indian National Congress in 1885. The ground for the Indian National Congress was not prepared in a year or two but was the outcome of the hard work of the press and the platform during the last two decades.

With the advance of public consciousness the press run by the Indians was gaining influence and strength. Its defects and uses are well described by Mazumdar. He writes "It is not contended that a section of this Press was not altogether amendable to the charge so often levelled against it, that it was as inefficient as it was ill-informed and injudicious; but it can hardly be denied that on the whole the much-abused Indian Press acted not only as a powerful adjunct towards popular education, but might have with a little more sympathetic treatment been easily turned into a useful guide to a more popular administration."²

The Anglo-Indian Press was by and by growing jealous of this rival. During this period a clear distinction between the two sections was taking place. John Bright's observations on the Indian Press are remarkably true of the actual working of the press. He observed—"There are two sets of newspapers, those first which are published by Englishmen, and these being the papers of the services, cannot, of course, be in favour of economy. They assail me every time I mention India in a speech, if it is even only in a paragraph, and no doubt they will do the same for what I am saying now. Then there are the native papers; and although there are a great many published in the native languages, still they have not much what we call political influence. The Government officials look

1. Indian National Evolution by A. C. Muzumdar P. 39.

2. " " " " " PP. 22 23.

into them to see if they are saying anything unpleasant to the Government—anything that indicates sedition or discontent, but never for the purpose of being influenced by the judgement of the writers and editors. The actual press of the country, which touches the Government is the press of the English; and that press generally has been in favour of annexation of more territory, more places, more salaries and ultimately more pensions.”¹

In 1883, Surendra Nath Banerjee was sentenced to two months imprisonment for commenting in the *Bengalee* of 2nd April on the proceedings of the High Court involving exposure of a Hindu Idol which was taken as contempt of the Court. He said that he had “the honour of being the first Indian of my generation who suffered imprisonment in the discharge of a public duty.”

This case contributed the progress of the nationalist press. As S. N. Banerjee wrote in his book “A Nation in the making”—

“It gave impetus to journalism. The *Sulabh Samachar* had been started as a pice paper by the late Keshab Chander Sen but the movement for cheap journalism had languished. Now however it received an awakened impulse and the passionate desire for news. Babu Jogendra Nath Bose started the *Bangabasi* as a pice paper. His example was followed by Babu Kristis Kumar Mitter. The *Bangabasi* and the *Sanjibeni* still continue to hold an important place in the journalist world of Bengal.”²

The repressive measures of the government exerted an adverse effect on the public. Instead of being calmed down, the public became more conscious and the press became more vigilant. The *Hindu* of Madras changed into a tri-weekly from a weekly. The *Hindu* began to be published from London the same year. The press was the most effective weapon to prepare the public, but for practical activities a political forum was required. The year 1885, is a memorable year in Indian political history though nobody was conscious of the fact at that time. The first session of the Congress was held at Poona in December 1885. The nationalist papers championed the cause of the Congress.

1. Indian National Evolution By A. C. Mazumdar P. 23.

2. A Nation in the Making By S. N. Banerjee P. 74.

The last two decades of the 19th century witnessed the growth of public opinion much more quickly than in the past. The reasons are external as well as internal. Time was marching on. The 19 century began in England with a very marked development in social ideas, it closed when science had made many old things useless. Universal education, a cheap press, railways, the electric telegraph and many other mechanical inventions tended to democratise the national life. Inevitably the influence of these changes was felt in India and the succeeding sessions of the Congress provided evidence that Indian Political opinion was more advanced than Government of India thought it to be.

The bureaucracy never viewed a free press in India with favour because a free press and the domination of strangers was incompatible. Criticism was growing with the growth of public consciousness to secure independence. And bureaucracy explored every avenue of repression to cripple the independence of the Press. The *Sulabh Samachar* was revived by the government as its mouth piece to support its policies and influence the public. Besides it was in search of some novel method to penalise the press.

The opportunity was seized by the government on the publication in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of news regarding the occupation of Gilgit and the virtual annexation of Kashmir. The Government passed an Act to prevent the disclosures of official documents and information. Act XV of 1889 was passed by the Legislative Assembly sitting in Simla without the non-official members. In his speech the Governor-General Lord Lansdowne remarked as follows —

“I may, perhaps, be permitted to enforce what I said by referring to a recent case in which a particularly scandalous disclosure of official information has taken place. A Calcutta journal the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in a recent issue published what professed to be the text of a document described as the original one of which His Excellency will find in the foreign office and so containing the real reason why the Maharaja of Kashmir had been deposed.”

This disclosure was as important as the publication on 9th July, 1878, by the *Globe* in England of the text of the secret Cyp-russ convention. This publication came as a thunder-bolt to the British Embassy in Berlin confronting two British plenipotentiaries,

Disraeli and Salisbury. This was an act of gross breach of faith on their European colleagues. But the love for liberty forced the British Government not to make any law on the subject.

Sympathetic Englishmen and Indians living in England wanted to influence the public opinion of that country, so the British Committee of Indian Affairs founded a journal *The India* in 1890, to advocate the cause of the Indian people for constitutional advancement before the British public.

Another important journal founded in India was the *Indian Social Reformer* at Bombay. The main object of the paper was to advocate social reforms but it dealt with politics too.

The last decade of the 19th century is full of agitation on the part of the people, and this resulted in the gagging of the press and the liberty of person by the Government. On 19th March 1891, the Age of Consent Bill was passed and it was resented by the press on the ground that the Bill interfered with the religious customs of the people.

The first sedition case took place in the same year. The editor of the *Bangabasi* of Calcutta was charged for sedition under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code.

The Age of Consent Bill agitation affected the destiny of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. It was still being published as a weekly but public opinion required a daily organ of expression; therefore, on February 19, 1891, the *Patrika* began its career as a daily newspaper.

In the same year, on 25th June, a Government of India Notification (Foreign Department) was promulgated. This restricted the rights of the free Press in the Native States. The Notification was—

“Whereas some misapprehension has hitherto existed as to the regulations in force in territory under the administration of the Governor-General in Council, but beyond the limits of British India, with reference to newspapers published within such territory, the Governor General in Council has been pleased to make the following orders :—

1. No newspaper or other printed work, whether periodicals or other, containing public news or comments of public news, shall, without the written permission for the time being in force of

the Political Agent, be edited, printed or published after 1st August 1891 in any local area administered by the Governor General in Council but not forming part of British India.

2. If this is contravened the Political Agent may by order in writing—

(a) Require him to leave such local area within seven days from the date of such order.

(b) and prohibit him from re-entering such local area without the written permission of the Political Agent.

3. Disobedience of orders mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph shall make one liable to forcible expulsion."

The Congress of 1893 protested against this measure, which was a death blow to the liberty of the news papers in the Native States.

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 marked a constitutional advancement. The Indian public was getting one cause after another to keep itself awake and was never overpowered by slumber. A new spirit was born, the spirit of self-reliance and manliness and the spirit of sacrifice to win freedom for the country. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 enfranchised some recognised public bodies and constituencies and gave the members of Supreme and Local Legislative Councils the right to put questions to Government on matters of administration; also the right to discuss the annual budget. But the aspirations of the country were higher.

"But such as it was" writes Pat Lovett, "the Lansdowne Act was a white stone in the progress of journalism which has since proceeded *pari passu* with the expansion of political freedom. The debates in the Central legislature acquired a new zest for the leading newspapers of India which had consequently to be enlarged and produced at a heavier cost."¹

It fundamentally affected the Indian owned press by a decomposition of primitive ideas and caused a clearer appreciation of things not only among Indian publicists but among their critics also.

Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Lansdowne in 1894. His regime was note worthy on the press front because an amendment of the sedition of the Indian Penal Code was made.

1. Journalism in India by Pat Lovett.

In 1894 water-cess was raised by executive orders from Rs. 4/- to Rs. 5/- per acre. These ever increasing taxes and cesses were partly at the root of the ever recurring famines. In 1866, there was a famine in India and not less than 20 million people died, another famine in 1868-69 swept the country. Till the end of the century the country experienced famine after famine and the most devastating was the famine of 1896, the severity of which was unparalleled in Indian history. The Indian press made it clear to the people that the economic policy of the Government was responsible for these famines. It clarified the vision of the people. The papers, while expressing discontent, voiced a challenge. To add to the miseries of the people, the famine was followed by an out-break of plague. There was great indignation when the military was used to search the houses in Poona for suspected plague cases. Tilak and others severely criticised the Military action in their respective papers. The Government was seriously alarmed at the outbreak of violence at Poona and elsewhere too. It was convinced that this violence was due to the teachings of the press, so it was proposed that one new section should be added to the Indian Penal Code. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes,—commenting on the Sedition Act “while the chronic sores of abridged jury powers, and combined Judicial and Executive functions were still festering and showed no signs of improvement, new ulcers broke out in body politics in 1897 which brought to light Regulation III of 1818 (Bengal), II of 1819 (Madras) and XXV of 1827 (Bombay) under which anybody could be deported without trial. This was applied to the Sirdars Natu who by the time the Congress of 1897 met had been imprisoned over 5 months.”¹

The action taken was drastic and even the notification required under these regulations was not given before the order of imprisonment. The year 1897 was a reactionary year in every sense. Section 124-A of the Indian Penal code was amended. The Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir Alexander Manckenzie wrote in the following words :—

“It is clear that a sedition law which is adequate for the people ruled by a Government of its own nationality and faith may be

1. The History of Indian National Congress, Vol. I By P. Sitaramayya, P. 36.

inadequate or in some respects unsuited for a country under foreign rule and inhabited by many races with diverse customs and conflicting creeds.

“Ever since the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act the Native Press has been year by year growing more reckless in its mode of writing about the Government, Government officers and Government measures.”

Lord Elgin, in his concluding speech said “Only partial justice is done to us when it is said that we have abstained from proposing an enactment aimed at the vernacular Press, because as a matter of fact our legislation is not a Press Act at all. It lays down certain rules of conduct, by observing which any member of the community can keep within the law, rules which are applicable to all and show favour to none.”

The Bill, as Act IV of 1898 was passed amending Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. It reads as follows :—

“124- A. Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, brings or attempts, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added or without fine.”

A new Section 153-A was also added to the Penal Code to punish acts of “promoting enmity between classes.” It reads as follows :—

“153-A. Whoever, by words either spoken or written, or by visible representation, or otherwise, promotes or attempts feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty’s subjects shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.”

Explanation :—

It does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section to point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty’s subjects.”

Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code was amended as follows :—

“505. Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report,

(a) With intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of Her Majesty or in the Royal Indian Marine or in the Imperial Service Troops to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such; or

(b) With intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, whereby any person may be induced to commit any offence against the State or against the public tranquillity; or

(c) With intent to incite, or which is likely to incite, any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community; shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Exception :—

It does not amount to an offence, within the meaning of this section, when the person making, publishing or circulating any such statement, rumour or report has reasonable grounds for believing that such statement is true, and makes, publishes or circulates it without any such intent as aforesaid.”

Besides, there was another measure enacted simultaneously with Act IV of 1898 was the Act V of 1898. Section 108 was inserted in the Criminal Procedure Code. It was designed to prevent “the dissemination of seditious matter either orally or in writing, by means of a system of personal security.”

A Select Committee was appointed to consider the Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code in 1898 consisting of Messrs M. D. Chalmers, C. M. Rivaz, C. C. Stevens, H. E. M. James, Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu, Sir Griffith H. P. Evans and Maharaja Bahadur Lakshmishwar Singh.

Mr. C. C. Stevens, who could realise the position of the India Press said—

“The position of the Native Press must necessarily be peculiar. It must, from the nature of things, be always in opposition. If we

found a Native Paper constantly expatiating on the blessing of English rule, on the unmixed advantages of Western Civilisation, and on the administrative and private virtues of English Officials, we think we should not respect the editor or his staff the more for it, we should think him a hypocrite who was playing what he considered to be a paying game.

“We must, therefore, look to Native writers for criticism of Government measures and of Government servants.”

The Indian members of the Select Committee signed the report with notes of dissent. The Indian members of the Council Mr. Chitnavis, Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu, Pt. Bishambhler Nath and Mr. Sarjani objected to the bill. Their apprehensions came out true when the bill ultimately became the Press Act of 1910.

The *Kesari* had developed into not only an important paper but into an institution which exerted much influence on the minds of the public. Poona had developed into a hot-bed of political activities. The Government supposed that all the Poona activities and political murders by the Chipalankar brothers were due to the inflammatory writings of the *Kesari*. Tilak was the editor of the paper so he was charged for sedition. The alleged seditious matter was contained in two different publications, one of which appeared in the issue of the 15th June 1897, “Shivaji’s Utterances” and the other purported to be a report of the proceedings of the Shivaji Coronation Festival and the summary of the speeches made at the celebration of 12th June— A portion of the utterances is produced here “Alas; Aals; I now see with my own eyes the ruin of my country What a desolation is this; Foreigners are dragging our Lakshmi (affluence) violently by the hand (or by taxation), by means of persecution. Relentless death moves about spreading epidemics of diseases.”² Tilak was sentenced to eighteen months rigorous imprisonment in the year 1897 on this charge.

The editor and the proprietor and publisher of a newspaper called the *Pratod*, which was published at Islampur Satara District were prosecuted for an article which appeared on the 17th May 1897. It was called “Preparations for becoming independent.” They wrote—

1. The History and Law of Sedition By W. R. Donough. P. 33.

“Canada is a country in North America under the British rule, the people of which have now become intolerant of their subjection to England. Though they are subject to the British people, they are not effeminate like the people of India. It is not their hard lot to starve themselves for filling the purse of Englishmen.” They were sentenced to one year’s rigorous and three months’ simple imprisonment respectively.

In July the same year, Amba Prasad, the proprietor, editor and publisher of a newspaper called the *Jamil-Ul-Ulam* was charged with sedition.

Surendra Nath Banerjee made an eloquent speech on the action of the Government—

“We regard the quartering of the punitive police at Poona as a mistake, we regard the imprisonment of Mr. Tilak and the Poona editors as a still greater mistake. For Mr. Tilak my heart is full of sympathy, my feelings go forth to him in his prison house. A Nation is in tears.”¹

Sections 124-A and 153-A created resentment against the Government.

Secret Press Committees were established in the districts in 1898. It evoked a vehement protest in the Congress of 1898. Mr. Kelkar criticised “the hateful institution of the Press Committees which are only a thinly veiled Press censorship and as such a distinct disgrace to British India.”

In 1897; the *Indian Daily News*, practically owned and actually dominated by David Yule, held a position midway between the ultra conservative Englishman and the tentatively Radical Statesman.

In 1888 Shirley Tremearne, businessman who was also a practical lawyer and an industrious writer to the Press, founded *Capital*, a weekly journal of commerce and Finance.

Much about the same time Pat Doyle, a Civil Engineer, started *Indian Engineering* which, during his life time, was a scientific publication of great merit. In 1899, Sachchidanand Sinha founded the *Hindustan Review*, a journal of political, historical and literary

1. The History and Law of Sedition By W. R. Donough P. 43.

interest. The *Anrīta Bazar Patrika*, the *Rais* and *Ryot*, the *Indian Mirror*, the *Tribune*, the *Indian Social Reformer*, the *Hindu* etc., had grown much in power and exerted considerable influence on the public.

Lord Curzon became the Viceroy of India in 1899.

The close of the century saw a critical state of affairs. The Indian public was clamouring for political advancement. When the Government did not respond to their call, the agitation grew intense and even a terrorist movement existed in the twentieth century for a few years. The Press had developed the power of public opinion behind it. The Bureaucracy was always afraid of this power and tried to shackle it with every novel device.

The New Spirit

(1900 to 1910)

The dawn of a new century witnessed the birth of the new spirit which increased in strength and volume with the growth of national consciousness among the people and bade fair to inaugurate a New era in the history not only of India but the whole of the "unchanging East" which was suffering from unrest. Unrest is the 'manifestation of active life.' The lethargy of ages imputed to the East had slowly passed away and Oriental conservatism became an exploded myth. The old spirit had yielded place to new. The defeat of the Italians by the Abyssinians in 1896 may indeed be noted as the first decisive victory gained by troops that may be reckoned Oriental over a European army in the open field, for at least three centuries. The Japanese war, in which Russia lost battles not only on land, but also at sea, was even a more significant and striking warning that the era of facile victories in Asia had ended; since never before in all history had had an Asiatic navy won a great sea-fight against European fleets. The educational movement in Afganistan, the sudden appearance of a constitutional parliament in the kingdom of the Shah, the Boer war against the British, the revolt of the masses in the land of the all powerful Czar for their bread and liberty, the surging democracy of Turkey and the nationalistic programme in Egypt worked as a spark in the gun-powder of Indian political fervour. The Promethean spark had been communicated to the dead bones of Indian life. The men whose minds had been fed on the literature of Mill and Burke first by the press and then by the platform had awakened to a sense of their political

serfdom. Statesman like Macaulay had sounded a warning note long ago that sooner or later the day was to come when England would have to face the contingency of a reformed and renovated India, which pulsating with new life and breathing the spirit of freedom, would demand and persist in demanding, for the children of her soil, higher political rights and privileges. That prophecy had been fulfilled, that day had come and that contingency had passed from the stage of a bare possibility to a hard reality.

There were a multitude of causes in operation to bring about this unique revolution affecting the life and welfare of the people of India. This was an axiomatic truth that the new spirit, sweeping over the waters of the East was to leave its marks upon our own peninsula despite the barriers placed by nature. The most potent factor was the Indian Universities. As night follows the day, aspiration was the logical outcome of education. These aspirations kindled the hunger for political liberty. India was on the path of the evolutionary revolution. The evolution of the world was marked by successive changes passing through darkness to light and light to darkness. The times had changed and the people too had changed with the times. "As in the morning the world light travelled from the East to the West, so towards the beginning of the last century the returning light began to proceed from the West to the East."¹ From the time of the French Revolution the Oriental virtues of Duty and Faith were replaced by the manly virtues of Right and Reason. The philosophers of modern times were no more saints of solemn solitude, but they lived in the buzz and bustle of the crowd and preached the gospel of liberty and action. As Vivekanand said, "Liberty of thought and action is the only condition of life, of growth and well-being. Where it does not exist the man, the race, the nation must go." He gave a call to the nation "Awake, arise and stop not till the goal is reached."

It was futile on the part of the Government to try to repress this spirit—such an overpowering current flowing through the very mind of the nation—which was not a mere importation from the West. The present is the child of the past. It was the logical outcome and necessary completion of the philosophy of the past."...

The past is ever with us and all that we have comes from the past. We are its products and we live immersed in it.”¹ It was the product of time—a genuine growth from within. “Any Vital action springs from the depths of the being. All the long past of the individual and even of the race has prepared the background for the psychological moment of action. All the racial memories, influences of heredity and environment and training, subconscious urges, thoughts and dreams and actions from infancy and childhood onwards, in their curious and tremendous mixup inevitably drive to the new action.”² Hence the new spirit was not an antagonistic to, but in harmony with the old.

The spirit of political freedom which had been slowly seething in the Indian mind so long was visible on the surface. The people realized that the time had come for a departure from the ideas of praying, requesting and petitioning. The craving for political liberty made them desirous to throw away the yoke of servitude. The press was a potent factor in manifesting thoughts on liberty and unrest. Wendell Phillips had rightly said—“What gun-powder did for war the Press has done for mind.” The Press disseminated the aims and aspirations of the new spirit. The message of the pen knows no boundaries—it goes from nation to nation across the mountains and oceans. And this tremendous work is accomplished through these tiny sheets sent every morning, every week and every month. The philosophy of British imperialism was to crush the new spirit which was shaking the very foundation of British Empire. To crush the new spirit it had to crush the sources of inspiration so the press was shackled by every possible method that human ingenuity could invent.

When the 20th century began Lord Curzon was at the helm of affair in India. He was one of the ablest but not the noblest Viceroys who visited this land. In his imperialistic dreams and despotic action, he did not pay any heed to the new spirit brooding over the country and ruled it in total disregard of public opinion. “In a speech, immediately after his appointment as Viceroy of India, he said, ‘the essential qualities of a Viceroy of India were courage and sympathy.’ “Courage he had in abundance, the courage to

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1. The Discovery of India By J. L. Nehru P. 6
 2. The Discovery of India By J. L. Nehru P. 6

defy public opinion, and to exalt his personal ideals above those of the community he governed; of sympathy he had but little."¹ Curzon created the New India. His reactionary and retrogressive policy—passing measure after measure in complete disregard of the people's wishes was a challenge to the country.

'New time calls for new changes' and history declared that reforms postponed lead the way to disaster. Lord Curzon instead of granting reforms over-centralised the administration by holding all the strings in his own hands; de-Indianised the services by distrusting Indians and their abilities and honesty for administration, officialised the Universities and gagged the press by passing the Official Secrets Act. The key-note of his administration was that the bureaucracy knew what was good for the people.

History shows that repression leads to unrest—unrest leads to activity and activity is productive of its own fruit—organisation or anarchy. The coming years were fruitful in both spheres—organisational as well as anarchic activities.

The first decade of the 20th century witnessed agitation on the press front with the rapid growth of political journalism. In January 1900, G. A. Natesan started the *Indian Review* with a determination that the articles will be devoted to the welfare of India. Surendra Nath Banerjee was editing the '*Bengalee*' from Calcutta. G. Subramania Iyer started a weekly paper, the *United India*, in 1903 and took over charge of the *Swadesmitran*, a Tamil daily. In the editorial of the *Indian World*, January 1908, commenting on the Silver Jubilee of the *Swadesmitran*, the editor wrote, "It is no exaggerated claim on behalf of Mr. Iyer that he is almost the maker of public opinion in Southern India." N. N. Ghose's *Indian Nation* and Malabari's *Indian Spectator* published at Calcutta and Bombay respectively were the most thoughtful weeklies. The chief paper in U.P. was Babu Ganga Prasad Verma's *Advocate* published from Lucknow. In 1903, Sachchidanand Sinha started the *Indian People* which was incorporated with the *Leader* later on; Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya as the first editor started the *Indian Union* from Allahabad which was taken over by Brahmanand Sinha but it did not survive long. In the Punjab, the *Tribune* in the hands of N. Gupta

1. A Nation in Making. S. N. Banerjee P. 156

established its reputation as one of the best papers of the country. When Sir Dennis Fitz Patrick was Lt. Governor of the Punjab, the *Tribune* was almost a power in the province, so much so that the Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, once enquired whether the province was being governed by Sir Dennis or by the *Tribune*. From 1906 to 1910, there were signs of political awakening in the Punjab. The *Punjab Kesari*, the *Panth Granthi*, the *Beer*, the *Saiha Dhandora* etc. were the Punjabi papers of the time. B. C. Pal published a weekly, the *New India* from 1903, which did splendid work in the cause of National Renaissance, Nationalism, National Education and the New Spirit. In Deccan, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was editing the *Kesari* which was the maker, instructor and inspirer of public opinion. Though V. Chirol meant quite another thing, Tilak was in the right sense "the Father of Indian Unrest." He declared for the first time that—"Freedom is our birth-right." Which became the slogan and principle of our struggle for independence. Through the columns of the *Kesari* he spread the cult of nationalism. It became a house-hold word in Maharashtra. In the remote districts of the Maharashtra the word *Kesari* was understood to mean newspaper. The style of the *Kesari* was simple. It was published for the mass of ignorant population who had no idea of the things passing around them. He was assisted in his work by his other paper the *Maharatha*. The *Maharatha* used to keep in view "the more advanced portion of the community, who require to be provided with material for thinking intelligently on the important topics of the day." It was an authoritative organ of educated public opinion in its relation to the Government in Maharashtra. His followers propagated his views through the columns of their papers such as the *Kal*, the *Rashtramat*, and the *Hindi Kesari* which was a Hindi version of Tilak's *Kesari*. The Malayalam *Manorama* of Kottayam created an instinct for the news among Malayali speaking people. The *Desabhimani* and the *Sahodaran* stood for social justice in Travancore. Among the Anglo-Indian papers the *Pioneer*, the *Times of India*, the *Englishman*, the *Statesman*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Madras Mail* etc. were prominent. The Anglo-Indian papers always supported Government measures and policies, excepting the *Statesman* which maintained an independent view till 1910. In their expressions they were severe critics

of Indians, their national movement and the policies of the Indian papers. The Government was also showing favouritism to the Anglo-Indian papers. The long list of the press prosecutions hardly included the names of any Anglo-Indian editor who was punished. The Administrative Reports of different provinces produce the following statistics about newspapers. The total number of newspapers in Bengal varies from 84 to 94 upto 1910 and the periodicals 161.¹ In U.P. the number was 119 newspapers and periodicals 227 in 1911.² In Bombay 158 papers were published in the year 1904-5.³ In the Punjab, the total number showed an increase in the number of papers from 160 in 1900-1901 to 271 in 1906-7.⁴ The Presidency of Madras gave the total number of newspapers and periodicals in 1902-3 as 234 out of which Tamil papers were heading the list.⁵

The Moral and Material progress Report of 1911-12 says that in 1901-2 the number of newspapers was 708 and by 1907-8 it had reached the figure 753.⁶

The Press, the public and the Government formed a triangle. All three were influenced by one another. The political condition of the country was to influence every sphere of life and the new spirit was to influence the political, social and economic condition of the country. The press was an integral part of the nation. It was to play the role of communicator and intermediary between the Government and the public. As S.N. Banerjee wrote "The editor must indeed guide and lead public opinion, though he cannot go violently against it."⁷ The press indeed depicted the spirit of the age and the *Baroda Vatsal* on 13th May, 1900, wrote "Equality, Fraternity and Liberty are the guiding lights of the progressive 20th century. In this age nobody would like to be trodden down either through social or political disabilities."⁸

1. The Administration Report Bengal 1902 to 1910

2. The Administration Report U.P. 1901 to 1911

3. The Administration Report Bombay 1904 to 1905

4. The Administration Report Punjab 1900 to 1906-7

5. The Administration Report Madras 1902-3

6. The Moral and Material Progress report 1911-1912. P. 362

7. S. N. Banerjee—A Nation in Making P. 171

8. Report on Native Newspapers Bombay 1900. Week ending 19th May.

While guiding the minds of the public towards the new light of the age, the press made the public conscious of its miserable position. In the words of *Ananda Bazar Patrika* January 4, 1900,

“A paternal system of Government and a centralisation policy like those which prevail in this country cannot but make the people hanker for services and depend on the state for an improvement of their condition. We are real beggars and occupy a most inferior position in the scale of nations. It is to this want of self-help and self-reliance that we have lost our wealth, our honour, our self respect, our everything. Skeletons of humanity as we are, we are passing our days like the ghosts in the cremation ground with the greatest difficulty in the most disreputable manner.”¹

The 20th Century began with natural calamities—bubonic plague and famine occurring alternately and this embittered the public towards the Government. Famines in India under British rule became frequent, e.g. they occurred in 1771, 1798, 1838, 1867, 1875, 1896, 1899 and 1900. The *Swadeshmitran* of 2nd April 1901 wrote—“This is the fact that four great and fourteen small famines have visited India during this period (last twenty years) and caused enormous loss to the people. In the famine of 1900 alone the damage of crops has been estimated at not less than 100 crores of rupees while the value of the cattle that died during this period amounted to several crores of rupees.”

The famine was ghastly and staggering beyond words. Men, women and little children died in thousands daily for lack of food. The press was unanimous in denouncing the Government. Even the British Press including the *Morning*, the *Leader*, the *New Age* etc. criticised the policy of the Government. The press was trying to go into the root of the matter. For example, the *India* on 19th January 1900, focussed attention on the famines in India and the apathy and maladministration of a foreign Government.

The cry of the Indian Press was that famines in India were not due to lack of food but due to want of money to purchase food. And money was wasted over the North-West frontier to the tune of £ 100,000,000 during the last forty years of the 19th century and

1. Report on Native Newspapers Bengal—January to December 1900.

had been drained to London to the tune of probably ten times as much. Real progress demanded the checking of this fatal drain, bridling the military spirit, reducing expenditure and the taxes so as to let the people get out of their debts. But some papers in Britain and some Anglo-Indian papers wrote that famine was not due to poverty. "Why not add" replied Hyndman, "Death is not due to deficient vitality."

The belief was growing fast that India was ruled primarily for England, that Indian interests were sacrificed for her sake. England aimed at a continuous exploitation of the wealth of this country and the key note of her policy was that 'India must be bled white' the laconic expression of Lord Salisbury. After a century's British Rule India's economic condition was discussed by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and India's economic position in 1800 was compared with that of 1900. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of January 2nd, 1901 wrote :—

"The annual drain of £ 30,000 from British India has amounted in thirty years at twelve per cent (the usual Indian rate of interest—compound interest to the enormous sum of £ 723,900,000 sterling... ..At the end of this century India has no working capital, all her working capital has under a mistaken system of Government, been drained to another country, and she is in herself wholly resourceless as resources go among modern nations."¹

Discussing the industries it wrote that from 1857 to 1890 shipping was reduced to one seventh and other industries abolished. In the Government services "Indians were at the top of the tree. Now Europeans occupy the important position."

The *India* of November 25, 1904 wrote that the drain on the resources was "a continuously increasing one. In 1858 it was 7½ million, in 1876 13½ million and in 1902-03 18½ million." It says further "8000 Europeans drew on an average of £607 a year per head" while "130,000 Indians drew £36 per head a year—"

Such utterances of the nationalist press were not futile, they were eye-openers for Indians. These words did not fall on barren ground but on the fertile ground and germinated into a nationwide agitation. 'Agitation is the element of man, it is the life of

1. and 2. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 2, 1901.

society' (Burke). The press from the very beginning led the public towards the road of agitation for its right demands, but it was beyond its power to start the actual fighting. The Congress completed the task, diverted the scattered energies of the nation into one channel.

In 1900, the Government proposed the Telegraphic Messages Bill. Accordingly, the copyright was given to the papers for messages. The Anglo-Indian Press, especially the *Pioneer*, was in favour of passing the Bill but the Indian papers vehemently opposed it. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* of 7th February, 1900 wrote—"The native papers will be losers by the passing of this bill. No paper can give Rs 400/- to 500/- per month."¹

The *Sanjibani* on 8th February, 1900 wrote—"To benefit the *Pioneer* and Reuter and Co. The Government is passing the Bill but the whole country will be at a loss."²

The Indian members of the Legislative Council, Pheroz Shah Mehta and the Maharaja of Darbhanga, opposed the Bill with good reason on the ground of legal uncertainties, legal disputes and the financial condition of the Indian press. The Anglo-Indian papers could afford to pay for foreign telegrams and the native papers used to copy them. After the passage of the Bill, the readers of the native papers would remain in the dark about foreign matters. Besides, Reuter's Agency was already getting Rs. 1,200/- per month plus other privileges. The Government could not face the press agitation and had to drop the Bill for an indefinite period.

The Delhi Darbar was of course 'a magnificent spectacular success unique in its historic picturesqueness' and a great personal triumph for Lord Curzon but at the same time 'a cruel burden on the Indian tax-payers for which he will receive no compensating advantage.' All the sections of the press criticised this step of the Government.—When Rome was burning Nero was fiddling. It was the most glaring extravagance of the Viceroy which did not serve any purpose for India. The *Native States* of Madras, January 5, 1903 wrote in the editorial "We are sorry, infinitely sorry, that the Darbar should, instead of drawing India and England closer,

1. Report on Native Newspaper, 1900. Bengal.

Ibid.

distanced the one from the other and so signally failed to keep up historic continuity. It has estranged by failing to cement, has loosened the bonds by failing to draw the ties closer and has shed a melancholy light on the most cherished of our charters."

Lord Curzon wanted to overhaul the whole administration of the country, so he passed necessary and unnecessary measures in almost all the spheres. The Official Secrets Act of 1903 which extended the provisions of the Act of 1889 was passed. The provisions were extended in two directions—one, to include in the offences punishable under the Act of 1889 not only disclosures of military secrets but also those relating to civil affairs; and second, to include in the offences punishable under the Act of 1889 newspaper criticism "likely to bring the Government of the constituted authority into suspicion of contempt." The object of the Bill was to place civil matters on the same level with Naval and Military matters. All the offences under the Act were cognisable and non-bailable. The Government was armed with undefined and complete authority to prosecute. There was unanimous opposition in the Indian section of the Press. The *Advocate* of Lucknow wrote—"The British Octopus loves to work in the dark. Why so? Possibly change of policy from one of trust and confidence to mistrust and suspicion." The *Tribune* of Lahore further criticised this Act. "Every sane man must admit that the Indian Press by giving publicity to orders and proceedings in question have rendered service to the Government by giving timely warning of chances of public discontent and affording it an opportunity to reconsider its action." The object of the Bill was, it proceeds, "to preserve their dark and devious ways without being hauled up for criticism to be called to account."¹

The Act was nothing but an additional fetter to curb the remaining liberty of the press. It was a grave peril to the independence of journalism. Even the Anglo-Indian paper the *Englishman* said that the Bill was meant for Russianising the administration. The political journalists would be treated as military spies and traitors.

"I would" said Gokhale "like to see the official who would venture to arrest and march to the police thana the editor of

1. Report on Native Newspapers : Punjab 1904.

an Anglo-Indian paper. But so far as Indian editors are concerned, there are, I fear, officers in this country, who would not be sorry for an opportunity to march whole battalions of them to the police thana. It is dreadful to think of the abuse of authority which is almost certain to result from this placing of Indian editors, especially the smaller ones among them, so completely at the mercy of those whom they constantly irritate or displease by their criticism."

In justification of these remarks Gokhale pointed out the long list of press prosecutions, in which not a single Anglo-Indian paper was included. The Bill sealed the offices hermetically. But the *Pioneer* had access to the Government offices and it had the reputation for exclusive news.

Gokhale declared—"Nowhere throughout the British Empire the Government is so powerful relatively to the governed as in India. Nowhere, on the other hand, is the press so weak in influence, as it is with us. The vigilance of the Press is the only check that operates, from outside, it is true, but continuously, upon the conduct of the Government, which is subject to no popular control. It is here, therefore, if anywhere that the Legislature should show special consideration to the Press, and yet here alone it is proposed to arm Government with a greater power to control the freedom of the press than in any other part of the Empire. My Lord, we often hear Government complaining of the distrust shown by the people in this country, and the people complaining of the Government not trusting them enough. In such a situation where again the question is further complicated by a tendency on the part of the Government to attach undue importance to race or class consideration, the wisest and safest and most statesmanlike courage it is to conduct its civil administration as far as possible in the light of day. The Press is, in one sense, like the Government, a custodian of public interests, and any attempt to hamper its freedom by repressive legislation is bound to affect these interests prejudicially, and cannot fail in the end to react upon the position of the Government itself... In England the Government dare not to touch the liberty of the Press, no matter how annoying its disclosures may be, and has to reconcile itself to the latter, regarding them as only so much journalistic enterprise. In India the unlimited power which the Government possesses inclines it constantly to repressive legislation. This

single measure suffices to illustrate the enormous difference between the spirit in which the administration is carried on in England.”¹

For the communication of information to the press a scheme was drawn up by the Government of India and was referred to the local Governments. This scheme proceeded on the following lines—“A room would be opened at the headquarters of the Government for the time being, where all information which could properly be placed at the disposal of the press would be sent daily either in print or in manuscript by different departments.

“The Press room thus directly met the requirement of those newspapers which have recognised agents at headquarters and official information would in future be communicated through this channel to all persons who are authorised to use the room. As regards the newspapers which are unrepresented at headquarters and were therefore not in a position to make use of the press room, local Governments asked to consider which of these were entitled to be furnished with official correspondence, and it was proposed that reports and the requisite number of copies of all printed papers available for the purpose should be supplied to the local Governments for distribution to them.”²

The Press room was opened at Calcutta in November 1904. The Home Department proceedings of April 1910 stated that there were 46 newspapers in all which got the privilege of the Editors' Table.³ Those papers which were not represented at the headquarters were supplied with official papers. But the Government had full discretion regarding whom to supply with official news. The nationalist papers were never looked upon with favour by the rulers. The Government was always suspicious of the Vernacular newspapers in particular and the nationalist press as a whole. The sharp eyes of Curzon never missed an article which was critical of Government policy.

The Home Department Proceedings state that on 21st June 1904, the Private Secretary of the Viceroy wrote to Mr. Risley that

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1. Speeches Gopal Krishana Gokhale. PP 222-223.
 2. Summary of the Administration of Lord Curzon of Kedelston Home Deptt. PP. 316-317.
 3. Home Department Public Proceedings. April 1910, Nos. 81-82 Part A.

a certain article published in the *Kal* "seems to H.E. to be distinctly seditious."

The article attached with the letter of the Private Secretary read as follows:

"*Kal*—10th June 1904—

Lord G. Hamilton says that it is the justice, clemency and patience of the British that enable a handful of them to hold sway over vastly superior numbers. He also opined that the officers of the East India Company were pious and God fearing Christians. Now the most prominent of these officers are Clive and Hastings. Now if these two are to be considered as God fearing we must hold that forgery and oppressions of helpless women are most acceptable to God and to the religion of Christ. Lord Hamilton considers men like Havelock, Lawrence and Frere, who were guilty of blowing innocent men at the cannon's mouth at the time of the Mutiny, to be God fearing. Surely, we must change our definition of God fearing, if men like the above are to be included in that category."¹

How vigilant the Viceroy was over the comments in the Press! The Government realised the power of the press and so it gave much importance to its comments.

The Associated Press was born in 1905. There was an interesting story about its birth. Howard Hensman, a competent journalist was then the representative of the *Pioneer* at Government headquarters and since he had the privilege of entry to the offices of various Government Officials, the *Pioneer* gained a reputation for exclusiveness. Other representatives at Government headquarters were A. J. Buck of the *Englishman*, Coates of the *Statesman* and Dallas of the *Indian Daily News*. Dallas used to get much help from Mr. K. C. Roy whose duty it was to get into touch with the minor officials in the various departments. When the representatives of Calcutta papers found Hensman a formidable competitor, they decided to pool their resources together and the Associated Press was born with Buck and Coates as the first Directors. After some time the news agency was organised in all the important centres. K. C. Roy expressed a desire for directorship. This was not accepted so he seceded from this group and founded the Press Bureau with a

1. Home Department Public Proceedings July 1904, No. 9 Part B.

colleague, U. N. Sen, and this became a competing organisation. The new competition compelled the Directors of the Associated Press to come to terms with K.C. Roy and he became a Director of the Associated Press.

The establishment of the Associated Press was the beginning of commercial journalism in India. It offered opportunities to journalists to cover a wider field of news which was impossible with their individual resources. Before the Associated Press, the press had to maintain Special Representatives. Though this system gave an individual tone and style to each paper, yet it was expensive. It was replaced by an impersonal routine service of news.

Racial hatred and bitterness was created by the behaviour of Englishmen and Anglo-Indians and by the propaganda of the Anglo-Indian newspapers. Sir Henry Cotton is of the opinion that the most revolting thing in these cases of racial conflicts was not so much the preparation of crimes and murders but the failure to deal out adequate punishments to the culprits and the encouragement given by Anglo-Indian newspapers. If there was any section of the press which had any influence on the Government it was the Anglo-Indian press. On the question of racial hatred, this section of the press influenced the policies of the Government to a great extent. The Government used to brand the nationalist papers as seditious, "but," writes Nevinson, "in none of them have I seen deliberate attempts to stir up race hatred and incite to violence."¹ Krishnaji, the editor of the *Kalidas*, a paper of small circulation of 300 published from Banaras, was prosecuted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for writing that Christians forget Christianity in India and Anglo-Indians are treated better than Indians. Though he was ready even to discontinue his paper, no heed was paid to his request. The Indian press was against this prosecution.

The Government adopted a more retrograde policy which was vigorously and unreservedly initiated and asserted in all directions culminating in a series of unpopular measures while the people were developing more self-consciousness due to the new spirit. It aroused a storm of opposition and bred hatred of foreign rule in the minds of the people. The Universities Act was a death blow to the free-

1. The New Spirit in India by Nevinson, P. 229

dom of the educational system of the country. The tempo of public mind was increasing with every measure. The partition of Bengal was the last and most momentous measure, when the wave of popular discontent surging in the public mind from one end of the country to the other reached its climax. "The Partition of Bengal" wrote G. N. Singh—"is the crowning act of folly of the Curzonian regime in India."¹ The Anti-Government movement was bound to come in India sooner or later even without Partition, yet the actual starting point of the movement is 1905. This year was "important in the history of the National Movement in India. Not only was partition agitation started in 1905 but it was also in the year that the standard of movement was raised in the Congress by the younger men under the triple leadership of Bal-Lal-Pal, (Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bepin Chandra Pal); the leaders of young India in three provinces "where the fire of discontent was mainly smouldering at the time."² The younger generation was tired of the Congress policy of praying and petitioning. The Partition was the crowning point of Curzon's repressive measures and action became the watch word of the leaders. "If the Ilbert Bill Agitation first opened the eyes of the Indian people to the utter helplessness of their position and forced their attention to the real source of their national weakness, in the Partition of Bengal and its sequel they received the first open challenge for a trial of the moral strength which they had steadily developed during the past twenty years under the guidance and discipline of the national organisation."³ The country accepted the challenge and replied.

The first partition scheme was embodied in a famous resolution of the Government of India on 3rd December 1903. When the scheme was published, it created a storm of opposition in Bengal. The revised scheme was elaborated in secret and was "never submitted to the judgment of any body in Bengal."⁴ It was promulgated in a Government Resolution on July 20, 1905 and came into force on October 16, 1905, in spite of the unprecedented opposition of the people all over India. The challenge had opened the avenues of

1. Land Marks in Indian constitutional Development, by G. N. Singh, P. 225

2. Ibid P. 225

3. Indian National Evolution, by A. C. Mazumdar, P. 199.

4. A Nation in Making, by S. N. Banerjee, P. 313.

knowledge, it had let the spirit free, it had stirred the very soul of India.

"It was a challenge" wrote Amit Sen," to the national movement and the freedom urge of the Bengali people thrown out by Imperialism and the challenge was picked up at once. Krishna Kumar Mitra gave a call on the same day in his *Sanjibani* which carried as its motto the famous slogan of the French Revolution, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' a call for the boycott of foreign goods with a vow to use swadeshi goods only."¹ After Mutiny for the first time, India felt a new vigour, new life and call for action. To make the action felt "boycott" was practised as a protest against this act of flagrant injustice. On the 7th August 1905 was held a memorable meeting which inaugurated the Swadeshi Movement. "Such was the intensity of feeling created and such the stubbornness acquired by the national character, that on the fatal day of 16th October the scene in Bengal became one of wild demonstrations unparalleled in the history of the country."² For the next seven years the people carried on the struggle and every year they observed 7th August as the day of national rejoicing and 16th October as the day of national mourning. Even the Anglo-Indian press which always supported the official view of things, for the time being, found itself unable to support this extravagant measure which in the name of efficiency was aimed at breaking the solidarity of Bengalee speaking people and the harmonious relations of Hindus and Muslims. This attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press did not last long. The *Englishmen*, writing shortly after the Town Hall Meeting of the 7th August 1905 said:

"The change which is threatened has been determined upon in the teeth of a practically unanimous public opinion. There is no reason to suppose that this public opinion will become silent or non-existent as soon as the partition is carried into effect. The situation will therefore be this: An administrative *coup d'etat* without precedent will have been carried out. The people who will have to live under its results will be dissatisfied and uneasy. Now all Governments, even the most despotic, are obliged to rule in the long run, in

1. Notes on the Bengal Renaissance, by Amit Sen. P. 56.

2. Indian National Evolution, A. C. Mazumdar PP. 208-209.

accordance with the wishes of the governed, or at least to refrain from governing in direct opposition to those wishes.”¹

The *Statesman* of Calcutta gave expression to the following words—“There never was a time in the history of British India when public feeling and public opinion were so little regarded by the Supreme Government as they are by the present administration. In this matter of the Partition of Bengal the force of public opinion has been remarkable. It could not indeed be otherwise, for in spite of their parade of consulting the legitimate interests of the districts involved in the proposed separation, the Government is well aware that its scheme is a direct attack upon the solidarity and growing political strength of the Bengali race..... The Government may or may not choose to give weight to the outburst of feeling on the subject of the partition, but it will necessarily recognise the new note of practicability which the present situation has brought into political agitation and it will sooner or later realise, that just as religions thrive on persecution, so there is nothing half so effectual as the systematic disregard of public opinion for fostering political discontent.”²

Such was the verdict pronounced upon the efficient scheme of the brilliant Viceroy. The Indian press also felt insulted and humiliated—the future was at stake. It was a blow aimed at the growing self-consciousness and at the close union between the Hindu and Muslim communities upon which the prospects of Indian advancement so largely depended. The *Hindu Patriot* called the measure a ‘sad and unfortunate blunder.’ The *Bengalee* wrote—“We have not the slightest doubt in our minds that the interest of trade and commerce will be seriously imperiled by the Partition... We are in the gravest crisis in our history.” It further wrote—“The Partition of Bengal is the crowning monument of the most reactionary epoch in British rule—the object is political not administrative. It threatens to break up the solidarity of our public opinion and to wreck what little political influence we possess.”

In fact, Curzon was alarmed at the growing public consciousness of all the provinces and, if he could get a chance, would have

1. From *Indian National Evolution* by A.C. Mazumdar P. 211.

2. *Ibid* PP. 211-212.

changed the political map of India. In one of his letters to Sir A. Godley, dated January 27, 1904 he wrote—

“Public opinion daily becoming more powerful cannot be ignored—to contend that it does not exist, that it has not advanced in the last fifteen years or that it may be treated with general indifference is to ignore the great change which is passing over this country—”¹

The papers in Calcutta appeared with black borders to mark the news of mourning. In Bengal, meetings were attended by immense gatherings—such gatherings had never taken place in the memory of any living man. Bengal was on fire. It was in a state of mourning. The partition, Swadeshi and Boycott were the burning topics of the newspapers. The Boycott was the most effective weapon felt by the Government because it affected the industries of England. Nevinson was of the opinion that the boycott of British goods was suggested first by Krishna Kumar Mitra in his paper ‘*Sanjibani*.’² According to Surendra Nath Bennerjee, it first found expression at a public meeting in Patna District and it was suggested by the press which contained accounts of the Chinese Boycott of American goods. Anyhow the credit goes to the press for suggesting a valuable instrument which became indispensable in the struggle for Independence, and which struck at the root of British Imperialism. The economic policy crumbled down. Swadeshi was the natural product of boycott. As the *Bengalee* of 18th August 1905 wrote—“It is necessary that the Indian weavers should be supplied with cheap hand power-loom... In course of time the heaviest demand of the people could be met locally. It may be remembered that British goods cannot be ‘boycotted’ unless the people have some other source of supply.” Curzon’s policy had set the house on fire, but he left India before ‘the smoking fire blazed out’. The rapid succession of so many events had given quite a new turn to the thoughts of the people and in consequence to the work of the press. Of course, English education had rapidly worked a change in the habits and even in the natural and hereditary tendencies of people but were it not for Curzon’s

1. The New Spirit in India, by Nevinson P. 178

2. Quoted in the Amrit Bazar Patrika, Puja Number 1955 P. 14

policy Indians would have taken a longer time to realise their duties. Lord Dalhousie overrode the rights of the princes to possess their land and he left an extra-ordinary legacy to his successor—the Mutiny. Lord Curzon usurped the sacred rights of the people as citizens had left the mutiny of pen and tongue.

Lord Minto, the successor of Lord Curzon came to this country to face the wave of popular discontent which was surging from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and to deal with this delicate situation a highly statesman—like and sympathetic attitude was required. Soon after his arrival in India in November 1905; the Liberal Party came to power in England in December 1905; and Lord Morley the disciple of Mill and Burke, the biographer of Gladstone, assumed office as Secretary of State for India. Indian Nationalists viewed the change in England with hope. They thought that with the change of Government a change would also be perceived in the policy of the Indian administration. But they were deceived in their hopes and a section of Indian National Congress was tired of what they called the 'mendicant Policy' of the movement and wanted to divert it to new lines.

The Indian National Congress continued its work chiefly by holding annual sessions, by sending deputations to England, and financing a weekly newspaper in England. Its resolutions relating to economics, education, administration and Government Acts were expressed in moderate, reasoned and loyal language. The session of 1904 was interesting on account of the unpopular and reactionary legislations which were discussed at large. The terms Moderates and Extremists were invented by the official organs during this year. But the earliest symptoms of this difference appeared at the Banaras session of 1905, when Tilak expounded the idea of passive resistance and outlined the programme of national reconstruction which was adopted as its platform by the New Nationalist School and put into practice in the movement that continued till 1909. The first open rupture manifested itself in the Calcutta Congress of 1906, when a small body of extremists finding themselves unable to have their own way rushed out of the Pandal. It marked another landmark in the history of the Indian National Congress since the ideal of 'Swaraj' for the people of India was proclaimed by Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of this session. The press was also divided into two

camp—the Extremist and the Moderate. Tilak pursued his campaign through the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. The followers of Tilak looked to these papers for guidance. He was assisted in his work by *Deshasewak* of Nagpur. B. C. Pal's the *New India* now became the exponent of the Extremist party. The *Bandemataram* as started in 1906 with the motto "India for the Indian", the life and soul of the paper was Aurobindo Ghose who appeared like a stormy petrel in Bengal politics. Commenting on the change brought about by the newspapers H. P. Ghose wrote—"It was the *Bandematram*, for instance, which exhorted the people to stand against the brief magical abracadabra of despotism which turned an action perfectly legitimate into a crime or misdemeanour punishable in property and person and to hold that in our relations with the foreigner to be content with the relations of master and dependent or superior and subordinate, would be a mean and pitiful aspiration unworthy of manhood; to strive for anything less than a strong and glorious freedom would be to insult the greatness of our past, and the magnificent possibilities of our future."¹ The circulation of this paper was reported to have gone above 50,000. Besides this, the *Yugantar*, the *Sandhya*, the *Kal* were well-known 'extremist papers. V. Chirol while criticising the nature of these papers said that "the *Kal*, the *Hind Swarajya*, and specially the *Yugantar*, which became at one time a real power in Bengal achieved a circulation hitherto unknown to the Indian press."² To this list might be added the *Kesari*, the *Bandematram*, the *Tribune* etc. Their criticism gives a picture of the influence and power of the press exerted at that time.

The Moderate Party expressed itself through the *Leader*, the *Advocate*, the *Hindustan Review* etc.

The National movement from 1905 acquired the character of a real mass movement. A new life burst forth in the country; out of which two new schools of nationalism sprang up. The leaders of both the schools were deeply nationalistic in character and their goal was to see "a free, independent India restored to its pristine purity and ancient glory and prosperity." The leaders at the same time were deeply religious and spiritual, so this nationalism was

1. The Newspaper in India, by H. P. Ghose P. 69.

2. Indian Unrest V. Chirol.

called by various names 'mystic nationalism,' 'romantic nationalism' and 'religious nationalism' etc. Aurobindo Ghose had declared that 'Nationalism is a religion that comes from God. Nationalism cannot die, because it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be sent to jail.' Nationalism was tinged with a religious and spiritual spirit. As V. Chirol pointed out "Swadeshi and Swarajya are the battle cries of this new Hindu Nationalism."

The newspapers of those days present the literature of nationalism on which the public mind fed. The nationalist section of the Indian press did not hesitate to declare "(1) The answer of Violence to Violence is justified and inevitable. (2) Politics is the ideal of Kshatriyas and the morality of the Kshatriya ought to govern our political actions."¹

Barindra Kumar Ghose and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, through the columns of the *Yugantar* and the *Sandhya* carried on vigorous propaganda. The gospel of Revolution was more of a religious type than political. In an Article—"The Age of Gita again in India" in the *Yugantar* B. Ghose declared : "Shri Krishna has said in Gita that whenever there is a decline of righteousness and a rise in unrighteousness there shall be a reincarnation of God to rescue the good, to destroy the wrong doer, and to establish righteousness. At the present time righteousness is declining and unrighteousness is springing up in India. A handful of alien robbers are ruining the crores of the people of India."²

The *Sandhya* proclaimed "We want complete independence. Swadeshi, boycott, all are meaningless to us, if they are not the means of retrieving our whole and complete independence."

The *Yugantar*, in order to achieve its object, outlined a complete scheme of action. The first item in the programme was to arouse hatred for servitude in the mind of the educated classes by a vigorous propaganda in the press. There were other items also in their programme. It believed in justice and righteousness. It wrote—"If the whole nation is inspired to throw off its yoke and become independent, then in the eye of God and in the eye of justice whose claim

1. The Newspaper in India by H. P. Ghose, P. 39

2. Sedition Committee's Report 1918 P. 10

is more reasonable, the Indians' or the Englishmen's? The Indian has come to see that independence is the panacea of all his evils.¹

The *India* of 14th November 1906 wrote "The extreme seriousness of the situation lies not in the bitterness and violence but in that must be called the idealism of the nationalist party.

"Such journals as the *Bandematram* in Calcutta and the *Maharatta* at Poona handle current affairs from day to day with astonishing ability and in a spirit so impassioned that one is driven to describe it as religious—they have innumerable followers and imitators, giving expression to the new spirit and hope of nationality. If the Government had to deal merely with a seditious paper here and there the matter would be of very little account. But as things stand the attack upon the Indian Press, has the appearance of the campaign against the faith and aspiration of a people and such a campaign cannot be entrusted to the police."

The work of this party in Bengal resulted in the rise of many secret societies. Besides, there were some other societies established in foreign lands working for the cause of India. Shyamji Krishna Verma started the Indian Home Rule Society with a penny monthly organ called the *Indian Sociologist* and carried on a vigorous revolutionary propaganda at the India House. In 1907 he wrote in his paper, "It seems that any agitation in India must be carried on secretly that the only methods which can bring the English Government to its senses are the Russian methods vigorously and incessantly applied until the English relax their tyranny and are driven out of the country. No one can foresee what rule will be laid down or line of action defined for any particular course. That will probably depend on local conditions and circumstances, but it is likely that as a general principle the Russian method will begin with Indian officials rather than European."² After the suppression of the *Bandematram*, it was started from Geneva and edited by Madam Cama. These papers were secretly sent to India to persons likely to be influenced. The Indo-American Association published the *Free Hindustan* periodically for propaganda work.

1. The Indian Unrest by V. Chitrol P. 16

2. Quoted in the Sedition Committee Report 1918 P. 6

The Indian people were exasperated beyond measure, and the Press began to give vent to the feeling in the country with a degree of warmth which the authorities named sedition. The bureaucracy, in its nervous excitement, prescribed repression as the proper remedy for the situation. The Government of Minto went on making a series of drastic measures, such as the further widening of the Official Secrets Act, the Public Meetings Act, the Press Act, the Sedition Law, the Explosive Substances Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and a number of ordinances and circulars by which the right of free speeches and free criticism was practically abrogated.

The year 1907-08 saw grave discontent in the Punjab. "The first serious disturbances occurred in 1907 which aroused public opinion in England to the reality of Indian Unrest and stirred the Government of India to such strong repressive measures as the deportation of two prominent agitators under an ancient Ordinance of 1818 never before applied in such connexion."¹ The apparent reason for the unrest was agrarian and riots broke out at Rawalpindi and Lahore but the underlying reasons were the national movement in other parts of the country. The teachings of Dayanand Saraswati inspired the people to attain Swaraj and use Swadeshi. The spirit of independence stirred the minds of not only the educated classes but the masses too. The press of the province advocated the cause, and the methods of the movement, and to crush it the Government prosecuted a large number of Indian papers, but the Anglo-Indian papers were at liberty to write whatever they liked; so much so the *Civil and Military Gazette* wrote that the 50th Anniversary of the Mutiny, May 10th 1907, would be celebrated by another big rising. The Government took the rumour seriously and preparations were made to protect British lives by making arrangements to withdraw them to the fort. But the prophecy proved futile, no outbreak occurred that day.

The *Tribune* commenting on the press prosecutions wrote in an Editorial dated 5th June 1907 :—

"If the tone of some of the Indian journals is terribly strong, it is because of the extreme and scurrilous tones of some of the

1. Indian Unrest, P. 107 by V. Chitral

Anglo-Indian papers. The red-hot nationalist press is the inevitable sequel of the fire-brand and swaggering imperialist press.....
If the Government really wants to check some of the excesses of the Press, it should bestow the same impartial treatment to the yellow-press which is managed by the Anglo-Indian, before coming down upon the Indian Press.....Mr. Morley might still profess any amount of sympathy with our aspiration in the abstract, but his Government has been plunging into the ways of despotism with a thoroughness that is enough to stagger those who hold any extreme views."

The month of April 1907 was a memorable month when public opinion in Lahore was running high because of the prosecution of two Indian papers—the *India* and the *Punjabee*. The editor and proprietor of *India* was sentenced to five years imprisonment and the printer to two years for publishing a letter from America containing a seditious appeal to the Native troops. The *Punjabee* was prosecuted for criticising a Begar case. Two villagers were forced to work for an official and it resulted in their death. On 10th April the Lahore High Court delivered the judgement that the editor was sentenced to six month's imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000/- and the printer to a fine of Rs. 200/- and imprisonment for six months. The people collected in large numbers to meet the prisoners when they were taken to the jail. This enthusiastic crowd led to a riot. Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh were deported following a meeting held at Lyallpur where they made fiery speeches. The riots in the Punjab stopped only after the rejection of Colonization Bill by Lord Minto. This leads to the conclusion that conciliation was a sure remedy while repression was the cause of unrest.

In order to ensure uniformity in dealing with the cases of sedition, instructions were issued by the Central Government to the local Governments to the effect that "whenever they considered it expedient to institute a prosecution under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, they should invariably consult the Government of India and await their orders before actually commencing the proceedings."¹ The necessity of these instructions arose out of

1. Summary of the work of the Home Department during the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Minto P. 17.

a case in Midnapore in April 1906 when the Government of Bengal sanctioned a prosecution of a boy of fifteen under Section 124A and 505 of the Indian Penal Code for distributing seditious leaflets. The prosecution was withdrawn under the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council. But on 3rd June, 1907 the Government of India, "Owing to the Seditious nature of the articles which are now constantly appearing in most of the native papers, rescinded the orders of the previous year and issued a resolution warning newspapers that the dissemination of sedition and the promotion of ill-will between classes would be repressed by firm and sustained action under the penal law."² The local Governments were empowered to institute prosecutions in consultation with their legal advisors in all cases where the law was wilfully infringed. As a result of this order eleven prosecutions took place that year.

The *Punjabee* of the 8th June 1907 criticising the order said "The new press circular which has been issued in the shape of a Government Resolution, dated 3rd June, forging fresh fetters for the native Indian press, has by no means come upon us a bolt from the blue. Rather it was the thing inevitable and to be expected after the Regulation of Meeting Ordinances, it furnishes another in the sequence of events which justify the people's fears that the Government by Executive orders is to replace that of Legislative enactments.

Such relations between the press and the Government denoted weakness of the Government, the prosecutions left no room for doubt that the Government was aware of its weaknesses and shortcomings, but that it wished to conceal the same from the general public. It was not surprising that the press prosecutions created unrest in the country which ultimately weakened the hands of the Government. By the prosecution of the *Punjabee* the Government lost public support. The *Hindustan* of 12th April 1907 wrote: "The press in India is becoming more and more powerful daily, and that no oppression can take away even an iota from its power. It is, therefore, to the interest of the Government to convert native newspapers into its supporters and not enemies."³ . . .

. Ibid P. 17

2. Reports on Native Newspapers Punjab. 1907.

3. Ibid

But the Government did not pay any heed to the voice of the newspapers and used press prosecutions freely. On May 9th, 1907 the editor of the *Gujrati* was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment on the charge of sedition. The editor of the *Hindustan* was arrested and handcuffed on 17th June. Basudeva Bhattacharya, editor of the *Sonar Bangala* was prosecuted. On July 25th the editor of the *Yugantar* was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment for preaching armed revolt. In the second *Yugantar* case, the printer Basanta was sentenced to two years hard labour by the Calcutta court. The *Bandematram* was charged with sedition, but as at that time papers were not required to give the name of the editor, so one after another dummy editors were prosecuted and the Government never knew the real editor. When Bepin Chandra Pal was asked to give evidence he refused to do so, because to give evidence was detrimental to the interest of the country. So he was imprisoned for six months. Though Aurobindo was the supposed editor, he was acquitted on 27th September.

The *Bandematram* of 11th May wrote—"The bureaucracy will not tolerate the new spirit. It was not suppressed so long in Bengal because the rulers were not sure of its extent. But now it has not only spread over India but has taken a firm hold in Bengal, and B. C. Pal's deportation, the suppression of the *Bandematram*, the *Sandhya* and other nationalist journals will only make the fire silent pervading and irresistible. In this grave crisis of their destinies the people should not lose their fortitude but remember that their leaders are more instruments in the hands of God, and that others will replace those who are removed from the field. Greater sufferings are in store, and courage as well as self sacrifice are needed."¹

The *Yugantar* in the issue of 8th July 1907 gave fine expression to its views under the heading: 'What is Sedition?'

"The Irish patriot, that heroic man, O' Leary said when arrested for sedition.—'England is not my native country. It cannot therefore be seditious on my part to go against British rule in Ireland. How can he be guilty of sedition who has no king?' The condition of our country is the same as that of Ireland. True loyalty is part

1. Report in Native Newspapers-1907 Bengal. P. 10

and parcel of the idea of society; it springs from the body of society—is subject to the control of society.....

“When the whole subject people of a country begin to wish ill of the sovereign power, then its function has ceased and that, by doing against the power of the subject people, it is only awaiting its doom. That sovereign power which the subject people do not recognise as such has no right to make itself known to the world as a sovereign. It is quite close to a collision with its subjects to destruction.”¹

The press of this era brought about a silent moral revolution in the ideals and sentiments of the people. And the Government was alarmed at the outburst of those popular feelings and got a pretext to adopt the familiar methods of repression. These measures served the purpose of stimulating feelings. Bureaucracy armed with power was tempted to follow short cuts in dealing with unforeseen situations instead of being tolerant and merciful. Repression is handy and promises to be effective. But the heavy price that has to be paid, the disastrous moral result that it produces in the long run are lost sight of in the larger desire to do the thing quickly. Temporary success was achieved but permanent injury was done and the seeds of future trouble were sown. Lord Minto followed the effective method of short cut and passed repressive measures one after another. On the 1st November, 1907 the Seditious Meetings Act was passed which was described by the Home Member himself as a ‘repressive measure of considerable potency.’ The clause defining ‘Public meeting’ was so wide that social gatherings held in private houses were considered as public meetings. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose pointed out that the Act resembled more a Russian ukase than any law of a civilized state. According to the versions of the moderates the repressive policy of the Government drove the discontent underground and it gave birth to secret revolutionary societies. The repressive measures tainted the growth and development of the country.

On June 8th 1908, when hardly any independent Indian member was present the Government passed two measures:—the Explosive Substances Act and the Newspapers (Incitement to

1. Report on Native Newspapers 1907 Bengal. P. 21

Offences) Act. The Hon'ble Home member presenting the second bill explained that the object of the Act was "to put an end to their (i. e. to Newspapers which are guilty of any offence under the Explosive Substances Act of 1908 or which incite any one to an act of violence) existence.....by giving power to confiscate the printing presses and to extinguish the newspapers." ¹ Speaking on the effect of the newspaper utterances he said "The difference between the East and the west in this respect is the difference between dropping a match box in a powder magazine."²

The Hon'ble Tikka Saheb Ripudaman Singh of Nablia said "If there is any real and general unrest in the country as is alleged, let us try to find out its cause and remove it."³

The Act was vehemently criticised in the British as well as in Indian Press. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* called it is a 'New Damocles' Sword.'

The *Manchester Guardian* criticised it on the following ground. "Why introduce executive action when you can secure conviction by legal process? What is the necessity and where is the gain?" The *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* were also of the same opinion. The *Bande Matram* wrote that the term "act of violence is too vague elastic and may include absolutely just and justifiable protest against executive lawlessness and police hooliganism, with which we have become somewhat over familiar since Sir Bampfylde Fuller's administration in the East Bengal."

The term act of violence was truly elastic and led to the confiscation of many printing presses.

In 1908, twenty four papers were prosecuted, some of them several times.⁴ The *Yugantar* was prosecuted four times, and each time convicted. The *Bande Matram* in 1908 was prosecuted under the Press Act. The press, at which the paper was printed was confiscated and notifications were issued annulling the declaration made by the printer under the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867 and Government prohibited any further declaration being

1 and 2 Proceedings of the Legislative Council Vol XL VII Page. 92.

3. Proceedings of the Legislative Council Vol XI VII P. 92.

4. Summary of the work of the Home Department during the Viceregency of the Earl of Minto. P. 17.

made and subscribed in respect of the same paper. The *Sandhya* was also suppressed. Besides, the *Sonar Bharat* and the *Prabhat* in Bengal, the *Inquilab* in the Punjab, the *Hind Swarajya* and *Arunodaya* in Bombay were prosecuted. In U. P. the *Swarajya* was twice prosecuted. The Editor of the *India* in Madras was punished by five years imprisonment for sedition. The editor of the *Urdu Inamle*, was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment for writing an article on the "British Educational policy in Egypt." and the editor of the *Vihari* was fined Rs. 1000/- with imprisonment for two years for the publication of Mazzini's policy 'The Awakening.'

The Government, by passing the Act suppressed those papers at which the act was aimed. It was convinced that rigorous repressive measures would stamp out of sedition. But the whole of the Indian Press was nationalist and spoke in one voice, of course not in one tone.

The most important case which attracted the largest attention all over the country and aroused a storm of indignation was against Tilak, the editor of the *Kesari* and the popular leader of the Nationalist party. He was tried by Justice Davar at Bombay High Court on June 29th, 1908 with the help of a special jury. Tilak himself conducted his own defence and spoke for full 20 hours and 10 minutes. He questioned the correctness of the Government translation of his articles and his plea was that he had only performed his journalistic duties by answering the criticisms of the Anglo-Indian Press and pointing out the danger of repression. He wanted to sound a note of warning and appeal to the Government to adopt the right policy of reform and reconciliation. Tilak's explanation was not accepted by the jury and it pronounced him guilty by seven votes to two. He was sentenced to six year's transportation and a fine of Rs. 1000/-. Before the sentence was delivered Tilak was given an opportunity to speak. And he uttered the following remarkable words:—

"All I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things; and it may be the will of providence that the cause I represent may prosper more by sufferings than by my remaining free."

As soon as the people came to know the result of the case Bombay city observed complete strike for full six days as he was imprisoned for six years and condolence meetings were held all over the country.

The Government resorted to the methods of repression in its nervous excitement but such measures have never succeeded in the long run. Familiarity with them deprives them of their dread and force. The new spirit which the Government intended to nip in the bud spread all over the country. The new spirit was dynamic in its ideal and in the course of time it became a revolutionary movement. Repression fed and intensified the revolutionary movement. The agitation compelled the Government to adopt the policy of conciliation. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy realised the necessity of keeping a hold over the moderates, the Mohammedans, the landlords and the princes. As a result of this realisation, the earliest indications of reform were preshadowed in a Royal Message to the Princes and people of India on 2nd November, 1908. King Edward declared:

“From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced and the time has come when that principle may be prudently extended.....I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects.”¹

The Indian Councils Act was passed on 25th May 1909 and is better known as Morley-Minto Reforms. Thoughtful comments in the *Hindu* over these reforms after the event had taken place were :

“The agitation over the partition of Bengal was a great achievement of Indian journalism whose brain and motive power was the late S. N. Bannerjea; and there are people who assert that the Morley-Minto Reforms were hastened by the press up-heaval.”²

The Indian National Congress which met at Madras without its left wing gave a hearty welcome to this scheme. But when the Government issued the regulation relating to the constitution and the functions of the Legislative Councils, the support of the

1. Recollections by Morley P. 371

2. Golden Jubilee Number—The Hindu Oct. 1928

Moderates changed into criticism. The press severely criticised the reforms on many grounds. For the first time a new policy was inaugurated by Government on the basis of religion which was detrimental to the political advancement of the country. The basis of the scheme, wrote the *Nation*, was indeed the "doctrine of counterpoise.....The Government of India realising that intellectuals always become restless and critical element, is turning to the landowners for support."¹ The extremists vehemently criticised the Reforms. Repression and revolution were still going on side by side.

In the year 1909, eleven papers were prosecuted—three in Bombay, three in Bengal, two in C. P. and one each in U. P., the Punjab and Eastern Bengal. All the cases ended in the suppression of the paper.

Aurobindo Ghose after the suppression of the *Bande Matram* started *Karmayogin* to propagate his views through the columns of this paper, but his name as the editor was never known. Ratcliffe had left the *Statesman*, and with his departure, its policy became reactionary. It was no more a friend of India. The *Madras Times* was the worst offender at this time. Morley had introduced the reforms but they had failed to allay the feeling of unrest which had been running throughout the country. The reformed council was to be inaugurated on 25th January 1910, and the previous evening a Deputy Superintendent of Police was shot dead at Calcutta.

The Press had been very powerful and the Government did not want that the public mind should be guided by it. So it felt the necessity of a more stringent press law. Though the Government was armed with the wide powers of prosecuting and demanding security from newspapers under sections 124-A, 153-A, 108 of the Indian Penal Code and the Newspapers (Incitement to offences) Act 1908, the Government found that these powers were not sufficient to stop the dissemination of seditious literature through the press. Sir Herbert Risby, presenting the new Press Bill said "the most widely read portion of the India Press are incessantly occupied in rendering the Government by law established odious

1. A Nation in Making by S. N. Bannerji .

in the sight of the people." ¹ He continued "every day the press proclaims openly or by suggestion or allusion, that the only cure for the ills of India is independence from foreign rule, independence won by heroic deeds, self-sacrifice; martyrdom on the part of the young, in any case by some form of violence."² The non-official members of the council criticised the Bill but the Government got the Bill passed. The press was completely muzzled.

The ten years from 1900 to 1910 brought about many and far-reaching changes—There was a slow and systematic growth of consciousness in the public. Though the policies of the Indian National Congress were concerned with the classes and not with the masses, yet the partition of Bengal and the movement followed it influenced the mass mind of India. In the Punjab also the masses were awakened. Events created a stir in the public mind which led to the self dependence in place of dependence. Dependence leads to decay and self-dependence is the sign of life. This change in the attitude and response of the people to the natural as well as man-made events was to change the course of history. The people were developing a challenging attitude towards measures and acts of the Government.

In its relation to the Government the Indian press was critical of the Government measures and actions. The Government became nervous of its comments, preachings and its devising of new ways and means of fighting the Government. The Government was supported by the Anglo-Indian papers. But the increasing influence of the press led the Government to pass stringent laws. In the 1901 there were sections 124-A, 153-A and 108 of the Indian Penal Code whereas by the year 1910 they were added the Official Secrets Acts, the Newspapers (Incitement to offences) Act 1908, and the Press Act 1910 which were specially meant for the press. The fact that the Government found it necessary to devise these checks shows that the role of the press was becoming more effective.

As regards the advancement of political thought, the philosophy of Burke and Mill was no more the only thing that the press preached. The Indian press was developing a programme of its own,

1. Legislative Council Proceedings 1910 P. 77.

2. Legislative Council Proceedings 1910 P. 70.

based less on the philosophy of a particular kind and more on the practical needs of the time. The editors of the important papers were mostly leaders of the movement; Tilak, Aurobindo, B. C. Pal etc.

As regards the labour problem, the *Kamgar Samachar*, a weekly journal was published from Bombay in 1910 which dealt with the scales of wages, hours of work and general working conditions.

The press had sown the germs of mass awakening during this period.

Repression and Reforms

(1911 to 1920)

The first decade of the 20th century had witnessed many and far reaching changes in different parts of the world, which had transformed the general aspect of affairs both in the East and in the West; and both were in a state of deep unrest. There was simmering discontent in Germany partly, political and partly economic; Turkey and Greece were at daggers drawn. Finland was threatened with the destruction of its cherished liberties and the relations of England and Germany, in spite of strenuous efforts to promote an Anglo-German understanding, were strained. The German designs on England used to furnish the head lines of a certain section of the British Press. There were heated discussions in the press and the platform on socialism which was gaining ground sooner than expected. The genius of the period under review was eminently critical and scientific. Steam and democracy were the watch words of the hour. Whilst these important events were taking place in Europe, the press and the platform were telling the tale of a simmering discontent in the countries of Asia which was brought about by the events of the previous decade in China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt. The struggle for higher political, social and economic ideals was observed everywhere. Men may come and men may go, but ideals are more tenacious and have determined history. India was striving for self-government, an ideal which had taken a firm root and was being tested in the prolonged struggle carried on amidst disheartening circumstances. The struggle

enlightened the public mind, making people more and more conscious of the foreign yoke. The events in other parts of the world were also exerting influence on the Indian mind through the press and the platform. With political advancement, the power and the influence of the press also increased. Of course, our press was handicapped by illiteracy and poverty—only 5% of the population received education in India, while in some western countries 70% or even more of the population was literate. The annual income per head in India was less than Rs. 50/- per head.¹ Even then the growth of the press during the previous decade was significant as showing the literary appetite of the population and the capacity for responding to it. It was an evidence of the increasing interest that people took in public matters and of the desire to acquire general knowledge. The press was an agency for the diffusion of general knowledge. It was a sort of general people's university, which brought the treasures of new thought and new knowledge every day, every week and every month to men's own doors in tens of thousands of homes. It was a conspicuous platform in the country from which political, social, economic and scientific knowledge was imparted, the events of the country as well as the world were reported, the problems confronting the nation were discussed and the public was guided and advised on vital matters.

A glance at the census report of 1911 shows a rise in the number of papers and their circulation all over the country. In the Punjab, the number of newspapers and magazines had risen from 74 in 1891 and 166 in 1901 to 229 in 1911. The circulation in the last twenty years had increased from 24,258 to 183,518. In other words, now eight persons out of every 4,000 got one newspaper against less than one per mille in 1891. Thus one out of every five literates could get a paper and that too was read by more than one person.² Throughout the country, the growth and increase in circulation was larger among vernacular papers than among the English papers. Urdu being the common language of the province, the number had gone up from 64 in 1891 to 177 in 1911, and the circulation was 142,884 now against less than 20,000

1. *India Today*—R. Palme Dutt P. 30

2. *Census of India 1911 Vol. XIV Punjab Part I P. 334*

twenty years back.¹ "The number of Indian owned English papers had multiplied more than six times and the circulation had also become six fold in twenty years."²

In Bombay, the English papers numbered 27 compared with 13 and 11 in 1901 and 1891 respectively. The number of the Gujrati and Anglo-Gujrati papers had gone up to 45 in 1911 against 31 in 1891. The Anglo-Gujrati papers numbered 16 and the Sindhi papers had doubled their number since 1901.³ Assam, with very little literacy, possessed a few monthly periodicals in Khasi language, one weekly and three monthlies in Assamese and two monthlies in Lushai.⁴ Most of the people in Assam depended for their newspapers on Calcutta. The Madras Presidency had 316 papers in all, compared with 244 in 1901. They were: English 72, Tamil 67, Telegu 48, Malayalam 56, Canarese 30, Hindustani 23, Sanskrit 5, and a few others. There were seven dailies in English and one in Tamil.

U. P. showed an enormous increase in newspapers and periodicals. The Urdu papers numbered 122 with a circulation of 80,158 as compared with 71 in 1901. The number of Hindi papers had risen to 87 in 1911 with a circulation of 78,981 against 26 in 1901. There were 57 English papers with the total circulation of 57,482 against 29 at the previous census.⁵ Travancore showed an increase of 25 papers. There were 45 papers as compared with 20 in 1901 and these included English 10, Malayalam 30, Tamil 4 and one Portugese.⁶ The Malayalam papers had a comparatively large circulation and some of them aimed with considerable success, at giving their purely Malayalam clientele as good a grounding in current events and thoughts as could be expected from papers published in English.⁷ Kashmir had only one paper and C. P. had 27 papers with a circulation of 10,627.⁸ In Mysore, the

1. Ibid P. 335

2. Ibid P. 335.

3. Census of India—1911 Vol. VII Bombay Part I P. 142.

4. Census of India—Assam Part I.

5. Census of India 1911—U. P. Part I P. 262.

6. Census of India 1911—Travancore Part I P. 165.

7. Census of India 1911—Travancore Part I P. 165.

8. Census of India C. R. Berar Part I 1911 Table IX

number was doubled. The growth among Canarese papers was greater than among English papers. The total number of Canarese papers was 20 with a circulation of 20,342 against 8 in 1901 with a circulation of 11,466; while the English papers numbered 13 with a circulation of 7,281 against 10 in 1901 with a circulation of 4,128. All the papers of different languages numbered 47 with a total of circulation of 35,898 compared with 24 in 1901 with a circulation of 18,082.¹

The progress of the vernacular press was immense and brought about an awakening among the masses because it spoke to them in their own language. Sheshagiri Ayyar, a member of the Press Laws Committee (1921) questioned Barakat Ali of the *Observer*, Lahore, when he appeared before the Committee for evidence "Speaking of my province Madras, the whole of the political knowledge is due to the fact that vernacular papers have been taken in village after village." "The same remark," replied Barakat Ali, "applies to my province (Punjab) also. We are indebted to the vernacular press for the political awakening which has been created in the country....."² Writing an editorial on the death of G. Subramanya Aiyar, Editor of the *Hindustan Review* wrote "*Swadesa Mitran* has been to the Tamil knowing public a revelation something that has informed their intellect, stimulated their fancy and has proved a communal bond of no insignificant service. It has given them not only news, day after day, but also ideas; not only ideas but also insight; not only insight but a spirit of cooperation and a measure of self-confidence of which they were never before aware.....The non-English knowing landlord or merchant in the Tamil Districts is not the man now willing to accommodate himself to the avarice or dishonesty of a corrupt official; he refuses to be cowed into submission if right be on his side; he has now in fact grown a backbone. If responsible authorities would look at this change also from the proper 'angle of vision' they will find it no mean asset to the good government of the country. One high placed Indian official declared to me that he found his task exceedingly easy and his labours in many respects forestalled because of the

1. Census of India 1911—Mysore

2. The Press Laws Committee: Report and Evidence (1921) P. 318

3. The Press Laws Committee: Report and Evidence (1921) P. 318

pioneering work of the *Swadesa Mitran*.”¹ The value of the press in civic progress was realised not by the public only but by some honest and dutiful officials too.

This short period of ten years was repleted with many upheavals in the world as well as in India. These developments resulted in transforming the struggle of independence from a class movement to a mass movement. It brought about many and far reaching changes in outlook. Lord Hardinge came to this country as Viceroy in November, 1910. In the country, as the Home Department Administrative summary of Lord Hardinge says “the political situation was full of anxiety,”² though the extremist party was facing bad times. This party had been dispossessed of its leaders—Aurobindo Ghosh had forced himself into exile, B. G. Tilak was serving six years imprisonment at Mandalay and B. C. Pal had given up extremist politics. Secondly, the party was turned out of the Congress and thirdly it was persecuted by the Government. So extremist politics was not in the arena. With the prosecution of the *Karmayogin*, its last organ ceased to exist. The moderates were busy in working out the Morley-Minto Reforms, though they were not to their satisfaction. A lull prevailed on the political horizon of India. The Government armed itself with all possible repressive measures. The term of the Seditious Meetings Act was to expire in March 1911; so with some amendments it was put on the Statute Book permanently. When the press was gagged, how can the platform remain free? The Government wanted silence—dead silence—in which the platform was quiet and the press had ceased to trouble any more. The policy of repression proved successful in keeping the atmosphere quiet, but the Indian mind was seething with discontent and ultimately this resulted in the rapid awakening of the masses. It was not possible to bar the imponderable influences of an expanding world.

In this atmosphere, the journalistic activities too had undergone. The dailies decreased by 9% and the periodicals increased by 12.9%³ because politics was at a low ebb. The political move-

1. *The Hindustan Review*-May-June 1916 PP. 456-457.

2. *Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penthurst*-Home Department. P. 15.

3. *The India* July, 5th, 1912.

ment became again the spare time hobby of armchair politicians. The repressive measures had practically killed political life in the country. Italy attacked Turkey in 1911. The latter was an Asiatic and Oriental nation, so India had much sympathy with her and the Muslims were much agitated over this event. Muslim journalism had a fast growth during this period. On 14th January, 1911, the first issue of the *Comrade* came out in which it declared "We are partisans of none, comrades of all..... The situation cried loudly for a mediator. A bit of neutral ground where war shall cease and passions shall subside and whereon the belligerents shall meet together in a atmosphere of calm The promoters of the *Comrade* seek to supply in its pages such neutral ground. They wish to act as mediator and reconciler."¹ It used to refer to the rule of Islam in India for eight hundred years and put forth its claim for the superior and preferential treatment for the Mohammedan Community. The partition of Bengal and the policy followed afterwards estranged the relations between the two communities. The times demanded that the papers should act in the true spirit, according to the declaration of the *Comrade*. But soon after this very paper had put on the garb of the Muslim League. The *Mussalman* was the paper of the liberal Mussalmans but the *Observer* of Lahore was the most militantly truculent and aggressive Mussalman paper. The Home Department report of the administration of Lord Hardinge says that Mohammedan Journalism was fast growing² as it pandered to sensationalism. The most conspicuous example was the *Zamindar* of Lahore, from which it was found necessary to demand a security. The opening of the Balkan War in October, 1912, introduced another grave factor and helped to perpetuate a state of affairs which the Government of India viewed with considerable uneasiness.³

The Balkan War of 1912 and 1913 agitated the Indian Mussalmans more than the war between Turkey and Italy. The *Zamindar* was warned by the Government seven times on 15-9-13, 12-1-14, 11-3-14, 7-4-14, 19-8-14, 17-10-14, and 16-6-15. No other paper had

1. Quoted in the *Hindustan Review*, May 1911. PP. 399-400.

2. Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst. Home Department P. 15

3. *Ibid.* P. 15

been warned as many as seven times. As the extremist papers were exterminated the moderate papers increased in influence. The public had to rally round the papers like the *Bengalee* (6,000) and the *Leader* (1,315) etc. The *Leader* edited by C. Y. Chintamani from Allahabad, was one of the most influential organs of public opinion. It had sound views on the questions of the day. Anrit Lal the editor of the *Punjabee* was known and appreciated throughout India for his sturdy advocacy of his country's cause, unflinching courage of his convictions, the illuminating originality of his robust thoughts, and wonderful finish of his masterly style of English.¹ The *Tribune* (6,276) was a conspicuous platform for all what was healthy, good and sound. In Bombay, the *Indu Prakash* was the only Indian Daily. With its extinction, the city was left without any Indian daily. Ferozshah Mehta felt the necessity of advocating the cause of the country and the *Bombay Chronicle* was started on 13th March, 1913, with B. G. Horniman as its first editor. This able editor attracted the public so much by his powerful pen that the paper became the guide and adviser of a large body of the people. The politics of the *Maharatta* and the *Kesari* was that of the most advanced type. The absence of Tilak brought about a setback in Marathi journalism, the circulation of the *Kesari* had fallen from 20,000 to 15,000, but his release in 1914 gave an impetus to that section of the press. Besides the important papers of the period (with their circulation number) were—the *Anrita Bazar Patrika* (4,000), the *Baugavasi* (15,000), the *Saujiani* (7,000), the *Mitavadi* (30,000), the *Beharee* (790) etc. in Bengal;² the *Hindu* (3,950), the *Indian Review* (3,000), the *Madras Mail* (4,750), the *Madras Standard* (2,000), the *Mysore Star* (2,000), the *Swadesamitran* (2,750), the *United India and Native States* (500), the *Malayala Manorama* (2,500) etc. in Madras,³ the *Hindustan Review* (1,500), the *Muslim Review* (200), the *Advocate* (1,100), the *Zamana* (1,400), etc. in the United Provinces,⁴ and the

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1. The *Hindustan Review* 1911 P. 507
 2. Circulation number quoted from—The report of Native Papers in Bengal for the week ending 7th, January, 1911
 3. Circulation number quoted from—The Report on Native Papers 1911. Madras (revised upto 30-6-1911)
 4. The selections from the Native Newspapers published in the United Provinces 1911.

Gujerati (8,500), the *Jam-e-Jamshed* (4,400), the *Kaiser-i-Hind* (2,000) the *Sanj Vartaman* (4,200), the *Bombay Samachar* (4,400) etc. in Bombay.¹

The new ventures of the period in Hindi were the *Pratap* from Kanpur (1913) and the *Gyan Shakti* (1916). The *Pratap* was the maker and inspirer of public opinion in U. P. After the outbreak of World War I, a number of Weeklies were published as dailies. They were the *Calcutta Samachar*, and the *Abhyudaya*, the *Venkateshwar Samachar* (Bombay), the *Hindi Bihari* (Patna), and the *Jayaji Pratap* (Gwalior). But by 1917, all these papers changed into weeklies excepting the *Calcutta Samachar*, and the *Bharat Mitra* published from Calcutta for sometime and the *Sri Venkateshwar Sawacher* published from Bombay. The *Vijaya* a daily was started from Delhi by Swami Shradhanand and Indra Vidyavaehaspati. In Marathi, the *Sandesh*, edited by A. K. Kolhatkar revolutionised the Marathi journalism. It caught the imagination of the lower-middle-classes and the masses. It became popular in the mofussil towns in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The *Lokasangrah* was started from Poona in 1919. During this decade imprisonment of Tilak, exile of Sardar Ajit Singh, the demolition of the Gurdwara Raqab wall, the ban on the Kirpan and the firing at Budge created unrest in the Punjab. It gave birth to the *Panth Sewak*, the *Shaheed* and the *Punjab Surma*. Besides, the Punjab Reporter the *Nam Deo Pattar*, the *Vidhya*, the *Istri Sudhar* etc. were published. The Jallianwallabagh incident and the Movement in 1920 gave an impetus to the press.

In Tamil, the *Desabhaktan* a daily was started in 1917 under the editorship of T. V. Kalyanasundra Mudaliar. Although it lasted for only three years, it made a contribution to the development of style in the language.

In Telegu, *Andhra Patrika* was converted into a daily in 1914 played a vital role.

In 1912. Jairamdas Daulatram and Choithram Gidwani started a paper under the name of the *Hindu* from Sindh.

On the 1st. of June 1912, Maulana-Abul Kalam Azad started an Urdu weekly *Al-Hilal* with an avowed object of bringing about a revolution in Muslim thought against their loyalty towards the

1. The Report on the Native Papers published in Bombay Presidency 1911.

foreign rule and against the communal attitude of the Muslim League. Mahadev Desai wrote... .." I am told by Maulana that the very first issues acted like explosives in the Muslim world and compelled them to consider seriously whether there was not something radically wrong in their way of thinking.

"Scarcely had six months elapsed since the publication of *Al-Hilal* when all educated Musalmans were awakened."¹

The era under review was the era of the operation of the Press Act. It was a terror to the press—a Damocles' sword hanging over the head of the editors and writers. It automatically led to the suppression of expression and consequently of thought. Expression gives impetus to thought. Without liberty of expression, thought cannot soar high, so progress was impossible. By passing the Press Act, the Government intended to paralyze the press so that 'excesses' could be prevented, but "excesses are never the offspring of reason or misrepresentation, but of power endeavouring to stifle common sense or error."² How the bureaucratic Government viewed the press in India may be summarised in the words of Andrew Marvel that—"There have been ways found out, to banish minister, to fine not only the people but the grounds where they assembled but no art yet could prevent the seditious meeting of letters. Two or three brawny fellows in a corner, with mere ink and elbow grease, do more harm than a hundred systematical divines with their sweet preachings....."

"O Printing ! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind ! That lead, when moulded into bullets is not so mortal as when founded into letter."³

The Government was afraid of the change brought about by the press in the minds of the people which encouraged them to thinking, made them conscious of their rights and privileges and taught them to agitate for these rights. Agitation is the spirit which makes society progress. "The whole life of *England*", said Dada-bhai Naoroji, "every day is, all agitation. You do not open your

1. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad by Mahadev Desai P. 46.

2. Sketch of the History and Influence of the press in British India—Leicester Stanhope P. 184 quoting Godwin.

3. Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India. P. 182.

paper in the morning but read from beginning to end it is all agitation. Congresses and Conferences, Meetings and Resolutions without end, for thousand and one movements local and national.

“.....The whole Parliament, Press and Platform is simply all agitation. Agitation is the civilized peaceful weapon of moral force, and infinitely preferable to brute physical force.....”¹

The policy of keeping public in the dark so that Britain may rule successfully was persistently tried in this era of a new awakening. The fettered press was one of the greatest annoyances. It was one of the most dreadful engines of subverting the mind. Healthy public opinion is the strongest support of a good Government and a terror for a bad one. Democratic Government always responds to public opinion; if successfully attacked by the press a democratic ministry would change. But if bureaucracy had to change it means its destruction, it would be rooted out of existence. The Government was aware of its weakness and adopted necessary measures like the Press Act to prevent its own destruction.

The Press Act was the greatest check on the progress of journalism in India. The Census Reports of 1911 and the Administration Reports of 1911 (as compared with those of 1910) show the low output and the decaying standard of journalism in particular and of literature in general. Section 3 of Act 1 of 1910 (i. e. the Press Act) was the greatest check on the establishment of new journals. The Indian owned newspapers attracted mostly the sensitive and adventurous young men who believed that the day of freedom was steadily drawing nearer and that they or the coming generation would have their full reward and compensation for the hardships they were called upon to endure. Indian journalists were facing poverty. As Morison writes “I could mention many newspapers which are run at a loss, and I have had no personal experience of any which were a source of profit.”² India, an industrially undeveloped country could not secure advertisements and a paper depending on circulation alone could not earn any profit. In such a state of affairs, the necessity of giving security could result in nothing but a check on growth. The Government adopted

1. How India wrought for Freedom by A. Basant P. 446.

2. Imperial Rule in India by Sir Theodore Morison P. 101.

the most tactful and indirect method to check progress. It imposed the condition of money deposits which poor Indian journalists were not able to provide. This checked progress in the name of preserving the law and order for checking political murders, dacoities and conspiracies.

The *Comrade* case made history when it was prosecuted for reviewing the administration of the Press Act. Even the judges of the British Government denounced the act, its scope, vagueness and actual working. The pamphlet "Come over into Macedonia and help us" was proscribed by an order of the Bengal Government dated the 18th July, 1913. Chief Justice Jenkins gave a fine judgement. Referring to Section 22 of the Act, he declared ".....The notification, therefore appears to me to be defective in a material particular, and but for section 22 of the Act it would, in my opinion, be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture.

".....though I hold that the notification does not comply with the provision of the Act, still we are, in my opinion, barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare."¹

"The provisions of section 4 are very comprehensive, and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. Indeed it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on one side to the very limit of impossibility on the other.

"It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not plausibly be extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval.

"An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this widespread net; the praise of a class might not be free from risk. Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught."²

"The Advocate General has convinced me that the Government's view of this piece of legislation is correct, and that the High

1. Indian Law Reporter-Calcutta Vol 41. P. 478

2. Indian Law Reporter-Calcutta, Vol. 41 P. 478

Court's power of intervention is the narrowest : its power to pronounce the legality of the forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred : the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the executive order is withheld; and its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all comprehensive provisions of the Act."¹

This declaration moved the whole country. The demand for the repeal of the Act was intensified. This was an illegal law in which even ordinary jurisdiction was denied. The newspapers in a district existed at the mercy of the magistrate. He was authorised to forfeit the security on any pretext. The Act was put into action without any particular reason but the general reason that during the last six months the paper had published articles and words in various issues which are cognizable under the Act. The court was helpless to question the legality of the forfeiture or of the action taken against the newspaper. In the case of Abul Kalam Azad, it was held by the court that "According to the scheme of the Indian Press Act and its several provisions, it is abundantly clear that we have no jurisdiction in this case."² Justice was denied to the public by preventing the jurisdiction of the court. This actually interfered with the legitimate freedom of the press. The *Bombay Sentinel* once wrote that to curtail and interfere with the freedom of the press, the bureaucracy had even delved into the archives of the notorious Austrian Empire to find out material which would help them.

The Press Act was never administered in a uniform way in all the provinces. Mr Mackornes' pamphlet "Methods of the Indian Police in the 20th century" was on the black list in Bengal, Bombay etc., while it could be possessed and studied with immunity in Madras, the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province. Because of the fear of revolution, Telegu, Bengali, Marathi and Gujerati in those provinces where none of these languages were ever heard.

The *India* of April 3, 1914 published that on December 31, 1909 there were in India 200 English Newspapers and periodicals

1. Indian Law Reporter—Calcutta Vol. 41 P. 478

2. Indian Law Reporter—Calcutta Vol. 42 P. 734

and 1,158 Vernacular newspapers and periodicals. In three calendar years the number fell to 193. The proceedings against the newspapers were;

			1911		1912		1913
Madras	...	...	20	—	4	—	10
Bombay	...	...	5	—	11	—	15
Bengal	...	...	3	—	2	—	12
U. P.	...	...	2	—	4	—	11
Punjab	...	...	14	—	10	—	21
Delhi	...	...	7	—	3	—	8
Total			51	—	34	—	77

Bihar had three cases in two years, Assam and North West Frontier had one case each while C. P. showed a clean sheet.

The Press Act was vigorously used all the time since its passing. Though it was a lawless law on the statute book, yet an active and vigorous act. In the year 1914, the East India Association in England held a meeting to discuss the press in India. Ratcliffe, the former editor of the *Statesman*, said "—It was not possible to get any kind of loyalty worth the name unless trust was reposed in the leading members of the Indian race to express their opinions freely on the platform and in writing. In continuing the Press Act a great blunder was being committed and its effect would be visible in the near future in the most regrettable manner."¹ Sir William Wedderburn put the case in stronger words "—If the object of the Press Act was to checkmate secret conspiracy and outrage, it had signally failed. The Government must put confidence in the great mass of thoughtful men who were, as a matter of fact, more opposed to the methods of violence because they saw in those methods the greatest obstacle to the reforms which were so necessary."²

Sir George Birdwood said forty years ago that "in India especially, it is worth tolerating the utmost abuse of the liberty of the Press short of absolute treason." The wise and statesman like advice of these liberty-loving Englishman was no longer followed. When Tocqueville visited America, the American Press was free even to

the point of licentiousness. Though fully aware of the evils of an unscrupulous press, he knew from the lesson of history that an attempt against the freedom of the press would result in grave danger. Hence editor said; "The more I consider the independence of the press in its principal consequences, the more I am convinced that, in the modern world, it is the chief and, so to speak, the constitutive element of liberty. A nation which is determined to remain free is, therefore, right in demanding at any price the exercise of this independence."¹

The British Government knew the consequences of knowledge and awakening, so it adopted the policy of debarring Indian from any sort of knowledge; first of all it imparted education to very few, then the press which was making the public conscious of the defects of the foreign rule and imparting knowledge was shackled, public meetings were banned and the movements crushed. All the means for the development of the mind were closed, so that the people may not unite and make an effective attempt to throw away the yoke of servitude.

On December 12th, 1911 the august Ceremony of the Coronation Darbar was held. The ceremony appeared to the nationalist press as something more than a fine spectacle. A deep seriousness would rather seem to be the prevailing feeling of those who see beyond the gorgeous display and formalities of crowning a monarch, the effect that may be produced in the destinies of a nation, every celebration of coronation rites must bring with it a forecast of events, which may result in the benefit or misfortune of a kingdom."² Hopes were raised that the Coronation was a prelude to some change. The expectations came true the partition was undone. The declaration was hailed by the Press from every corner of the country. The re-union of Bengal was the product of boycott and other political activities. The attitude of the Anglo-Indian papers was strange. The *Pioneer* wrote before the declaration that "among all the absurd forecast of 'coronation concessions' which have been brought forward during the last six months, this is the most unfor-

1. The Hindustan Review, July 1909 P. 124

2. The Hindustan Review, May 1911. P. 419

fortunate—His Majesty's visit cannot possibly bring the repeal of the partition a yard nearer.”¹

After the event, the *Englishman* wrote “So far as the partition is concerned, the new administrative scheme does not come altogether as a shock. The European attitude towards partition has always been one of a wonder at the pothor that was made about it; and now that the two Bengalis are to be reunited under a new governor, we imagine that the European Community will still feel a wonder why after the Bengalis had acquiesced in the settled fact, a change should be made which will cause more expense and for the time being a great deal of chaos in administration.”² But the Indian papers welcomed the decision and said that balm had been poured over the wounds of Bengal. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore welcomed the announcement of the change of Capital, but on the question of the reunion of Bengal it said, “those changes practically amount to a revocation of the partition of 1905. Seeing that the agitation against the partition had practically died down, it may be questioned whether such a concession to former Bengali feelings was necessary.”³

The Anglo-Indian newspapers were supporters of the policies of the Government so long as the policies were reactionary and in favour of the Anglo-Indian Press, otherwise they were bitter critics.

On the eve of the king Emperor's coronation two political murders were committed—one of a sub-Inspector of police at Myensingh in East Bengal and the other of a civilian—Mr. Ashe, the District Officer of Tinnevely in Madras Presidency. The *India* of June 14, 1912, wrote editorially criticising the attitude of the Government: “Take one instance, what Indian journalist would have escaped prosecution if he had allowed it to be stated in his newspaper as the ‘Pioneer’ did a year ago that the ‘murder of Mr Ashe was as much the work of Lord Morley as if his hand had held the revolver, and it is as well that the fact should be stated?’ But the Government had no temerity to call them to account for their conduct. If the Anglo-Indian papers were treated under the Press Act,

1. Quoted by the *India* 5th January, 1912

2. Quoted by the *India* 5th January, 1912

3. *Ibid.*

either such violent writings would have stopped against Indians or the Act itself would have ceased to exist." The Government demanded a security of Rs. 1,000/- from the *Sind Gazette* under the Press Act and the *Pioneer* which was silent, when Indian papers were the victims, now commented "It has been generally understood that the Government had quite made up its mind, in reference to the working of the Press Act, that deposit as a security was not to be exacted from papers existent before the passage of the Act—except in case of their doing something to suggest that they required looking after—. The paper in question is an old established journal under European management and ownership, and we are not aware that subversive or mischievous tendencies have ever been as much as imputed to it—It goes without saying that the enforcing of the Act should either be universal or it should not be exercised without cause given. To select a paper here and there at random for disciplinary treatment is highly invidious and in effect a grave injury to its influence. It casts in the eyes of the general public suspicion of having offended; and if thereafter it should support the Government its support goes for nothing because it is supposed to have been exhorted by the fear of stronger penalties."¹ If the Government had treated the Anglo-Indian papers as it treated the Indian Papers the necessity of the Act would have been lessened.

The year 1912 was significant for the Balkan wars which had a great effect on the Muslim community here. The administrative summary of Lord Hardinge says "The opening of Balkan war in October, 1912, introduced another grave factor and helped to perpetuate a state of affairs which the Government of India viewed with considerable uneasiness."² It further says that "the conduct of a certain section of the Mohammadan Press continued to be unsatisfactory, particularly in the Punjab U. P. and Bengal it necessitated restrictive measures."³

Riots took place at Kanpur. The Government records of that time say that on account of "the Cawnpore riots the Mohammadan Press all over India became extremely violent, necessitating action

1. Quoted in *The Hindustan Review* May 1911. P. 511

2. Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst (Home Department November 1910 to March 1916. P. 15

3. *Ibid.*

in several instances of which the most conspicuous examples were the *Zamindar* and *Habib-ul-Matin*, whose securities were forfeited and *Al-Hilal*, from which security was demanded.”¹

During the Turko-Italian and the Balkan wars the pan-Islamic movement was strengthened. The leaders of the movement were Maulana Zafar Ali, editor of the *Zamindar*, Lahore, and the two brothers Maulanas Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali who were editing *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* from Delhi. The *Comrade* office was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi after the transfer of the capital. They were severe critics of the policy adopted by Great Britain towards Turkey. The *Zamindar* got popularity, and with popularity, its circulation rose to 15,000. The Punjab Government wanted to bring about a change in the policy of the paper. It confiscated the security and fresh securities of Rs. 10,000/- were demanded but in vain; the tone and policy of the paper remained the same. The policy of Britain towards the Mohammedan Nations during the Turko-Italian and Balkan wars embittered the Mohammedan Community towards the Government in India. The nationalist press supported the cause of Turkey. The sympathetic utterances of the press made the Mohammedan Community realise that their natural allies were their own countrymen and not the foreign rulers. The Government, whose policy was divide and rule, could not tolerate the change of heart. It viewed the whole situation with alarm. The year 1913 was one of the blackest years on the press front when action against 77 newspapers was taken, the largest number in all the years. The change of heart was the beginning of steps to affect a rapprochement. The press was the main factor whose utterances attracted the attention of the Muslims and made them revise their thoughts in the light of new circumstances. In their hour of need who could be their helpers except the Hindus. This consequently led to a Hindu Muslim rapprochement. The *Al-Hilal* of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, which started with an avowed object of bringing about a change in the Mohammedan minds played an important role. The leaders of the Muslim League as well as the Congress took serious interest in bringing about a rapprochement. Their efforts alarmed the bureaucracy; and one of the Anglo-

1. Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst November 1910 to March 1916 (Home Department) P. 16

Indian papers burst out "Why do these men want to unite the two communities if it is not to unite them against the Government?"¹ The situation demanded a rapprochement, so the old supporters of communalism came forward to preach the need of the hour. The *Comrade* was the leading paper which urged the Muslim League to throw away the garb of communalism and loyalty towards the British rule. Ultimately the Muslim League at its Lucknow (1913) meeting altered the creed and henceforth the goal was "the attainment of self Government for India along with the other communities." The adoption of a *modus operandi* paved the way for communal unity and common action which was achieved in 1916.

The Government developed the habit of regarding all effective criticism as seditious and punishing not only offenders but the innocents too. The Government saw no need for using political sagacity to prevent any undesirable actions of the public. On the other hand the public not only in India but in England too was trying to remove the stringent Press law. In the year 1914, an appeal was made to the British Government by fifty-five prominent Englishmen including A. G. Gardiner, G. Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, W. Wedderburn, H.G. Wells, W. H. Stead, giving a picture of the working of the Press Act 1910. It said "The publication of criticism of the action of local authorities and even the expression of sympathy with the misfortunes of such Moslem states as Turkey, Tripoli and Morocco have been made the excuse for the most drastic repression."² The appeal quoted the judgement of the Chief Justice L. Jenkins in the *Camrade* case. But the Government paid no heed. The Indian National Congress passed a resolution in its annual session urging the removal of the Act which had practically killed political life and political discussions in India. The Congress of 1913, resolved: "That this congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statue Book and urges that the same be repealed, in view of the recent decision of the High Court of Calcutta, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and capable of being enforced."³ Moving the resolution Bhupendra Nath Basu said "it was a wet

1. *Renascent India* by H.C.F. Zacharias P. 161

2. *The India*, 13th February 1914.

3. *How India wrought for freedom* by A. Beasant P. 560.

cloth on all expressions of public opinion.....situated as the Government of India is, foreign in its composition and aloof in its character, this law is a source of great peril.”¹

South Africa and other colonies were burning topics and the Indian press brought news of the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa and other British colonies. It aroused the strongest feelings of discontent and indignation among the people here. The Asiatic Registration Act, better known as the Black Act, the Transvaal Immigration Act and the declaration of the marriages not solemnised according to the Christian fashion and not duly registered by the Registrar of Marriages invalid made the Indians in South Africa carry on a passive resistance movement. The gallant fight of their countrymen in a far-off land moved the Indians at home. The *Indian Review* of May 1915, wrote discussing the South African War that “the maintenance of a bitter and acrimonious political struggle for the best part of a generation on behalf of a poor and downtrodden people in a land where, in a just and righteous world, they should not have been treated as foreigners and the carrying of the struggle by honourable success without a drop of bloodshed by the sufferers and without a stain on their loyalty or good faith is an achievement for which it is difficult to find a parallel in history.”²

The Indians in other colonies were in no way better placed than in South Africa. The Komagata-Maru voyage which was followed by the Budge-Budge riots was a definite challenge to Indians. Their disability cause abject humiliation to their brothers in other crown colonies. The *Indian Review* of February, 1915 wrote on the grievances of the Indians in Canada demanding “if equality cannot be secured for Indians on the basis of equal rights, it is possible at least on the basis of common disabilities. If Indians are received on a footing of inferiority in the Colonies, the Government of India should impose corresponding restrictions and disabilities on colonial immigrants into the country. They should, for instance, be subjected to the same tests as Indian-immigrants into colonies, and declared ineligible for employment in the private

1. How India Wrought for freedom By A. Basant, P. 560

2. Indian Review May 1915.

concerns, and debarred from owning land in India.”¹ Though the Indian press wanted to give the same treatment to foreigners which Indians received, realities are brought home, in the reply of the *Advertiser* (a model of frankness) which says “you are a subject race, we are a free people. We enter India without restrictions because our kinsmen rule you.”² Unless India was self-Governing and had power to retaliate, the citizenship rights would be denied. This was a challenge to the nation and the nation was proceeding on the path of Self-Government. The cry of the newspapers was not lost in the wilderness. The *Times of England* gave a novel reason for the exclusion of Asiatics in an article in its issue of 9th July, 1914. “Where the European is engaged in building up new communities, where he has to ask himself day by day whether the foundations are well laid and the growing fabric secure in each successive storey of its structure, there he is compelled to exclude alien influences and the inevitably corrosive action of racial materials that resist assimilation.”³

The country was stirred in the cause of its brethren in the far-off lands. Attempts towards the achievement of self-government were intensified.

The year 1914 is an important year in the history of the world. The Great war, the first of its kind, with no parallel in history is point of the numbers engaged in it and the fearful carnage, broke out. It came at the most undesirable and unexpected moment. The present age was the age of machinery, so the war was also machine made. The progress of science and civilization made the world interdependent in the time of peace; so it was in the time of war. The British Dominions overseas sent troops to augment the British army. The rulers of India were involved in the war; naturally the ruled had to enter the arena, to shed the blood of even those with whom they sympathised. Indian armies fought in Egypt and Turkey and made India's name bitterly disliked in Western Asia. A war loan was raised in India and Indians were recruited for the

1. The Indian Review, February, 1915. P. 180

2. Quoted in the Hindustan Review January 1917, P. 21

3. Quoted by K. M. Panikkar in Disabilities of Indians in the colonies. Hindustan Review. January 1917. P. 22

a army. The Congress and the Government worked side by side to achieve the same purpose for the first time in history and perhaps for the last too. Britain declared that it was fighting for the freedom of small nations and suppressed nationalities; India hoped that this declaration of policy applied to India also and that she would achieve her cherished goal, but there were doubts.

The war influenced the developments in India directly and indirectly. Her resources were utilised to the fullest extent to help the Allies. On the eve of the war, politics was at a low ebb. Tilak had just been released after a long imprisonment of six years and he found every-thing different. The Moderates were dominating the politics of the time. The war for the time being diverted the attention of the people towards itself. Attention was focussed on the war and its course. The people wanted news, true news. But it was not possible to get true news. The Government got sufficient excuse to suppress all the activities and sources of information and do whatever it liked. A censorship was established and only that news received which came through the censor. The demand for news gave a great impetus to the newspapers. The total number of newspapers and periodicals in 1912-13 had been 673 and 2395 respectively which went up to 827 and 2848 respectively in 1913-14. As the war intensified, the figure increased to 847 and 2988 respectively in 1914-15. The Marathi press had to face a setback in the absence of Tilak, but again flourished after his release. Besides, N. C. Kelkar and Khadilkar two new figures emerged to make it important. The *Bharat-Mitra*, a Hindi daily, managed to get fresh news telegraphically in 1913.

When the war started, the Government was armed with Sections 124A, 153A, of the I. P. C.; the Seditious Meetings Act, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908, the Press Act of 1910 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1913. Even so the Government passed the Defence of India Act in 1915 to meet the emergency situation created by the war. In 1914, 83 papers were warned and in 1915 the number of warnings was 89. The rigour of the Press Act was added to by the Defence of India Act. The Home Department administration summary of Lord Hardinge wrote :

“Other important war questions which occupied attention were the improper publication of war news and the dissemination of correct information regarding the war. The former fell within the sphere of the Military Censorship assisted by the Naval and Military News (Emergency) Ordinance, which Lord Hardinge promulgated in August, 1914. On the Civil side, however, officers were appointed to act as informal press advisers to those newspapers which might desire to consult them regarding particular articles or messages; and in varying degrees advantage was taken of this scheme.”¹

The Censorship was established and the newspapers were not able to get any news. For the correct instruction of the public in the origin, history and progress of the war all local Governments were desired to adopt means best suited to local circumstances, whether these were the issues of communiques, the delivery of lectures, the dissemination of literature or instruction in the schools and colleges.² In fact, the war terrified the Government. It wanted to harness the energies of the press to the end of bringing victory to the allies. It had learnt from history that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playgrounds of Eton and Harrow. So in India the press was persecuted for no sin of its own, while in England the Northcliffe-papers bitterly attacked the British Government. Their campaign was publicizing the truth that was hidden behind the veil of censorship. In order to increase the production of high explosive shells and emphasize the need for conscription the papers attacked even Lord Kitchner, the Secretary of State for war.

In the end the new post of Minister for Munitions was given to Lloyd George, the production of shells and machineguns was increased and conscription was adopted. If the Northcliffe Press had been muzzled, the allies would have lost the war. The British Government always recognised the value of liberty, otherwise the party in power would have been thrown out; but in the countries, they ruled, they adopted stringent rules so that the public might never rise and become a formidable opposition.

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1. Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst—November 1910 to March 1916. P. 23
 2. Vide Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst—November 1910 to March, 1916.

Some events are landmarks in the life of a nation. The war gave an impetus to Indian aspirations. As the war proceeded the mass felt the economic strain and the discontent grew more and more. The demand for men and money grew intense, and over a million soldiers and members of the labour corps were sent abroad. The methods of recruitment were resented by the people and were supposed to be the cause of unrest in the Punjab. Besides, a mutiny took place in an Indian regiment in Singapore and many other places. But it was difficult to know what had actually happened during those days. The censorship was rigidly enforced. The newspapers were not able to get correct information and even the war time documents of the Government of India are not available. It was a dark period so far as news was concerned.

At the end of 1915, the Press Association of India was formed in Bombay with certain aims and objects. "Its object shall be to protect the press of the country by all lawful means from arbitrary laws and their administration, from all attempts of the Legislature to encroach on its liberty or of the executive authorities to interfere with the free exercise of their calling by Journalists and press proprietors and for all other purposes of mutual help and protection which may be deemed advisable from time to time."¹ The Secretary of the association was B. G. Horniman of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

All the repressive measures adopted by the Government had driven the unrest underground and it broke out here and there in the form of revolutionary movements. The Government of India added a new section 120 (A) to the Indian Penal Code, and accordingly conspiracy became an independent crime. But as the facts show, instead of this new section checking the growth of revolutionary societies, the movement made rapid strides in the country. In 1913 sixteen outrages and in 1914 twenty outrages were committed. In 1915, daring dacoities and sensational murders took place, six murders in 1916 and nine outrages in 1917 took place. The German-Bengali Plot and the Ghadar movement were the most important of all. The Government was afraid of those papers which showed an inclination towards Germany's progress in war, e. g., the *Al-Hilal* which published an article on Germany.

1. The Indian Year Book 1917, P. 521

“Now the real facts are clear as day light, viz, that the information which the whole world possessed for years as to the astonishing powers and appliances of Germany is as correct now as before the war began. Germany is in the possession of the whole of Belgium and has advanced as far as Paris. It is fighting with the Russians in Russia, and has advanced miles within its boundaries. Its African colonies have not yet been completely conquered and even the famous naval force of Japan has been unable to take Kia Chau in two months. On the other side not an inch of German territory has passed into the occupation of their enemies. The result is that the countries of the opponents of Germany have been turned upside down by the war, as is the case in Belgium and France and part of Russia, but in Germany itself there is no fighting, and thus the internal tranquility and security and its home trade and economic condition is just exactly as it was before.”¹

In November 1914 the *Pioneer* wrote an editorial under the heading “Pro-Germanism in Calcutta” in which Maulana Azad the editor of *Al-Hilal* was charged with Pro-German tendencies for the above mentioned article. The paper commented: “The obvious intention of the writer of these lines is to make his co-religionists believe that Germany is invincible and that the powers of the British Empire can do nothing to resist its attacks.....we may safely say that a Government which at such a time as the present allows a British subject unchecked malicious insinuations against British soldiers and sailors at any rate may lay claim to the possession of a most un-Germanic spirit of toleration.”² Maulana Azad had old connections with the revolutionary party in Bengal which attracted the attention of the Criminal Intelligence Department of Bengal. The Government took the step of forfeiting the security of the paper. The entrance of the editor was banned into the Punjab, the United provinces and Madras; and on April 7, 1915 the Bengal Government expelled him from that province and interned him in Ranchi till the beginning of 1920. Such were the heroic tales of so many Indian papers which wrote what Government did not like.

The Ghadar party organized by Lala Har Dayal, with headquarters in California, started a newspapers called *Ghadar* in 1913.

1. Quoted in Maulana Azad by Mahadeo Desai pp. 57-58

2. Ibid P. 58

It was printed in several languages from the Jugantar Ashram and distributed free among the Indians in America, the Far East, and various parts of India. It preached the overthrow of the foreign rule not by constitutional agitation but by revolutionary methods. The Home Department says about this paper: "It was a paper of violent Anti-British nature, playing on every passion it could possibly excite, preaching murder and mutiny in every sentence, urging all Indians to go to India with the express object of committing murder, causing revolutions, and expelling the British Government by any and every means, and holding up to admiration and as examples to follow every seditious and murderer who sprang into temporary notoriety. Attempts to circulate this paper throughout the world where Indians congregate have since been reported, while naturally circulation in India itself was seditiously assayed."¹ The influence of this paper on the Indians was large as in the case of those who came back from Canada in the Komagata-Maru for they had turned into revolutionaries. Their minds were seething with discontent and during the Punjab unrest they were the prominent figures. Revolutionary and terrorist literature though, having very small circulation was effectively preparing public mind for revolution like a section of French Press before the French Revolution.

The Indian press cried for the declaration of British policy towards India in return for her services towards Britain during the war. India saw her soldiers fighting for freedom in Flanders, Gallipoli, Asia Minor, China and Africa. Was she to have no freedom for which she fought? The constant cry proved effective and the British Government had to make at least a show of giving reforms.

Mrs. Beasant was making strenuous efforts to bridge the gulf between the moderates and the extremists since the release of Tilak in 1914. Tilak declared the policy of loyalty towards British Government in her hour of need, which paved a way towards its re-entrance of the extremists in the Congress party. Ultimately in 1916, at the Lucknow Congress session the extremists re-entered the Congress, and this event was hailed with joy. From that year, a

1. Summary of the Administration of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst. Nov. 1910 to March 1916, P. 20.

systematic political movement started. In April 1916, Tilak founded the Home Rule League at Poona. He was assisted in his work to carry on vigorous propaganda by his two papers—the daily *Kesari* and the weekly *Maharata*. Kelkar and Kharpade, two eminent journalists, joined the staff and made Marathi journalism more effective. The circulation of these papers had gone up tremendously. It indicated the influence that Tilak had over the masses. The same year in the month of September Mrs. Beasant inaugurated the Home Rule League in Madras. She had joined the Indian National Congress in 1914 with the aim of carrying out the political side of her four-fold programme for the regeneration of India. With the same end in view she started the *Common Weal* a weekly on January 2nd, 1914, and the *New India* daily on July 14th, 1914. In the first issue of the *Common Weal* she stated “In political reform we aim at the building up of complete self-government from village councils, through District and Municipal Boards and Provincial Legislative assemblies, to a National Parliament, equal in its power to the Legislative bodies of the self-governing colonies, by whatever names they may be called.”¹ The Home Rule movement was gaining strength day by day. The *Common weal* of 19th March 1915 carried an article under the heading “The Evolution of Indian self-government.” It said that in the past in India “The political arrangement was not based on voting, but rather on a representation of organic units, linked into an organization for the promotion of general well-being, rather than for the possession of power as against others, either for offence or defence. Life and comfort were the object of the social state rather than power.....

“Out of a past so different, a different type of self-government may be expected to arise, and nothing would be more unlikely to prove successful than a bestowal on the peasantry of a voting power through which they should decide the fate of Government.

“Here we come to the question which we ought to discuss. Do we want here a replica of English self-government, in the form which England, with the wide extension of the suffrage, is discovering to be unworkable..... why should we plunge into this road which will land us, as it has landed England in a bag? Revolution

1. The Future of Indian Politics by A. Beasant P. 53

is an awkward process : evolution is natural and easy. Shall we not try to evolve ?

“The village is the unit and there suffrage may be universal—the fathers and others of the village above the age of 21 years, form a natural electorate.....”

“Taluqa Boards in the country and Municipalities in the towns below a certain population would be the second grade councils and these should be elected by the first grade councils, and by all men and women in the area who had reached a certain standard of education and had attained a certain age, say 25.

“Above these come the Provincial Parliaments to be elected by councils of the third grade and by all men and women over 35 who have reached a certain educational standard. The provincial University or Universities, provincial railways and all the large concerns of provincial life would come under their administration.

Above these would be the National Parliament, controlling all national affairs, railways, army, navy etc. The electorate there would be the provincial parliaments and men and women over 40 of University or equivalent educational standard.¹

The article gave the details of the elective bodies from the village to the National Parliament suggesting the indirect method of election.

Mrs. Beasant before actually starting the Home Rule League and the movement wanted to prepare the people's mind to reach the goal and that goal promised was self-government in the Empire ultimately. This article was made the basis of the draft scheme by an All India Committee into a Common-wealth of India Bill.

The Common Weal of 10th and 14th April, 1914 suggested the method for preparing the foundations of self-government which was to start from the village and reach up to the National Parliament. The educated classes were advised to come up. The paper wrote “India must immediately address herself to the preparation needed, and her sons must shoulder local responsibilities which are the practical training for National Self-Government.”²

1. Quoted Ibid P. 282

2. Ibid.

The Home Rule movement was vigorously carried on, the government of both the provinces, Bombay and Madras, were alarmed at its progress and intensity and found out the way to suppress it. Tilak was asked to furnish a personal bond of Rs. 20,000 with two securities of Rs. 10,000 for good behaviour for one year as he had delivered some speeches which were not desirable according to the government. An appeal was made to the Bombay High Court and later on the order was cancelled. The second step was the demand of security for Rs. 2,000 from the *New India* on May 26, 1916 which was forfeited on August 28. Mrs. Beasant gave a statement after depositing the securities that "Under the rule of the bureaucrat it is safer to conspire than to seek for reforms in an open, law-abiding constitutional way. For if a man is found out in a conspiracy he has at least a trial and may be acquitted, whereas if he carries on a constitutional agitation his liberty may be taken away and his property confiscated without any more formality than the turning of a magistrate from his normal business of punishing thieves into a licensed plunderer."

The Madras Government for the first time attacked a newspaper of the first rank, which had never spoken one word of violence, which had used constitutional and law-abiding means to bring about reforms which were absolutely necessary. Mrs. Beasant further said "Loyal as India is, the *Madras Mail* states that she must not be allowed to volunteer but she should turn her arms against the English; this atrocious article is passed by the Government, which does not care to protect its Indian subjects from the grossest insult. The *Madras Mail*, despite the war, takes the reasonable line of abusing the Coalition Government in a way which would land its editor in gaol if he were in England, : but here the Government never dreams of checking it, although it holds up His Majesty's Government to hatred and contempt. It keeps the viols of its wrath for a paper which has dared to demand Home Rule, and has demanded it so effectively that the whole country rings with the cry. *New India* is assailed because it has started a constitutional and law abiding movement for self-government in India, within the Empire."¹ But the Government bent upon repression asked for a

1. Quoted in the Government of India by Ramsay Macdonald P. 280

new security of Rs. 10,000 and it was paid. Mrs. Beasant made an appeal to the Madras High Court and the Privy Council but with no result.

As time went on the world got weary of the war. With the increasing demand for men and money the strain on the poverty stricken masses was immense. In the *Hindustan Review* of May 1917 an article appeared, "Now this drain is two-fold, being due partly to political and partly to industrial and commercial causes. Until quite recently the patriotic efforts of *New India* were almost exclusively directed towards minimizing the drain towards political causes....."

"The volume of the drain due to the British element in our state administration has been becoming larger and larger."¹ India was maintaining a vast army simply for the defence of the Empire, exacting money from her starving millions."

Tilak and Mrs. Beasant put their whole energy into the movement and in 1917 the movement reached an unprecedented height. The Government was terribly alarmed and it utilised all the means of suppression. Mrs. Beasant with her two associates, B. P. Wadia and G. S. Arundale, was interned in Ootacamund. On the inspiration of the Madras Government a non-Brahmin movement was also started. It was anti-Home Rule. The internment intensified the movement more than before. Those who were not supporters of the movement became its hearty supporters. The political condition of India was so bad and many things which happened in India were also such that it was natural for all just and liberty loving persons to feel deeply and strongly. The *Modern Review* of July 1917 wrote "Let us be true to our determination to do our best to make the demand for Home Rule as intelligent and widespread as is possible under the present circumstances of India."² The internment of Mrs. Beasant stirred even the moderates.

The year 1917 was memorable year in the history of the world. The Russian Revolution was one of the most inspiring events which gave impetus to the whole country and one could look forward to a change in India too. The event was most-warmly wel-

1. The *Hindustan Review* May, 1917. P. 91.

2. The *Modern Review*, July, 1917, P. 85.

came in the country, In the *East and West* Venkatraman wrote "A new day had dawned for Russia—a day of Freedom—Russia has risen to life and her soil will once more shoot forth buds and flowers of all colours and fragrance that will joyously welcome the new day of Peace and Glory."¹

The Indian Press interpreted the Russian Revolution as a dawn which set an "example for the Indian nationalists, at the same time it was organically true that such a revolution was expected in India too. As an article—"Revolutions—Red and White" written by N. Gupta says that "A revolution is essentially the rising of a nation against an individual or an oligarchy.....No nation can be oppressed longer than it chooses to submit to oppression; the moment the nation as such wills to be free it is bound to be free and tyranny and despotism find their doom. As a revolution necessarily implies a struggle between a tyrannical and armed power and an undisciplined and probably unarmed nation, bloodshed is often inevitable, unless there is so complete an accord among the revolutionaries that the revolution is complete the moment it raised its head, and the monarch or the Government is stripped of all authority in a moment,"²

It was a call to the nation to will for freedom and she would get it. It further proceeded :

"These far-reaching and rapid world-changes are not without a profound significance. In them is the handwriting on the wall of absolute and autocratic power all over the world, writing so bold and so plain that the man who runs may read, and neither astrologers nor Daniel need be called to decipher the writing as had to be done when the handwriting appeared on the wall of King Belshazzar's palace. The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on, from one continent to another."³ The revolution in Russia was an indication of the revolutions in other parts of the world where the people were oppressed under autocratic rule and foreign domination. The article proceeds : "The twentieth century, cradled in the din of war, heralds the emancipation of the human race, and the triumph

1. *The East and West*, Dec. 1917. P. 5

2. *The Hindustan Review* April, 1917, P. 242

3. *Ibid*—243-244

of democracy over autocracy. Out of the welter of the life-blood of nations the high rivalry of savagery in the fair homes of civilization, the world will see the emergence of a freed humanity, the resistless march of democracy and the federation of the world.”¹

The press hailed the Russian revolution as a forecast for such a revolution in India. The demand for Home Rule was made intense. A hope-inspiring vigorous constitutional propaganda was the cure for many political maladies.

Change is the unchangeable law of nature. The rapid pace with which nations all over the world were advancing in the race for intellectual progress and political emancipation was absolutely unparalleled in past history. The responsibility of the press under such circumstances was to give a right direction to the mighty forces at play. The responsibility was grave, as the ordinary individual had neither the necessary training nor even the time or inclination to study the various aspects of difficult problems and was content to accept political opinions reflected in the columns of their favourite newspapers as the only guide for them to follow, and this was unquestionably true of the Indian newspaper reader.

The Indian press was doing its duty well. The question what would be the position of India—in the Empire was agitating every mind. An article appeared in the *East and West* under the heading “The position of India in the Empire.” It said “In India, not unnaturally, the question of the position which India will occupy as the result of such readjustment is already being hotly discussed, amongst these classes that make themselves chiefly heard in the press and on the platform. The only solution is held to lie in a form of Home Rule similar to that which obtains in the Self-governing Dominions of the Empire.”² India was to emerge out of a tremendous ordeal as a new India, strong, armed, restless, self-reliant and insisting on demands—was she to have no share in the freedom for which she fought?

In the year 1917, a turning point came in Britain's politics towards Indian affairs. The Indian political upheaval succeeded to a great extent in creating a superficial change in the political outlook

1. Ibid P. 244

2. The East and West March 1917. P. 10

of England. In July, 1917 was published the Report of the Mesopotamian Commission which created a great stir both in England and India and resulted in supporting and strengthening the demand for political reforms in India. The Commission had condemned the conduct of the Mesopotamian Campaign. It severely criticised the military system of administration which was cumbrous and inept. The ignorance, isolation and centralisation of the bureaucracy was condemned. Josiah C. Wedgwood, one of the Commissioners wrote, "My last recommendation is that we should no longer deny to Indians the full privileges of citizenship, but should allow them a large share in the government of their own country and in the control of that Bureaucracy which in this war, controlled by public opinion has failed to rise to British standards." The report was an eye-opener to the British public as well as Indian. It added fuel to the fire to Indian sentiments.

The virulence with which the British Press attacked Lord Hardinge, whom India remembered as a well-wisher was due to party tactics. Lord Hardinge shifted the blame for the Mesopotamian incident to the British War Office. Montagu gave a fiery speech pointing out the faults of the Government on 12 July, 1917—"It is easy to be wise after the event. At the beginning of the war I believe there was too great a doubt of the loyalty and cooperation of the Indian people. The *Times* newspaper, day after day, for sessions and months past had articles pointing out that sedition was supposed to be rife. It loomed certainly much too large in the discussions of the House. It misled the Germans into thinking India was disloyal and the deliberate policy of the Government in regard to India during the war seems to me to have been this : Let us make as little contribution as we can from India; Keep the war away from India; We will take Indian soldiers and put them into France, and lend Indian Civilians to the Home Government. The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that any body could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements."¹ The result of the storm was the resignation of Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of

1. The Indian Annual Register 1919 Part-II P. VIII & IX

State for India. In July 1919 Montague succeeded him and the Government's policy was announced by him in the House of Commons with regard to India. The Indian nationalist press utilised his speech for the purpose of propaganda. It was praised and quoted extensively. It was used as a text to preach the necessity of immediate change in the Government of the country.

The Russian Revolution created a grave war situation in Europe. England required more help from India. Awakened India would not give the blood of her sons or barter away the bread of the starving millions without an announcement of Britain's policy towards India. So on August 20th Montague the Secretary of State, made an announcement—The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible and that is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India.”¹

The go-ahead extremists regarded the announcement as unsatisfactory both in language and substance and decided to continue the agitation for the release of internees and the recognition of India's claim. But the moderates received it as the Magna Carta of India and desired to concentrate their energies in an educative propaganda to receive the Secretary of State's speech in a good spirit. The only task left for them was to pray for the release of the internees. The Congress and the League were united and the Congress sacrificing one of its essential principles, joint electorates. A scheme was prepared which agreed to the system of communal representation, the principles of weightage and also of communal veto in legislation. The life long convictions were sacrificed to achieve unity of action, but unfortunately the British Government whose policy was to divide and rule accepted the communal agree-

1. The Indian Annual Register—by H. N. Mitra P. 1

ment in its Reforms scheme of 1918 while the rest of the constitutional scheme was rejected. The pact of 1916 had far-reaching results in dividing the two communities in future into two nations. On September 5th 1917, the Government of India announced its readiness to release Mrs. Beasant, Wadia and Arundale, if assurances of abstaining from violent and unconstitutional methods of propaganda were given for the period of the war. The assurances were given and all three were released. Tilak and Mrs. Beasant continued their work of educating the public. The Montague Mission arrived here in November 1917 to hold discussion with the authorities in India as well as with the leaders of all shades of opinion. The British Government wanted to keep the public pacified to serve its own purpose. When England was on the verge of destruction, it wanted India to help and save not only Britain but herself from the German menace. Touching appeals were made by His Majesty, His excellency, the provincial Governors and the District officers to the people to rally to the empire against the common danger and to sacrifice all to furnish man-power and war materials. The people, sometimes trusting and sometimes distrusting the intentions of the Government responded to the call and rose to the occasion. For the country, as the *New India*, in its issue of 28th January 1918 wrote "India's liberty is now in the balance and we must win it when the opportunity is given us because opportunity not grasped becomes an obstacle in the future.....If you explain the main features of the Congress-League Scheme and emphasise them and make them clear with illustrations, you will gradually get the whole mass of Indian people to speak out for it like one man.....We must all give to India this service. Let smaller things wait. Let the Mother see the freedom you are to win, see the glory you are to create; remember that Mother must depend upon every one of you in order that her chains may be broken, and remember if you do your work, you will leave to your sons, to your daughters, to your grand-children after you a New India, a happy India, a free India, a prosperous India. Now is the time to win that splendid prize and a little effort now will do more for the winning of it than months, nay, years of labour will do if you let slip the opportunity."¹

1. From Annie Beasant—Builder of New India PP. 258-259

The nationalist press preached the gospel of complete Responsible Government for India with the control of the Legislature over the Executive and finance. They wanted the announcement of a definite date by the Government when India would attain full independence.

The year 1918 was a trying year for the existence of the British Empire. There was imminent danger arising from the new orientation of German strategy made possible by the disappearance of Russia from the allied camp. Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, was holding the War Conference at Delhi, and provincial war conferences were held by the Governors in their provinces. The Government wanted to meet the danger and so the help of India was to be sought. One of the sub-committees of the War Conference convened at Delhi suggested the necessity of a special organization for publicity. The suggestion was endorsed by the Government. In a press *communiqué* the government outlined its policy as follows:—

“The constitution of a publicity Bureau to disseminate information as to the progress of the war, to make known the objects and methods of our enemies, to counteract the effect of enemy propaganda and to contradict mischievous bazar rumours, to stimulate recruiting and generally to secure the cooperation of the non-official community in regard to the war, is being taken up urgently by the Government, and the question of establishing a Central Bureau under a committee on which the non-official element will be strongly represented is being examined. It is probable that the formation of any Central Bureau will involve the creation of similar bodies at Provincial and State capitals and possibly even at district headquarters, and Provincial Governments will have their attention specially drawn to this matter.”¹

The object of the Central Publicity Board was to issue periodical reviews of the progress of the war for the benefit of all newspapers; and to prepare pamphlets on topics arising out of the war. The provincial Boards were to assume the executive charge of the publicity campaign. They were advised to utilize the existing newspaper press in preference to inaugurating special war journals as the press commanded a large public.

1. *Publicity Work in India from 1st June 1918 to 31st March 1919* Pp. 2 and 3.

The publicity Boards and committees worked in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U. P., Punjab, Bihar and Orissa. Central Provinces, Surma valley, Assam valley, Delhi, North West Frontier Province, Ajmer-Merwara, Sind, Jodhpur, Kashmir, Kotah, Udaipur, Bikaner, Alwar, Jhalawar, Coorg and Poonch.

The publicity Boards issued pamphlets, leaflets, arranged lectures, utilised the existing papers and the press agencies, showed cinematographic films and magic lanterns to the illiterate public, issued picture postcards and pamphlets and took other measures. The policy of the Board with regard to the Newspapers was to utilise the cooperation of the existing papers and news agencies rather than to create new ones. The Government report says that "The cooperation of the newspaper press of all shades of opinion was one of the most pleasant features of the publicity campaign; there was no case where the assistance of the press was asked for when it was withheld; and in the course of a short tour to Calcutta, the Central Provinces and Bombay, when the Vice-President and Mr. K. C. Roy met the editors of all the newspapers in August of 1918, assurances of continued support were ungrudgingly given. Such success as the publicity campaign attained was in a very material degree due to this spirit of common service; in addition, the Associated Press of India gave most generous assistance, and Reuter's Agency on the occasions when its help was wanted."¹ The Governments of United Provinces, and the Punjab felt the necessity of establishing a special War Journal; the Central Publicity Bureau accepted the recommendation and the War Journals were started. They were—the *Haq* from Punjab, the *United Provinces War Journal*, the *Ajmer-Merwara War Gazette*, the *Madras War News*, the *Samar Sambad* (Surma Valley) the *Yudha Samachar* (Central Provinces) and the *Satya Samachar* (Bengal), The Central Provinces *War News* was a private venture which received financial assistance from the Provincial Board. The Central Publicity Board published a magazine "*The War*." The idea behind the magazine was to have a paper "which would discuss in more detail and with greater technicality than is possible in the daily press, the progress of the war, and to illustrate with maps which would afterwards be available for general

1. Publicity Work in India from 1st June 1918 to 31st March 1919, P. 13

purposes; to deal fully and with authority with the current problems arising out of the war; and copiously to illustrate each issue.”¹ The circulation of the *War* was 20,600 copies.

The Government wanted the utmost help of the people when the war situation was grave. The diplomatic ways employed by the government like the announcement of the policy in August, the tour of Montague in India and the intense work of the Publicity Board pacified and created hopes in the minds of the people, but repressive measures were still creating doubts in their minds.

The influence of the war journals can be given in the words of the U. P. reports. “The results of the publicity campaign in these provinces have undoubtedly been striking and widespread. The stimulus afforded to recruiting and to war work in general was most marked, even during the short time which elapsed before the close of hostilities, and the experience of touring officers and other helpers shows that the educative influence of the ‘War Journals’ and of the other methods employed has extended with wonderful thoroughness throughout the towns and villages of every district in the provinces.”²

The report of the Publicity Board in Bihar and Orissa said— “It is difficult to estimate the results of a propaganda which aims rather at influencing men’s minds than at directly controlling their actions. The real criterion of the Committee’s activity is to be found in the degree in which it succeeded in overcoming the dead weight of inertia with which at the outset of its task it was confronted. The educated classes of the community were at first in general suspicious of any government propaganda, while the masses of the people, who unlike the martial races of the Punjab or United Provinces, had no personal connections however remote with the war, were not only ignorant but deeply apathetic.....The Committee succeeded in its objects; that it substituted, for the wild and mischievous rumours tinged with pessimism that had hitherto prevailed, an accurate if elementary knowledge of the existing state of affairs and that it impressed upon the masses of the people the fact that the war was not merely some remote and terrible catastrophe, the indirect effects

1. Ibid P. 16

2. Ibid P. 34

of which upon their lives they might justly resent, but an event in which they had a personal interest and to the successful issue of which they were bound by duty and interest alike to contribute."¹

The government carried on intensive propaganda so that the public might not resent supplying men and money. The propaganda was effective but not to the extent that the authorities maintained in their reports.

The British Government was particular in getting the support of the Indian press, so it invited a deputation from the Indian press to visit England and the theatres of war so that they might obtain first hand information of the task before the government. So the deputation visited the front. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the then editor of the *Hindu*, was the leader of the delegation. They visited the war zones but by the time they reached England, the armistice had been signed. The members of the delegation were Hemendra Prasad Ghose of the *Basumati*, Saunders of the *Englishman* and Mahboob Alam of Lahore.

The rigour of all the repressive measures was intensified with the gravity of the situation of war. According to the Administrative Report of 1914-15, press censors were appointed after Military News (Emergency) Ordinance 1914 was promulgated. Warnings, demands and forfeiture of securities and prosecutions continued.

The important news ventures of the period was the *Hindustan Review*, a weekly founded by Bepin Chandra Pal in the year 1911. In 1914 a Bengali daily *Basumati* was started by H. P. Ghose. In 1916, the *Vishwamitra*, a Hindi daily and the *Hindu*, a Sindhi daily at Calcutta and Karachi respectively were started. The *Vishwamitra* was started in perfect commercial lines of journalism. The Servants of India Society started its organ, the *Servant of India* from Poona. The *Arya* of Aurobindo Ghose was an important monthly from Pondicherry. The *Searchlight*, an important nationalist paper, was founded as a weekly in Patna by Sachchidanad Sinha. The *Pratap*, a Hindi daily founded in 1913 by Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi at Kanpur. The last three papers were the important ventures of this period.

1. Ibid P. 35

Lala Lajpat Rai, after deportation, reached America and founded the India Home Rule League. It published a small monthly magazine the *Young India* which was prohibited in India. The publicity work of the League was carried on through newspapers pleading the case of India; facts and figures were supplied also to Canadian dailies. The correspondent of the *New India* wrote—"The tremendous publicity which our mission gained last October brought India to the attention of the American papers as never before, and the result is that their columns are now open to Indian items. Literally hundreds of articles appear each month in American papers where only a few appeared before. This is permeating the mind of the people with Indian thought and the result is magnificent."¹ The cause of Indian self-government was thus given publicity in foreign papers.

In India, a passionate longing for self-government had grown among the people. Montagu was touring the country, and the Indian press was putting a challenging questions to England. "Are you or are you not" wrote the editor of *Maharata* "going to give political freedom to India just as you say you are going to win it by war for Belgium or Serbia? Has or has not India any claims upon you in that respect? If yes, then what is the scheme by which you are going to restore political freedom to this great nation?"

"Despairing of a constructive policy and an honest scheme spontaneously emanating from you, the best brains in India have voluntarily framed a scheme of their own and the Indian nation now demands that it should be at once put into operation as affording a wide enough workable basis for a fair experiment of nation-making in this country, and embodying a minimum of political reforms, a minimum that is to say of political power which the country thinks and feels is unreservedly or unconditionally due to her, a minimum which cannot be divided into parts without destroying its desired efficacy or without disappointing the people to such an extent as to make them lose faith in British statesmanship. And England would be judged by the response which she may give to this challenge."²

1. Quoted in Indian Annual Register 1919 by Mitra Pp. 104-105.

2. Indian Review February 1918—P. 107

The author meant by the minimum what was demanded in the Congress-League scheme. He further said "England's experience of discontented Ireland has not been pleasant enough and India, if not conciliated by the grant of self-government, is sure to provide another Ireland."¹

In June 1918 the Reforms known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were announced. The announcement was a shock to the extremist section of the Congress. Tilak declared "I am greatly disappointed with it and urge upon our people the necessity of standing fast by the Congress lead and make efforts for its realisation by making every endeavour to place the question before the British Public who are the ultimate Judges in this case and whose decisions the Cabinet and the bureaucracy are bound to obey."²

Mrs. Beasant considered the reforms as "a slow eighteenth century coach" She said: "The Montague-Chelmsford scheme prefers to drape Autocracy with decent and ample garments of words, which will, it hopes, delude the people into blindness to the hideous object beneath the drapery."³

The Montford Scheme proved a veritable apple of discord to the people of India. The unity that had been gradually built up with great labour and sacrifice was destroyed almost at once. The extremist group consisting of the advanced Home Rulers thought that the scheme was, "based on an unqualified distrust of the people of India and is so radically wrong alike in principle and in detail that in our opinion it is impossible to modify and improve it."⁴

The moderates wanted to have even the half a loaf. But the extremists wanted Reforms which could satisfy the demands of the Indians.

The utterances of President Wilson and British statesmen proved futile for India. Montague had rightly told civil service men that the Government was sitting on a volcano. The volcano erupted in 1919.

1. Ibid P. 108

2. *The Indian Review*, July 1918, P. 489

3. *Indian Annual Register 1919*. P. 119

4. Ibid

The British Government had always followed up reforms and limited their scope by introducing more drastic measures. In 1893 the Indian Councils Act was followed by the addition of new sections in the Indian Penal Code. The Morley-Minto Reforms were followed by the Press Act of 1910. And so the Montford Reforms had to be followed by the Rowlatt Bills. The ruling class was wild with rage, as the people clamoured for popular institutions and refused to submit to an order of things belonging to the old world forgotten during the War and sought to be imposed despotically upon the people again.

Now comes the turning point in the history of the nation. Gandhiji, who became the life and soul of the Satyagrah movement, entered the political life of the country. He invited the people to undertake mass Satyagrah for the redress of wrongs and grievances. For the first time in the life of the nation a Satyagrah movement took place at Kheda district in Gujrat. Economic distress was greatly aggravated by natural calamities such as plague, famine and influenza in 1918-19. During this period high prices and shortage of food caused the greatest distress and embarrassment in India. In the background of all these happenings came the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919 (to give it its official title) popularly known as the Rowlatt or Black Bill. It was meant to suppress popular liberties and political life in India. It added fuel to the fire of growing discontent. The year 1919 saw a wave of mass unrest spreading throughout the country. Protest meetings against the Rowlatt Bill were held all over the country. Haratals were taking place in many places. The situation became grave after the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. This massacre was the greatest challenge to the nation, pointing out its disabilities even after so many sacrifices.

The Indian press was bitter over this. It described the massacre as unprecedented in history as regards cruelty and frightful spectacle. The Government adopted coercive measures, the most inequitable of which was the application of the Press Act gagging the Indian press. On April, 17, the *Anrit Bazar Patrika* had to forfeit its security of Rs. 5,000/- under the Act, and was ordered to furnish a fresh security of Rs. 10,000/-. The *Pratap* of Kanpur, the *Independent* of Allahabad, the *Hindu* and *Swadesmitrans* of Madras, the *Hindvasi* and *Ala Mur* of Sind, and many other nationalist papers

were ordered to deposit securities. The *Bombay Chronicle*, a premier newspaper of Western India, was pre-censured. Its editor, B. G. Horniman, an Englishman of the type of Burke was deported. The Press Association of India sent the following cable on 2nd May 1919, to the Secretary of State :

“The Press Association of India begs to invite attention to repression of Indian Press under Press Act 1910 resulting in suppression of legitimate expression of Indian opinion creating great alarm in public mind. The Act since enactment penalised over 350 presses and 300 newspapers, and demanded securities amounting to over £ 40,000 and proscribed 500 publications. Owing to demand of security over 200 presses and 130 newspapers not started. Since 1917, Act was more rigorously administered. Leading influential Indian English journals *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Hind*, *Independent*, *Tribune*, *Punjabee* and leading vernacular papers like *Basumati*, *Swadesamitram*, *Vijaya*, *Hindvasi*, *Bharat Mitra* subjected to its rigours. Several Indian Newspapers arbitrarily banned from different provinces. On the other hand violent provocative writings in Anglo-Indian press are entirely immune. Government refused last September open enquiry into the operation of Press Act urged by Indian Members in the Imperial Council.”¹

The legitimate criticism of the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab Martial Law and other grievances was crippled by executive action. The non-ventilation of public opinion was bound to create discontent.

The Indian political movement was no more a class movement or a hobby of arm-chair politicians but a mass movement in a true fight for independence. Gandhiji came into the field and organized his forces on the principles of Ahimsa. “*The India*” a weekly paper published from England was discontinued. This paper was the organ of the Indian National Congress. In India, Gandhiji took over charge of the *Young India*. The *AJ* was started from Banaras for the dissemination of news and views among the Hindi knowing public with Sri Prakash as its first editor. Ambika Prasad Bajpai started the *Swatantra* in 1920 which was the supporter of the non-cooperation movement.

1. Press and Press Laws in India by H. P. Ghose P. 39-40

This period brought about many changes. A comparison of the conditions of the country in 1911 and in 1920 show a marked change in the outlook of the leaders as well as of the people. The number of newspapers had risen enormously, though prosecutions during this period were the largest in number. This period is called the period of the administration of the Press Act.

The prices of newspapers were enhanced during the War. But the War had created a newspaper minded public. This is human psychology, that once a man starts reading newspapers, this habit continues. The villagers also got interested in the newspapers, because soldiers were recruited mostly from the villages. The village people were anxious to get news of the welfare of their own people. So there was an enormous increase in the newspapers and news sheets.

After the war, motor transportation increased in India. It proved very helpful for the delivery of newspapers.

The Montford Reforms of 1919 extended the principle of election in the legislature. This made the ordinary people also conscious of their interests. They largely depended on the vernacular press. This led to the growth of the vernaculars in India.

The Indian National Congress adopted Hindi as a National language in 1919. Gandhiji's efforts at teaching Hindi in various parts of India gave a further impetus to journalism in India.

As regards the growth of political thought the entrance of Gandhiji into the political life of the country with a definite theory of his own stimulated new speculation and criticism. Secondly, Russian Revolution brought about a change in the press. There were more sober and systematic articles on revolution, on the proper form of Government for the country and on the struggle for independence.

Labour also developed a consciousness. There were a few strikes in Bombay during 1918 and 1919. This led to the growth of interest in these classes. The papers gave news and articles on these subject here and there, but they were not very important.

The press was a forum for the expression of legitimate grievances. Its suppression had driven the grievances under ground which resulted into the revolutionary activities. In the first decade,

Non-Cooperation

(1921 to 1930)

The year 1921 marks the turning point in the national movement of the country. Gandhiji came into politics with his unique method of non-violence and non-cooperation. He provided a weapon to a disarmed nation for fighting the armies of a mighty Empire to achieve independence. The Indian National Congress for the first time tried to reach the masses with a definite plan of action in which everybody was made to feel his importance in striving for independence and acting to make the nation free from foreign bondage. The struggle for independence in this country was spreading from the few to the many with the advance of years. This period made it entirely a mass movement, when a farmer in his cottage could participate in it and be proud of his share in the birth of a free nation. The common man realised his importance in the great work of national independence. This was the period of mass awakening. The labourer became conscious of his strength, the farmer realised his importance and the depressed classes after centuries of discrimination, were claimed as our own brethren.

A revolution had taken place in every sphere of life. Every great event affects the whole world, so did the Great War. The East had awakened to political consciousness, and other parts of the world were facing a great upheaval political and social. In India, the War gave impetus to industries, which caused the growth of a capitalist class—the rich became richer and the poor poorer. The worsening conditions of the agriculturists and labourers made them

discontented. This period was the period of economic crises all over the world. The soldiers, back home from the war front, brought with them a vision of free countries and carried this information from door to door. An all round revolution was noticeable after the Khilafat days. A new vitality swept over the nation. Lord Reading came to this country as Viceroy in the year 1921. The Government of India too realised the beginning of a new era, though from a different point of view. The Administration Report says—“Lord Reading’s Viceroyalty coincides with the new era.”¹

The greatest urge of the period was political freedom, and politics dominated all the spheres such as social, literary and religious movements. Hence, the scope of the press was much widened. The leader like Mahatma Gandhi, realised the importance of the press and took to journalism. As the press is a ‘second front’ in the struggle for independence, the journalists became auxiliaries to the political leaders. Journalism of a lofty character was practised by men of character, idealism, and intelligence like Lala Lajpat Rai, Ganesu Shanker Vidyarthi, B. G. Horniman, Kalinath Rai, Sachchidanand Sinha and above all Mahatma Gandhi, who, as in other spheres of life, was unique in journalism too; he did not allow a single advertisement in his paper. The journalists were the custodians of national aspiration. A full history of the press if it can be written, would be a record of the resurrection of a nation from age long slumber.

The press was showing great expansion all over the country. In Madras, the papers increased from 240 in 1920 to 254 in 1921.² The important papers of this period (with their circulation) were the *Hindu*, an English daily (10,500) the *Madras Mail*, daily (4,475), the *Justice* (2,000) which was conducted in the interest of the Justice party. For the *Andhra Patrika* the people are indebted to the philanthropy and patriotism of a gentleman who must be honoured wherever good work is valued—K. Nageswara Rao. It has been the great educator of the Andhra population as the *Swadesa Mitram* has been of the Tamil. The Kanares *Vrittant Patrika* too was an important paper.

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1. Report of the Administration of Lord Reading, Viceroy and Governor General of India 1921 to 1926
 2. Vide Administration Report—Madras. 1920-21 & 1921 to 1922.

In Bombay Presidency, including the Native States of Gujerat, Kathiawar and Southern Maratha country, there were 189 newspapers and 3 periodicals dealing with current political topics as against 162 newspapers and 4 periodicals in the previous year. "Out of these 10 or 6% were in English, 54 or 33% in Marathi, 20 or about 13% in Gujerati, 3 or about 2% in Hindi, 10 or about 6% in Kanares, 4 or about 2% in Urdu, 16 or 11% in Sindhi; the remaining papers were bilingual or trilingual."¹ The most important paper was the *Young India* whose charge Gandhiji had taken in 1921 and another one, *Navjivan* he had started the same year. Horniman got back to Indian journalism and was editing the *Bombay Sentinel*. The increase in circulation itself was evident of the popularity of the paper. The *Bombay Chronicle* edited by S. A. Brelvi showed an increase from 10,000 to 15,000, *Hindi Navjivan* from 5,000 to 18,000; *Karnatak Vaibhav* from 500 to 2,500, *Hindi* (Bombay) from 1,000 to 2,500, *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition) from 6,000 to 7,000, *Kathiawar Opinion* from 1,000 to 2,000, *Rast Gofstar* and *Praja-Mitra* from 5,000 to 6,000 and *Indu Prakash* from 2,000 to 3,000. The *Nav Gujerati* had a circulation of 20,000. The note worthy falls in circulation were:—The *Shri Vankateshwar Samachar* from 10,000 to 7,000; *Political Bhoonio* from 2,400 to 1,600; *Jagruk* from 1,200 to 1,000; *Kaiser-i-Hind* from 8,500 to 7,800. This fact was evident that the extremist papers dealing with non-cooperation were more powerful and moderate politics was losing ground. The public was supporting the national movement. The *Gujerati* (Bombay) in the beginning of the year, was dealing with moderate politics, so the circulation went down from 19,000 to 18,500; but in the latter half of the year it became a staunch supporter of Gandhiji. The *Young India*, the most influential paper not in Bombay Presidency only but in the whole of India, had the circulation of 17,000.² The Increase in circulation was the result of the interest taken by the masses. Besides, the *Rashtravir* (started in 1921 by Desai for the progress of the workers and peasants) and the *Deennitra* were very influential and supported that class emphatically. Other papers

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1. Vide Annual Report on the Newspapers published in the Bombay Presidency for 1921.
 2. Vide Annual Report on the Newspapers and Publications Published in Bombay Presidency for the year 1921

which were important for their share in mass awakening were—*Garibancha Kaivari* (Kolhapur) *Garud* (Kolhapur) *Taruna Maratha* (Kolhapur) and *Majur* (Poona). In the middle of 1924, P. B. Barve started the *Karmayogi* from Sholapur and the Muslim organ *Gazanfer* was also started from Sholapur, and some other were *Vasundhara* (Bombay), *Duniya* (Bombay), *Satyavadi* (Kolhapur), *Chabuk* (Bombay) etc. These vernacular papers were the sentinels of national awakening.

In Assam, there were 15 newspapers and 7 periodicals in the year 1921, of which 2 were English, 3 Anglo-Vernacular and 10 Vernacular newspapers. (1) The United Provinces published 525 newspapers and periodicals, of these 87 in English, 215 in Urdu, 172 in Hindi and four others. The *Leader* a moderate paper was advocating the views of the moderates. Besides, the *Pratap* of Kanpur, edited by Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, not only advocated the views of the Congress but advanced freedom movement. Writing about the editor of the paper C. F. Andrews wrote in the *Leader* of 21st February, 1924—

“What is behind this influence of the *Pratap*? The personality of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi.

“Having no axe of his own to grind, with no ambition except that of serving the poor, possessing an indomitable courage, ever ready to oppose tyranny and injustice from whatever quarter they may come—the capitalists, the Government or the mob—Shriyut Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, the fighting editor of the ‘*Pratap*’ is a representative of the powerful journalism of the coming future in India.”² The *Independent* of Allahabad, *Abhyudaya*, *Sainik*, *Navo-Shakti*, the *Aj* of Benares, *Vishvamitra*, *Arjun* and *Vishal Bharat* were the advocates of nationalism and national struggle. The *Saraswati* was a literary magazine under Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi which was taken over by Padumlal Punnalal Bakshi from January, 1921, but it dealt with politics to some extent. In the growth of Hindi, now our national language, the place of this magazine would be among the pioneers.

1. Vide Administration Report—1921—P. 133

2. The *Leader*—February. 21, 1924

In the Punjab, the *Civil and Military Gazette* edited by E. H. Hardy was the most influential Anglo-Indian dailys and among the Indian owned papers the *Tribune* edited by Kali Nath Roy occupied the place of the most popular daily. The latter had the circulation of 6,276 while the circulation of the former was 3,490. Besides these the popular journals of the province were, among Urdu dailies the *Aftab* (1,000), the *Bande Matarami* (5,000) edited by Lajpat Rai from Lahore, the *Paisa-Akhbar* (1,289) edited by Mahabub Alam, the *Pratap* (2,500) from Lahore and *Siyasat* (1,000). Among the Urdu weeklies were *Hinjala* (6,200), *Arya Gazette* (2,225) edited by Dr. Dharmadev, *Khalsa Akhbar* (1,700) edited by Sardar Singh from Lahore, *Prakash* (2,455) edited from Lahore and *Sanatan Dharm Prachurak* (630) from Amritsar. The circulation of the weekly edition of the *Paisa-Akhbar* was 3,530. The monthlies of that time were *Ikhaat-i-Islam* (1,500) edited by Kamal Din, *Mastana Jogi* (1,200) by Sufi Lachhman Prasad, and *Sufi* (7,500) edited by Muhammad Din Awan. Among the Gurmukhi dailies were *Akali* (2,700) edited by Pratap Singh and *Ranjit* edited by Sohan Singh, and the weeklies *Bir* (500), *Khalsa Samachar* (3,500) from Amritsar *Panchi* (1,000) edited from Lahore and *Panthi Sewak* (2,000) edited from Amritsar. In this Province—there was strong support for the Khilafat movement, by the Urdu Press in particular.

In 1926 the *Riyasti Kehar*, a weekly paper, was started which dealt with politics. It was the organ of the Riasati Prajamandal. It gave impetus to the people of Indian states and burgeoned forth struggle for independence. It was an awakener.

In Bihar and Orissa the total number was 78, of which 19 were in English, 16 in Oriya, 8 in Urdu, 3 in Bengali and one in Sanskrit. There were three bilingual papers containing articles in English as well as Urdu, and two other papers were published in English and Hindi. The *Express* was the only daily and the *Searchlight* was now published thrice a week as against twice a week formerly. Out of the remainder 28 were weekly, 4 fortnightly, 17 monthly and 7 quarterly, the *Express*, the *Bihar Herald* and the *Beharee* were important papers.

In Oriya three important dailies were the *Utkal Deepika*, the *Swaraj* and the *Prabhat*. The *Samaj*, a weekly paper, was converted into daily in 1928. The movement of 1930 gave an impetus to

journalism; as a result the *Prajatantra* founded by Hare Krishna Mehtab was converted from weekly into a daily. In Madras Presidency, the *Hindu* was a progressive nationalist paper. In 1922, T. Prakasam started the *Swarajya* which captured public imagination in a very short time. Khasa Subba Rau wrote in an article contributed to the *South Indian Journalist*—

“In the early years of *Swarajya* crowds used to gather in the evenings in front of the office blocking the traffic, so eager were they to be first in the field to get the day’s issue.....

“*Swarajya* fitted into the need of the time, and it rendered, while it lasted, a service unsurpassed to the cause of journalism.”¹ According to the Bengal Administration Report for the year 1920-21 the total number of newspapers there were 276 whose combined circulation was 3,42,354.

Among the Indian States, Travancore was the most advanced state in education and so was its Journalism. The *Malayalam Manorama* was a bitter critic of the Government. It was a very important daily and also monthly supporting the Congress. Besides, the *Kerala Bhushanan*, *Matribhumi* (Weekly and daily), the *Al-Amin* (Calicut), the *Kochin Express* and the *Swarat*, were important political journals. The *Matribhumi* was started as a tri-weekly in 1923 which was later on converted into daily and weekly.

Baroda had 30 periodicals dealing with all the important subjects, such as politics, sociology, economics, education etc. whose standard was steadily improving. Hyderabad had 5 periodicals and 1 newspaper. Kolhapur had 3 English and 2 Marathi papers. There were certain states without a single newspaper such as Tripura, Bikaner, Kotah, Cambay, Bhavanagar, Marwar, Dharampur, Banswara, Jhalawar, Rampur and Mewar. As the sphere of the national movement increased the states too came within its sweep. Vijay Singh Pathik started *Rajasthan Kesari* to voice the grievances of the public against the despotic rule of the native rulers of Rajasthan and their medieval feudal system. In some states of India, such as Nabha, the ruled suffered the disadvantages both of medieval feudalism and a die-hard bureaucracy.

1. Quoted in History of Indian Journalism by J. Natarajan P. 152.

The politics of the country was no more a hobby of a few aristocrats but the concern of the whole nation. It had shifted from the classes to the masses.

The press in the first decade of this century was sentimental in its observations; of course that was a demand of the time and the press responded. Now there was seen a maturity of thought, defining a line of action for the future and making criticism of the Government on all fronts. The press was the mirror of the nation's mind. Now with the maturity of mind, different ideas and programmes were coming up, and the press was proceeding to speak on party lines. Gandhiji's presence in politics brought out a new vigour and new methods for the masses. He touched all the problems of the country. The labour in the factories, the farmers in their farms, the women in their home, the students in their schools and colleges, the harijans in their cottages felt an urge for freedom and action, and Mahatma Gandhi gave a call for action. He started the non-cooperation, a non-violent civil-disobedience movement. It was a unique method which history had never witnessed. History has recorded violent rebellion, now it was to add a new chapter among the methods of struggle for independence. In the year 1921, the Reformed Councils were inaugurated. The non-cooperation and the Khilafat agitation had reached their high-water mark. The press largely supported the non-cooperation and the triple boycott—the boycott of the councils, of the Government service and law courts and of schools and colleges. A campaign was started for promoting temperance and stopping the use of intoxicants of all kinds. This movement was accompanied by a campaign for the removal of untouchability too. Gandhiji's papers were looked upon as a guide to public actions. The *Maharata* of Poona hailed the non-cooperation move of the Congress declaring the determination of the nation to be free.¹ The Anglo-Indian papers were intolerant of the actions of the Congress. The *Pioneer*, in the issue of 2nd January 1921 wrote—"And it may well be doubted whether the majority even of these misguided persons seriously believe that the 'bloodless revolution' of Swaraj in a year or less promised by Mr. Gandhi has

1. Annual Report on the Newspapers published in Bombay [Presidency for 1921
P. 10

actually been brought within the range of practical politics. If the "bloodless revolution" culminates in an orgy of violence and bloodshed, like the Satyagrah movement in the spring of 1919, Lala Lajpat Rai may seek to fix the blame on a Government notoriously reluctant to proceed to repressive measures, but the real culprits will be those who, like himself and Mahatma Gandhi, have neutralised the effect of their counsels to abstain from violence by indiscreet utterances which can only serve to inflame the passions of the mob."¹

The Anglo-Indian press never viewed the struggle sympathetically. The moderate press, though critical of the Government on certain policies and repressive measures, was against the non-cooperation movement. The extremist papers such as the *Young India* (Bombay), the *Kesari* (Poona), *Sandesh*, the *Tribune* (Lahore), *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), *Pratap* (Kanpur), *Aj* (Benaras), the *Bombay Chronicle* (Bombay) and scores of others were staunch supporters of the movement. The extremist press supported the boycott and burning of foreign clothes. The *Gujerati* (Bombay) suggested that the Manchester deputation which was expected to visit India should be greeted with additional bonfires.²

The entire attention of the press was practically centered on the non-cooperation and Gandhiji dominated politics as well as journalism. Though there were some persons who were not convinced that his lead was going to be a definite success, even then they desired to support him. B. Natesan wrote in the *East and West* on Gandhism: "With all the rigidity of his puritanical outlook on life; his genius is so supple that he can quickly enter into the inwardness of the new era.....He shakes the country out of its mood of indolence and pusillanimity.....But there is a fear. If his lead be on the wrong track? Shall we be forever dragging in opposite directions neutralising our energies? No, the spirit of progress is the spirit of effort. I do not despair; for I hold that the pervasive spirit of Mr. Gandhi is more than his cult."³

If we go through the old files of the Indian owned papers in English or Vernacular, they were full of non-cooperation. The paper

1. *The Pioneer*, January, 2nd, 1921—Editorial.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *The East and West*, June 1821.

with nationalistic views had a great expansion. Gandhiji's influence on the public was evident from the rise in the circulation of *Young India* from 15,000 to 17,000 and of the *Navjivan* from 20,000 to 30,000. "By and large", said Tej Bahadur Sapru when Mrs. Beasant was giving evidence, "the largest number of papers today support non-cooperation."¹

The most important development in the Indian Press is the growth of the party press. The country was having the experience of the development of the press on the lines which we should find in a democratic country. Formerly the differences which existed had been between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian owned press. Though differences of opinion had existed in the Congress itself yet the press had not taken the form of a party press formerly. It advocated the cause of independence, no doubt, but that was purely from the nationalist point of view. Now there was a demarcation of party lines in the press. The Moderates, now called Liberals, had joined the Reformed Councils, and the Congress dominated by the personality of Gandhiji was proceeding on the path of non-violent non-cooperation. The ex-revolutionaries of the years 1914 and 1915 realised the mistake of keeping aloof from the masses, so some of them joined the Congress while others were busy with their old work.

The Indian aspiration for independence was taking a more definite shape now. Indian political thought was developing towards democracy. The press and the platform voiced the ideal of democracy more than anything else. That a democratic form of Government was to be established after independence was the view which our press always propagated. As the progress of the movement was accelerated, this preaching became more and more conspicuous. The papers are the product of a day, they are meant for today, and tomorrow never comes for a journal and a journalist. Even then, voice of the papers echoes and re-echoes until either it is lost in oblivion or becomes a prophecy for the future. In a dependent country, the press is not only meant to give news but views also and they are bound to be for independence.

"Political thought" wrote Dr. S. V. Puntambekar, "is born out of the philosophical outlook and social conduct of the whole age,

1. The Press Laws Committee Report and Evidence, P. 19

which determines its actions and shapes its life. According to Barker political theory is selfconscious, explicit and may be detached. Political thought is unconscious, implicit and imbedded in the flow of human life and action of the period. Thus political theory is the speculation of individual minds self-conscious and analytic. Political thought is the thought of a whole society dimly conscious of itself and saturating and shaping its political life and growth. It is a complex of political ideas and is embodied in beliefs and institutions."¹ Accordingly, all the factors economic, political, social, literary and scientific, as well as the institutions at work, play an important role in the development of the political thought of a nation. The press is an institution and it too played its role in the development of Indian political thought. With the new out-look in all the spheres, it was also purveying new ideas. The Russian Revolution had profoundly influenced the press. The economic condition of the people was deteriorating by and by and the press pictured the poverty of the country. C. F. Andrews wrote in the *Modern Review* "The poor of India, who have been so terribly oppressed by the Government and priest-crafts, by land-owners and profiteers, have cried to God for deliverance. They are becoming more and more certain that the hour of their freedom is at hand.....On these journeys, I have seen strange happening and witnessed a new spirit, which I am convinced, goes for deeper than the political movement of our times. It has its own initial impulses from the poor. Again and again, it has appeared to me to bear striking analogy to what we read in history concerning the fateful days before the French Revolution, when the oppressed peasantry of France awoke to the new idea of equality and brotherhood of Man."² Gandhiji advocated the cause of the poor in his *Young India* but to these utterances of the press the Government paid no heed.

As ideas in print became a living force, so socialism and communism gained ground. There were many factors at work which account for the birth of the Congress Socialist Party in the thirties. The press in the twenties was advocating socialism and communism. Russia was a fine example before it. The *Basumati* writing on Lenin

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1. The Indian Journal of Political Science, January to March 1951, P. 30
 2. The Modern Review August, 1921. Pp. 138-139

said, "He saw the lower strata of society being ground down by the wealthy and the aristocrat. .. He became determined to follow the creed of equality."¹ The press upto 1920 was not giving news about the workers and peasants, their cause was left untouched, excepting for a few utterances here and there. Now the so-called lower strata of society was getting importance. Besides, the monthlies were discussing these problems and articles were appearing on Socialism and Capitalism, Lenin, Karl Marx and Trade Unions. The *Kranti*, an official weekly of the Workers and Peasants Party of India became the advocate of the cause of the workers and peasants. In 1927 at Bombay, the *Spark* and English weekly, edited by M.G. Desai and the *New Spark* edited by Lester Hutchinson, declared their aim to be to spread Marxism in India and support the independent political and economic movements of the workers and peasants and the struggle for national independence. The workers and peasants, who heretofore were neglected by the press as if they did not exist in this world, were discussed at length now. The *Jansevak* of Bengal advocated communism and *Jagaran* too. The *Bande Matram* was writing how the problems of Russian economy were solved. The Government reports are full of the fear that communism was spreading in India and that Russia might help India, but the press utterances do not justify these fears. The *Anrit Bazar Patrika* wrote in the issue of 28th June under the title 'Evolution or Revolution.' "Our confirmed democratic idealism urges us to avoid the way of revolt or revolution in our efforts to secure national freedom. At the same time we clearly see that the conditions which create red revolution, are fast gathering about us. And we feel that it will not be in the power of any Indian politician or party to prevent those fatal developments, unless there is timely and satisfactory settlement of the issue between the people and the Government by peaceful consultation and compromise."² The papers warned the Government to bring about a settlement and to concede the demands of the people, otherwise, there would be a revolution. The warning was timely, Gandhiji came on the scene with civil disobedience and non-violence, other wise the deteriorating economic condition would have brought about disorder if not an organised revolution. Gandhiji

1. Bengal Administration Report 1923-24, P. XIV

2. Bengal Selections—Report on Native Newspapers, 1921. P. 560

gave a call to the nation and the nation responded. The people in thousands joined the Congress; 30,000 people were imprisoned that year. The best way of awakening the public is action, and the public saw their own brethren going to jail for a cause, with hope and fearlessness defying the order of the Government. It filled them with excitement and optimism and they realised their duty and the goal before the nation. A new aggressive spirit was infused in the masses. The old feeling of oppression and frustration was replaced by self-reliance and fearlessness. This was to awaken the masses. Repression was adopted by the Government but it only helped in strengthening the movement. The Congress Volunteer Organisation was declared illegal and the leaders were taken to jail. They included the Nehrus—Pt. Motilal and Jawaharlal,—C. R. Das and family, Lala Lajpat Rai and several others.

The same year, the Prince of Wales visited this country and his visit was boycotted. The extremist press advocated the boycott of his visit. Throughout the year the entire attention of the press was practically monopolised by the fortunes of this movement, either supporting or discarding it. Gandhiji championed the cause of Khilafat and he was strongly supported by the extremist press. The *Bombay Chronicle* was a strong supporter of the movement, and it declared that Britain was turning against Muslim countries.

The same year the Rae Bareilly incident took place. The *Pratap* wrote a large number of articles to throw light on the repressive policy of the Government regarding the farmers of that place. The paper called the incident a repetition of Jalianwallah on a small scale. It criticised the authorities for negligence in redressing the grievances of the agriculturists against their landlords. It commented that the whole affair created an impression on one's mind as if human life was held very cheap.

Gandhiji was riding on the crest of a wave throughout 1921 but a change came in 1922. Before the Chauri Chaura incident, he decided to offer Civil disobedience on the issue of the payment of taxes. Before launching the campaign he wrote a letter to Lord Reading from Bardoli on the 1st of February, 1922. I am giving the portion concerning my subject. He wrote, referring to the interference of the administration with the liberty of the press :—

“The immediate task before the country, therefore, is to rescue from paralysis, freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press I would further urge you to free the press from all administration control and restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed.”¹ The press law was proving an undesirable menace to the press. It was demoralising the press-men as well as the Government. The repeal of the Act had been urged by the people for a long time. After the War, the Home Member to the Government of India received an informal deputation arranged by K. C. Roy of the Associated Press of India, which included Surendra Nath Banerjea, Prithwichandra Roy, Usha Nath Sen and Hemendra Prasad Ghose. On 22nd February, 1921, William Vincent, the Home Member, admitted in the Assembly that the Government was conscious of the criticism of the Press Act, but the exigencies of the war prevented any alteration.

The Press Act was used as freely and frequently as before, though under the promise of repeal. In 1921 some warnings were given and one conviction in Bombay Presidency and many at other places took place. The *Gujerati Punch* wrote : “Its existence on the statute Book is an insult to India and a clog in the wheel of her progress.”² All round criticism compelled Government to repeal the Act. A Committee was formed to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act 1908 and the Press Act 1910 and to suggest modifications. The Committee consisted of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Chairman), W.H. Vincent, Jamana Das Dwarka Das, Sohanlal, T.V. Sheshagiri Ayyar, Shahabud-din, Jogendra Nath Mukherjee, Mir Asad Ali, and Ishwar Saran. The task of the Committee was to find out and report whether the repeal of the Act was desirable or not at this stage. The editors, who were called upon to give evidence, whether extremists or moderates or Anglo-Indians, unanimously expressed their opinion in favour of repeal. The country, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi had undertaken non-violence, so there was no possibility of violent murders. The largest number of witnesses called upon to give evidence were the

1. Out of Dust by D. F. Karaka, Pp. 76-77

2. Annual Report on Newspapers published in the Bombay Presidency for 1921-
P. 6

moderates such as S.G. Vaze, the editor of the *Servant of India*, Krishan Ram, the editor of the *Leaer*, Mrs Beasant, the editor of *New India*, Maulavi Amal, editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*, Prithvis Roy, the editor of *Bengalee*, D. Nigam the editor of *Zamana*, Barkat Ali, the ex-editor of the *Observer*. The extremist papers were represented by Kali Nath Roy of the *Tribune*, Abdul Majid Sherar of the *Quani Report* (Madras), A. Ahmad of *Hanidam* and *Haqiqat*; while the Anglo-Indian papers were represented by Edwin Howard of the *Pioneer*.

The repeal of the Act was advocated by all the witnesses on the ground of principle as well as political discontent in the country. The procedure and evidence were directed towards making a survey of the press and its relation with the Government as well as the public. "There is" said K.C. Roy, "no intimate touch between the press and the Government. The Government has always treated the Press as a sort of untouchable." While answering the question regarding revolutionary writings he said "The newspaper is subject to the influence of public opinion. I think that the trend of public opinion would react on the paper publishing any pamphlet of the Gadar Party."¹ A newspaper was subject to the check of public opinion, other checks were superfluous. If the people were not revolutionary minded, revolutionary writings could not last long in the press. Some moderates were of the opinion that the tone of the press at this time was worse than what it was nine or ten years ago. The repeal was necessitated on account of the political situation of the country. Gandhiji had sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy to repeal all the repressive acts. After examining the oral evidence of 18 witnesses and 8 written statements, the Committee submitted its report in 1921 and these press Acts were repealed in the year 1922. The manner in which the Press Act was repealed was entirely unsatisfactory, for its provisions excepting the security clauses were incorporated with the Sea Customs Act, the Post Offices Act and other Acts. Naturally there was a great deal of criticism. The *Gujerati* wrote "The Press Act of 1910, however, failed to fulfill the object of bureaucracy, and that, in spite of it, the Indian Press had courageously discharged

its duty of awakening the people and so it was after all only an inefficacious measure that was abolished.”¹ The other sections of the press breathed freely after the repeal.

The Moplah rebellion was an important landmark in Indian History. It marked the first communal rising; at the same time it was directed against the authorities. The Press sympathised with the Moplahs and Gandhiji wrote in the *Young India* sympathising with them and criticising the Government. What the Government felt at that time is shown by their surprise “When he tried to make the Moplah fanatic out as a brave and harmless soul forced to rise in rebellion by the tyranny of Hindu Landholders.”² But the Indian Press was with Gandhiji and spoke up for the people.

The Government imprisoned all the leaders except Gandhiji. Since the Ahmedabad Congress, Lord Reading had been watching for an opportunity to put a stop to his activities too and he soon found one. He was charged with sedition for writing three articles entitled “Tampering with Loyalty,” “A puzzle and its Solution”, and “Shaking the Manes”. In the first article he wrote “I have no hesitation in saying that it is sinful for anyone, either as soldier or civilian, to serve this Government which has proved treacherous to Mussalmans of India and which has been guilty of the inhumanities of the Punjab”.

In the second article, he wrote “We seek arrest because the so-called freedom is slavery. We are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to over-throw the Government. We want to compel its submission to people’s will”. The third article “Shaking the Manes”. Gandhiji made a statement, commenting on the evils of British Administration. He said “Section 124A under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law.....India is less under the British than she ever was before. Holding such a

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1. Annual Report of Indian Newspapers published in Bombay Presidency, for 1922 P. 7
 2. Annual Report of Indian and Anglo-Indian Newspapers published in Bombay Presidency for 1922, P. 6

belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system". He was sentenced to six year's imprisonment. His trial was compared with that of Christ by C.R. Das. "To read a story equal in pathos, in dignity and in sublimity, you have to go back over two thousand years, when Jesus of Nazareth, as one that perverted the people stood to take his trial before a foreign tribunal".¹ Gandhiji boldly admitted that he was guilty but he maintained that if he had offended against the law of Bureaucracy, in so offending he had obeyed the law of God.

The princes of India were alarmed after the repeal of the Press Act. They were left without protection from criticism for their misdeeds. The Indian press was showing interest in the states. The articles concerning the States appeared in the Press from time to time and thus brought the Indian States in reality before the public. The *Hindu* (Madras) published a number of articles and so did other papers too, which ultimately led to the enactment of the Princes Protection Act. The articles were :—

'Kashmir: Administrative in-efficiency and Economic Background' by T.V. Sheshagiri Iyer (*The Hindu*) "Pudukottah-Absentee Ruler and Intolerent officialdom" published in some issues of the *Hindu* including that of 15th December, 1922.

Kolhapur—'Violent Anti—Brahminism and Denial of Popular Liberty' published by the *Maharatta* and the *Servant of India*.

Bikaner—'Forcible Expulsion of Swadeshi and Temperance Prachars' published by the *Servant of India* November, 1921.

Bikaner—'Misuse of Public Money and want of Educational and other progress' published by the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Bhore—'Suppression of Public Meetings', published by the *Servant of India* October, 1921.

Chamba—'Trade in Women' published by the *Hindu* 10th November, 1921.

Indore—'Menace to the Liberty of Women', published by the *Bombay Chronicle* and others January, 1921.

1. Indian Annual Register 1923 P. 812

Junagarh—'Police High-handedness and ill-treatment of Mr. A.V. Thakkar' published by the *United India* and *Indian States*, November, 1921.

Hyderabad—'Expulsion of Mr. Jinnah, ill-treatment of suspected publicists,' published by the *Hindu*.

The rulers were afraid of the press in British India which was exposing their acts of gross injustice and repression. At this time Lord Winterton, the Under Secretary of State for India, visited this country with a view to herald a new policy with regard to the Indian Provinces and Ruling Chiefs. The Prince of Wales, during his visit, was warmly received in the States whereas his visit was boycotted in British India. Lord Winterton also praised the Indian Princes and decided to maintain a policy of greater friendship. The Government of India adopted this policy. The Princes utilised the moment and put forward their demand for a special act to protect them from the press in British India. The Government thought that they were bound to accede to the demands on account of the treaties existing with the Indian States. Accordingly, the Princes' Protection Bill was introduced in the Assembly in September, 1922.

Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, moved the Bill—"to prevent the dissemination by means of books, newspapers and other documents of matter calculated to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the Princes or Chiefs of the States in India or the Governments or administrations established in such states". Feelings at this measure ran high throughout the country and the Indian owned press condemned it so vehemently that the assembly threw out the Bill by 45 votes to 41. But the Viceroy was afraid of the situation. Considering it urgent and necessary, he exercised his power of certification for the first time. The Bill was certified and became law. This bill had closed the avenue of agitation in British India to secure redress for the wrongs done by the illiberal and autocratic rulers of Indian states.

The necessity of the Bill at this juncture was felt after the repeal of those sections of the Press Act which guarded the Princes against criticism. The Press Laws Committee expressed the opinion (excepting for Mr Asad Ali) that "we understand that before the Press Act became law, it was not found necessary to protect Indian

Princes from such attacks, and we note that the Act, so far as the evidence before us shows, has only been used on three occasions for this purpose; we do not, in the circumstances, think that we should be justified in recommending on general grounds any enactment in the Penal Code or else-where for the purpose of affording such protection in the absence of evidence to prove the practical necessity for such provision of the law.”¹ The witnesses were of the opinion that such protection would stifle all legitimate criticism against maladministration or oppression. If the States were desirous of preventing criticism they could themselves enact a press law or ordinance like Mysore. The Princes had the power to ban a paper from entering the territory of the State. The Princes had no right to be protected both by the law of their own states and by the British Government against a Press which exposed acts of gross and shameful injustice and repression.”

“If” said Mrs Beasant, “the Government of India has the duty of protecting an Indian Prince, then it has also the duty of seeing that he governs his dominion in a way that is not intolerable for descent people.”² The policy of the Government was to keep the subjects of the States in ignorance, so that they would not revolt as the subjects of British India were revolting under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The luxurious way of living in European countries by the princes was highly objectionable. One prince, who had gone to attend a meeting of the League of Nation, lived in such a luxurious way that the delegates of other countries were also amazed.

When Gandhiji was still in jail and other leaders came out, a change took place in the Congress. At the Gaya Congress, the announcement of forming a new party under the name of Swaraj Party was made, which was to include C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Vithal Bhai Patel. The main cause of the rift was that this group wanted to participate in the forthcoming elections and carry on a uniform continuous and consistent opposition against the Government within the Legislature. There was another group which did not want to contest the elections and was called ‘non-changers’. The

1. The Press Laws Committee Report and Evidence P. 2

2. Ibid Pp. 9-10

Swaraj Party realised the necessity of the papers to propagate their view. Without a press to back it, a party cannot work successfully. In Calcutta, the party started daily paper *Banglar Katha* edited by Subhas Chandra Bose. In the South, Rangaswami Iyengar helped the party through his paper the *Sivadesh-Mitran*. In Maharashtra, N.C. Kelkar was ready to support the party and helped it in carrying out its programme through the columns of the *Kesari*. In October 1923, C.R. Das launched a new daily paper *Forward*. When some of the organisers of the paper were put into prison without trial Subhas Bose was entrusted with the work of editing the paper. The paper kept pace with the growing strength of the Swaraj Party and it became a leading nationalist paper of the country. The paper edited by a capable and influential man like Subhas was bound to develop into an influential paper. Its articles used to be and it had the resources to find out and expose official secrets. P.C. Ray, writing in the *Life and Times* of C.R. Das, the founder editor of *Forward*, said "As the editor of this journal he was eminently successful in organising the public opinion of Bengal in support of his own doctrine and ideals. As a propangadist journal, *Forward* more than fulfilled the expectations and hopes of its founders."¹ That the Swaraj party was able to organise public opinion in Bengal so successfully and so soon was largely due to the papers they started. The *Hindustan Times* was started in Delhi in the year 1923, as an organ of the Swaraj Party under the editorship of K.M. Panikkar.

The larger number of nationalist papers were supporters of the 'NO changers', led by Gandhiji, eg, the *Anand Bazar Patrika*, *Basumati*, *Pratap* etc. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for some time was changing sides. The Swaraj Party at this juncture adopted the goal of Dominion status for the time being. The Congress did not define what was meant by Swaraj. The Indian Press was impatient to know the goal of the National Congress. The *Tribune* wrote "The object of the congress as defined in its constitution is not like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, unalterable and irrevocable. It may be one thing today and quite another thing tomorrow if circumstances necessitate the change. The only

1. *Life and Times of C.R. Das* by P. C. Ray P. 231

question is whether the circumstances have already necessitated the change from 'within' to 'outside' the British Empire, from responsible Government as a member of the Empire to complete independence."¹ After 1920 utterances of this sort were coming up very often. When Hasrat Mohani suggested separation from the Empire, there were many extremist papers which also criticised this idea, many of them received it favourably.

The increase of Salt Tax in the year 1923 created resentment in the press as well as the public. This tax hit the poor hardest. The Tax was certified by the Viceroy, and this action received whole hearted condemnation from each and every paper—to whatever party it belonged. Even the moderate papers said that they would have preferred the country to go without such reforms. There were some papers like the *Kesari* and *Gujerati* which suggested the starting of an illicit manufacture of salt. This was not done practically at that time but after a few years. Besides the salt tax question, there were also the question of the National flag satyagrah at Nagpur, the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha and the no-tax campaign in the Borsad Taluka of the Kaira District. These worked to create national consciousness. These movements aimed at making the people more and more self-reliant.

The annual budgets were also a subject of much discussions. The economic condition of the masses was fast deteriorating and huge military expenses were making the country poorer. It was deplored that the so-called new era should have been ushered in under the depressing cloud of huge deficits due to the appalling military burden and currency exchange muddle. The *Hindu* remarked that "the blood sucked out from the Indian in the shape of taxation was being wasted over New Delhi for comforts of the bureaucracy." The salt-tax was declared to be a huge and heartless blunder.

The reforms, reformed councils and legislatures met with criticism. These had, far from arresting the extravagant growth of expenditure in the Army and elsewhere, created a large number of higher appointments in every branch of the administration, each

1. The Tribune, 31st December 1920.

followed by a train of secretaries, under-secretaries and subordinates, without a thought of the capacity of the Indian tax-payer. The curse of unnecessary committees was declared to have developed into a costly affair. These days when the Indian Press was under a feeling of exasperation, the *London Times* threatened to have the reforms withdrawn by the British Parliament. This threat, far from having a depressing effect upon the India Press, gave them an impetus to make fresh attacks on the Government and the reforms. With redoubled energy several extremist papers, welcoming the threat, asserted that in the face of the bitter fruits of the so-called reforms, viz, the increase of taxation, the lessening of educational facilities and unparalleled repression, Parliament might as well withdraw them.

International events were discussed with interest but with little knowledge in the press of this country. The question of racial security was viewed with great concern, because our own countrymen had to suffer because of racial discrimination. The question of Indians in South Africa had interested the people of this country from the beginning of the century and was occupying their attention now too. The Kenya question and the injustice towards the Indians there was brought home by the press. The *Hindu* (Madras) discussing editorially in the issue of 26th August, 1925 the question of the equality of Indians in the colonies wrote "Far from having found such a place for Indians the latter are at every turn treated as worse than helots of the Empire. The practical significance of the problem may be gauged from the fact that about 2,000,000 Indians reside in some 33 or 34 various countries of the Empire and that there was not a single man among these 2,000,000 souls who has not his tale to relate of racial discrimination and oppression at the hands of his white fellow citizens." What place may we possibly have in such an Empire? That is the question which is agitating India today."¹

Besides South Africa and Kenya, Fiji continued to occupy a prominent place in the press because of the regrettable occurrence there which were styled by the *Bombay Chronicle* as a "miniature Amritsar". The papers of all shades of opinion called upon the

1. The Hindu, 26th August, 1925

Government to institute an enquiry into the causes of the disturbances and the methods adopted to suppress them.

Under Gandhiji, the politics of talk was replaced by the politics of action and Gandhiji showed the way for action. The British Government was always afraid that they were living on a volcano. Satyagrah backed by boycott and Swadeshi was an effective method to bring the masses into action. It was a rebellion without blood. Courage had taken the place of fear by which the nation was crushed and the manly qualities of the masses were extinguished. It gave them self-confidence to act and think freely. A revolution without blood, without hate, without secrecy and without any instrument to fight with was taking place by and by. It caught the imagination of the nation and filled the people with hope. Gandhiji adopted an all round programme. He realised that the root of all evils was political bondage but at the same time social and economic reforms were no less important. He took up the cause of untouchability and wrote often in the *Young India*. "We must make a herculean effort to deal with the question of untouchability. Not until the 'untouchables' certify to the reformation in Hinduism may we claim to have done anything in the matter."

Spinning was introduced and Khaddar became the uniform of congressmen. The social conferences which no more were a feature of the Congress came into being again. Many papers were started to advocate reforms. The *Chand*, edited by Ramrakh Singh Sahagal was a prominent organ for social reforms which dealt with all the social evils and how to solve them. The topics of discussion were social customs, position and rights of women, child marriage and the condition of widows, untouchability etc.

In the year 1923-24 the Swaraj Party's influence and power were increasing. The Calcutta Municipal Corporation was captured by the Swaraj Party and Subhash Bose was made the Mayor. He started the Municipal Gazette to educate the public in their civic rights. This growing influence alarmed the Government. It wanted to check these activities on some pretext or the other. Gopinath Saha had killed one Mr Dey through mistaken identity when he actually aimed to kill the Police Commissioner. The press condemned his action but praised the spirit and paid a tribute to him. The

Government arrested some Swarajists in September, 1923 and wanted to arrest more, but it was not possible without putting them up for trial. So an emergency Ordinance called the Bengal Ordinance was promulgated by the Viceroy at midnight on October 24th, and arrests were made in the early hours of 25th October, in Calcutta and other places, partly under Regulation III of 1818 and partly under the Bengal Ordinance. The explanation given by the Government was the growth of revolutionary conspiracies due to the utterances of the press. The Administration Report of Bengal 1923-24 quoted the *Sarathi*—"that Bengali youths would be able to manufacture bombs, to hold guns, to face death like heroes for the sake of the country, to be able by secret conspiracies to upset even the British Government."¹ It further quoted the *Anand Bazar Patrika* that "The simple story of the daring deeds of the revolutionaries, is as pleasant reading as a novel. Though we do not approve of the acts, there is no doubt that they submitted to many sacrifices and sorrows."² The Administration Report comments "When as a direct result of these veiled exhortations it became necessary to promulgate the Ordinance of October."³ This comment was far from the truth. Of course, there were some papers uttering revolutionary ideas, but the press on the whole had adopted the constitutional method of agitation. The Government was doubtful of a paper like *Anand Bazar Patrika*, whose utterances were not revolutionary and it was a leading organ of public opinion in Bengal. In fact, the Government wanted to check the activities of the political parties so they tried it on the pretext of revolution.

The period under review was the period of dailies. The Great War first introduced the dailies in a large number, when the people wanted to know fresh news and the progress of war. Now, this period was full of national activities and the people wanted the news daily. To meet the demand of the masses a large number of papers were started. The *Hindustan Times* was started in 1923. The *Anand Bazar Patrika*, a Bengali daily, was started by K. Ghose, Profulla Kumer Sarkar and Suresh Chandra Mazumdar. The *Tej*, an Urdu daily, was founded by Swami Shradhanand at Delhi, the *Sandesh*, a

1. Administration Report of Bengal, P. XII and XIII

2. Ibid XIII.

3. Ibid XIII.

Gujerati daily, was founded by N.C. Bodiwala at Ahmedabad, the *Milap* an Urdu daily, was founded by Khushal Chand at Lahore. During Gandhiji's imprisonment from 1922 to 1924, Raj gopalachari, S. Qureshi and Mahadev Desai edited the *Young India*. After his release Gandhiji resumed the editorship. The *Sainik* (1928), a Hindi daily, was published from Agra by S.K.D. Palliwal and the *Sartaraz*, an Urdu daily, was published from Lucknow by All India Shia Conference. *Sanibarar Chithi*, a Bengali weekly, was established in 1924. *Golkunda Patrika*, a Telegu daily, was founded in Hyderabad Deccan. The *Atmasakti*, a Bengali weekly was started by the Forward Office to propagate views in Bengali, the *Veer Bharat* was founded at Kanpur. In the *Vishal Bharat* a leading Hindi monthly was founded by Ramanand Chatterji at Calcutta and it propagated thoughtful views on political, economic and social conditions of the country. The *Dainik Asha*, an Oriya daily was founded at Cuttack by Shashi Bhaskar Rath. The *Bharat*, a Hindi weekly was founded at Allahabad by C Y. Chintamani in 1928. The *Malayalam Rayyam*, an Anglo-Indian Malayalam daily was founded at Quilon by Parmeshavaram Pillai. It is not possible to give a large list of these dailies. The vernacular papers saw a greater growth than English ones. In the year 1920, the Indian National Congress passed the resolution to make Hindi a national language. This led to the growth of Hindi papers in larger number than papers in other vernaculars. The press proved helpful in giving form to the Hindi language.

But the Indian owned press was handicapped by the difficulty in getting of news. The papers appeared a standardised production. All had the same sort of news with different head lines—the same official ukases and the some canned Associated Press stuff. The news coming through the channels of the Associated Press and Reuters was extremely biased. The Associated Press became an associate of Reuters and both were receiving money from the Government for the supply of news. Their interest lay with the pleasure of the Government, so the nationalist press and the public had no confidence in the news supplied by them. The struggle for independence was intense and to keep the public informed a necessity was felt for an organisation to distribute the news from a nationalist point of view. So the Free Press of India, a news agency, was established in 1927 with S. Sadanand as its managing editor. The

agency served the nation with news of public interest. It had correspondents throughout the country.

From the year 1928, political life in the country was more active. The coming years were to be more eventful. The nationalist press was becoming more critical of the Government, so the increasing public consciousness was met with the diminishing liberty of the press. The Government also realised the truth, as the press report says "The Indian Press appears to be growing steadily in volume and influence."¹

This period saw a true mass awakening. From the middle of 1927 a great unrest is visible among the masses. There were a large number of strikes from 1927 onwards among the industrial classes. In the year 1927 England had broken off relations with Russia and this had repercussions in India. Since then labour unrest had grown. The press propaganda for the support of communism was also active. The Ganavani wrote "We want not only to sever our connection with the British Empire, but also to get rid of British Imperialism, i. e., exploitation by British capitalists. We want to establish the full proprietary rights of the actual cultivators over the soil. Our aim is to improve the condition of the labourers by fighting with the factory owners. We are exerting ourselves to pave the way for introducing true democracy in India by establishing the control of the masses over the future Government of India."² This was the organ of the 'Peasants and Workers' party of Bengal. The Government records say that "A noticeable feature however, was revival in many important papers of increased interest in the condition of the proletariat, gradually tending towards Communism in small section of it. The interest in economic questions also increased albeit with a political bias."³ Besides, the appreciation of revolutionaries obtained greater prominence in our press and the student revolutions in Russia and China were described sympathetically.

The tendency was growing in the press to demand complete independence as the goal in preference to dominion status. For

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1. The Annual Report of the Newspapers Published in Bombay 1928. P. 2
 2. Annual Report on Indian papers in Bengal 1927. P. 13
 3. Ibid P. 2

example the *Moderu Review*, *Anand Bazar Patrika*, the *Basumati*, the *Swatautra* etc., stood for independence. The *Young India* of Gandhiji was the model and ideal for most of the papers. Extracts from the *Young India* of Gandhiji and the *People* of Lala Lajpat Rai appeared in many papers.

Besides the labour activities and trade union movement, the youth and the students' movements were active during the years 1928 and 1929. The labour unrest was intensified after the youth and the students' movements. Unrest was witnessed in all the spheres. S. C. Bose said "therefore, one would be entitled to hold that at the Calcutta Congress the Mahatma was merely playing for time, because he was personally unprepared to launch a fight in the immediate future. As a matter of fact, even at the Lahore Congress in December 1929, the Mahatma had no plans for launching an anti-Government campaign of any sort-though he moved the resolution of independence, which was unanimously adopted by the Congress. Not till February 1930, after much searching of heart, did he make up his mind to start a civil disobedience movement in the county, begining with the campaign for the manufacture of salt. But though the Congress did not give a bold and intelligent lead to the country during the whole of 1929, the unrest did not abate in any way on the contrary, the forces making for revolution began to grow stronger and stronger, while owing to lack of co-ordination much dissipation of energy resulted. Besides the main current of the Congress movement, three other lives of activity were clearly visible at this time. There was an undercurrent of revolutionary activity with certain amount of following in Northern India, an unrest in the labour world which extended to every part of the country, and an awakening among the middle class youths which was manifested every where."¹

The press at this juncture was sympathetic towards revolutionaries and labour and demanded bold action. Accounts from the history of revolution in various countries like Russia, China and Ireland in a similar way appeared in many papers. Stories and poems with revolutionary leanings appeared in the papers but sporadically and mostly in the papers of ephemeral existence.

1, *The Indian Struggle*—S. C. Bose, P.224

The crime of the revolutionaries in most of the papers was condemned, but the criminals were glorified as endowed with courage, power of self-sacrifice and strength of patriotism. The paper suggested that the terrorist is not the sworn foe of all Governments, but of the Government not based on the free consent of the individual.”¹ According to the annual report on Indian papers, political propaganda held the place of prime importance and the method suggested was direct action. The resolution of the Congress setting its goal as complete Independence was hailed in all the sections of the press.

In the year 1929, the *Forward* of Subhash Chandra Bose had to pay Rs. 1,50,000/- as damages to the East Indian Railway for defamation. The court delivered its judgement in favour of the railway. The paper had published some reports about a railway accident near Calcutta, but in its place another daily paper called *Liberty* was born.

During the autumn session of 1928, the Government of India introduced the Public Safety Bill. The reason given for the introduction of the Bill was the growing communism in India and the fear of the assistance of the communist International of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Bill was rejected. The President of the Assembly, Vithalbai Patel, gave his casting vote against this motion. The Viceroy addressed both the Houses and cited the incident of the bomb thrown in the Legislative Assembly by Bhagat Singh. Under Section 72 of the Government of India Act he issued an Ordinance giving the powers of the Public Safety Bill to the Governor General in Council. Margarita Barns writes about the Bill “Between the New Year and the date of the promulgation of the Ordinance, thirty-one persons had been arrested on a charge of conspiracy to deprive His Majesty the King Emperor of his sovereignty of India. This was the trial to which Mr Vallabhbhai Patel had alluded. Among those who were arrested were a British journalist, Mr Lester Hutchinson, who had edited a political periodical in Bombay, named *The New Spark*, and Mr M.G. Desai the former editor of the *Spark*—the parent of the *New Spark*—papers

1. Annual Report on the Indian Papers printed or published in the Bengal Presidency for the year 1929, P. 35

devoted to trade union matters. Another journalist accused was Mr Kishori Lal Ghosh of the Calcutta Bar.”¹

On 31st October 1928, the Viceroy's announcement, in a Gazette Extraordinary, effected the Indian political situation deeply. Following the announcement, many political meetings were held.

The attitude of the British papers and its influence on public opinion in India during this stage is well described by Margarita Barns. She says “It should be mentioned at this stage that the British Press was not without influence on the development of opinion in India. Scathing references to Indian capabilities and an emphasis on the achievements of the British in India, which made no concessions to the Indian point of view, were given prominence in the reactionary section of the British Press. This attitude only served to stiffen Indian resistance a fact well known to the administration in India.”²

The Viceroy had invited Indian representatives for a Round Table Conference. The press in India was divided into two sections. The Congress section advocated the boycott of the conference while the Liberal papers were for the support of the conference. The Anglo-Indian press, as usual, supported the move of Government. The non-Brahmin party paper, the *Justice* (Madras) supported the move for cooperation. The demand of the Congress section press was for action. They were impatient to know the attitude of the leaders for the future.

The Congress had declared its goal of complete independence in its session of December 1929. On March 12, 1930, Gandhiji launched the Civil Disobedience Movement and started illicit manufacture of salt. The illicit manufacture of salt had been advocated by the extremist papers in 1925.

The extreme nationalist press supported the movement wholeheartedly. A wide publicity was given to the campaign. But the Anglo-Indian press was a bitter critic of the movement. The liberal Press also opposed the movement. Because of the press prosecutions a new method of propaganda was found. The illicit Congress

1. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns. P. 361

2. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns P. 366

Bulletine was widely circulated. It was supposed to be published and printed in Bombay. The authorities could not trace out the staff of this bulletin.

The country was in a ferment of patriotism. The Chittagong raid had taken place in Bengal. As a result, a Bengal Ordinance was introduced on April 19. The Government had passed many Ordinances between April 19th and July 7th. The Indian Press Ordinance 1930 was introduced "to provide for the better control of the Press." According to this Ordinance, the District Magistrate was empowered to demand the securities of not less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees from any person keeping a printing press and any person publishing a newspaper who were required to make a declaration under Section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867 and Section 5 of the Press Registration of Books Act 1866 respectively. The Local Government could declare these securities forfeited if any matter published was intended directly or indirectly by influence, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication etc.,

(a) "to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or any act of violence, or

(b) to seduce any officer, soldier, sailor or airman in the army, Navy or Air Force of His Majesty or any police officer from his allegiance or his duty, or

(c) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty's or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any Indian Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty, or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any sub-Prince or Chief." When one security was forfeited another security not less than one thousand and more than ten thousand rupees was to be deposited. On forfeiture of this security, the local Government was authorised to forfeit the printing press and all the copies of objectionable number. As a result of the civil disobedience movement, Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested. In June 1930, the Congress party was declared illegal, hence the acting President Motilal Nehru and many others were arrested.

The political situation had exerted a deep influence on the press. Margarita Barns says—"Never before had the press played so important a part in the national campaign and enthusiasm was kindled and maintained by the vigorous action of the Nationalist newspapers. The facts of daily arrests of leaders, vast processions, injuries to congress volunteers who had come into conflict with the police, were all displayed in bold type. Indeed, all the methods which a nationalist press might be expected to use in a country at war were employed by the journals supporting the movement. In the persecution of their duties, the police had on many occasions to use Lathis to disperse crowds of demonstrators. Sometimes discrimination and mercy were absent, and, not unexpectedly, the nationalist press made the most incidents and their propaganda value was not without effect amongst even those who did not support the civil disobedience campaign."¹

The Government took actions against many papers this time. A large number of the nationalist newspapers suspended publications while others forfeited their securities. Many editors were arrested and sent to jail including Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi of the *Pratap* and S.K. Bolir of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The Free Press of India launched a new paper *Free Press Journal*, which was sold for half anna. It became an influential paper. The Civil Disobedience movement infused nationalism in those papers which were literary.

The figures given below show an increase in the paper during the period :—²

Year	Newspapers.	Periodicals.
1921 - 22	1,094	2,252
1922 - 23	1,282	2,559
1923 - 24	1,363	2,888
1924 - 25	1,401	3,146
1925 - 26	1,378	3,089
1926 - 27	1,485	3,627
1927 - 28	1,525	2,954
1928 - 29	1,995	2,960
1929 - 30	1,693	3,056

1. The Indian Press by Margarita Barns P. 373.

2. The Newspaper Press in India by A. Rangaswami Iyengar P. 12

A graphic curve can be drawn to the increasing tendency. The dailies are steadily increasing except in the year 1929-1930 when many papers suspended their publications because of the Press Ordinance. The periodicals are increasing upto 1926-27; then, for two years, there was a slight decrease and again from 1929-30 they show an increase. This period truly was a period of full awakening. The traditions of the past were fully broken and a new method which was more linked with the future than the past was adopted.

The press in India had to work under many handicaps, which resulted into the scanty growth of the papers. A comparison with other countries shows that India was still backward in the matter of literacy as well as the press. Whitaker's *Almanack* gave the following illiteracy figures of different countries. They are—

TURKEY	(1927)	—	91.8%
INDIA	(1921)	—	90.0%
EGYPT	(1927)	—	85.7%
MEXICO	(1921)	—	64.9%
SOVIET UNION	(1926)	—	48.7%
ITALY	(1921)	—	26.8%

Accordingly when only 10% of the population of the country was literate, how could the newspapers have developed in comparison to other countries and so in this sphere India was not advanced. During 1929-30, the position of Indian papers was as follows :—

Madras 309, Bombay 314, Bengal 663, U.P. 626, Punjab 425, Bihar and Orissa 136, C. P. and Berar 55, Assam 43, Delhi 88 and North West Frontier Province 13.

Canada with a population of more than ten millions had 1609 periodicals, 116 dailies, 5 Tri-weeklies, 966 weeklies, 21 semi-weeklies, 388 monthlies, 66 semi-monthlies, 57 miscellaneous.

In 1930 in U.S.A. with a population of 122 millions, i. e., a little more than one third of India, there were 2,299 dailies, 8 tri-weeklies, 12,825 weeklies, 487 semi-weeklies, 3,004 monthlies, 285 semi-monthlies and 959 other periodicals.

Japan with a population of more than six millions had 4592 journals and Chile with a population of little more than 39 laes had

627 journals. In India besides the handicaps of illiteracy and poverty, capital was shy for news-paper undertakings. The attitude of the Government was mainly responsible for this. The stringent press laws frightened the capitalists from investing capital for this purpose. poor capital resulted in poor equipment, poor get up and poor news and articles.

This period ended with a storm and the country advanced towards the goal of independence.

Civil Disobedience & Constitutional Agitation

(1931 to 1935)

The period preceding 1931 was a period of non-cooperation and of social and Harijan uplift movements dominated by Gandhian Philosophy. From 1922 to 1929 the press had enjoyed more freedom than in the period under review viz 1931-35. The factors mentioned above gave an impetus to the nation, bringing about a consciousness among the people; the national movement had gone deep among the labouring classes and the villagers. Now the masses were the pillars of this movement. It made the Government nervous, and in its nervousness issued ordinances and passed acts, crushing all freedom of the people. But this attitude of the Government did not change the situation and the aspirations of the people were running high.

The political horizon was full of expectations—expectation from the Government as well as the leaders. The foreign press expressed much confidence in Gandhiji and his leadership and urged the British Government to concede his demands. The Government saw the mass rising and the strength behind the National Congress. The press gained strength after 1922, when it was not working under special rules. In the press, different ideologies were advocated. The propagation of Socialism and Communism gave a vision of the views which would prevail in the future. A purely materialistic theory on

the one hand and the Gandhian theory which may be called an idealistic theory in some respects on the other hand made the people adopt a middle path. The views spread by the press were imbibed by the public and in the course of time resulted in the birth of the socialist party.

The journalistic activities of the country were as follows :—

The number of newspapers in the Bengal presidency was 704, which included 273 newspapers and 414 periodicals. The number of the papers kept increasing throughout this period in Bengal as follows :—

1931	—	704
1932	—	762
1933	—	803
1934	—	764
1935	—	869

The figures of other provinces are not available. As regards other activities, in the Marathi press the introduction of the rotary press by the *Prabhat*, a daily paper in Bombay which was followed by the *Lokmanya* helped in the quick output of a larger number of issues. Ganesh Savarkar revived the *Lokmanya* from Bombay in 1935. In 1934 S. Sadanand founded *Lokshakti* a Marathi daily at Poona. In 1931, the *Indian Nation* was founded at Patna by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. In 1932, the *National Call* was founded and edited by J.N. Sahani at Delhi, the *Star of India* was founded in Calcutta. In 1933, the *Liberty* was liquidated and the *Forward* was revived under new control. In 1932, The *Pioneer* of Allahabad was transferred to Indian hands and in 1933, it was transferred to Lucknow from Allahabad. In 1934, the *Jannibhumi* a Gujarati daily, was founded by Amritlal Seth. In 1935, the *Hindustan*, a Hindi daily, was started by the *Hindustan Times* from Delhi. The period was bristling with news, and to meet the demand, the Free Press of India began world services in 1932. The United Press of India, a news agency was founded by B. Sen Gupta in the same year.

The *Hans* which was established in 1930, developed Hindi as a national language in response to the call of Mahatma Gandhi. During the session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in 1935 it became an inter-provincial paper and devoted separate pages to Hindi,

Urdu, Gujerati, Marathi, Karnatak and Assamese, and this brought the Hindi writers and readers close to other provinces resulting in harmonious relations among all the provinces. Besides, it gave birth to progressive criticism, new currents in story writing and an international outlook in politics. The development of Hindi as a national language owes more to Hindi journalism than anything else. Hindi journalism helped in coining new words and phrases, because the press men had to translate news and comments hourly from English into Hindi. So by and by the language was liberated from the poetic style and developed into a weighty language which could express knotty problems of national and international interest effectively, clearly and expressively. This broke down the old traditions and revolutionised the form of the language. The prose style of newspapers and periodicals proved an asset to our literature. The weeklies and monthlies were the spear-head of a literary renaissance. The press was an important factor in developing national consciousness among the masses. The nation was passing through an intense struggle with untold sufferings to the masses and the press had to put the situation before the public. So the range of topics in the newspapers showed a tendency of extension and the periodicals reacted similarly. The Women's movement acquired more prominence in the coming years than in the past. The growth of political consciousness among women and their association in politics on a level of equality with men in all respects created great interest in the press. The interest in the masses was evident not only in the Communist Party journals but increasingly in the papers of general interest with leanings towards socialism and communism in varying degrees. Economic topics continued to gain in importance. Politics was overshadowing all the spheres, which was natural for a country in chains. Even in the literary periodicals political twists appeared in the form of short stories, accounts of travels etc. In the press, the political goal was clearly defined. The press advocated complete independence largely, but some papers favoured an acceptance of Dominion Status as a matter of practical politics.

The classification of the political press became more complicated, as many parties were coming into the field. A decade before the political press was divided under three heads—the Congress,

the moderates and the Anglo-Indian papers, whereas now the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Scheduled Castes Federation and the Communist party were further developments. The moderate papers were fast disappearing and losing their influence on the public while the number and influence of the Congress supporters and leftists was on the increase. The tone of the press was critical of the Government's motives and talked of the policy of economic strangulation and political everlordship in the matter of the grant of a constitution. Imputations and insinuations were made against the Government and its officers regarding its intention to suppress the national movement. The methods employed by the Government to curb terrorism and the hanging of men like Bhagat Singh and his colleagues were bitterly resented by the press. The growing spirit of national self-consciousness acquired greater confidence and assurance. Criticism was not taken by the Government in the right spirit. The administration reports of some provinces (1929-30) remarked about the press campaign of abuse and misrepresentation of the Government and its officers during the days of civil disobedience, and these remarks evoked bitter criticism. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* replied that "we must enter our emphatic protest. In the vast majority of cases, the newspapers, had to carry on their public duties in an atmosphere of unparalled excitement caused by the report of the misdeeds of the agents of the Government which they had no right to disbelieve."¹ The press in all the countries has acted similarly when the question of national liberation was before it. The newspapers in Turkey during the regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid were subjected to severe censorship. The press in England too did not have an easy way. The Government criticised the part played by the press. But The *Liberty* replied "The Indian Press is not certainly ashamed of the part it played in making the civil disobedience movement the success it was, it will resent the suggestion that it took to mendacious propaganda. It had no need for deflecting from the path of truth and rectitude for exposing the sins of omission and commission of a Government whose own record brings greater discredit on it than false propaganda ever could."²

1. The annual report of Indian Papers printed or published in the Presidency of Bengal during 1931. P. 31

2. Ibid. P. 31

The Press was propagating the duties of the people towards the cause of national independence. The human mind is moved by suggestions. It took the suggestions and proceeded on the path shown.

The press in India is closely connected with the growth of political thought in India. The growth of Socialism and Communism owes more to the press than anything else. The percentage of the English educated in India is small but a large number of books in English were available on these subjects. Our vernaculars were handi-capped in this matter. The masses could not get the books for a systematic study of these ideologies. The press of this country spread these ideologies. With the growth of the papers, the labour movement too came into prominence from 1928 onwards. The papers dealing with the problems of the workers and peasants from various points of view grew in number. For example *Sramik*, the *Abhiyan*, the *Jagaran* in Bengal, the *Majdur*, the *Daridranarayan*, the *Toophan* in U.P. and a number of others were in the field. The *Sarabahaar*, *Vishwadut*, the *Saogat*, the *Dainik Soltan*, the *Deshar Vani*, the *Bangalar Vani*, the *Navasakti* etc. were papers sympathising with labour. The economy of the nation was discussed. The structure of society and planned economy were the burning topics of discussion in these papers. The dream of a communist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat inspired a number of papers. The monthlies presented a plan of social structure and economic distribution after freedom. These utterances had drawn the public towards such ideas. Though the number of these papers was not large, the seeds of ideas were sown. The political parties also attached importance to the labour problems.

In 1931, events took a new turn. The British Government offered the terms of a settlement and the Gandhi-Irwin meeting took place. The extremist section of the press was putting forward of the release of all political prisoners and an enquiry into the allegations of police excesses. The pact was signed. But the extremist section's demands were not fulfilled and the papers like the *Free Press Journal*, the *Sunday Advocate*, the *Hindustan*, the *Praja-Mitra* etc. were against the agreement and criticised it as a 'charter of surrender'; and the *Free Press Journal*, commenting on the Delhi Agreement, wrote that it was "a surrender of the whole Congress position". An estimate of the achievement was presented to the

public by different papers from different angles. The Congress view was that the fact that such a powerful Government was forced to make a peace indicated a great moral victory for the Indians. Mahatmaji and Lord Irwin showed a spirit of compromise and declared that peace could only be achieved by bold and generous action. The sober and thoughtful papers declared that though the object was not accomplished and the victory not achieved, temporary peace had been made, and these papers watched with anxiety the formation of the future constitution of India. The Government had admitted the invincible power of public opinion. Some papers commented that the exploitation of India by an alien Government cannot be stopped until India gets complete Independence, and this cannot be achieved by any agreement but by a struggle. Some papers prepared the public mind for the struggle for independence. Public opinion was not very hopeful and a struggle was expected by most of the people.

A revolutionary movement was inspired by a certain section of the press. Revolutionary preachings were fruitful. When there were stringent press laws, constitutional criticism was not easy and to talk of revolution in the country was senseless. Yet papers like the *Arun*, the *Benu*, the *Bartaman-Jagat*, the *Charan*, the *Chhatra Dal* the *Deshar Vani*, the *Sphulinga*, the *Taranya*, the *Vishwa Dut*, the *Usha*, the *Yugasapha* etc. dealt with revolutionary ideas. They argued that the murder of a number of English officials and traitorous Indians would not make the country free, yet she should advance thereby on the path of freedom. They said that there was a great need of this kind of political murders etc. to rouse in the minds of this self forgetful nation a belief in their real capacity and a desire for vengeance. Such deeds they thought helped considerably in evoking a revolutionary excitement and in infusing terror. The tree of liberty only grows when watered by the blood of martyrs.

The revolutionary press adopted another indirect but effective method of influencing the public mind. Poems, stories and imaginary conversations were published in papers of repute. The *Nayak* published a poem with exhortations to "die fearlessly a glorious death" in devotion to the "hard hearted goddess" who does not want the method of worship with flowers.¹ The influence of this

1. Ibid, 1931 Bengal P. 40

section of the press was clearly effective. Where there were a larger number of papers of repute, and where the press took it to be its duty to preach revolutionary methods, such terrorist attempts were more common. In Bengal, the largest number of papers preached revolutionary methods, and Bengal showed the largest number of murders, armed dacoites etc.

Though the existence and injuriousness of the revolutionary movement was now admitted more widely and apparently, with more sincerity, the country did not renounce terrorism and terrorist deeds. Bhagat Singh, leader of the New Jawan Sabha, and himself very popular, was charged with murder and executed. This event made the country indignant. The Government blamed the press in general and the Congress for the growth of the terrorist movement. But the remedy lay with the bureaucracy itself. Repression has always failed in the long run. But the Government relied on force and its civil services, and the real rulers lived in England and not in India. The press utterances, of course, made the public revolutionary minded, but the root of all evils was in our system of governance.

On the one hand, one section of the press made the people revolutionary, on the other the sober section of the press tried to create a balance in the mind of the public and tried to prove that non-violence was the only bulwark between revolution and peace in the country. The *Vishwamitra* declared that the Government had weakened the hands of the Congress in the manner of suppressing terrorism. "After the inception of the non-violence movement by Congress many of these, who had recourse to bombs and pistols for gaining independence have taken to non-violence. But it is regrettable that those who have taken to violence do not get an opportunity to reform. The Government have clearly announced that they can under no circumstances negotiate with the terrorists, and have, accordingly, promulgated the most stringent laws. How then can the latter respond to the congress appeal."¹ The entire responsibility was on the unrestrained bureaucracy. The real and abiding remedy was freedom. The press made the people think that they must work for independence. Freedom was the remedy for all the evils.

1. The Annual Report of Indian Papers printed or published in the Presidency of Bengal 1932, P. 42

A comparison with the press utterances of 1906-07 enables one to discern a difference in 1931. The former utterances were made in a nascent stage of the national movement. The utterances were more sentimental. After a gap of three decades, there was a maturity of thought, a clarity of purpose and the true aspect of nationalism.

A new phase of the press was its increasing interest in the political and economic aspect of the movement among the masses of workers. The *Abhiyan* for instance said "For the proletariat, peasants and workers, freedom means improvement of their economic and social condition and in order to achieve that they want political freedom." Communism found stronger advocacy during this period. The *Abhiyan* gave a call to the masses—"The masses now realise that they must stand on their own legs if they are to defend their own interests from the hands of indigeneous and foreign masters."¹ Some papers like *Karakhana* were coming up with views that the class war will assume different forms in different societies. This revolutionary class war in a subject nation consisted in carrying on a rebellion against the cult of foreign administration and making a compromise with the nationalist bourgeoisie. These papers aimed at establishing Government of workers and peasants.

The communist press of this period presented a clear picture of the society which would emerge after independence which was based on the Russian system; and they advised the workers, labours and agriculturists to unite and bring about a revolution and establish full independence and communism. The life and works of the prominent Communists and socialists appeared in the monthlies of the twenties. As a rule, an ideology was first taken up by the monthlies; from the monthlies it travelled to the dailies and by and by it was imbibed by the people.

The goal of political movement was complete independence. Some papers opined that with political freedom India must attain social and economic freedom as well. The *Nawasakti* commented on the Congress action of "gradually whittling down the ideal of independence. Nagpur rejected [the ideal adopted at Amritsar, and Lahore modified that adopted at Nagpur. Would it be unreal to

1. *Ibid* P. 48

think that Orissa will abandon the programme chalked out by Karachi.”¹ Indians wanted an independent state and wanted to live as partners in a world commonwealth. These papers further said that the ideal of independence was sacrificed at the altar of British Imperialism. The *Liberty* declared that the day for remaining satisfied with dominion status was long past. At the conclusion of the Round Table Conference even the staunch supporters of Dominion Status were shocked and they declared that India would not get even Dominion Status.

In furthering the cause of boycott, the nationalist press was emphatic, constant and persuasive. The *Vishwamitra* said even before the Congress Committee met: “Whether or not there is any agreement between Government and Congress, the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor will continue. If foreign goods can be completely eliminated, there will be no great difficulty in way of establishing self-Government. According to the *Anrita Bazar Patrika*, Indian public opinion was strongly against the misuse of political power by the British, and India’s most effective answer can only be a voluntary preference for non-British goods even if these are of higher price than British goods.

The Government was nervous about the increasing power and influence of the press. At the same time, it wanted to muzzle Indian public opinion effectively at a time when the fate of the country was going to be decided in England. The introduction of the press Act in September, 1931, simultaneously with the departure of Mahatma Gandhi was not meaningless. It was denounced as definitely a breach of the Delhi Pact. The measure was held to be quite unnecessary in view of the existing provisions like Sections 124-A and 153-A Indian Penal Code for suppressing newspapers.

The purpose of the Act was to stop the national movement altogether. The provisions of the Act were very wide and extended so far as to enable local Government to prohibit the publications of the names and also the portraits of well known leaders of the Civil Disobedience campaign as the publication of such pictures tends to encourage the movements.” The severity of the Act extended

to the extent of prohibiting the publication of Congress propaganda including the messages issued by or purporting to issue from prisoners in jails, reports of national move—such as the notices and advertisements of meetings, processions etc., because the movement was calculated to overthrow the British rule in India, in however peaceful a manner, it was, because of its ulterior motive, a seditious movement. Gandhiji's *Young India* was stopped and the printing press was confiscated. The paper was published as cyclo-styled sheets. Gandhiji stopped the paper to fulfill the terms of his settlement with Government, which included the discontinuance of unauthorised news-sheets, but the Government never cared to fulfill its part of the terms. At the same time of the introduction of the Press Act, the opposition declared that the measure conferred too great a power on the executive. The administration of the Act was even worse. The executive, to avoid difficulties always looked for short cuts. In reply to short notice questions asked in the Legislative Assembly by Seth Govind Das in September 1935, Sir Henry Craik placed on the table of the House the detailed statements showing the action taken against the newspapers under the Ordinance. It showed that the newspapers had been compelled to deposit securities amounting to Rs. 2,52,851/-. The first statement showed that during the year 1935 action had been taken against 73 newspapers. Provincially divided the list showed that in the Madras Presidency security was demanded from nine papers, in Bombay from 31 papers, in Bengal from 3 papers, in the Punjab from 12 papers and in Delhi from 8 papers.

The third statement gave the names of 166 newspapers which had deposited a total of Rs. 2,50,000/- in security since the promulgation of the Press Ordinance in 1930. In Bombay 55 newspapers had deposited a total security of Rs. 1,04,201/- of these the *Free Press Journal* made six deposits totalling Rs. 31,000/- and the *Mahratta* of Poona five—totalling Rs. 2,000/-. In Bengal the *Liberty*, the *Dainik-Basumati*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Nayak*, the *Anand Bazar Patrika* and *Vishwanitra* had been called upon to deposit security. The fifth statement gave the names—provincewise of 348 newspapers that had failed to deposit the requisite securities and were in consequence not started or ceased publication or their

declarations became null and void, after the promulgation of the Press Ordinance 1930.¹

Further, action was taken against the newspapers under this Act for publishing articles on Quetta Earth-quake Relief. Fifteen papers were penalised for such writings. In the case of the *Free Press Journal* and *Bombay Standard* of Bombay, the *Medina* of Bijnor, the *Tej* and the *Arjun* of Delhi security was forfeited and *Quami Gazette* of Delhi ceased publication.

Those papers whose securities were forfeited alongwith the amount forfeited since the Press Ordinance of 1930 are mentioned in the footnote below.²

Another measure affecting the press was the Foreign Relations Act 1932 which replaced an Ordinance promulgated in the previous

1. The Provincial penalty was as follows :—

Madras	—	28	Newspapers.
Bombay	—	78	„
Bengal	—	26	„
U. P.	—	39	„
Punjab	—	127	„
Bihar & Orissa	—	5	„
Assam	—	3	„
N. W. F. Provinces	—	9	„
Delhi	—	27	„
Ajmer-Merwara	—	2	„

2. Madras	—	The Gandhi	—	Rs. 500/-
Bombay	—	The Free Press Journal	—	Rs. 23,000/-
„	—	Navakal	—	Rs. 3,000/-
„	—	Navashakti	—	Rs. 1,000/-
„	—	Bombay Standard	—	Rs. 1,000/-
Bengal	—	The Liberty	—	Rs. 500/-
„	—	The Nayak	—	Rs. 100/-
„	—	The Anand Bazar Patrika	—	Rs. 1,500/-
„	—	The Dainik Basumati	—	Rs. 500/-
„	—	The Vishwamitra	—	Rs. 200/-
„	—	The Kshatriya Sansar	—	Rs. 500/-
Punjab	—	The Aharar	—	Rs. 500/-
„	—	The Zamindar	—	Rs. 3,000/-
„	—	The Mushakalkusha	—	Rs. 200/-
U. P.	—	The Madina (Bijnor)	—	Rs. 1,000/-
Delhi	—	The Tej	—	Rs. 1,000/-
„	—	The Arjun	—	Rs. 1,000/-

April (Ordinance No IV of 1931). The object of the measure was to penalise publishers who published articles calculated to interfere with the maintenance of good relations, between His Majesty's Government and friendly foreign states. Some newspapers were criticising administration in certain states adjoining India and the measure was designed to defend the rulers of such states from defamatory articles.

On January 4, 1932 four Ordinances were promulgated—one of which was the Emergency Powers Ordinance, conferring on the Government certain special powers for the maintenance of law and order, in particular for widening the operative section of the Press Act so as to permit action against the publication of matter calculated to encourage the civil disobedience movement.

In November and December 1932, the Government introduced a bill seeking to embody the main provisions of the Special Power Ordinance in the form of an Act. The bill was passed and the later supplemented by many provisional bills.

Two years later, the Government passed "an Act to protect the administration of states in India which are under the suzerainty of His Majesty from activities which tend to subvert, or to excite disaffection towards or to obstruct such administration"—The Indian states Protection Act of 1934 (Act No XI of 1934).

All the Acts and Ordinances represent the negative side of the influence of the Press. The growing influence of the Press on public opinion was the cause of alarm for the Government, so it enacted reasonable and unreasonable Acts. The Congress movements gave an impetus to journalism while these Acts check the growth of journalism. Many papers all over India ceased publication temporarily. These ordinances not only affected dailies or weeklies but monthlies as well. But the national movement resulted in the growth of the number of papers as well as circulation. The sacrifices of the journalists soon gained deep sympathies.

In the Government's Secret Report "Propaganda" (1932-35) the Press Officer wrote as follows "The intense pressure on the Nationalist Press bore fruit towards the end of 1933, when some of the most important papers came forward, though half-heartedly, to give publicity to the materials supplied by Government from time

to time explaining the motives, policy and activities of Government. By the beginning of 1934, I had succeeded, through personal influence, a judicious control of official advertisements and the threat of the Press Act in the background, in persuading one or two of the most important Nationalist papers to accept even 'Editorial' Articles from me secretly. The articles were written in consonance with the general policy of the papers to convey in suitable manner the Government point of view or the view more favourable to Government.

"It may be stated that the Editorial Articles were supplied to Nationalist papers not only to create public opinion against terrorism but also to explain to the people important beneficent activities of Government."¹

It was revealed in the Report of the Press Officer :—

(1) "Apart from the work through the Nationalist Press detailed above, help was given to start and carry on a student's journal which sought to promote healthy political ideas through officer of rewards on an extensive scale for the solution of picture puzzles and through sober and balanced articles written by scholars and leaders of public opinion. I myself regularly contributed to this journal.

(2) "Another (?) weekly political Journal is being assisted by us, though not in the same way, over 800 copies are being distributed at our expense to schools, colleges, Bar Libraries and local leaders of public opinion who are likely to make use of them for propaganda against subversive movements; the editorial articles in this Journal are being supplied by me every week."²

These two papers were the *Modern Student*, started by K. P. Thomas and the *Whip* by R. S. Sharma. The secret reports make it clear how the Government wanted to influence the people through its own papers in the garb of public and independent papers. The Report of the Press Officer further said :—

"Secret Service Funds for the Press Officer and District Officers: The allotment of funds to the Press Officer for Press propaganda was increased in 1934 to meet the demands of his increased activities.

1. Quoted in *The Newspaper in India* by H. P. Ghose Pp 74-75

2. *Ibid* Pp 75-76

As it was found desirable not to disclose in audit the details of expenditure incurred in this connection, Government, in consultation with the Accountant General, sanctioned a procedure under which the Press Officer was authorised to draw without submitting the vouchers to the Accountant General. The same procedure was extended in the course of the year to similar expenditure by District Officers.”¹

The Government subsidized a few papers. But it was not a healthy sign. A subsidised press meant a muzzled press, a subsidized press meant a press speaking with its tongue in its cheek. It would have been a healthy sign for the Government to start its own paper and explain itself to the public. The Government in a free and democratic country would have openly supported by its party press. For the foreign Government it was not possible, so it started the work of subsidization. This showed the existence of abnormal relations between the Government and the public; the press was utilised secretly to create opinion on behalf of the Government.

After the failure of the Round Table Conference and Gandhiji's arrival in India, the Civil Disobedience movement was resumed. All the leaders were arrested. The Press was left to carry on the work by giving news from one corner of the country to the other. But the stringent press laws did not allow it to carry on its duty. Heavy fines and imprisonment were the order of the day. Many papers were ordered not to publish even editorials. During those days illicit news sheets often served as messengers and guide to the public. They took the place of the newspapers. These news sheets appeared in cyclostyle. The role of these unauthorised news sheets in the struggle for independence was important and they really helped in carrying on the movement. Though it is not possible to trace out the history of these news sheets yet their role was not insignificant. The Country was ruled by ordinances. In some provinces, it was an offence even to mention the name of a person, arrested or sentenced.

The attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press was even worse. As Pandit Nehru comments in his Autobiography, “The British owned Anglo-Indian newspapers in India joined in this game of ballyhoos

1. Ibid P. 76

with gusto, and gave utterance and publicity to many a thought which perhaps they had nurtured and repressed in secret for long. Ordinarily, they have to be a little careful of what they say, for many of their readers are Indians, but the crisis in India swept away these restraints and gave us the glimpse of the minds of all English and Indians alike."¹ But the Anglo-Indian papers did not really do any real service to the Government, because they only succeeded in agitating the public mind even more.

Every struggle carries the public mind a few steps ahead. The struggle in a country in chains, though it may not be successful, gives an impetus to the people. The Indian Press carried the message to the people's own doors.

The Indian people realised the necessity of an Indian owned world news service. Hence the Free Press of India began world news in October, 1932. This expansion was undertaken to meet the demand of newspapers which were anxious to subscribe to a news service, to dispense with the service of the Associated Press and Reuter. In consequence of the need, the Free Press of India entered into arrangements with the Exchange Telegraph, the Central News and the British United Press of London, for the supply of the news of these respective agencies. Their news was received in the London Office of the Free Press where it was subjected to selection and then cabled to India.

In the mean time, the Free Press of India had been enlarging its publishing activities. By now it was sponsoring an English daily in Madras, the *Indian Express*, and an English daily in Bombay, the *Free Press Journal*, as well as Gujarati and Marathi newspapers. Moreover, plans were being laid for the establishment of Free press newspapers in all the large cities of India. When this project became known to the newspapers in Calcutta, some apprehension was expressed by subscribers in that city regarding the propriety of a news-service organisation publishing a newspaper which would enter into rivalry with the news agency's clients. Already there had been considerable unprofitable competition amongst the Calcutta nationalist newspapers, and this development was one which the Calcutta press could not regard with equanimity.

1. Jawaharlal Nehru—An Autobiography, P. 326

Hitherto, the nationalist papers in Bengal had been supporters of the Free press services, and if they were now to withdraw their support as a protest, the ideal of the agency with whose aims they were in sympathy would have disappeared and the Associated Press of India would have regained its monopoly. In these circumstances the Calcutta editor of the Free Press, B. Sen Gupta, decided to sever his connection with the Free Press and to set up an independent organisation rather than take risk of extinction. Thus the United Press of India was born.

The Free Press of India news agency had collapsed in the middle of 1935. Weakened by protracted litigation the organisation was unable to withstand the blow when the Bombay Government forfeited securities totalling Rupees 20,000/- which had been deposited by the printer and publisher of the *Free Press Journal* under the provisions of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act. The *Indian Express* and *Dhnamani* of Madras, which were part of Free Press Group, survived, however, under different management.

In the middle of 1932, the Communal Award of the British Government gave special representation to the Depressed Classes. Gandhiji started a fast unto death as a protest against the award. The Indian Section of the Press demanded the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi. The campaign for the removal of untouchability was also successfully carried on by the press. That untouchability was a crime-was gaining firm place in the ideas of the people.

The third session of the Round Table Conference was not so prominent as the first two. The British Government's concrete constitutional proposals were published on March 18th, 1933 in a White paper which was placed before Parliament and this was much discussed by the Press .

The Congress Socialist Group was gaining strength, and organisations were set up in Bombay, U.P., and the Punjab. A paper, the *Congress Socialist* was also started at the same time. The Government of India Act 1935 was passed and consequently general elections took place and popular ministries were formed in some provinces.

This period was a period of events. The rapid succession of events gave number of topics to discuss and a wide range of news

to the press. The news of India got wide publicity on the continent, for instance Gandhiji's fast. It was misrepresented by the press over there. V. J. Patel's tour of U. S. A. made the press of that country interested in Indian affairs.

The acts and ordinances resulted in a large number of prosecutions of papers and forfeiture of securities. The papers had to suffer setbacks yet there was a continuous growth in their number. The relations between the Government and the press were not harmonious and its persecution at the hands of the authorities made the public more sympathetic towards it. It added to the popularity of the press.

The Press Laws in India.

“Modern society is subject to the rule of the law, varying in character with the constitution of the Government and the elements of the body politic in which is vested effective political power; and the journalist, who after all is the chronicler of the doings of a complex society, can scarcely move an inch without crossing the lawyer’s path.”¹

The affairs of the world have been growing complex day by day, therefore they have to be dealt with in an organised way. Modern society, in order to offer justice and equal treatment to all and to provide for the ordinary functioning of institutions has framed certain laws in every sphere. Hence, to regulate the working of the press also certain laws have been enacted. Good laws are the basis of a free society and they are framed in the interest of society. But in subject countries laws have been framed in the interest of the ruling class and not in the interest of the ruled.

A press law is bound to affect the growth, development and the relationship of the press with the Government. A press law is the reflection of the relations between the press and the Government. In India the relations between the press and the Government were not harmonious. As Vishwanath Iyer writes “The right of the press to criticise the actions of the executive in India is restricted in many ways; and there are many weapons in the executive armoury to use against it.”²

1. Introduction to Journalism by S.P. Thaiga Rajan.

2. The Indian Press by Vishwanath Iyer Pp 28-29

The study of the press laws and their administration in India shows that the Government was too sensitive to the criticism of the press. A persistent fear existed in the mind of the authorities that these criticisms may result in the overthrow of the Government. So laws were enacted and ordinances issued when the public tempo of the national movement was high. These press laws were not meant to bring about a harmony between the ruler and the ruled, or between public and private good. The balancing of interests means safeguarding freedom to the extent that it would not be a hinderance to society.

The history of press legislation in India is the history of finding out ways and means for controlling legitimate criticism and keeping the nation in the dark about the intention and action of its Government. The Government discovered all possible methods to stifle the voice of the people and consequently to check the progress of the national movement. The press has always had its adversaries in every country and it has developed in spite of opposition, hostility and repression. From the beginning it has been exposing injustice, misery and repression, it has criticised the authorities. So the press has suffered at the hands of the authorities in all the countries, yet a comparison with other countries shows that the sufferings of the Indian Press have been greater. The conflict of the press with the Government in India is as old as the press itself. It goes back to the times when Bolts set up his press. Acts and ordinances have been issued from the times of Lord Wellesley. In April 1767, William Bolts was deported. In 1780, J.A. Hickey's—*The Bengal Gazette* was refused transmission through the post office. William Duan of the *Bengal Journal* was expelled from India. Lord Wellesley introduced pre-censorship in 1799. Lord Hastings made the press free. In 1823, James Silk Buckingham was deported. Adams issued his Press Regulations at this time. Raja Ram Mohan Roy made a petition against these regulations which has been called the 'Areopagitica of the Indian Press.' In 1835, Metcalfe made the press free. It enjoyed freedom till the Mutiny, when Lord Canning promulgated Act XV of 1857 the operation of which was limited to one year. In the year 1867, the Press and Registration of Books Act was passed. The press was functioning freely upto 1878. Though the Indian Penal Code came into existence in 1868, yet papers were not prosecuted

under its provisions relating to the press during these years. In 1878, Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act which had a bearing on the future of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. It was converted overnight from an Anglo-Vernacular journal into an entirely English journal. This Act was repealed by Lord Ripon in 1882.

In 1889, the Official Secrets Act was passed as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published a foreign office document about Kashmir. In 1898 Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code was amended to make it more effective. In the last decade of the nineteenth century the editors of the *Bangabasi* and the *Kesari* were prosecuted. This brief review of the nineteenth century leads one to the conclusion that in the first half of the century the Government was more cautious against the Anglo-Indian papers as Indian owned papers were not prominent or effective yet. But in the second half of the century, the Indian Press became the target of the Government and the last decade was more eventful.

V. Iyer writes "The new century thus opened in an atmosphere of unfriendliness."¹ The Government enacted many laws after that.

The Indian press from 1900 to 1935 governed by the following Acts and Ordinances :—

1. The Press and Registration of Books Act 1867 (Act XXV of 1867)
2. The Indian Penal Code—Sections 124-A, 153-A, 499 and 500.
3. The Criminal Procedure Code—Sections 108 and 99-A to 99-G
4. The Sea Customs Act 1878, Section 19 and 181A to 181-C (as added in 1922)
5. The Indian Telegraph Act 1885, Section 5.
6. The Indian Post Office Act of 1898, Section 28, 26 and 27A to 27D (as added in 1922)
7. The Official Secrets Act 1902 and 1923.
8. The incitement to offences Act, 1908
9. The Indian Press Act, 1910.
10. The Defence of India Act, 1914
11. The Princes Protection Act, 1922.
12. The Indian Press Ordinance, 1930
13. The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.

1. The Indian Press by V. Iyer, P. 4

14. The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 as amended by the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1932, which again was supplemented by the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1934.
15. The Foreign Relations Act 1932.
16. The Indian States (Protection) Act 1934.

The press laws in India are closely connected with the expansion and consolidation of the British Empire in this country. In the year 1867 the Press and Registration of Books Act (Act No XXV of 1867) was passed. Part I of the Act contained the interpretation clause and part II sections 3 to 8 contained the rule for making the declaration by the keepers of a press. Accordingly, the name of the printer, publisher, and the place of printing and publication was to be written legibly. The keeper of the press had to make a declaration before the Magistrate in whose local jurisdiction the press was situated. The publisher too had to do the same. At the time of a change in the place of printing or publishing, a new declaration was necessary. On the cessation of the publication, a declaration to this purpose had to be made.

Sections 12 to 17 contained rules relating to the penalties. If a person did not follow the aforesaid rules, he would be punished by fine not exceeding rupees five hundred, or by simple imprisonment for a term of two years, or by both, after conviction before a magistrate. Sections 20 to 22 give power to the Government to make rules and to exempt books or newspapers (such as religious books) from the provisions of the Act.

The Act was criticised on some important grounds—that the Executive had been given too much power, that the power of appealing against its decision had been denied and that the act interfered with the right of publicity.

The Indian Penal Code contains sections 124-A, 153-A, 499 and 500 affecting the press. Section 124A deals with sedition and reads—"Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards, Her Majesty or the Crown Representative or the Government established by law in British India or British Burma, shall be

punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or without fine."

The offence under this section is called Sedition. "Sedition" writes Ratanlal and Dhirajlal, "is a crime against society, nearly allied to that of treason, and it frequently precedes treason by a short interval. Sedition in itself is a comprehensive term, and it embraces all those practices, whether by word, deed, or writing, which are calculated to disturb the tranquillity of the state, and lead ignorant persons to endeavour to subvert the Government and laws of the Empire."¹ In the case of Alexander Martin Sullivan, it was held that "Sedition has been described as disloyalty in action, and the law considers as sedition all those practice which have for their object to excite discontent or dissatisfaction, to create public disturbance, or to lead to civil war; to bring into hatred or contempt the sovereign or the Government, the laws or constitutions of the realm, and generally all endeavours to promote public disorder."²

Sediton is really a vague word which can be made applicable to any situation according to the wishes of the authorities. In many foreign countries also such laws are found on statute book. In England, sedition has been defined as in Alexander Martin Sullivan's case, cited above.

Section 124-A deals with bringing into hatred or contempt or exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contmpt or disaffection towards His Majesty the King Emperor, or the Government. The essence of the crime is considered to lie in the intention. As Strachey J., said in Bal Gangadhar Tilak's case (1897)-"You will thus see that the whole question is one of intention of the accused in publishing these articles" While judging the intention, the article was to be read whole, as was held in Mana Mohan Ghose's (1910) case. The intention is established, if by reading the articles the natural, probable and reasonable effect on the minds of those who read them is the excitement of the feelings of hatred, contempt or disaffection, (1916, Bal Gangadhar Tilak's case). The word disaffection is so comprehensive that an ordinary criticism of Government measures

1. Law of Crimes by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal P. 283

2. Quoted in the Law of Crimes by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal P. 283.

and actions could be and was twisted under this section and punished. The administration of this section was sharply criticised, as under this section, legitimate and sober criticism was also punished.

A writer was guilty under this section of exciting contempt and hatred if he attributed to the Government "every sort of evil or misfortune suffered by the people, or by dwelling severely on its foreign origin or character". Any comment accusing the Government of hostility or indifference to the welfare of the people brought the writer within the clutches of this section.

In the case of Sojoni Kanta Das and "India in Bondage : Her Right to Freedom". It was held that any utterance suggesting a change in the form of Government brings into hatred or contempt or excites disaffection towards the present Government. India being governed by a foreign country, was bound to advocate a change in the form of Government. According to Section 124-A the press was not able to discuss the motives of Government, although this is an everyday occurrence in Parliamentary democracies.

Section 153-A was a supplement to section 124-A. It reads "Section 153-A Whoever by words either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine or with both." The principle of the section was that nobody was entitled to write or say anything whereby the feelings of one class were incited against another class. In the Rangila Rasul case it was held by the Lahore High Court that this section was intended to stop particular attack on religion.

Section 499 explains that "whoever by words either spoken or intended to be read, or by sign or by visible representations, makes or publishes any imputation concerning any person intending to harm, or knowing or having reason to believe that such imputation will harm, the reputation of such person, is said, except in the cases hereinafter excepted, to defame that person." If any opinion is expressed in good faith respecting the conduct of a public servant in the discharge of his duties and his character concerning that duty it

does not come under this section as defamation. It is not defamation to publish a true report of the proceedings of a Court of Justice, or regarding the conduct of any person or party which has been adjudicated upon by a Court of Justice.

Section 500 reads "Whoever defames another person shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both." No limit of fine has been prescribed.

There is no codified law of libel in India. It is based on precedents drawn from English law. The ingredients of libel are :

(1) The statement must be false, (2) the statement must be defamatory, (3) the statement must have been published, (4) the statement must be in some permanent form and (5) the statement must be concerning the plaintiff.

Such statements may be divided into the following :

- (1) Exciting hatred, contempt, scorn or ridicule;
- (2) Resulting in a person being shunned or avoided by society.
- (3) Affecting profession, calling of office.
- (4) Affecting trade or business.

The test of the charge of libel lies in the reaction of the public towards the published matter. A person has a right to enjoy his reputation. He has a right to the enjoyment of his moral and material advantages which may or may not be in relationship with the people. This law ensures the public the right to live without any fear of harm to their reputation by the press.

But the Government of India enacted many acts to suit the times. In 1908 when Tilak in Maharashtra and Aurobindo Ghosh and his followers in Bengal were carrying on a campaign for the national movement through the columns of their respective papers the *Kesari* and *Maharata* in Maharashtra and the *Yugantar* and *Sandhya* in Bengal, the Government decided to make special acts to control the movement. So in June 1908, the Newspapers (incitement to offences) Act VII of 1908 for the prevention of incitements to murder and to other offences in newspapers was passed. It armed the executive with extensive powers of taking action against newspapers. Section (3) sub-section (1) provides that "In case

where upon application made by order of or under authority from the local Government, a Magistrate is of the opinion that a newspaper printed and published within the Province contains any incitement to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence, such Magistrate may make a conditional order declaring the printing press used, or intended to be used, for the purpose of printing or publishing such newspaper, or found in or upon the premises where such newspaper is or at the time of the printing of the matter complained of was, printed and all copies of such newspaper, wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty and shall in such order state the material facts and call on all persons concerned to appear before him, at a time and place to be fixed by the order, to show cause why the order should not be made absolute."

The magistrate was empowered to declare, forfeit a printing press which was used or intended to be used for printing the matter inciting acts of violence. He would have discretion of keeping the printing press under attachment during the hearing of the case by an *ex parte* order as provided in Section 3 sub-section (3). This provision made the editor suffer unnecessarily in case he was acquitted. At the time of the introduction of the bill, Tika Sahib Ripudaman Singh of Nabha commented on this section and said that it was unnecessary and might be omitted. Though the Act allowed an application to the High Court also, yet the time limit imposed was too short, i. e., fifteen days only. After the passing of the order of forfeiture the local Government was empowered to amend the declaration made by the printer and publisher under the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, which meant the cessation of the paper.

Act VII of 1908 was in fact directed towards the *Yugantar* and *Sandhya* as Sir Harvey Adamson's speeches show.

In the year 1910, although the Act of 1908 and some clauses of the I.P.C. and Cr. P.C. relating to the press were already on the statute book, the Press Act of 1910 was passed. It was opposed even by the then Secretary of State, Lord Morley, yet the officers in India persuaded him to give consent to this Act, if he wanted that the Reform Act of 1909 should be worked out properly. But really the Act was a clog in the wheel of reform. It was passed to provide

for the better control of the press. This Act gave to the Executive the power of demanding a security from any one before he could set up a press. It thus violated a fundamental principle of common law.

Under the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, every person who wanted to keep a press was required to make a declaration. According to Section (3) of the Act 1910 a person keeping a press had to deposit money according to the orders of a magistrate which was not to be less than Rs. 500/- or more than Rs. 5,000/- "In the case," said the Home Member, "of existing presses and existing newspapers no security can be demanded until the press or paper offends by printing or publishing matter of the prohibited kind."¹ While administering the Act this assurance was violated and security was demanded from already existing presses too.

Section 4 of the Act was criticised severely by the public, the press and even by the judges while giving their judgements. It was as wide in scope as human ingenuity could make it. In the "Comrade" case Mr. Justice Lawrence Jenkins said "It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not plausibly be extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval... An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this widespread act: the praise of a class might not be free from risk."² The most reasonable and legitimate criticism came within the hold of this section. A whole series of offences was made punishable under this section. Clause (a) of section (4) contained what Act VII of 1908 had already contained. Clause (b) contained what was already mentioned in Section 131 of the Indian Penal Code. It provides for punishment with transportation for life and with imprisonment extending upto 10 years with or without fine. The contents of Sub-Section (3) of Section 4 were present in sections 124-A and 153-A excepting that offences against Native Princes or chiefs were not mentioned in the earlier law.

Sections 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 gave powers to the High Court to hear such cases and give its judgement. Section 19 gave power to

1. Assembly Debates 1910 P. 21

2. Indian Law Reporter : Calcutta, 41-P. 478

the High Court to set aside any order not made in conformity with Sections 4,6,9,11 or 12, but section 22 took away this power. Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, declared, in the Comrade case, referring to Section 22. ".....The notification, therefore, appears to me to be defective in a material particular, and but for Section 22 of the Act it would in my opinion, be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture."

".....though I hold that the notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act, still we are, in my opinion, barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare."

He further said "The Advocate General has convinced me that Government's view of this piece of legislation is correct, and that the High Court's power of intervention is the narrowest: its power to pronounce the legality of the forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred: the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the executive order is withheld; and its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all comprehensive provisions of the Act."

In the case of Abul Kalam Azad also, it was held by the Court that "According to the scheme of the Indian Press Act and its several provisions, it is abundantly clear that we have no jurisdiction in this case." The Madras High Court also expressed its inability to question the validity of the action of the executive

T.V. Sheshagiri Ayyar, speaking in the legislative Assembly in February 1921, observed that this Act contained many obnoxious features. It substituted the discretion of the Executive for the rights of publicity, audience and appeal. It gave no powers to the High Courts to question the discretion of the Executive. With regard to the effect of this Act on public opinion, he declared, it humiliated the intelligentsia as the journalists were asked to deposit a security before publishing a paper, at the discretion of the Executive.

1. Indian Law Reporter Calcutta Vol 41-P. 478

2. Indian Law Reporter Calcutta 42 P. 478

3. Indian Law Reporter Calcutta 42 P. 734.

Consequently, this Act became the parent of considerable disaffection in the country.

The administration of this Act was severe. The secretary, Indian Press Association, summarised the effects of its working in a cable to the British Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India on 2nd July 1919. From the enactment of this Act of 1919 more than 350 presses were penalised, 300 newspapers were subjected to the provisions regarding security, which amounted to £ 40,000, and 500 publications were proscribed. 300 presses and 130 newspapers could not be started because of the demand of security. Almost all influential journals such as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Independent*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Tribune*, the *Punjabee* and the *Hindu* in English and the *Basumati*, *Swadesh Mitram*, *Vijaya*, *Hindavasi* and *Bharat Mitra* in Vernaculars were subjected to its rigors.

In March 1921, a committee under Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was appointed to examine and report on the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act 1908 and the Press Act 1910. The other members of the Committee were W.H. Vincent, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Sohan Lal, T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar, Shahab-Ud-din, Jogendra Nath Mukherjee, Mir Asad Ali and Iswar Saran.

The Committee recommended the repeal of the News-papers (Incitement to Offences) Act 1908 and the Press Act 1910 because the political situation had changed and no longer did these Acts serve the purpose of preventing evil and helping in the maintenance of law and order. "In our opinion" the report went on commenting on the Press Act 1910, therefore, it must be admitted that the Act has not been wholly effective in securing the object which it was enacted to achieve. We observe that one witness before us went so far as to say that it had both been futile and irritating."¹ On examining the comparative advantages and disadvantage, most of the witnesses "believe it to be indefensible principle and unjust in its application."

Section 11 of the Press Act was criticised as being too comprehensive and the Act was very uncertain in its operation and lacked similarity of appliance in all the provinces by local Government and

1. The Press Laws committee Report and Evidence P. 1

in particular it was not applied with equal severity to English-owned and Indian-owned papers. The Newspapers (Incitement to offences) Act, 1908 should, the committee recommended, be totally repealed. Some modifications were suggested in the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867. Accordingly, the name of the editor was to appear on every issue of a newspaper and the editor was to be subjected to the same liabilities as the printer and the publisher regarding civil and criminal responsibility. At the time of registration as printer or publisher, one must be a major as defined in the Indian Majority Act. The term of imprisonment was to be reduced from two years to six months. There must be provisions of the delivery to Government of the copies of newspapers printed in British India. On the committee submitting its report, amendments were made by the Press Law (Repeal and Amendment) Act of 1922 (XIV of 1922). Accordingly, sections 99-A to 99-G were added to the Code of Criminal Procedure, Sections 181-A to 181-C to the Sea Customs Act, 1870, sections 27-A to 27-D to the Post Offices Act, 1898 and some amendments in the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867 were made.

The report had said "We are not, however, satisfied that the cessation of such incitements is due solely or even mainly to the Act or that in present conditions the ordinary law is not adequate to deal with such offences."¹ The local Governments with the exception of one were of the opinion that the act did not contribute to the elimination of public incitements.

This committee was required to express its opinion whether the dissemination of disaffection against Indian princes through the press of British India should be penalised in any way. It reported: "We understand that before the Press Act became law, it was not found necessary to protect Indian Princes from such attacks, and we note that the Act, so far as the evidence before us shows, has only been used on three occasions for this purpose; we do not in the circumstances, think that we should be justified in recommending on general grounds any enactment in the Penal Code or elsewhere for the purpose of affording such protection in the absence of evidence to prove the practical necessity for such provision of the

1. The Press Laws Committee Report and Evidence (1921) Para 5

law.”¹ Asad Ali, a member of the Committee, did not express any opinion on this point. In spite of this recommendation, the Government enacted the Princes Protection Act in 1922.

The committee recommended that the provisions of the Press Act 1910 which referred to the power of seizure and confiscation of seditious leaflets and literature should be retained. It also recommended that the auxiliary powers of preventing the importation and postal transmission of such literature should also be retained as a necessary corollary. Therefore sections 99-A to 99-G, sections 181-A to 181-C and sections 27-A to 27-D were added to the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Sea Custom Act, 1878 and the Post Offices Act 1898 respectively and the other recommendations of the committee were enacted in the Press Law (Repeal and Amendment) Act 1922 (XIV of 1922)

Section 99-A of the Code of Criminal procedure reads:“(1) where--

(a) Any newspaper, or book as defined in the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, or

(b) any document, wherever printed, appears to the local Government to contain any seditious matter or any matter which promotes or is intended to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects or which is deliberately and maliciously intended to outrage the religious feelings of any such class by insulting the religion or the religious belief of that class that is to say, any matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124A or section 153-A Section 295-A of the Indian Penal Code, the local Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion, declare every copy of the issue of the newspaper containing such matter, and every copy of such book or other document to be forfeited to His Majesty, and there upon any police-officer may seize the same, wherever found in British India and any Magistrate may by warrant authorise any police-officer not below the rank of sub-Inspector to enter upon and search for the same in any premises where any copy of such issue or any such book or other document may be reasonably suspected to be.

1. The Press Laws Committee Report and Evidence (1921) Para 9

(2) In Sub-Section (1) "document" includes also any painting, drawing or photograph or other visible representation."

The document must contain seditious matter, but the mere advertisement of a forthcoming book which contains seditious matter does not come under this section. The words must apparently and clearly show the intention of promoting enmity by the words themselves, the time and context could be taken into consideration as was held in the case of *Champathi Vs. King Emperor* in 1932 by the Lahore High Court and in the case of *Chakravarti Vs. King Emperor* by the Calcutta High Court, in 1926.

Section 99-B reads: "Any person having any interest in any newspaper, book or other document, in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made under section 99A, may within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court to set aside such order on the grounds that the issue of the newspaper, or the book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any seditious or other matter of such a nature as is referred to in sub-Section (1) of section 99-A."

Section 99-C reads "Every such application shall be heard and determined by a special Bench of the High Court composed of three judges."

Section 99-D dealt with setting aside the order, in case the special Bench was satisfied, and sub-Section (2) said that in case of difference among the judges the matter would be decided by the majority of them. In the case of *Gupta* (1936) and *Saigal* (1930) the Allahabad High Court held that when two different interpretations were possible the accused would get the benefit of doubt. Section 99F dealt with the amount of costs. As it was held in the case of *Saigal* the applicant had to get the matter translated if the seditious literature was published in vernacular. If the applicant did not get it translated he would have to incur the costs when the opposite party, the local Government, got it translated. Section 99G said "No order passed or action taken under Section 99A shall be called in question in any court other than in accordance with the provisions of Section 99-B."

Section 181A to 181C were added in the Sea Customs Act by Act XIV of 1922. The Chief Customs Officer could detain

any package brought into India by sea or land which was suspected to contain any newspaper or book or any document, containing any seditious matter, that is to say, any matter the publication of which was punishable under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. It was to be forwarded to such officer as was appointed by the local Government for this purpose.

Sub-Section 3 authorised the Government to examine the contents of the above mentioned packages. If it appeared to the local Government that the package contained any such newspaper, book or other document containing any seditious matter it "may pass such orders as to the disposal of the package and its contents as it may deem proper, and, if it does not so appear shall release the package and its contents unless the same be otherwise liable to seizure under any law for the time being in force".

It was provided that the person interested in a package could not apply to the local Government for its release within two months. If the application was rejected he could apply to the High Court within two months. Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act 1878 gave power to the Central Government to prohibit or restrict the importation of goods into or out of India.

Sections 27-A to 27-D were added in the Indian Post Offices Act 1898 by Act XIV of 1922. Section 25 of the Indian Post Offices Act, 1898, conferred power on an officer of the Post Office to intercept, at the time of transmission by post, goods which have been notified under Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act or the import or export of which was otherwise prohibited. Section 26 of the Post Offices Act provided the power of intercepting postal articles.

The amendments, introduced in the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, made the appearance of the editor's name on every issue of the newspaper essential. Some changes were introduced in penalties in Sections 12, 13, 14 and 15. The penalty of fine not exceeding rupees five thousand and imprisonment not exceeding two years was reduced to fine not exceeding rupees two thousand and imprisonment not exceeding six months.

Section 5 of the Telegraph Act, 1885 regulated the press messages. This section empowered the Government to order the interception of telegraphic messages.

In 1922, on the request of the princes, as resolved in a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, provision was made for the special protection of the princely class. A Bill for this purpose was introduced in the Assembly. On the refusal of the Assembly to allow the introduction of the Bill, it was certified by the Viceroy. For any one who brought into hatred or contempt any Prince or Chief of a State, or the Government or administration established in any such state, by his writings, section 3 provided imprisonment upto 5 years. Section 4 of the Act provided that powers of forfeiture under section 99-A to 99-G of the Code of Criminal Procedure and Postal interception under sections 27-B to 27-D of the Indian Post Offices Act would apply to the writings described in section 3.

In 1923, the Indian Official Secrets Act (Act XIX of 1923) which was passed to adopt the British Acts of 1911 and 1920 to suit India, and to repeal the Official Secrets Acts 1889 and 1903. It provided the penalty of imprisonment for spying. Section 4 provided that communication with foreign agents, would be punishable on certain grounds. Section 5, dealing with the wrongful communication etc., of information, was the important section affecting the press. Any official news could be very well brought under this section to punish a newspaper. The person offending under this section could be punished by two years imprisonment or with fine or with both.

After the repeal of the press Act of 1910, the Government officers wanted to prosecute the papers for comments on their acts, "So long as", writes V. Iyer, "the law making limbs of the Government were the Governors and the Governor General's Executive Councils, the relations between them and the press of the country were hardly cordial".¹ So the officers were helped with the ample resources of the Government in the shape of the law of defamation and contempt. Under the law of contempt, which depended largely on precedents, many papers were tried from time to time, e. g. the *Englishman* in 1869, the *Bengalee* in 1883, the *Maharatta* in 1908, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in 1917 and many others.

1. The Indian Press by Vishwanath Iyer. P 6

“The law of contempt”, writes Nikhil Ranjan Roy, “pertaining to the press and as administered by our courts, is partly a statutory law—is to be found in the contempt of Courts Act, 1926, as amended by the Contempt of Courts Acts 1937—and partly a judgemade law. As the most important part of this law is contained in the judicial decisions, which are by no means definite, consistent and uniform, the law itself is shrouded in vagueness and uncertainty.”¹

Under such a law it was easy to prosecute a paper. After 1922, many papers were prosecuted in quick succession. In 1924 N.C. Kelkar, editor of the *Kesari* was fined Rs. 5000/—The same year the *Bombay Chronicle* was punished. In 1926, the law of contempt of courts was enacted. Under the contempt of Courts Act 1926, the High Courts were given power to punish the contempts of themselves, and the Courts subordinate to them and the power of Chief Courts to punish contempt of themselves was recognised. As regards penalty, the Act empowered the judges to award simple imprisonment for six months and a fine of Rs. 2,000/—The upper limit of the fine was very high. Another reactionary provision of the Act was that it empowered the High Courts to punish contempts of courts subordinate to them also. It left the offence undefined, so it did not result in any substantial gain to the press.

The press laws were relaxed for eight years. During these years there was a considerable growth in the number of papers as well in the subjects of discussion. After that the tendency of legislation again was not towards any relaxation of restrictions or any enlargement of the liberty of the press, but in the contrary direction. In 1930 in the heat of the Civil Disobedience movement, the Government promulgated the Indian Press Ordinance to arm the authorities with powers for dealing with what they considered intimidation and unlawful instigation etc. The Press Ordinance of 1930 was issued to provide for the better control of the Press, on May 30, 1930. It empowered the Government to order the suspension of newspapers. The magistrates were given power to demand securities of not less than rupees five hundred and not more than rupees two thousand from any person keeping a printing press and from publishers of newspapers. The local Government had the

1. Freedom of the Press in India by Nikhil Ranjan Roy P. 1

power to forfeit the security if the matter published was calculated to incite murder or violence, to seduce any military or police officer, to bring into hatred or contempt the British Government in India or the Indian Princes, to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, to promote feelings of enmity between different classes etc. After the forfeiture of security, any printer or publisher who wanted to give a fresh security had to deposit an amount not less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees. The Ordinance was as vague, comprehensive, elastic and repressive as human ingenuity can make it. Its powers were so wide that the journalists felt restless and urged strongly that the Draconian edict should be repealed.

In 1931, when Gandhiji was at the Round Table Conference, on the plea of emergency, the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931 was introduced. Emergency is defined in the dictionary as a "Sudden occasion", "unexpected casualty", "unforeseen occurrence", "any event or combination of circumstances calling for immediate action". But the Government in the exuberance of their executive zeal had gone so far as eventually to change the very meaning of the term and kept this Act on the statute book for years. The Press Act 1931 was an act to provide against the publication of matter inciting to or encouraging murder or violence. Originally it was to remain in force for one year and the Government was given power to extend the duration for a period of one year more. But the operation of the Act was extended from time to time and ultimately sub-section (3) of section (1) was repealed by the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 1932, the words "for the better control of the Press" were substituted for the "against the publication of matter inciting to or encouraging murder or violence." The clause requiring security was too hard on the printers and publishers, and made them feel always unsafe and the capital remained shy for newspaper investment. As regards the forfeiture of security, section 4 and 8 empowered the Government to declare it forfeited. The press too could be forfeited. If the order for the forfeiture of security was not passed within three months after the security had been deposited, sub-section (2) of Section 3 provided the refund of security on application by the keeper of the press or publisher of the newspaper.

A provision was made that further security could be demanded which was to be not less than Rs. 10,000/- and not more than Rs. 10,000/- and the Government was empowered to forfeit this further security and the publication.

To deal with unauthorised newspapers and the news sheets, the act provided that they could be seized and destroyed. The undeclared presses publishing such news-sheets also could be forfeited. Act prohibited the transmission of unauthorised news-sheets or newspapers by post. The High Court could decide if the document in respect of which the order was made did or did not contain matter of the nature described in Section 4 (1). The hearing of every case was to be made by Special Bench and section 25 provided that a Special Bench could set aside the order.

As regards the so-called safeguard provided in section 25 of the Act, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar criticised it on the occasion of the Assembly debate on the State Protection Bill 1934, "For a small journalist whose security has been forfeited or whose press has been forfeited, to go after the event to the High Court and try to have his case argued is not always an easy matter, and the High Court, as has been shown, is helpless in these matters. The High Court cannot really go behind the decision of the executive and they have no materials placed before them whereby they can judge whether this was intentionally done, whether it could create disaffection and so on. Therefore, ultimately it comes to this that it is not even an alternative remedy. It is the sole remedy and the executive becomes the judiciary. That, I submit, is the worst form of combination."¹

This Section was copied from the Press Act 1910. From Chief Justice Jenkins's remarks in the Comrade case, quoted above, it is clear how this section caused hardships. Vishwanath Iyer has quoted K. Vyasa Rao who says, "There are negatives and negatives, negatives only in form which can be proved by positive evidence, as for instance, the statement that a man was not at a particular place at a particular time. But there are absolute negatives-which cannot by any practicable means be proved, as for instance, the statement that an article cannot produce in any person a feeling of anger, resentment or contempt. Such a burden being

1. Assembly Debates 1934

an impossible burden to discharge, the applicant practically goes to a tribunal that has no jurisdiction in the case. When a local Government says that it did appear to it that the words complained of had the tendency deprecated, all that the High Court has to do is to compare the words mentioned by the Government with the words appearing in the paper and see how far the same words are to be found in both places.”¹

This Act had stopped even true and fair criticisms. In a case *Emperor Vs Pothan Joseph*, the judges said that the articles in question did not use intemperate language; they simply gave instances where the local Governments misused their powers and an appeal was made to the Governor to put a stop to the alleged abuses of powers. Though every time, while passing a stringent law the Government had been in habit of giving the assurances that the just and fair criticisms would not be checked but they were never fulfilled. Similarly Lord Irwin issued an explanatory statement that the act was not designed to “restrict the just liberties of the press or check fair criticism of the administration.” He also stated that it was “one of emergency” commenting on the act A.R. Iyengar observed : “If that is so, the intention has certainly not been carried out either because of the legal difficulty of defining the exemption intended to be given or because of the desire to keep newspapers concerned at the mercy of those whose intentions may subsequently vary.”²

By substituting the executive in place of judiciary the cardinal principle of the law i.e. open trials, was violated. As a result of this Act, the papers suffered heavy financial loss all over the country. It was one of the factors for collapse of the Free Press of India, a news agency. Bombay Government forfeited securities of the Free Press Journal totalling Rs. 20,000/-under this Act and the organisation could not stand the blow. The public suffered the advantages, it had got of the national news agency, though the United Press of India, another news agency was already in the field.

In the year 1932, another legislation affecting the press came into force. The object of the Act was to provide against the publi-

1. *The Indian Press* by Vishwanath Iyer P. 41

2. Quoted by Vishwanath Iyer in *The Indian Press*. P. 44

cation of statements likely to prejudice the maintenance of friendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of certain foreign countries, The matter which was defamatory to the Ruler of a State outside India but adjoining India was covered by this Act.

In 1934, the Indian States (Protection) Act (XI of 1934) was passed to protect the Administration of States in India which were under the sovereignty of His Majesty from the activities which tend to subvert or excite disaffection towards or to obstruct such administration. By Section 3 of this Act the provisions of the Press Emergency Power Act 1931 are extended to cover matter which tends directly or indirectly to bring into hatred or contempt or to incite disaffection towards administration of the State.

In the year 1935, the Government of India Act for constitutional reforms was passed and came into force from 1937 with the formation of popular ministries in the provinces. The problem of the press at this stage was communal. The Congress Ministries came to office in 1937 and resigned in October 1939. The popular Governments during these days were to function without the use of special measures to deal with communal and labour unrest. "On its part" writes the Press Report, "the press realised its responsibility in relation to democratic Governments. Responsible Government does not merely mean the rule of popular Government by the continued subjection of that Government to popular pressure so that it may act continually in accordance with their wishes. But, if the Press itself sets an ignoble aim before it, it can claim on privilege in the sacred name of the freedom of the Press."

A comparative study of the press laws of other countries with those of India shows the practice of the Registration of the press and publications obtained in most of the foreign countries except U.S.A. although the printing of the name of the editor is an obligatory rule in Norway and Egypt. The provisions of the Indian Official Secrets Act are similar to those of the Acts in force in U. K. and other countries. The Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act 1922, and the Indian States (Protection) Act 1934, are peculiar to India, and find no parallel in the press laws of other

countries. The provisions of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, regarding the demand for security are, again, peculiar to India and have no parallel in the press laws of other countries except Egypt. The offences defined in sub Section (1) of Section (4) of this Act and the provisions of Sections 2 to 22 of the Act do however correspond with the laws of foreign countries. The provisions of the Foreign Relation Act, 1932 are limited in scope and wider provisions exist in the laws of France, Norway and Turkey. Provisions corresponding to sections of the Sea Customs Act and Sections 25 and 26 of the Post Offices Act and Sections 124-A and 153-A and 500 of the the Indian Penal Code are found in the laws of foreign countries. A provision which has no parallel is that of Section V of the Indian Telegraph Act. It may be noted that the provisions of Section 181-A to 181-C of the Sea Customs Act and Sections 27-A to 27-B of the Post Offices Act are similar to those of Sections 99-A to 99-G of the Criminal Procedure Code. These Acts made the editors irresponsible and authorities always made indiscriminate use of these laws.

The laws of a nation are bound to affect its life, development and outlook. The Press Laws of India affected the many sided activities of journalism. They gave uncertainty to the profession of journalism. A journalist could not be certain at any moment which article may make him liable for punishment. "The laws affecting the press are so many and are of such complicated character that it is difficult even for a lawyer to find light and way through them."¹

The uncertainty of the profession made the capital shy for newspapers undertakings. The lack of finances brought about inefficiency in the production of the papers. The papers were not able to maintain correspondents at various places nor were they able to give upto date news on all affairs. The magazine sections, too, did not show a higher standard. When the public was not provided with good news and articles, it was difficult to educate it on sound lines. There were a few papers with good finances, but very few.

The Laws checked the healthy growth of criticism and barred the development of responsibility in the profession. The attitude of

1. *The Press and its Problems* edited by M.K. Bose P. 54

some papers was not so much to educate the public as to oppose the Government. But most of the papers believed in educating the public. The effect of the administration of the press laws was irritating and humiliating. The Government being a foreign one never took even the right criticism in a good spirit. Hence there was the lack of mutual confidence between the Government and the Press.

The Official Secrets Acts were reasonable as every Government likes to keep some documents secret as can be seen even in a country governed by a national Government like England.

Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code was not a very unreasonable section but it became obnoxious because of its application against fair criticism too.

The Acts specially guarding the princes such as the Princes Protection Act harmed not only the ruled but the rulers too. The mismanagement of their affairs was kept in the dark. During the years 1920-21 much criticism of the mismanagement in States affairs was coming up in sober papers like the *Hindu* and the *Servant of India*. The Princes were afraid and on their request the Act of 1922 was passed. This was unique to this country. The press of one country can give a fair criticism of another country's affairs but the press of India was controlled to prevent light being thrown on the affairs of the native states.

The main source of income for a paper is advertisement. In India trade and industry were not well developed and much of it was in the hands of the Europeans. The Press Laws prevented the firms from giving advertisements to the extremist papers. The lack of finances did not make the profession lucrative, so the best brains did not join journalism. A good standard could not be maintained.

The Sea Customs Act and the Post Offices Act prevented the importation of revolutionary and communist literature in the country. During the first world War, the revolutionaries outside India tried to send revolutionary literature to be distributed among the masses. Under those two Acts it was confiscated.

A comparison of the conditions of the press under the Acts and without the control of the Acts shows that the press grew more rapidly in the latter condition than the former.

Conclusion

In a democratic set-up of society, the press, the Government and the people form a triangle in their relationship. But conditions were different under a bureaucratic government. The functions of the government were limited to preserving law and order, whereas the press served as the exponent of popular grievances and the educator of public opinion and it became a mouthpiece of the public. In a democratic set-up the use of the press is realised by the government also. "A modern government" writes Zechariah Chafee (Jr.) "is an ever greater participant in social and economic affairs. This has created a necessity for more extensive and better inter-communication between it and the public in the interest of both."¹ But the bureaucratic government never required inter-communications. The existence of the press was a thorn in the side of the government. The conflict between the press and the government was as old as the press itself—it dated from the times of Bolts and Hickey. In its relation with public opinion, the development of the press was the development and expansion of public opinion in India.

The press developed into an indispensable national institution and grew into power in the twentieth century. It played a vital role in organising the struggle for independence, in shaping and moulding public opinion, and in demolishing the old barriers. It brought different parts of the country close together by a daily inter-change of ideas and infused in them the spirit of nationalism. Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha said, in 1935, "The political and economical advance that we are enjoying today is due, in a very large

1. *Government and Mass Communications* Vol. I By Zechariah Chafee (Jr.) P. 13.

measure, to the great development in the Indian Press, which has been a very important factor in the growth and expansion of public opinion in this country. As such its existence and influence cannot be safely disregarded even by the most bureaucratic Government, and it continues to maintain a steady improvement, so shall it again have greater influence and prestige, until backed by the solid weight of Indian public opinion, it will become as free and powerful as the Press in the advanced countries of Europe and America.”¹

The conditions and outlook in the country have immensely changed during the last fifty years. The role of the press in giving shape to this change was vital, effective and realistic. The twentieth century started with the ideal of nationalism. The idea of nationalism was borrowed from the West which had a profound influence on the Indian mind. The Indian-owned press had a mission—the mission to liberate India from foreign domination and to infuse the spirit of nationalism. Every country which is under foreign domination will have independence as its first aim. As Aurobindo Ghosh wrote “Political freedom is the life-breath of a nation; to attempt social reforms, educational reforms, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance.” India accepted this advice largely and the Indian-owned press had the mission of independence. A natural outcome of this mission was that it came in conflict with the Government. The press had to preach all the methods of getting independence and put before the public the evils of foreign rule. All such statements went against the Government. No Government can be indifferent to such things so it adopted the method of crushing the popular press and the press was shackled.

The Press in its relationship with the public, performed certain duties of educating the public, shaping and moulding public opinion and awakening it to do its duties collectively for national liberation and national good. Gurnūkh Nihal Singh wrote : “National consciousness was created and fostered by the growing Indian owned and edited press, both in English and in Indian languages. There was a sharp cleavage between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian press in

1. Quoted by H. P. Ghosh in *The Newspaper in India* Pp 68-69.

the country—the one was pro-government and antinational, opposing vehemently, all steps towards racial equality—social, economic and political—between men of the ruling race and the children of the soil. The other was on the whole nationalist and critical of the measures of the Government and advocated full racial equality and the claims of Indians to manage, control and run the Government of the country. It had been the general complaint of the Anglo-Indians—both officials and non-officials—that the Indian owned and edited press, particularly in English, had been often seditious. There is no doubt of the fact that the Indian press suffered greatly under the various Press laws and Ordinances that it has to its credit a great deal of patriotic work. In earlier stages there was no national platform and its place was supplied by the press. It awakened the educated classes and infused in them patriotic sentiment and consciousness of nationality. The Indian press had been carrying on a ceaseless propaganda in the cause of Indian nationalism and political reform.”¹

From the earliest days, the press has maintained contact with the public. Because of this contact it could peep into the mind of the public, realise its problems, express them, guide and give suggestions to solve them. Its contact with the public made it a mouthpiece of public opinion. It has grown and developed in the hands of our public leaders and men of high character like Sishir Kumar and Motilal Ghose, G. Subramaniya Iyer, Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Lokmanya Tilak, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Dadabhai Naorojee, Aurobindo Ghosh, B.C. Pal, Mrs Annie Besant, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Ramanand Chatterjee, S. N. Sinha, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, C. Y. Chintamani, Motilal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and many others, who are the builders of modern India. So the press was bound to be a potent factor in the building of modern independent India. The history of India's freedom movement, its constitutional progress and public awakening would not be complete if the press was left out.

The press built up public opinion on questions of national importance. The events in the Oriental and semi-oriental countries,

1. Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development VII I bu Gurumukh Nihal Singh Pp 109-110

Abyssinia and Japan, the ferment in Egypt and Afghanistan, the question of Italian unification and the lives and teachings of Garibaldi, Mazzini and Cavour were presented by the press at large; and they exerted a tremendous influence on the public mind which helped in creating the spirit of nationalism and an urge to get rid of serfdom. The movement following the partition of Bengal bourgeoned forth largely due to the press. In Bengal, the papers reached the masses for the first time. They spread the gospel of freedom making the people realise their duty towards the country. The *Bandematram* taught the people not to be satisfied with the relation of a master and subordinate, which was "a mean and pitiful aspiration unworthy of manhood." It infused manly qualities among the people. The influence of the movement was felt throughout the country because of the press. The writings became so effective that the Government passed the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act 1908 to crush the effectiveness of the newspapers. The influence of the press can be judged by the circulation of the *Yugantar* which went up to 50,000 daily—a figure which was unknown and unimagined during those days. And this Act was truly aimed at the *Yugantar* and the *Sandhya*. The Indian press accomplished the change from prayer and petition to demand and action.

The enactment of the REFORMS ACT 1909, owed partly to the press and partly to other factors. The demands put forward by the liberal section of the press for reforms were partly acceptable to the Government e.g., articles appearing in the moderate papers like the *Hindustan Review* and *Indian Review* were suggesting schemes for reforms. The Government wanted to focus the attention of the public on the reforms and did not want to see the public striving and rising in an organised way to put forward more demands leading to the end of serfdom. Hence it passed the press Act 1910 on the pretext of violence. The administration of this Act was truly a sword of Democles hanging over the journalists.

World war I gave a new significance and new urgency to the people. It limelightened the humiliations of a subject country. The slogan "a war to make the world safe for democracy" gave some positive ideals to India. In spite of the repression, the revolutionary movement had been going on for some years. The Home Rule

movement and Mrs Beasant's *New India* and other papers with liberal views were writing about the constitution of the country and the reforms to be brought about after the war and many such constitutional problems. These writings were slightly reflected in the Montford Reforms of 1919. These were also factors in awakening the public. The Government had set up publicity boards all over the country and many war journals were also published. These journals were given publicity.

Though the war was not fought on Indian soil, yet soldiers were recruited from remote villages all over the country, and they had to go into action across the seas. Also there was the indirect effect of the scarcity of food and clothing and of high prices. Thus simple villagers also became anxious to know about their people in far off lands. Naturally they were eager for news and more news. This created reading habits and, once created, these habits go on developing. During the War period, the means of transportation also developed and the delivery of newspapers became convenient. The Government also realised the importance of the press to reach the people and secure their help in war. It would not have been possible to reach the public without the help of the press. The press realised its strength and importance—especially in the field of creating and propagating views. Propaganda was a new field for the press, which became very helpful later on at the time of the national movement. Last, but not the least, was the factor of the development of industries. All these factors gave a fillip to the press. The Government suppressed the news. The press mostly cooperated with the Government, yet prosecutions in large numbers were resorted to during the war years.

A new enthusiastic and hopeful India emerged out of the war. It gave a blow to the existing conception of Indians regarding western nationalism. The hopes of India for a reward for her services during the War were met with repression. Repression annoyed the masses. A large number of newspapers in English as well as other Indian languages were started and especially in Hindi.

From 1920 the era of the daily press began, and the dailies have gone on increasing. During the twenties a real mass movement was launched by Mahatma Gandhi. The number of the

newspapers as well as the subjects of discussion increased. The Government relaxed the press laws in 1922 by repealing the Acts of 1908 and 1910. After the war, bus services were introduced in India, so the newspapers were carried to the villages. During this period the *Swadesh Mitran* in Tamil, the *Aj* and the *Pratap* in Hindi, *Malayala Manorama* in Malayalam were the creators of the public opinion in those areas. Socialism was propagated through the press. The *Vanguard* and the *Socialist* were advocating communism and socialism. The Russian revolution left a profound influence on the Indian mind during the twenties. The Socialist system was a new form and it gave a new ideal to the country. The press acquainted the public with this system by its constant writing. This brought about a change in outlook. India had to strive for nationalism to achieve independence but at the same time it had to aim at a different society which would fit into the changing civilization of the world. Labour also became conscious and many papers dealing with labour problems were started. In 1922, the Princes Protection Act was passed to protect the princes against press criticism. Papers like the *Hindu*, the *Servant of India* and many others were bringing the defects of the Indian states into light.

The towering personality of the era was Gandhiji, who came with a new theory and guided the energies of the nation towards its goal. His philosophy was applied philosophy. He set the principles and worked them out. To propagate his views and guide the nation he also adopted the effective method of journalism, like other national leaders, and started the *Navajivan* and *Harijan*. In his Autobiography he has defined the object of journalism as follows:—

“One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects.” The Indian press was mostly true to these objects.

In 1930, when Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience Movement, the press was muzzled by the Press Ordinance. After 1930, the press had been shackled under the Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931, the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Act 1932, the Indian States Act 1932, and the Bengal ‘Criminal Law’ (Amendment)

Conclusion

Act 1934. Lord Irwin was of the opinion that the relaxation of the press laws from 1922 to 1929 made the press powerful and prepared the public for a movement. The number of newspapers and their circulation increased. There was labour unrest all over the country in industrial areas. Many strikes were staged in the later twenties. This led to the development of more papers. The seeds sown in the twenties became fruitful in the thirties. The Socialist party within the Congress was born. In 1935, new constitutional reforms were made.

The Indian Press advocated the cause of the labourers too! Though the press took up the cause of labour during the twenties yet even before that time a paper or two had been specially started to advocate their cause. The *Dinabandhu* started by the Bombay Mill-Hands Association in 1890 was the first paper aimed at this object. The *West Coast Looker* also advocated the cause of labour. In 1910, the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha, Bombay published a weekly the *Kamgar Samachar* which deal with scales of wages, hours of work and general working conditions. After the first World War, labour unrest was wide spread. During the twenties, the papers took up the cause of labour. The *Vanguard* of M.N. Roy and the *Socialist* of Dange were the prominent papers. The unrest among the labourers reached its climax during the year 1928-29. The *Kranti*, an organ of the Workers' and Peasants' party, was started in May 1927. It helped in capturing the loyalty of the workers and in keeping strikes going on for nearly six months in Bombay. A number of other papers like *Sphulinga*, the *Dhuma Dhadakka* etc. were started.

The press of the country gave due attention to the social problems. It exposed social evils such as caste fetters, child marriages, the disabilities of widows, inequalities of women in social, legal and other spheres. It brought about closer social contacts between the inhabitants of the different provinces and enabled them to hold discussions on social evils and bring out new suggestions and methods to carry out these suggestions. The literate section of the population assimilated these progressive conceptions and became the purveyor of these ideas among the illiterate mass of the people. The *Social Reformer* edited by Natarajan from Bombay, Lokhande's *Deena Bandha*, Gokhle's *Social*

Reform. Ranade's *Indu Prakash*, Veeresalingam's *Viveka Vardhani*, K. M. Munshi's *Social welfare*, Namaye's *The Reformer* and Mahatma Gandhi's *Harijan* dealt with social problems. There were many communities which advocated reforms within themselves and this tendency is shown by the *Brahman Samachar*, edited by Ganesha Datta Sharma, the *Khattri Hitaisini* by Gopal Lal Khanna; the *Kanyakubja* by Chandramauli Shukla, the *Maheshwari Bandhu* by Basantilal and the *Kshatriya* by Jagdish Singh Gahalot. The Arya Samaj papers also became a reforming force e.g. the *Hindu Punch* and the *Shree Krishna Sandesh*. Besides, the monthlies and the weeklies dealt with social problems alongwith other topics. The repeated exposition of evils and the suggestions for their improvement brought about a change in the outlook of the people. The press was an effective weapon to organise propaganda on a vast scale against such inhuman institutions as untouchability.

The press has been the nurse of literature. Modern Indian languages such as Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujrati, Tamil etc., owe to the vernacular press for their development. The *Saraswati* revolutionised the Hindi language and gave it the form of our present day language. The *Anand Kadambini* introduced criticism which was propagated by the *Saraswati*. The *Hans* brought about all the languages close which was a progressive step. To deal with complicated social, political, economic and cultural problems new phrases and new words were required which were coined and added to the language, and this enriched the language. The development of the language adds to the development of culture and raises the standard of thinking men.

One section of the press remains to be noticed—the Anglo-Indian Press. The Anglo-Indian papers were the supporters of the Government in most cases. In return they won its favour. The long lists of press prosecutions and fines hardly include any Anglo-Indian paper in spite of their repeated utterances creating race hatred. Though the *Pioneer* was not an official organ of the Government, it was in contact with every department of the Government. It was the most privileged paper in Government circles. But the role of the Anglo-Indian papers was not laudable. These papers were read with interest by the official circles as they represented the official views. In this way, they helped increasing a separation

between the official class and the rest of the community. These papers fulfilled the needs of the official class and they seldom looked into the Indian owned press to peep into the thoughts and the sentiments of their countrymen. These papers tried to maintain the gulf created by the policy of the Government. Secondly, the get up of these papers was better than that of Indian owned papers. Financially they had sufficient funds at their disposal to employ the best brains and news services. These papers spread racial arrogance and prejudice. Their writings on racial superiority embittered the Indian mind.

In India the newspapers have been generally business of one man or a few men who started the paper because of their adventurous spirit or their zeal for reform or the liberation of the country. They had to work hard. Natesan of the *Indian Review* and the followers of Tilak wrote that they knew no rest and never regretted the amount of work they had to do. The aim in starting newspapers was in very few cases any kind of financial gain. Their spirit was the spirit of sacrifice so long as the country was in chains. Newspapers depend on advertisements. The cost of production is always much more than the sale price. The countries which are industrially advanced need advertising. In India, industries were not developed, so the papers did not get many advertisements. Because of the lack of finances the papers could not attain a good standard in get-up, news-gathering and articles. Till recently, specialists were not utilised by most of the papers. The *Hindu* of Madras was the only paper which could afford to employ specialists in different subjects. There were few papers which could maintain their own correspondence in the important cities of India such as Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. Most of the papers used to give this work of sending news to the correspondents of the news-agencies or of other papers on a very nominal allowance which resulted in inefficiency.

The uncertainty of the Government regulations and their administration made the capital shy. The capitalists did not want to invest in an unprofitable business. It was in the twenties on account of the policy of the Congress mostly that capitalists came forward to invest in newspapers. The country is poor and poverty is a check on purchasing power. Those who cannot afford the bare necessities of life cannot purchase a newspaper. Besides, habits of

spending also played an important part. Those who could afford also preferred to borrow a newspaper and read it. In many cases, three or four or even more people used to subscribe for a paper collectively. In the villages, it was a tradition that one literate person would read out a paper loudly when other villagers collected in the evenings. Thus the effective circulation of the papers was more than the nominal circulation. Everard Cotes in his article "The Newspaper Press of India" wrote "How then do these vernacular sheets affect the life of the people of India? To understand this we must begin with the village which, as we all know, is the unit of the social fabric of the country. It is here that the vernacular sheet exercises most of its influence. The school master, the honorary magistrate, or the local pleader may be the only actual subscriber, but the contents are read aloud and discussed in the long evenings to an extent that makes the effective circulation very much faster than the smallness of the sales would seem to indicate. At one time of my career I could have guided the visitor into offices in odoriferous gullies in Indian provincial towns where the vernacular sheet takes shape. Here could one see the real pen of antiquity still industriously at work on the lithograph stone."¹ Yet it is not an exaggeration to say that villages had very, very little impact.

Illiteracy was the most important factor contributing to the small circulation and slow growth of newspapers. Education opens the avenues of knowledge. It creates interest in different spheres of life other than domestic worries and people acquaint themselves of the world through the newspapers. Another factor, though not so very important was the environment. In India, it was supposed to be a luxury to read the papers and not a necessity, whereas in England and America, people without the knowledge of two or three newspapers were not supposed to be upto the mark in society. Environment was also the result of education. Educated communities never like to remain in the dark. In India there are many families where not a single member is even literate. There are many villages even where not a single person was literate. Illiteracy was a vital factor which barred the growth of the newspapers.

1. Journal of the East India Association, July, 1928.

Lack of communications were also one of the factors leading to slow growth. There were many persons who wanted to have a newspaper but the papers were not within their reach. They could get papers after two or three days by post which decreased their interest in the news. With the development of communications, newspapers in India have a bright future.

To judge the influence of the press on the public mind, it is essential to know the types of the readers of newspapers. But it becomes a difficult task to find out the types of readers after a lapse of 40 or 50 years. The effective circulation of the papers was more than the nominal circulation. The personality of the editor added to the circulation of the paper. When Tilak was in prison, the circulation of the *Kesari* and the *Maharatta* decreased by 2,000 copies. The papers with extremist views had more circulation than the papers with moderate politics.¹

Since 1935, much water has flown down the Ganges. The political map of the world has changed because of many upheavals, the most important of which is the Second World War. India has marched from serfdom to independence and it is busy in realising the ideals of democratic Government and socialist society. As in other spheres so in the sphere of the press the country has seen development but not enormous.

In August 1938, the *National Herald* was started with Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman of the Board of Directors. He held this position until he joined the Interim Government in 1946. In 1937, the *Anand Bazar Patrika* started an English daily, the *Hindustan Standard*, and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* replied with a Bengali daily, the *Jugantar*. In 1943, the Allahabad edition of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* began and since 1950 the Hindi daily *Amrita Patrika* has also been published. The *Bharat* founded by Makhan Lal Sen and the *Krishak*, the organ of the *Krishak Praja* party, came into existence. In 1936, the *Azad*, a muslim edited Bengali daily was started, in 1937, the *Hubli Gazette*, a Kannada weekly, in 1940 the *Bharat Devi*, a Tamil paper, and many other newspapers made their appearance. World War II began in 1939. With its beginning the Government of India passed some measures to control the press.

1. Appendix 1, 2, 3.

The Defence of India Act came into existence. Pre-censorship was imposed in certain matters. The penalty of imprisonment was extended to 5 years. The Official Secrets Act was amended and it provided a maximum penalty of death or transportation, in case the information published could be of any use to the enemy. The Press Emergency Powers Act was also amended, making provision against the conveying or publishing of confidential news to the enemy.

In 1940, the U.P. Government served a notice on the *National Herald* asking it to submit the headlines to War News for pre-censorship. The newspapers in question published the War news without headlines until the order was cancelled.

On October 25, 1940, the Government of India issued an order regarding the publication of editorials. The *National Herald* as a protest against the order ceased to publish editorials. The order was withdrawn after 17 days, as a result of the discussions between the Government and the representatives of the leading newspapers.

In 1940, Mahatma Gandhi launched the individual Satyagraha movement. The Government of India served a notice on the newspapers regarding the publication of news relating to the movement. After an understanding had been reached between the Government and the conference of the editors, the order was withdrawn. The system of press Advisers in all the provinces and a Chief Press Advisor at the Centre was adopted. The Press Adviser was appointed to advise regarding the publication of all news coming under the Defence of India Rules. But he exceeded his powers and kept the press under strict control.

On August 9, 1942 the last struggle for independence was launched. It was an extensive as well as intensive fight, which really challenged the existence of British Rule in India. The Government of India issued a fresh sub-rule 41 under the Defence of India Rules. It aimed at the suppression of the news relating to the movement.

"In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publishing by printer, publisher or editor of any factual news (which expression shall be deemed to conclude reports of speeches or statements made by

members of the public) relating to the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Congress Committee or to the measures taken by Government against that movement, except news derived from, and stated in the newspapers which publishes it to be derived from,

- (a) Official source, or
- (b) the Associated Press of India, the United Press of India or the Orient Press of India, or
- (c) a correspondent regularly employed by the newspaper concerned and whose name stands registered with the District Magistrate of the District in which he carries on his work."

This notification was withdrawn, as the All India Newspapers Editors' Conference assured the Government of voluntary restraints regarding the news of 'Quit India' movement, which was called a Gentlemen's Agreement. A conflict came when the Government exercised its power against the publication of the news of Prof. Bhansali's fast. As a result of the conflict, the Newspaper Editors' Conference advised the newspapers all over the country to suspend publication for one day. The papers were asked not to publish Government House Circulars, the New Year Honours list (of 1943), the speeches of the members of the British Government, the Government of India and Provincial Governments excepting announcements and decisions. On January 6, 1943 many papers observed hartal. Prof. Bhansali ended his fast on January 12, 1943.

The terrible suppression of news resulted in the wide-spread use of unauthorised and cyclostyled news-sheets to give full information about the movement. The unauthorised news sheets were distributed from many places. The Congress had no papers at its disposal for the publication of instructions and information. After the arrest of leaders some instructions were issued through circulars. The Government levelled charges against these circulars and said that sabotage was being preached. But Gandhiji refuted the charge and cited the Andhra circular which contained a clause that the whole movement was based on non-violence. During the movement the unauthorised bulletins, news-sheets, leaflets and reports were typed, cyclostyled or printed without giving the name of the editor.

In 1946, one year after the end of the War the popular ministries started functioning in the provinces and an interim Government of the popular parties was formed at the centre. It was expected that country would be partitioned and communal feelings grew tense, and riots broke out. To meet this situation, the provincial Governments issued many ordinances which were replaced by emergency legislation. They were—

- (1) The Central Press (Special Powers) Act 1947.
- (2) The Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act 1947.
- (3) The Bengal Special Powers Act 1947.
- (4) The Bihar Maintenance of Public Order Act 1947.
- (5) The Bombay Public Security Measures Act, 1947.
- (6) The C.P. and Berar Public Safety Act 1947.
- (7) The Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act 1947.
- (8) The Punjab Safety Act, 1947.
- (9) The Maintenance of Public Order (Temporary) Act 1947.
- (10) The Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance, 1947.

These measures were not met with resentment by the press as the situation in the country was really serious.

The new ventures of the period included the *Navayug* (1941) edited by A. K. Fazlul Huq. The *Swadhinata* and the *Swaraj* edited by Satyendra Nath Mazumdar were the organs of the communist party. H. S. Suharawardy edited the *Ittehad* in 1947. The *Times of India* started the *Satyayug* in 1949 which ceased publication in 1953. In Gujarati, the *Vartaman* in 1941 and the *Jai Gujerat* in 1942 were started. In Kanada language, two dailies the *Vishal Karnatak* and the *Navayug* were started. The *Naya Zamana*, an Urdu edition of the *People's War* organ of the Communist party, was started in 1942 from Bombay. In 1940, the *Harijan* group papers ceased publication as a protest against the order of pre-censorship but resumed publication in 1946. The *Harijan* was closed recently because of financial loss.

After achieving Independence the position of the press changed and it became a real Estate of the realm. The mission it had pursued and fought for more than a century was fulfilled. Now

the position of the press is not that of an agitator but of an interpreter, critic and adviser. It occupies the position that it should have in a free, democratic and sovereign country.

In 1947, India achieved Independence and the country was partitioned. Communal feelings were at their height. The communal writings and disturbances created a very bad situation. The Provincial Governments passed Emergency Safety measures to meet the problem. The Government of India appointed a committee to examine the press laws and report on them. The Committee recommended certain amendments in the Press and Registration of Books Act, the repeal, of the Indian States (Protection Against Disaffection) Act 1922, and the Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934, the repeal of the Indian (Emergency Powers) Act 1931, the incorporation of certain provisions in its place in the ordinary law of the country, and the repeal of the Foreign Relations Act 1932, and the enactment of more comprehensive legislation. The Committee recommended the amendment of Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code so as to give effect to the judgement of the Federal Court in the case of N. D. Mazumdar, the addition of an explanation to Section 153-A, the exemption of the Press from the operation of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the amendment of Section 3 of the Indian Telegraph Act and Section 26 of the Indian Post Offices Act.

With the enforcement of the new democratic constitution in January 1950, the press also acquired a new position. The High Courts and the Supreme Court overruled the actions of the executive against the newspapers because they were *ultra vires* of Article 19(2) of the constitution. The Government of India was confronted with this problem and sought the amendment of this article. The All India Newspapers Editors' Conference and the Working Journalists' Federation protested in vain. The Article was amended.

In 1951, the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act was passed. This repealed the Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931. When introduced in Parliament, it was met with opposition and attacked as a reactionary measure to muzzle the freedom of expression. The Government emphasised its necessity on the ground of preventing the encouragement of violence or sabotage and certain other grave

offences. The All India Newspapers Editors' Conference and the Indian Federation of Working Journalists protested against the measure. The standing committee of the former and the working committee of the latter met C. Rajagopalachari, the Home Minister, who explained that although the Bill was more comprehensive than any other previous legislation, yet all the actions of the executive were subject to judicial sanction. As regards the attitude of the public, there was surprisingly little support for the critics of the bill. The public during the British regime had showed its indignation towards the curtailment of the liberty of the press, but after independence such a measure was allowed to be passed without much opposition. This act stifled the liberty of the press.

C. Rajagopalachari called it a scare-crow who scared away crop-destroying birds but did not harm the cultivation. The liberty of the press is threatened in our democratic country even after independence. It has been often said that the press had no more rights than the ordinary citizens of the country. Really, the press should be treated on a footing of equality with citizens by the ordinary law of the land.

One of the main characteristics of the Press is its seriousness. There is no sensationalism in general, crimes have been allotted the place they deserve. The press presents serious political articles and editorials. Many foreigners a few years back were surprised at this seriousness. This seriousness, however, is losing ground, though not in the dailies. The Indian mind is not easily excitable so sensational journalism could not develop much in India. The papers are not in the habit of scandal mongering or unnecessarily criticising the personal affairs of important personalities as in America. Crimes and such other matters are not exaggerated and give undue importance as often happens in many foreign countries.

After independence the papers had to introduce a change in their representation of news, coverage of topics etc. As long as India was a dependent country, power was centred in Delhi and our whole country functioned as one unit. But after independence, not only the centre but to an extent the state Governments have also got powers. So the press is required to have its roots in local environment. Every state has got its different problems to deal with and the papers have also to educate the public on the intricacies of public

affairs. The healthy growth of democracy depends upon enlightened public opinion which is well-informed about public affairs local as well as national. In England and America, the role of the district press is not of lesser value in comparison to the papers with millions of circulation. In India the local press has yet to be developed. The press in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and in various states union areas has changed and cares more for local problems. But this change should not make the outlook narrow. The problems concerning the Government of India are national problems which equally affect all. These matters must be reported and discussed in the newspapers to enlighten the public in the remote corners of the country.

The growth of state press would weaken the growth of the chain system. The papers will have to deal with different problems. So the syndicates will be of lesser or no use. The chain system is the worst growth in the economy and control of the newspapers. But growth of the press on the state level or district level should not be at the cost of the national press.

The growth of the local press will take the papers to the rural population also. At present the papers are circulated in the urban areas mainly. The survey of the Press Commission brought out two main causes of non-reading habits in the rural educated public—distance and the cost of the papers. With the growth of industry, the papers get more advertisements which lessen the cost of production.

The language press has a great future especially the Hindi press. Though English, being the language of international importance, will have influence. So journalism in Indian languages has a very bright future.

The press should help the people in developing a balanced view through soundness and depth of argument. The defects of our papers are an over-emphasis on city problems and a neglect of village problems. This has been aiding in the sharp cleavage between the cities and the villages. This is also one of the causes of the lack of interest in newspapers among the rural population. A well balanced society is possible if the good qualities of the cities as well as the villages are continued.

The people in India do not spend much on newspapers partly due to their habits and partly due to the cost. The Government with its many sided welfare activities must help in developing such habits by opening reading rooms in large numbers. Habits should be changed slowly for the mental development of the people along with economic development.

The total circulation of all daily newspapers in India is only 6.3 millions whereas literate population in India is nearly 185 millions.

According to one survey, the percentage of people in rural areas who do not receive news ranges from 82% to 89% and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the people living in urban areas do not see newspapers at all. The Press Institute of India made a study which reveals the fact that less than 2% of the circulation of newspapers reached the villages, therefore, it has very little influence there.

According to the standard set down by UNESCO regarding mass communication for a developing country is : 100 copies of daily newspapers and fifty radio receivers per 1000 people. India has 13 newspapers and 7 radio sets, which will reveal our backwardness if we compare these figures with newspapers in other countries—451 in Japan, 39 in Ceylon, 64 in Taiwan, 479 in the U.K., 310 in the U.S.A., 264 in the USSR, 505 in Sweden and 24 in Thailand produced for every thousand people.

In 1957, Francis Willian wrote that "In the last 25 years the population of Britain has increased by just over 10%; the readership of the national dailies by more than 90%." In India in 1952 the total circulation was 2.5 million and today it is 6.3 million only. Stalin once said "The press should grow not by the day but the hour, for it is the sharpest and most powerful weapon of our party." A country on the road of modernization must develop its mass media. India, with a number of social, economic and political problems needs development for which mass media is essential to modernize and integrate the nation.

APPENDIX I

Name 1	Locality 2	Circulation 3	Edition 4
N. W. Provinces and Oudh-1900¹			
<i>Urdu.</i>			
Hindustani	Lucknow	600	Weekly
Oudh Akhabar	..	526	Daily
<i>Hindi</i>			
Hindi Pradeep	Allahabad	200	Monthly
Prayag Samachar	..	800	Weekly
Bombay-1900²			
<i>English</i>			
Indian Spectator	Bombay	500	Weekly
Maharatta	Poona	500	..
Railway Times	Bombay	12,000	..
Sind Times	Karachi	200	Bi-Weekly
<i>Anglo-Gujerati</i>			
Gujerati	Bombay	3,800	Weekly
Kaisare-i-Hind	..	3,500	..
Praja-Bandhu	Ahmedabad	1,530	..
Rast-Goftar	Bombay	1,690	..
Shri Sayaji Vijay	Baroda	2,300	..
<i>Anglo-Marathi</i>			
Dhyan Prakash	Poona	1,000	..
Indu Prakash	Bombay	600	Bi-Weekly
Native Opinion	..	600	..
Shri Sayaji Vijay	Kolhapur	800	Weekly
Sudhakar	Poona	3,000	..

1. Extracts from the Report on Native Papers N. W., Province and Oudh 1900

2. Extracts from the Report on Native Papers, Bombay 1900

1	2	3	4
<i>Gujerati</i>			
Baroda-Vatsal	Baroda	550	„
Bombay Samachar	Bombay	3,250	Daily
Broach Samachar	Broach	550	Weekly
Desh Mitra	Surat	900	Weekly
Jam-e Jamshed	Bombay	2,900	Daily
Kalavani	Baroda	1,025	Monthly
Surat Akhabar	Surat	800	Weekly
<i>Hindi</i>			
Sri Venkateshwar Samachar	Bombay	6,500	„
<i>Kanarese</i>			
Karnatak Vritt	Dharwar	800	„
<i>Marathi</i>			
Gurakhi	Bombay	1,500	„
Gurakhi	Bombay	1,600	Daily
Hindu Punch	Thana	800	Weekly
Jagadhitechchu	Poona	4,500	„
Kal	Poona	1,500	„
Keral-Kobti	Bombay	2,000	Monthly
Kesari	Poona	12,000	Weekly
Khandesh Vaibhav	Dhulia	500	„
Khara-Prakar	Bombay	1,800	Monthly
Poona Vaibhav	Talegaon	750	Weekly
	Dabhada		
<i>Marathi-Urdu</i>			
Gulbarg Samachar	Gulbarga	450	„
<i>Punjab-1900¹</i>			
<i>Urdu</i>			
Akhabar-i-'am	Lahore	2,000 to 3,000	Daily

1. Extracts from the Report on Native Papers Punjab-1900

1	2	3	4
Ahluwalia Gazette	Amritsar	600	Weekly
Chandhwin Sadi	Rawalpindi	1,200	"
Civil & Military News.	Ludhiana	1,200	"
Civil & Military Pleader	"	300	"
Curzon Gazette	Delhi	950	Weekly
Curzon Paper	Lahore	50	"
Lahore Punch	"	110	"
Paisa Akhabar	"	13,000	"
Anwar-ul-Islam	Sialkot	1,200	Monthly
Aror-Bans-Prakash	Lahore	50	"
Arya-Musafir Magojim	Jullundar	700	"
Hafij-i-Sihhat	Lahore	480	"
Hamdard-i-khalsa	Amritsar	500	"
<i>Gurumukhi</i>			
Khalsa Akhabar	Lahore	632	Weekly
Madras-1900¹			
<i>English</i>			
Indian Social Reformer	Madras	600	Fortnightly
West Coast Spectator	Calicut	740	Bi-Weekly
Hindu	Madras	700	Daily
Madras Standard	"	About 3,500	"
Daily post	Bangalore	450	"
<i>Tamil</i>			
Lakapakri	Madras	1,200	Weekly
Parijatham	"	1,000	"
Deshabhimani	Cuddalore	300	"
South Indian Mitram	Dindigul	375	"
Sarvajan Mitram	Kumbhkonam	1,000	"
Swadesh Mitram	Madras	1,050	Daily
<i>Telugu</i>			
Deshabhimani	Bezwada	350	"

1. Extracts from the Report on Native Papers. Madras 1900

1	2	3	4
<i>Canarese</i>			
Vrittants Patrika	Mysore	3,300	Weekly
<i>Malayalam</i>			
Malayali	Tangasseri	738	Tri-Weekly
Malayala Manorama	Kottayam	1,500	Weekly
Bengal-1900¹			
<i>Bengali</i>			
Bangasi	Calcutta	2,500	„
Basumati	„	15,000	„
Hitawadi	„	6,000	„
		About	„
Samay	„	3,000	„
Samiran	„		„
Sanjvani	„	3,000	„
Dainik Chandrika	„		Daily
Samvad-Prabhakar	„	2,000	„
Samvad Puranchandrodaya	„	300	„
<i>Hindi</i>			
Bharat-Mitra	„	2,000	Weekly
Hindi-Bangvasi	„	1,000	„
<i>Bengali</i>			
Education Gazette	Hoogly	1,350	„
Medini Bandhar	Mednapore		„
Charu-Mihir	Mymen singh	1,011	„
Dacca Gazette	Dacca	800	„
Silchar	Silchar, Chachar	375	Fortnightly

1. Extracts from the Report on Native Papers, Bengal-1900

APPENDIX II

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS IN
BENGAL FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 7TH JANUARY 1911

(As it stood on the 1st January 1911)

No.	Name of Publication	Where published.	Edition	Circulation
BENGALI				
1.	Bangabandhu	Calcutta	Weekly	1,000
2.	Bangaratha	Ranaghat	"	The paper is not widely circulated.
3.	Bangavasi	Calcutta	"	15,000
4.	Bankura Darpan	Bankura	"	800
5.	Basudeva	Calcutta	"	1,000
6.	Basumati	"	"	.....
7.	Birbhum Hitaishi	Suri	"	300
8.	Birbhum Varta	"	"	800
9.	Burdwan Sanjivani	Burdwan	"	900 to 1000
10.	Chinsura Vartavaha	Chinsura	"	850
11.	Daily Hitavadi	Calcutta	Daily	5,000
12.	Dainik Chandrika	"	"	400
13.	Dharma-o-Karma	"	Monthly	—
14.	Education Gazette	Chinsura	Weekly	1,500
15.	Hitavadi	"	"	30,000
16.	Hindustan	"	"	1,000
17.	Jagaran	Bagerhat	"	600
18.	Jasohar	Jessore	"	500
19.	Kalyani	Magura	"	1,300
20.	Khulnavasi	Khulna	"	.....
21.	Manbhum	Purulia	"	about 300
22.	Matribhumi	Chandranagore	"	500
23.	Muhammadi	Calcutta	"	...
24.	Murshidabad Hitaishi	Saidabad	"	Small
25.	Navajivani-o-Swadeshi Christian	Calcutta	"	300

Name 1	Locality 2	Circulation 3	Edition 4
Bengal. 1911.¹			
<i>English</i>			
Amrita Bazar Patrika	Calcutta	4,000	Daily
Beharee	Bankipore	750	Weekly
Bengalee	Calcutta	6,000	Daily
Hindoo Patriot	"	800	"
National Daily	Gaya	500	"
Madaras. 1911.²			
<i>Telugu</i>			
Deshabhimani	Guntur	500	Weekly
<i>English</i>			
Hindu	Madras	3,950*	Daily
<i>Tamil</i>			
Hindu Nesan	"	600	Weekly
<i>English</i>			
Indian Ladies Magazine	"	700	Monthly
Indian Music Journal	Mysore	250	"
Indian Review	Madras	3,000	"
Madras Mail	"	4,750	Daily
Madras Standard	"	2,000	"
Students' Own Magazine	"	4,000	Monthly
CANARESE			
Swadeshabhimani	Mangalore	1,250	Weekly

1. Extract from (Part II) on Native owned English newspapers in Bengal for the week ending Saturday the 14th January 1911 Page 13.
2. Extract from the Report English papers owned by natives and examined by the Criminal Investigation Madras, list of newspapers & periodicals published in the Madras Presidency, Native states of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and French territories of Pondichery and Karikal. 1911.

* Including tri-weekly and weekly editions.

Appendix II

1	2	3	4
<i>Mlalayalam & English</i>			
Kerala Taraka	Travancore	1,000	Weekly
Malayala Manorama	"	2,500	Bi-Weekly
<i>Urdu.</i>			
Mushir-i Dakhan	Hyderabad	1,000	Daily
<i>Canarese.</i>			
Mysore Star	Mysore	2,000	Weekly
<i>English.</i>			
Mysore Times	"	350	"
<i>Tamil.</i>			
Swadesamitram	Madras	2,750*	Daily Tri-weekly
<i>Canarese.</i>			
Vidyadayini	Mysore	1,781	Monthly
Vrittanta Patrika	"	5,125	Weekly
<i>English</i>			
West Coast Spectator.	Calicut	700@	Bi-weekly
East Bengal & Assam 1911.¹			
<i>Vernacular.</i>			
Dacca Prakash	Dacca	800	Weekly
Charu Mihir	Mymensingh	100	"
Jyoti	Chittagong	930	"
Noakhali Sammilani	Noakhali	500	"
Assam Banti	Tezpur	1,100	"
United Provinces 1911.²			
<i>English.</i>			
Hindustan Review	Allahabad	1,500	Monthly

* Including Tri-Weekly edition.

@ Figure arrived at by C. I. D. Enquiry.

1. Extract from the Report on Native Papers East Bengal and Assam, 1911.

2. Extract from the selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the United Provinces 1911.

1	2	3	4
Advocate	Lucknow	1,100	Bi-weekly
Leader	Allahabad	1,375	Daily
<i>Urdu.</i>			
Zamana	Cawnpore	1,400	Monthly
Independent	Allahabad	500	Weekly
Oudh Punch	Lucknow	225	"
<i>Hindi:</i>			
Maryada	Allahabad	1,500	Monthly
Saraswati	"	2,200	"
Stri Darpan	"	1,000	"
Stri Dharm Shikshak	"	1,200	"
Prayag Samachar	"	250	Fortnightly
Arya Mitra	Agra	1,500	Weekly
Bharat Jiwan	Banaras	1,500	"
C P. And Berar, ¹			
<i>Hindi.</i>			
Marwari	Nagpur	1,142	Weekly
<i>Marathi</i>			
Desha Sewak	"	500 to 600	"
Bombay, ²			
<i>English.</i>			
East and West	Bombay	1,000	Monthly
Indian Social Reformer	"	500	Weekly
Mahratta	Poona	1,000	"
Sind Times	Karachi	200	Bi-Weekly
<i>Anglo-Gujerati</i>			
Gujarati	Bombay	8,500	Weekly
Gujarat Mitra	Surat	700	"

1. Extract from the Report on Native papers published in the Central Provinces and Berar 1911.

1. Extract from the Native papers published in the Bombay Presidency 1911.

Appendix II

1	2	3	4
Gujrati Punch	Ahmedabad	2,300	"
Hindu Punch	Bombay	800	"
Jam-e-Jamshed	"	4,400	Daily
Kaiser-i-Hindi	"	2,000	Weekly
Rast Goftar	"	1,200	"
Sanj Vartman	"	4,200	Daily
Shri Sayaji Vijay	Baroda	4,200	Weekly
<i>Anglo-Marathi.</i>			
Dnyan Prakash	Poona	2,000	Daily
Dnyan Prakash	"	2,700	Weekly
<i>Anglo-Portuguese.</i>			
Andhra Patrika	Bombay	2,000	Weekly
<i>Gujerati.</i>			
Baroda Gazette	Baroda	1,000	"
Bombay Samachar	Bombay	4,400	Daily
<i>Hindi.</i>			
Sri Venkateshwar Samachar	Bombay	6,200	Weekly
<i>Marathi.</i>			
Bhala	Poona	6,000	Thrice a month
Din Bandhu	Bombay	1,400	Weekly
Indu Prakash	Bombay	2,000	Daily
Kesari	Poona	20,000	Weekly
Mumbai Vaibhav	Bombay	1,500	Daily
Shri Savaji Vijay	"	5,000	Weekly

APPENDIX III

Name 1	Locality 2	Circulation 3	Edition 4
Punjab.¹			
<i>English.</i>			
Civil & Military Gazette	Lahore	3,490	Daily
Tribune	..	6,276	..
Khalsa Advocate	Amritsar	883	Weekly
Liberal	Lahore	1,000	..
Simla Times	Simla	500	..
<i>Urdu</i>			
Aftab	Lahor	1,000	Daily
Bande Matram	..	5,000	..
Desh	..	1,270	..
Paisa Akhabar	..	1,289	..
Pratap	..	2,500	..
Zamindar	..		..
Himala	..	6,200	Weekly
Khalsa Akhabar	..	1,300	..
Paisa Akhabar	..	3,530	..
Parkash	..	2,545	..
Sanatan Dharm Parcharaka	..	630	..
Sharif Bidi	..	1,000	..
<i>Gurumukhi.</i>			
Akall	..	2,700	Daily
Khalsa Samachar	Amritsar	3,500	Weekly
Pantha Sewak	..	2,000	..

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हिन्दी के पत्र और पत्रिकाएं,
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