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HISTORY OF JOURNALISM

M.A. Journalism and Mass Communication

Semester – I, Paper-I

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FOREWORD

Since its establishment in 1976, Acharya Nagarjuna University has been forging ahead in the path of progress and dynamism, offering a variety of courses and research contributions. I am extremely happy that by gaining 'A' grade from the NAAC in the year 2016, Acharya Nagarjuna University is offering educational opportunities at the UG, PG levels apart from research degrees to students from over 443 affiliated colleges spread over the two districts of Guntur and Prakasam.

The University has also started the Centre for Distance Education in 2003-04 with the aim of taking higher education to the door step of all the sectors of the society. The centre will be a great help to those who cannot join in colleges, those who cannot afford the exorbitant fees as regular students, and even to housewives desirous of pursuing higher studies. Acharya Nagarjuna University has started offering B.A., and B.Com courses at the Degree level and M.A., M.Com., M.Sc., M.B.A., and L.L.M., courses at the PG level from the academic year 2003-2004 onwards.

To facilitate easier understanding by students studying through the distance mode, these self-instruction materials have been prepared by eminent and experienced teachers. The lessons have been drafted with great care and expertise in the stipulated time by these teachers. Constructive ideas and scholarly suggestions are welcome from students and teachers involved respectively. Such ideas will be incorporated for the greater efficacy of this distance mode of education. For clarification of doubts and feedback, weekly classes and contact classes will be arranged at the UG and PG levels respectively.

It is my aim that students getting higher education through the Centre for Distance Education should improve their qualification, have better employment opportunities and in turn be part of country's progress. It is my fond desire that in the years to come, the Centre for Distance Education will go from strength to strength in the form of new courses and by catering to larger number of people. My congratulations to all the Directors, Academic Coordinators, Editors and Lesson-writers of the Centre who have helped in these endeavors.

Prof. P. Raja Sekhar

*Vice-Chancellor
Acharya Nagarjuna University*

M.A. (Journalism and Mass Communication)

SEMESTER – I, PAPER - 1

HISTORY OF JOURNALISM

Unit 1: Origin and Growth of Newspapers in India – Early Journalism in India - Hick's Gazette - Bombay Chronicle- Indian press and Freedom Movement.

Unit 2: - Growth of Nationalist Press - Journalism in 19th century - Contribution of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Gandhi, BalaGangadharTilak, Dr.B.R.Amedkar, Sadanand to Indian Journalism - Telugu Journalists in English Press.

Unit 3: Contribution of national eminent newspapers - Amrit Bazaar Patrika, Kesari, Hitvad, Times of India, The Statesman, The Hindu, Free Press Journal, Indian Express, Leader.

Unit 4:The origin and growth of Telugu newspapers – Freedom Movement and Telugu Press - KandukuriVeeresalingam, Konda VenkatappaiahPanthulu, KasinadhuniNageswaraRao, Tapi Dharma Rao, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, NarlaVenkateswaraRao.

Unit 5: Telugu Press after 1970s - Changing trends in Telugu Journalism - Modern Trends in Journalism Press.

Suggested reading :

1. Nadig Krishna Murthy :Indian Journalism.
2. R. ParthaSaradhi:Journalism in India.
3. J.V.SeshagiriRao(Ed.) : Studies in the History of Journalism.
4. AnandSekhar. R: Journalism Charitrvastha.
5. Five Eminent Editors : Publication Division.
6. Bangore: Telugu Journalism Charitra.
7. Rama Chandra Murthy. K :VarthaRachana.
8. S.C. Bhatt : Indian Press Since 1955.
9. PotturiVenkateswaraRao:Telugu Patrikalu, AP Press Academy Publications.
10. Ahuja.B.N. History of Indian press- growth of newspapers in India. New Delhi, surjeetpublications.
11. Bhargava, Motilal(1987), Role of press in the freedom movement, New Delhi, reliance.
12. Natarajan , History of Indian journalism, publications division , New Delhi.

HISTORY OF JOURNALISM

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Lesson 1

JOURNALISM- AN OVERVIEW

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an overview of the concept called journalism.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To define and discuss journalism as a concept
- To study the etymology of journalism
- To analyze the status of press in India since its early years
- To impart an understanding about newsletters, their origin and growth in India
- To give an overview to early years of journalism in India

STRUCTURE

- 1.1 Introduction**
- 1.2 Etymology and Definitions of Press**
- 1.3 Status of Press in India**
- 1.4 Newsletters**
- 1.5 Summary**
- 1.6 Glossary**
- 1.7 Self-Assessment Questions**
- 1.8 Suggested Readings**

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The word journalism derived from the Latin word Diurnalis which gave way to the French word Journo. Journalism, though it seems to be a modern invention, has far earlier roots than often comprehended. Journalism, in this lesson, shall take into consideration print media or press in short and shall not expand its reach to broadcast media or electronic media. In this lesson, we shall discuss about etymology and definitions of press or journalism, as we shall call it hereafter, status of press in India and shall discuss in brief about newsletter, their origin, growth and role in ancient and medieval India.

1.2 ETYMOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS OF PRESS

Journalism in broad terms is known as the business of writing, editing, or publishing a newspaper or public journal. Roland E. Wolseley, the famous American Professor of Journalism describes journalism as “the systematic and reliable dissemination of public information, public opinion and public entertainment by modern mass media of communication”. The words journalism, journal, journalist are derived from the French word Journo, which in turn comes from the Latin term Diurnalis.

Acta Diurna was perhaps the first newspaper appeared in Rome. The Acta senatus, or Commentarii senatus, were the minutes of the proceedings of the Senate, and, according to

Suetonius, they were first published in 59 BCE. They were available to senators, but the emperor Augustus did not allow access to the wider public. From the reign of his successor, Tiberius, in the 1st century CE, a young senator drew up the *Acta senatus*, which were kept in the imperial archives and public libraries. They could be examined only with special permission.

The *Acta diurna* (also called *Acta populi*, or *Acta publica*), said to date from before 59 BCE, recorded official business and matters of public interest. Under the empire (after 27 BCE), the *Acta diurna* constituted a type of daily gazette, and thus it was, in a sense, the prototype of the modern newspaper.

Press, as an alternative word to journalism began after the invention of printing press. The specific sense "machine for printing" is from 1530s; this was extended to publishing houses and agencies of producing printed matter collectively by 1570s and to publishing generally (in phrases such as freedom of the press) from c. 1680. This gradually shifted c. 1800-1820 to "the sum total of periodical publishing, newspapers, journalism." The press, meaning "journalists collectively" is attested from 1921 (though superseded by media since the rise of television, etc.). Other important words related to press also came by along these years. Press agent, employed to tend to newspaper advertisements and supply news editors with information, is from 1873, originally theatrical; press conference "meeting at which journalists are given the opportunity to question a politician, celebrity, etc.," is attested from 1931, though the thing itself dates to at least World War I. Press secretary is recorded from 1940; press release "official statement offered to a newspaper for publication" is by 1918.

1.3 STATUS OF PRESS IN INDIA

The Press plays a significant role in safeguarding the interests of people in a democratic society. Thus it is aptly called "guardian angel of democracy". A free and prosperous Press is the guarantor of popular rights. The Press fights by itself alone, but not for itself alone. It is generally known as the "Fourth Estate". A public spirited Press is one of the chief instruments whereby contemporary society orders and changes its ways in the direction of increased human welfare.

In reality, the Press is a private industry with a public service. It is the press that has made democracy possible in the world. The development of the Press has enabled news to be diffused and public discussion to be conducted over wide areas. A people without reliable news are, sooner or later, a people without a basis of freedom. Newspapers reach the public and influence the consciousness, the emotion, the stock of information and the reasoning process in wide fields of politics and public affairs. No other force in public life operates so persistently and so extensively in its range of appeal and the scope of its subject matter as does the press.

The newspaper reports facts, comments on political questions, interprets politics, public issues, criticizes thoughtfully, makes new proposals and thus influence the politics, policy makers and doings of the governments. It conducts campaigns, carries on propaganda and organizes extramural activities.

The functions of newspapers thus are:

- 1) Information dissemination
- 2) Educating the public
- 3) Providing entertainment to the public.

Newspapers influence and educate the public, canalize public opinion, lead to informed debates on vital public questions and thus purify the administration. Press criticism aids and effects reforms. In the ultimate evaluation, the role of the Press is to bring every person, who so desires, into touch with the active world. "The educational function of the press is to provide the reader with a working map of the world in which he lives, the world which he influences and which influences him although his contact with it must be mainly indirect."

Admitting the power of the Press, Napoleon stated "Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets." How important newspapers are could be gauged from the words of the celebrated American President, Thomas Jefferson, who once wrote: "Were it left to me to decide whether we would have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." Newspapers are the world's mirrors. To reflect things as they are they must be basically free. Franklin D. Roosevelt, one of the greatest Presidents of United States of America, once said that "freedom of conscience, of education, of speech, of assembly is among the very fundamentals of democracy and all of them would be nullified, should freedom of the Press ever be successfully challenged." The freedom of the press is the very prop of democracy. It is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

The Press, in journalistic and mass communication technology, means print media such as newspapers, journals, magazines, periodicals, news books, pamphlets, leaflets or any other printed material, which provide facts, happenings, events, entertainment and information. As an institution of society, the Press is an agency of mass communication, and communication is necessary tool of learning. A newspaper means "any printed periodical work containing public information, public news or comment on public news". It gives not only facts, but also interpretation of facts and statements of opinions through editorials, opinion columns, news analysis and in a number of other ways. A newspaper on one hand is a medium of information and on the other hand it serves as means of reflecting public opinion and of moulding public opinion. It is a vehicle of expression of ideas and opinions of public, education and entertainment. G. F. Mott, one of the great American journalists says that "The press is a full-fledged institution in our modern world, and the various media utilized by the press are generally called by, and now united under the common name of journalism."

The story of the Press and the history of the freedom of the press in India have been tales of constant struggles and progressive achievement under a foreign government. The press in India has played a decisive role in the Swadeshi movement i.e., the renaissance of Indian Nationalism with the fight for freedom of speech and expression and liberty of thought. Despite Governmental suppression, the newspapers of India have proved that an ideal newspaperman can exercise a sane and powerful influence upon the people and can mould their opinion and character in the same way as a religious leader can. It is the newspaper press that has made democracy possible. The development of the Press has enabled news to be diffused and public discussion to be conducted over wide areas. Men with intelligence are always to be feared and respected as to quote Napoleon: "A Journalist is a grumbler, a censorer, a giver of advice, a regent of sovereigns, a tutor of nations."

An oriental proverb says that the "Monarchs of Asia feared more the pen of Abul Fazal than the sword of Akbar." The same truth was expressed in Europe when the Emperor Napoleon said 'a hostile newspaper on the Rhine is worth some battalions of soldiers to the side it look.' John Milton wrote: "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue, freely according to conscience, above all liberties."

1.4 NEWSLETTERS

India, a land of kings and emperors in the past, was once ruled in the absence of widespread education, means of communication and transport. In some way, the message of the rulers had to reach every nook and corner in their vast territory. There was no press or newspaper in the modern sense of the world then. Ashoka, the Great Indian Emperor, had devised his own means of communication. He used to publish the Imperial edicts on rocks and stone pillars. The news of the day was published in small pictures drawn on the walls of temples in ink or colour which could be removed easily. Even the moral code was proclaimed through the art of painting. A few bold strokes would convey the meaning of the monarch to his loving people. The establishment of the Moghul Empire in India ushered in a new era in the field of journalism. The Moghul rule organized communication. Written newspapers of a kind were in circulation. Aurangzeb, one of the last of the great Moghul emperors, had to rule over and administer a vast territory. His army was supplied with news from headquarters and had ample means of conveying news to the authorities. The Moghul emperors had an efficient system of information offices. They maintained a bureau of intelligence in every provincial capital. News writers were appointed there. *Vaquia Navis* as they were designed had to furnish the digest of important events in the districts. On the basis of these reports, important decisions were taken and policies formulated. These newsletters afterwards were sent to Delhi, the capital, where the gist of the news was read to the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb. These news letters were eight inches by four and a half inches in size on an average and were evidently written in various hands. Contents of these newsletters included notices of promotions, visits of the emperor to the mosques and other holy places, hunting expeditions, details of the presentations made to him and news items of similar nature. The news writers had their own sources of information and had made secret arrangements to procure news. Niccola Manucci, a Venetian traveler, who lived in the Court of Aurangzeb has recorded as follows: "It is a fixed rule of the Moghuls that the *Vaquia Navis* and the *Cofia Navis* or the public and secret news arbiters of the empire, must once a week enter what is passing in a *Vaquia*- that is to say, a sort of *Gazetter* or *mercury*, containing the events of most importance. These news letters are commonly read in the King's presence by women of the Mahal in the evening, so that by this means he knows what is going on in his kingdom. There are, in addition spies who are also obliged to send in reports weekly about other important business, chiefly what the princes are doing, and this duty they perform through written statements. The king sits up till midnight and is unceasingly occupied with the above sort of business."

The news-letters were eight inches by four and a half inches in size on an average and were evidently written in various hands. Contents of these news-letters included notices of promotions, visits of the emperor to mosques and other holy places, hunting expeditions, details of the presentations made to him and news items of similar nature. Even though complete freedom was extended to the news-writers, the reports incorporated in the news-letters were frequently inaccurate and sometimes just fabricated.

The Moghul practice was to employ calligraphists to copy books and news sheets. The Court language was Persianised Urdu. Aurangzeb himself was a handwriting expert and was believed to have adopted the profession of calligraphy to earn money enough for his personal expenses by copying the Holy Quran in his neat hand.

Besides the emperor, big merchants and land-lords had private news-writers to procure news concerning affairs in which they had specific interest. There were only two wooden printing presses in the whole of India at that time, with meager facilities for printing. One of the

reasons for the slow growth of printing in India was the Moghul practice of employing handwriting experts to copy books and news sheets.

The institution of news-letters was not an original one in the Moghul period. News-letters and news-writers were found earlier in other countries especially in Great Britain. The Moghul rulers continued patronage to and considerably improved this institution of news-letters. They brought about favourable changes and endeavoured to perfect the system and made it more useful. The news-writers had their own sources of information and had made secret arrangements to procure news. Secret information was conveyed with the general news, when the occasion demanded.

1.5 SUMMARY

Journalism, is a field that has its origin in India earlier than Guttenberg assembled his first printing press here. Newsletters, palm-leaf manuscripts, biographies of Moghal era also come under journalism and these forms are considered to be early journalism in India, or in other terms, pre-print era of India. Journalism has no static definition but almost all definitions of journalism indicate its importance and unbeatable status in the society. In next lesson we shall discuss about history of printing and how it paved way for institutionalizing journalism.

1.6 GLOSSARY

- **Acta Diurna:** A gazette of political and social events in Rome.
- **Press:** Newspapers or journalists viewed collectively.
- **Printing Press:** A machine for printing text or pictures from type or plates.
- **Bayonet:** A blade that may be fixed to the muzzle of a rifle and used to stab an opponent in hand-to-hand fighting.
- **Newsletter:** A printed or electronic document containing information about the recent activities of an organization, sent regularly to the organization's members.
- **Edicts:** An official order or proclamation issued by a person in authority.

1.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Discuss the etymology of journalism and press.
- 2) Define journalism in your own words. Mention few noteworthy definitions of journalism.
- 3) What is a newsletter? Explain how newsletters helped ensure smooth running of an empire?
- 4) Write about the status of press in India since its early years.

1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Eaman, R. (2009). *Historical Dictionary of Journalism*. Ukraine: Scarecrow Press.
- 2) Eaman, R. (2009). *The A to Z of Journalism*. Ukraine: Scarecrow Press.
- 3) Research, Reference and Training Division - National Documentation Centre on Mass Communication. (2004). *Mass Media in India*. India: Publications Division Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

Shakuntala Rao, V. M. (Ed.). (2018). *Journalism, Democracy and Civil Society in India*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.

LESSON 2

BRIEF HISTORY OF PRINTING

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to understand a brief history of printing across the world and gain an insight into early printing in India.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding about the concept called printing ‘
- To discuss about different types of printing and the technologies involved in printing
- To study the origin and growth of printing across the globe
- To discuss early printing in colonial India and how printing began for religious purposes in its early days

STRUCTURE

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Origin and Types of Printing

2.2.1 Woodcut

2.2.2 Block Printing

2.2.3 Movable Type Printing

2.2.4 Printing Press

2.2.5 Rotary Printing Press

2.2.6 Offset Printing

2.2.7 Digital Printing

2.2.8 3D Printing

2.2.9 Growth of Printing Press

2.3 Early printing in India

2.4 Summary

2.5 Glossary

2.6 Self-Assessment Questions

2.7 Suggested Readings

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Printing is a method, through which mass communication was made possible at a huge scale across the world. Printing ensured duplicating a copy, mass production of a message and scope for archiving information. Printing began as an imitation of a pattern on cloth with an aim to produce more patterns on same cloth. However, printing later on moved into text duplication and grew into a huge institution called printing press. Printing revolutionized the field of communication and stands as a pioneer in mass media. In this lesson we shall study the origin and growth of printing and discuss about early printing in India.

2.2 ORIGIN AND TYPES OF PRINTING

Printing is a process for mass reproducing text and images using a master form or template.

By the end of the 2nd century CE, the Chinese apparently had discovered printing; certainly they then had at their disposal the three elements necessary for printing: (1) paper, the techniques for the manufacture of which they had known for several decades; (2) ink, whose basic formula they had known for 25 centuries; and (3) surfaces bearing texts carved in relief. Some of the texts were classics of Buddhist thought inscribed on marble pillars, to which pilgrims applied sheets of damp paper, daubing the surface with ink so that the parts that stood out in relief showed up; some were religious seals used to transfer pictures and texts of prayers to paper. It was probably this use of seals that led in the 4th or 5th century to the development of ink of a good consistency for printing.

A substitute for these two kinds of surfaces, the marble pillars and the seals, that were more practical with regard both to manageability and to size, appeared perhaps by the 6th century in the wood block. First, the text was written in ink on a sheet of fine paper; then the written side of the sheet was applied to the smooth surface of a block of wood, coated with a rice paste that retained the ink of the text; third, an engraver cut away the unlinked areas so that the text stood out in relief and in reverse.

The oldest known printed works were made by this technique: in Japan about 764–770, Buddhist incantations ordered by Empress Shōtoku; in China in 868, the first known book, the Diamond Sūtra; and, beginning in 932, a collection of Chinese classics in 130 volumes, at the initiative of Fong Tao, a Chinese minister.

There are various types of printing based on the method, techniques and equipment used for printing.

Few noteworthy types of printing are:

- 1) Woodblock printing
- 2) Movable type printing
- 3) Offset Printing
- 4) Printing press
- 5) Rotary printing press
- 6) Digital printing
- 7) 3D printing

Printing started around 3000 B.C.E. (before Common Era) with the duplication of images. The use of round "cylinder seals" for rolling an impress onto clay tablets goes back to early Mesopotamian civilization before 3000 BC, where they are the most common works of art to survive, and feature complex and beautiful images. In both China and Egypt, the use of small stamps for seals preceded the use of larger blocks. In Egypt, Europe and India, the printing of cloth certainly preceded the printing of paper or papyrus; this was probably also the case in China. The process is essentially the same - in Europe special presentation impressions of prints were often printed on silk until at least the seventeenth century.

2.2.1 Woodcut

Woodcut, technique of printing designs from planks of wood incised parallel to the vertical axis of the wood's grain. It is one of the oldest methods of making prints from a relief surface, having been used in China to decorate textiles since the 5th century CE. In Europe, printing from wood blocks on textiles was known from the early 14th century, but it had little development until paper began to be manufactured in France and Germany at the end of the 14th century. Cuts with heavy outline and little shading, as the Christ Before Herod, may date

from 1400, while the earliest dated print of German origin is the St. Christopher print of 1423 from the Buxheim Monastery. In Bavaria, Austria, and Bohemia, religious images and playing cards were first made from wood blocks in the early 15th century, and the development of printing from movable type led to widespread use of woodcut illustrations in the Netherlands and in Italy. With the 16th century, black-line woodcut reached its greatest perfection with Albrecht Dürer and his followers Lucas Cranach and Hans Holbein. In the Netherlands Lucas van Leyden and in Italy Jacopo de' Barbari and Domenico Campagnola—who were, like Dürer, engravers on copper—also made woodcuts.

The woodcut process was widely used for popular illustrations in the 17th century, but no major artist employed it. In the early 19th century it was replaced by wood engraving, which reproduced paintings and sculpture more easily and accurately than did woodcuts. With the mid-19th-century development of photoengraving, however, wood engraving lost its popularity. About that time, artists rediscovered the expressive potential of woodcuts. Instead of the fine-grained hardwoods traditionally used in woodcuts, the Norwegian artist Edvard Munch began to incorporate the grain of softwood into his designs, and the French painter Paul Gauguin achieved new tones and textures by treating the wood surface with sandpaper. Woodcut became an important medium to the German Expressionists, who, inspired by the vitality of medieval woodcuts, gouged and roughly hewed the wood to achieve a brutal effect. In the United States, woodcuts gained importance in the 1920s and '30s through the illustrations of Rockwell Kent and artists working in the Works Progress Administration (WPA). After World War II the artists Misch Kohn, Leonard Baskin, and Carol Summers further developed the woodcut medium in the United States. In the late 1970s and early 1980s it was again revived, in large part because of changing aesthetics in painting.

Woodcuts also play an important role in the history of Japanese art. During the 17th century, a style of genre art called ukiyo-e gained prominence in Japan. Woodcuts served as a convenient and practical way of filling the large demand for inexpensive ukiyo-e pictures. The creation of the ukiyo-e woodcut is attributed to Hishikawa Moronobu (c. 1618–c. 1694), whose designs for illustrations of popular literature were immediately successful. A special branch of ukiyo-e was the making of miniature prints, called suri-mono, to commemorate special occasions. They usually carried a poem and were made on special paper decorated with gold or silver dust. In the 18th century, ukiyo-e culminated in the landscape prints of Hokusai and Hiroshige. Many ukiyo-e woodcuts found their way to the West in the late 19th century and influenced avant-garde artists. In the 20th century the technique was revived by such Japanese hanga masters as Munakata Shiko, Hiratsuka Un'ichi, Maekawa Sempan, and Onchi Kōshirō.

2.2.2 Block Printing

Block printing is a technique for printing text, images or patterns used widely throughout East Asia both as a method of printing on textiles and later, under the influence of Buddhism, on paper.

To make a print, the wood block was inked with a paintbrush, a sheet of paper spread on it, and the back of the sheet rubbed with a brush. Only one side of the sheet could be printed.

The earliest woodblock printed fragments are from China. They consist of printed flowers in three colours on silk. They are generally assigned to the Han Dynasty so date before 220 B.C. The earliest Egyptian printed cloth, in contrast, dates from a slightly later time, about the fourth century. The technology of printing on cloth in China was adapted to paper under the influence of Buddhism which mandated the circulation of standard translations over a wide area, as well as the production of multiple copies of key texts for religious reasons. The oldest wood-block printed book is the Diamond Sutra, translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva in the

fifth century. It carries a date on 'the 13th day of the fourth moon of the ninth year of the Xiantong era' (11 May 868). A number printed dhāraṇī-s, however, predate the Diamond Sūtra by about two hundred years.

Block printing was long practiced in Christian Europe as a method for printing on cloth, where it was common by 1300. Images printed on cloth for religious purposes could be quite large and elaborate, and when paper became relatively easily available, around 1400, the medium transferred very quickly to small woodcut religious images.

Around the mid-century, block-books, woodcut books with both text and images, usually carved in the same block, emerged as a cheaper alternative to manuscripts and books printed with movable types. These were all short heavily illustrated works, the bestsellers of the day, repeated in many different block-book versions: the *Ars Moriendi* and the *Biblia papereum* were the most common. There is still some controversy among scholars as to whether their introduction preceded or, the majority view followed the introduction of movable type, with the range of estimated dates being between about 1440–1460.

2.2.3 Movable Type Printing

Movable type is the system of printing and typography using movable pieces of metal type, made by casting from matrices struck by letter punches. Around 1040, the first known movable type system was created in China by Bi Sheng out of porcelain. Metal movable type was first invented in Korea during the Goryeo dynasty (around 1230). Neither movable type system was widely used, one reason being the enormous Chinese character set. Johannes Gutenberg of the German city of Mainz developed European movable type printing technology around 1439 and in just over a decade, the European age of printing began.

2.2.4 Printing Press

Compared to woodblock printing, movable type page-setting was quicker and more durable. The metal type pieces were more durable and the lettering was more uniform, leading to typography and fonts. The high quality and relatively low price of the Gutenberg bible (1455) established the superiority of movable type, and printing presses rapidly spread across Europe, leading up to the Renaissance, and later throughout the world. Today, practically all movable type printing ultimately derives from Gutenberg's movable type printing, which is often regarded as the most important invention of the second millennium.

2.2.5 Rotary Printing Press

The rotary printing press was invented by Richard March Hoe in 1843. It uses impressions curved around a cylinder to print on long continuous rolls of paper or other substrates. Rotary drum printing was later significantly improved by William Bullock. There are multiple types of rotary printing press technologies that are still used today: sheetfed offset, rotogravure, and flexographic printing.

2.2.6 Offset Printing

Offset printing, also called offset lithography, or litho-offset, in commercial printing, widely used printing technique in which the inked image on a printing plate is printed on a rubber cylinder and then transferred (i.e., offset) to paper or other material. The rubber cylinder gives great flexibility, permitting printing on wood, cloth, metal, leather, and rough paper. An American printer, Ira W. Rubel, of Nutley, N.J., accidentally discovered the process in 1904 and soon built a press to exploit it.

In offset printing the matter to be printed is neither raised above the surface of the printing plate (as in letterpress) nor sunk below it (as in intaglio, or gravure, printing). Instead, it is

flush with the surface of the plate; thus offset is classified as a planographic method of printing.

Offset printing, as a development of lithography (q.v.), is based on the principle that water and grease do not mix, so that a greasy ink can be deposited on grease-treated printing areas of the plate, while nonprinting areas, which hold water, reject the ink. The offset plate is usually of zinc or aluminum or a combination of metals, with the surface treated to render it porous and then coated with a photosensitive material. Exposure to an image hardens the coating on printing areas; the coating on nonprinting areas is washed away, leaving wetted metal that will reject ink.

Modern offset printing is done on a press composed basically of three rotating cylinders: a plate cylinder, to which the metal plate is fastened; a blanket cylinder covered by a sheet of rubber; and an impression cylinder that presses the paper into contact with the blanket cylinder. The plate cylinder first comes in contact with a series of moistening rollers that deposit moisture in the granulations of the metal. A series of inking rollers then pass over the plate, and the ink is rejected by the water-holding areas and accepted by the greasy image. The inked image is transferred to the rubber blanket and is then offset to the paper travelling around the impression cylinder.

2.2.7 Digital Printing

Digital printing is the process of printing digital-based images directly onto a variety of media substrates. There is no need for a printing plate, unlike with offset printing. Digital files such as PDFs or desktop publishing files can be sent directly to the digital printing press to print on paper, photo paper, canvas, fabric, synthetics, cardstock and other substrates.

Digital printing technology excels at producing on demand and short print runs quickly and cost-effectively. Digital printing is also an ideal platform for personalization. If you want to easily modify images and messages using variable data printing (VDP), then digital printing is the only way to go. With advancements in print quality and speed, digital printing's previous disadvantages are quickly disappearing, and digital printing machines are closing the gap on offset output.

Some of the more common printing technologies are:

- 1) Blueprint – and related chemical technologies
- 2) Daisy wheel – where pre-formed characters are applied individually
- 3) Dot-matrix – which produces arbitrary patterns of dots with an array of printing studs
- 4) Line printing – where formed characters are applied to the paper by lines
- 5) Heat transfer – such as early fax machines or modern receipt printers that apply heat to special paper, which turns black to form the printed image
- 6) Inkjet – including bubble-jet, where ink is sprayed onto the paper to create the desired image
- 7) Electrophotography – where toner is attracted to a charged image and then developed
- 8) Laser – a type of xerography where the charged image is written pixel by pixel using a laser
- 9) Solid ink printer – where solid sticks of ink are melted to make liquid ink or toner

2.2.8 3D Printing

3D Printing is a process for making a physical object from a three-dimensional digital model, typically by laying down many successive thin layers of a material. It brings a digital object (its CAD representation) into its physical form by adding layer by layer of materials. 3D printing is a form of manufacturing technology where physical objects are created from three-

dimensional digital models using 3D printers. The objects are created by laying down or building up many thin layers of material in succession. The technique is also known as additive manufacturing, rapid prototyping, or fabricating.

3D printing, in full three-dimensional printing, in manufacturing, any of several processes for fabricating three-dimensional objects by layering two-dimensional cross sections sequentially, one on top of another. The process is analogous to the fusing of ink or toner onto paper in a printer (hence the term printing) but is actually the solidifying or binding of a liquid or powder at each spot in the horizontal cross section where solid material is desired. In the case of 3D printing, the layering is repeated hundreds or thousands of times until the entire object has been finished throughout its vertical dimension. Frequently, 3D printing is employed in quickly turning out plastic or metal prototypes during the design of new parts, though it also can be put to use in making final products for sale to customers. Objects made in 3D printing range from plastic figurines and mold patterns to steel machine parts and titanium surgical implants. An entire 3D printing apparatus can be enclosed in a cabinet roughly the size of a large kitchen stove or refrigerator.

The term 3D printing originally designated a specific process patented as 3DP by scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1993 and licensed to several manufacturers. Today the term is used as a generic label for a number of related processes. Central to all of them is computer-aided design, or CAD. Using CAD programs, engineers develop a three-dimensional computer model of the object to be built up. This model is translated into a series of two-dimensional "slices" of the object and then into instructions that tell the printer exactly where to solidify the starting material on each successive slice.

In most processes the starting material is a fine plastic or metal powder. Typically, the powder is stored in cartridges or beds from which it is dispensed in small amounts and spread by a roller or blade in an extremely thin layer (commonly only the thickness of the powder grains, which can be as small as 20 micrometres, or 0.0008 inch) over the bed where the part is being built up. In MIT's 3DP process this layer is passed over by a device similar to the head of an ink-jet printer. An array of nozzles sprays a binding agent in a pattern determined by the computer program, then a fresh layer of powder is spread over the entire build-up area, and the process is repeated. At each repetition the build-up bed is lowered by precisely the thickness of the new layer of powder. When the process is complete, the built-up part, embedded in unconsolidated powder, is pulled out, cleaned, and sometimes put through some post-processing finishing steps.

The original 3DP process made mainly rough mock-ups out of plastic, ceramic, and even plaster, but later variations employed metal powder as well and produced more-precise and more-durable parts. A related process is called selective laser sintering (SLS); here the nozzle head and liquid binder are replaced by precisely guided lasers that heat the powder so that it sinters, or partially melts and fuses, in the desired areas. Typically, SLS works with either plastic powder or a combined metal-binder powder; in the latter case the built-up object may have to be heated in a furnace for further solidification and then machined and polished. These post-processing steps can be minimized in direct metal laser sintering (DMLS), in which a high-power laser fuses a fine metal powder into a more-solid and finished part without the use of binder material. Yet another variation is electron beam melting (EBM); here the laser apparatus is replaced by an electron gun, which focuses a powerful electrically charged beam onto the powder under vacuum conditions. The most-advanced DMLS and EBM processes can make final products of advanced steel, titanium, and cobalt-chromium alloys.

Many other processes work on the building-up principle of 3DP, SLS, DMLS, and EBM. Some use nozzle arrangements to direct the starting material (either powder or liquid) only to

the designated build-up areas, so that the object is not immersed in a bed of the material. On the other hand, in a process known as stereolithography (SLA), a thin layer of polymer liquid rather than powder is spread over the build area, and the designated part areas are consolidated by an ultraviolet laser beam. The built-up plastic part is retrieved and put through post-processing steps.

All 3D printing processes are so-called additive manufacturing, or additive fabrication, processes—ones that build up objects sequentially, as opposed to casting or molding them in a single step (a consolidation process) or cutting and machining them out of a solid block (a subtractive process). As such, they are considered to have several advantages over traditional fabrication, chief among them being an absence of the expensive tooling used in foundry and milling processes; the ability to produce complicated, customized parts on short notice; and the generating of less waste. On the other hand, they also have several disadvantages; these include low production rates, less precision and surface polish than machined parts, a relatively limited range of materials that can be processed, and severe limitations on the size of parts that can be made inexpensively and without distortion. For this reason, the principal market of 3D printing is in so-called rapid prototyping—that is, the quick production of parts that eventually will be mass-produced in traditional manufacturing processes. Nevertheless, commercial 3D printers continue to improve their processes and make inroads into markets for final products, and researchers continue to experiment with 3D printing, producing objects as disparate as automobile bodies, concrete blocks, and edible food products.

The term 3D bioprinting is used to describe the application of 3D printing concepts to the production of biological entities, such as tissues and organs. Bioprinting is based largely on existing printing technologies, such as ink-jet or laser printing, but makes use of “bioink” (suspensions of living cells and cell growth medium), which may be prepared in micropipettes or similar tools that serve as printer cartridges. Printing is then controlled via computer, with cells being deposited in specific patterns onto culture plates or similar sterile surfaces. Valve-based printing, which enables fine control over cell deposition and improved preservation of cell viability, has been used to print human embryonic stem cells in preprogrammed patterns that facilitate the cells’ aggregation into spheroid structures. Such human tissue models generated through 3D bioprinting are of particular use in the field of regenerative medicine.

2.2.9 Growth of Printing Press

Gutenberg is also credited with the introduction of an oil-based ink which was more durable than previously used water-based inks. Having worked as a professional goldsmith, Gutenberg made skillful use of the knowledge of metals he had learned as a craftsman. Gutenberg was also the first to make his type from an alloy of lead, tin, and antimony, known as type metal, printer's lead, or printer's metal, which was critical for producing durable type that produced high-quality printed books, and proved to be more suitable for printing than the clay, wooden or bronze types used in East Asia. To create these lead types, Gutenberg used what some considered his most ingenious invention, a special matrix wherewith the moulding of new movable types with an unprecedented precision at short notice became feasible. Within a year of printing the Gutenberg Bible, Gutenberg also published the first coloured prints.

The invention of the printing press revolutionized communication and book production leading to the spread of knowledge. Rapidly, printing spread from Germany by emigrating German printers, but also by foreign apprentices returning home. A printing press was built in Venice in 1469, and by 1500 the city had 417 printers. In 1470 Johann Heynlin set up a printing press in Paris. In 1473 Kasper Straube published the *Almanach cracoviense* ad

annum in Krakow. In 1476 a printing press was set up in England by William Caxton. The Italian Juan Pablos set up an imported press in Mexico City in 1539. The first printing press in Southeast Asia was set up in the Philippines by the Spanish in 1593. The Rev. Jose Glover brought the first printing press to England's American colonies in 1638, but died on the voyage, so his widow, Elizabeth Harris Glover, established the printing house, which was run by Stephen Day and became The Cambridge Press.

The Gutenberg press was much more efficient than manual copying. By 1800, Lord Stanhope had constructed a press completely from cast iron, reducing the force required by 90% while doubling the size of the printed area. While Stanhope's "mechanical theory" had improved the efficiency of the press, it still was only capable of 250 sheets per hour. German printer Friedrich Koenig would be the first to design a non-manpowered machine—using steam. Having moved to London in 1804, Koenig soon met Thomas Bensley and secured financial support for his project in 1807. Patented in 1810, Koenig had designed a steam press "much like a hand press connected to a steam engine." The first production trial of this model occurred in April 1811.

The Chinese were the pioneers in printing. The credit for printing the first book, Hiraka Sutra in 868 goes to China. It carried the statement: "Printed on May 11, 868 by Wang Chuck, for free general distribution, in order in deep reverence, to perpetuate the memory of his parents". The book was discovered in 1907 A.D. by Sir Aurel Stein in the Chinese province of Kansu, in the caves of the Thousand Buddha and is believed to be the oldest printed book in existence. Learning the art of paper-making from the Chinese, the people of Bagdad made paper in 793 A.D. and later the Arabs made paper in Cairo in 900 A.D. Paper was manufactured in Europe so late as in 1100 A.D.

The movable type was first used in China by Pi-Sheng in 1301. He made types of China Clay filled into iron frames. In 1314, Wang Chang, a Chinese made wooden types and in 1392 General Yi, Korean King established a metal type-foundry. He printed a book with Korean bronze types in 1409 A.D.

There are several persons mentioned as founders of printing from movable types. Gutenberg of Mainz (Germany), Coster of Haarlem (Holland) Johannes Brito of Bruges (Belgium) and Pamfilo Castaldo of Feltre (Italy) have all been named for the credit. Hohann Gutenberg of Mainz, Germany, is however, generally admitted to be the inventor of printing. His name has been perpetuated by his famous edition of the Holy Bible. Certain "letters of indulgence" were printed in 1454 from types cast in his foundry. In 1456 the first commonly accepted Bible was published by him. Thus it has been acknowledged that the first regularly printed book in the world was the Valgate Bible. In 1457 he published The Book of Psalms mentioning for the first time the names of the printer, the date and place of printing.

The art of printing can be said to have spread to various countries in this order: Italy (1465), France (1470), Spain (1483), Portugal (1495), Russia (1553), India (1556) and America (1640). William Caxton, the England's first printer had gained printing experience in Cologne. In 1476 he returned to England and a year later established a press at the Red Pale in the Almoory at Westminster. Till then the printing was done in Latin. But Caxton printed, within a period of 15 years, about a hundred volumes in the English language. The Church was the chief patron of the printing press.

2.3 EARLY PRINTING IN INDIA

Printing was introduced in India by enthusiastic Christian Missionaries who were eager to have more and more Indians converted to their religion and also to educate the native people and disseminate information and spread knowledge.

India saw the art of printing for the first time on September 6, 1556. The story of the arrival of the first printing press in India is a very interesting one. The printing press which arrived in Goa was originally intended to help Christian propaganda work in Abyssinia (the present Ethiopia). Accidentally, the development of circumstances detained the printing press in Goa. Fourteen Jesuits including the Patriarch-designate of Abyssinia accompanied the printing press. On their way, they halted in Goa. When compelled to stay in Goa, by an order of the Governor of Goa, the patriarch who had been preparing to leave, died. The printing press was detained in Goa. The printing press was used in 1557 and the first book in India was printed. The title of the book was Doutrina Christa. It was a catechism written by St. Francis Xavier for the benefit of the children. Students at the Jesuit Colleges of St. Paul and Rachel received instruction from this book.

Jaao de Bustamante, who was born in Valencia, Spain, in 1536, came to India with the printing press. He was the pioneer Indian printer. In 1556, he joined the Society of Jesus and was ordained in 1564. His name was changed to Jaao Rodrigues in 1563 and he died in 1588.

Jaao Gonsalves, an expert Indian blacksmith, accompanied Bustamante to Goa. He was the first Indian to make types of all Indian script, in India. He made types of Tamil letters and called the set "types of the Malayalam language". These types were used for the printing of St. Xavier's Doutrina Christa in Tamil in 1578. This was the "first book printed in an Indian language." Thus the first Indian script of which types were made was Tamil. Malayalam at that time was considered as part of Tamil and Malayalam types were made later.

The press in Goa was established with the aim of propagating Christianity. In the programme of evangelization, the Indian languages were given prominence. But they were more a hindrance than a help. Besides, there was a gradual decline in the religious zeal of successive generations of missionaries. So though the printing activity began in earnestness, it came to an end suddenly.

The second printing press in India was established in 1578 at Punikel, a village in the Tirunelveli district of Tamilnadu. Father John De Faria engraved and cast Tamil types to be used in the Fishery and Coromandel coasts and he published the Flos Sanctorum.

The next printing press was established in 1674 in Bombay by an enterprising businessman from Gujarat, Bhimji Parekh. He addressed a letter to the East India Company to give him an able printer. His request was complied with and Henry Hills, an expert printer, was sent by the company on a salary of fifty sterling a year for three years.

Henry Hills arrived in India to help Bhimji in running the printing press. The Company also sent with him a printing press, types and a good quantity of paper. One of the intentions of the Company in helping the Indian was the propagation of the Christian faith in the Island of Bombay. When Hills arrived in India, he did not know how to cut types in the Gujarati script. So, another request was made to the East India Company for a type founder but it was not answered. Bhimji Parekh's plan of casting Indian types and printing did not yield any results. Nevertheless, he printed literature in English.

In 1679 a printing press was started at Ambalkad, a village twenty miles south of Trichur in Malabar. The first Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary was printed and published here. The next adventures in the printing field were by the Danish missionaries who established the first

printing press in South India in 1712 at a place called Tranquebar in the Tanjore District of Madras. That area was under the Danish power at that time. Bortholomew Ziegenbalg, born on June 24, 1683 at Halle, Saxony came to India along with Dr. Lutkens who had plans to propagate Protestant Christian creed in India. Ziegenbalg arrived at Tranquebar in 1706. He established the press in 1712 with the assistance of a German printer-compositor. In the beginning, printing was confined to the Portuguese language.

The Danish missionaries trained themselves well by learning the Portuguese language, to communicate with the Indians. At that time many Portuguese people had come to South India and had permanently settled here. So, the Portuguese language was in vogue in the South-Western coastal region of India. The Danish missionaries not only learnt the Portuguese language but also appointed an India scholar to help them in their studies of the Indian languages. With his help, They established a type foundry to cast Tamil and Malayalam types for printing books. Their main idea was to propagate the Christian faith with the help of the Indian assistants. Roman types were used and the press had the full equipment necessary for publishing the New Testament in Tamil. Tamil types were cast in Germany and brought to Tranquebar. The first copy of the New Testament in the Tamil language was published in 1714. A vocabulary was printed on palm leaves as there was scarcity of paper which prevented the fulfillment of many of the enterprises planned by Danish missionaries. In 1715 attempts were made to start a paper mill which, however, were unsuccessful.

Ziegenbalg went to Holland for a holiday and did not return. He had many plans for improving printing in the 'Malabar' (Tamil) language. Grammar of the Tamil language was written by Ziegenbalg with the help of an Indian assistant.

The city of Madras saw the first printing press in 1761 in very peculiar circumstances. The governor of Madras, Sir Eyre Coote, captured Pondicherry from the French. A printing press and some types were found in the captured Governor's house in Pondicherry. This loot was brought back to Madras but the then Madras Government was not able to make good use of this rare loot, as they were not able to secure the services of an able printer. There was a famous Tamil scholar, Fabricious, living at Vepery, Madras. The printing press was given to him. A condition was laid down that if the company wanted any printing to be done, he should give preference to it. Fabricious who knew the art of printing modified the printing machine and printed his first hymn-book. In 1779 his famous Tamil-English Dictionary was printed and an English- Tamil Dictionary was printed by him later in 1786.

If Goa and Madras saw the printing press as a means for propagating the Christian faith and for the conversion of Indians, Bengal had the unique privilege of seeing the arrival of the printing press because of political considerations. In 1778, the first book in Bengali, Grammar of the Bengali language written by a civil servant of the East India Company, Nathaniel Brassey Halhead, was printed at Hoogly, near Calcutta. The first complete book printed in Bombay was Calender for the year of our Lord 1780, printed by Rustom Cawasjee in Buzar. In 1814, grammar of the Teliga (Telugu) language was published at Serampore near Calcutta, printed by Dr. William Carey. In 1817 a grammar of the Kurnada (Kannada) language also was printed by him. In 1820, the Grammar of the Carnatic language written by J.M.M. Karrel appeared in Madras. The press re-appeared in Goa and printing activity was revived in 1812. An English - Kannada Dictionary compiled by Rev. Fr. William Reeve was printed in the Press of the College of Fort St. George in Madras in 1824. In 1778, the first book of Bengali, Grammar of Bengali language written by a civil servant of East India Company, Nathaniel Brassey, was printed at Hoogly, near Calcutta.

The prospect of printing press in India was viewed with serious misgivings by the British rulers. There was considerable opposition to the development of the Press on the part of the Indians too, as the printing presses were mainly engaged in the publication of materials to

propagate the Christian faith in order to attract Indians to embrace their religion. The subsequent course of Indian history demonstrated that the Press contributed a great deal to the Indian Renaissance and played a major role in the achievement and consolidation of national freedom in India.

The first printed books were all religious texts: The Spiritual Compendium of the Christian Life (Goa, 1561), Doutrina Christiana, Flos Sanctorum and Doutrina Christam. The non religious books printed in the 16th and 17th centuries included The Dialogues on Indian Samples and Drugs, and the Hortus Indicus Malabaricus (printed in Amsterdam, Netherlands, from blocks originally prepared under the supervision of the Dutch Governor of Kochi in 1678).

Among the early works printed in India were The Grammar of Bengali, Grammar of Teliga (Telugu), the grammar of Kannada, an English-Kannada dictionary, Bhagavad Gita and other epics.

The prospect of the press in India was received with serious misgivings by the British rules. There was considerable opposition to the development of the press on the part of the Indians too, as the printing press was mainly engaged in the publication of the materials to propagate the Christian dogmas in order to attract Indians to embrace their religion. The subsequent course of Indian history demonstrated that the Press contributed a great deal to the Indian Renaissance and played a major role in the achievement and consolidation of national freedom in India.

2.4 SUMMARY

Printing is a pioneer to all forms of mass media. With the invention of printing press, communication to larger audience became possible. Printing press brought about lots of changes in society in its early years. There are different types of printing techniques. Currently the world is absorbed in digital printing and 3D printing techniques. Printing began its journey at huge workshops and now moved into the comfort of one's study room. In India, printing was introduced earlier with a religious motive. Missionaries used printing to spread the word of God. Later on, printing moved into other spheres like newspapers and periodicals. In the next lesson we shall study about origin and growth of newspapers in India.

2.5 GLOSSARY

- **Printing:** Produce (books, newspapers, etc.), especially in large quantities, by a mechanical process involving the transfer of text or designs to paper.
- **Type:** A piece of metal with a raised letter or character on its upper surface, for use in letterpress printing
- **Offset:** A method of printing in which ink is transferred from a plate or stone to a uniform rubber surface and from that to the paper.
- **Rotary:** Acting by means of rotation, especially (of a machine) operating through the rotation of some part.

2.6 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a brief history of printing. Why did the Chinese first invent printing techniques?
- 2) Describe in short about block printing and movable type printing.
- 3) Write a short note on 3D printing
- 4) Explain the growth of printing press after the invention of movably type printing
- 5) How did early printing begin in India? Trace few developments in printing during its early years in India.

2.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Childress, D. (2008). *Johannes Gutenberg and the Printing Press*. United States: Ebsco Publishing.
 - 2) Eisenstein, E. L. (1980). *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
 - 3) Hoe, R. (1902). *A Short History of the Printing Press and of the Improvements in Printing Machinery from the Time of Gutenberg Up to the Present Day*. United States: Robert Hoe.
 - 4) Man, J. (2010). *The Gutenberg Revolution*. United Kingdom: Transworld.
 - 5) Moran, J. (1978). *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times*. United States: University of California Press.
- S. H. Steinberg, B. W. (2017). *Five Hundred Years of Printing*. United Kingdom: Dover Publications.

LESSON 3

HICKEY'S GAZETTE

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain a deep insight into India's first newspaper, Hickey's Gazette.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To discuss about William Bolt's attempt to begin journalism in India
- To analyze Hickey's Gazette
- To discuss freedom of press from Hickey's perspective.
- To analyze the principals of foundation of journalism in India

STRUCTURE

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 William Bolts
- 3.3 Hickey's Gazette
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Glossary
- 3.6 Self-Assessment Questions
- 3.7 Suggested Readings

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Journalism in India began in India almost after three centuries after Guttenberg assembled his printing press and almost a century and half since the first newspaper in the world, Relation, hit the doorsteps of its readers. Journalism in colonial India had a cinematic foundation with interesting beginnings, failed attempts, fight for freedom and full of imperial gossip. In this lesson, we shall discuss William Bolt's failed attempt at launching the first newspaper in India and Hickey's successful output named Hickey's Gazette.

3.2 WILLIAM BOLTS

The credit for bringing out the first full-fledged printed newspaper in India goes to James Augustus Hicky. The first issue was appeared on January 29, 1780 in Calcutta bearing the title "The Bengal Gazette or the Calcutta General Advertiser."

Before Hicky started his paper, an attempt was made by William Bolts, a censured servant of the East India Company, who had resigned earlier, to start a newspaper to give expression to the differences existing between the opposing groups in the East India Company. In September 1766, William Bolts pasted a paper on the door of the Council House in Calcutta requesting the people to avail the opportunity of reading and taking copies of the manuscripts at his house.

The September 1766, William Bolts pasted a paper on the door of the Council House in Calcutta which read:

“To the public

Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the people that the want of a printing press in the city being of great disadvantage in business and making extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community, as is of the utmost importance to every British subject, he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing, to manage a press the types and utensils of which he can produce. In manuscript many things to communicate which most intimately concern every individual, any person who may be permitted at Mr. Bolt's house to read or take copies of the same. A person will give due attendance at the hours from ten to twelve any morning.”

This notice caused great commotion in the official circles. Vigilant authorities sensed some imminent peril in the publicly noticed contrivance. In order to shun any possible evil, the British-controlled Government of Bengal directed Bolts, a merchant of Dutch extraction, “to quit Bengal and proceed to Madras on the first ship that shall sail from the Presidency in order to take his passage from there to Europe.” Thus Bolt's attempt to start a newspaper was put down. But prior to this, another newspaper attempted in India, the Bengal Gazette and Calcutta Advertiser had been strangled by repeated suits inspired by Governor-General Warren Hastings.

3.3 HICKEY'S GAZETTE

On Saturday January 29, 1780, appeared the Bengal Gazette or the Calcutta General Advertiser in the same city of Calcutta. It was also called the Hicky's Gazette because Hicky was the founder, editor, printer, and promoter, all rolled in one, of that paper. It was a weekly paper.

Hicky declared that the Bengal Gazette as “A weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none”. This paper was a primitive one from the point of view of contents, printing and publications. But it has the significance of a historical paper. With this first newspaper of India started the era of Indian Journalism which has developed as the agency for saving of democracy in the country. It consisted of two pages of twelve inches by eight. The paper was clumsily printed. The reading matter was less and the advertisement more and there were comments on the personal affairs of individuals. When Hicky started his newspaper, he announced his motives: “I have no particular passion for the printing of newspaper, I have no propensity, I was not bred to the slavish life of hard work, yet I take pleasure in enslaving my body in order to purchase freedom for my mind and soul.” Hicky's Gazette was published in the English language. This was the first regular newspaper in India. The first issue carried ‘news’ but not fresh and up-to-date like the newspapers of today. The news bits were culled from the old European newspapers. In those days of difficult transportation, foreign newspapers usually took months to reach the Indians shores. Subsequent issues of the Bengal Gazette enlivened the readers with comments on people's domestic affairs, a species of service which kept the society gossiping.

This paper was a primitive one from the point of view of contents, printing and publication. But it has the significance of a historical newspaper. With this first newspaper of India started the era of Indian Journalism which has developed as the agency for the saving of democracy in the country to-day.

The Bengal Gazette had a thrilling and turbulent history despite the fact that it had a short life of two years. The Gazette did not advocate Indian Freedom and it published no Sermons. On the other hand it published scurrilous stories. The paper's greatness lies in its undaunted and valiant fight for liberty of the press. It upheld the freedom of the press as one of the great

bulwarks of liberty. The paper upheld the freedom of conscience, of education, of speech, and of assembly which it considered the fundamentals of human existence.

The Indian press from its inception had to fight against the alien Government. It was James Augustus Hickey, India's first journalist, who founded this fighting tradition. Hicky was the brain behind the pioneering enterprise of journalism in India. He is justly remembered as the Father of Indian Journalism. Hicky was courageous and resolute in his endeavours. He was poor man but was bold in every step he took. Through he and a few other English editors like him served European and Indian readers, their struggle against the authorities of the day has become noteworthy in the history of the Indian Press. Hicky was a fearless and turbulent writer and took delight in heckling the officials in his gossip columns. He fought against Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India at that time, and vehemently attacked them. He courted their wrath and was ultimately worsted in that unequal fight and was destined to die in obscurity.

Within ten months of its appearance, Hicky's newspaper incurred the displeasure of the Government. Hicky's Gazette sarcastically wrote against men and affairs, especially against the administration of the East India Company. It took a leading part in the blackening the name of Warren Hastings. When a malicious personal attack was made against Madam Hastings, the Governor General has recourse to law and published an order against it, depriving Hicky of the privilege of circulating his newspaper through the General Post Office.

The order read as follows:

"Fort William, 14th November 1780

Public notice is hereby given that as a weekly newspaper called the Bengal Gazette or the Calcutta General Advertiser by J.A.Hicky has lately been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the settlement, it is no longer permitted to be circulated through the channel of the General Post Office."

The Governmental action against the first full-fledged journalist in India, Hicky, was but the first incident in a series of conflicts between the rulers and the Press. An attempt to punish Hicky was thought necessary by Warren Hastings and suit after suit was filed to gag him and strangle his paper.

Hicky had made allegations against John Zachariah Kiernander, Swedish Missionary that he was contemplating the sale of the Main Church. Hicky's grievance was that Kiernander was supplying types and other printing materials to another rival paper, the India Gazette, which had just then appeared. Kiernander sued Hicky for libel after getting himself absolved of the allegations made by Hicky, through the Governor-General. Immediately, armed European soldiers and some 400 servants raided Hicky's press to arrest him as per definite orders from the Governor-General and the Chief Justice. But Hicky fought them back and voluntarily presented himself before the Supreme Court. He was immediately arrested but was allowed to go on bail after he paid a huge sum as security. He was charged by the Government for other defamatory and scurrilous writings. Hicky was tried in the court of law and was found guilty. He was sentenced to four months imprisonment and was asked to pay a fine of Rs.500. but Hicky was not to be frightened. In one of the issues of the paper, writings from the prison, he revealed "it is a duty incumbent upon me to inform my friends, in particular, the public in general, that an attempt was made to assassinate me last Thursday morning between the hours of one and two o'clock with the aid of two armed Europeans, assisted by a Moorman."

Officials were under the impression that with Hicky in jail the Bengal Gazette would disappear. Their calculations were wrong. The Gazette continued to appear as regularly as before. Hicky unearthed and exposed several malpractices. Even while editing the paper in

the environment of the jail, he did not give up the pungency of his writing. Warren Hastings and the Chief Justice were repeatedly scandalized. Once again there was a serious plan by the Government to bring about the closure of this intolerable publication. A series of actions were brought against Hicky. Heavy fines were imposed with the knowledge that Hicky was not at all in a position to pay them. On one count, he was imprisoned for a year and was asked to pay a fine of Rs.200. In another case, the Chief Justice awarded Rs.5, 000 as damages to Warren Hastings, which, however, the Governor- General waived.

Antagonists of Hicky who had made up their minds to bring about the closure of the Bengal Gazette succeeded in procuring an order for the seizure of the press. The types which were seized along with the printing plant in March 1782 marked the premature and uncerecermonious death of India's first regular newspaper. All the efforts of the valiant editor and his admirers to save this adversary of the Government were in vain.

The seizure of the printing press was a severe blow to the already hurt editor. All his appeals and mercy petitions were summarily rejected. He lamented and filed an application for compassion which again fell on deaf ears. The pioneer of the Indian Press who was already reduced to poverty and distress was deliberately ruined.

Hicky faced trouble after trouble and suffered heavily by courting the wrath of the authorities. He lived and died in obscurity. But his name is indelible in the history of the Indian Press.

It is very unfortunate that no comprehensive information is available about Hicky except that the first pioneer journalist of India lived in utter poverty and distress in his later years. He is the forgotten hero of the Indian Press. Historians have injudiciously neglected him. Perhaps the only mention available is that of a biased commentator who while making a passing reference has said "He was a worthless man. But as the pioneer of the Indian Press, his name and story should have an interest to Calcutta." Hicky's story should have an interest not only to Calcutta and India but also to all those interested in a free and healthy Press anywhere in the world.

Hicky's early life is unknown even as is his later life. He was practically a total stranger to the public until the appearance of the Bengal Gazette. According to his self-introduction in the journal he was the "late printer to the Honorable company." As a trader in 1775-'76, he met with 'many losses at sea.' When his vessel returned to Calcutta his bond of Rs.4, 000 was due and to meet this, he offered all his belongings with Rs. 2,000. The merchants of Bengal were not ready to accept just half the sum due to them. As a result, he found himself behind the bars. How he succeeded in getting himself out of the jail is not mentioned by Hicky. He indicated that he decided to work hard to maintain his family. He bought types and engaged carpenters to make the essential printing materials. On completion of the arrangements to carry on his industry, he advertised his willingness to undertake job works from the public. His printing industry did thrive but to him, the profession of a printer appeared dull. Thus he decided to take to journalism. It was his wish to earn enough money to lead a happy and quiet life in England when he should be old and infirm.

The Bengal Gazette, though a limited venture was manned by a person with ambition. Amusing stories appeared in the Gazette, and topics of social interest had their own place. The Gazette was harmless in its early issues and gradually specialized in public scandals involving the elite of the city and the province. When a rival paper, the India Gazette was born, Hicky doubled his scandals and to sustain his readers equipped himself with vulgar material to cater to low tastes. He was rather perturbed and could not bear a contemporary. Malicious writings began appearing in the Gazette against the newcomer in the field. Not only did Hicky use of abusive language while referring to the promoters of the new journal

but also did he slander those who supported or read the India Gazette. Rivalry was violent. Government patronage to the newspaper was imperiously resented by Hickey.

Once he posed a question: "Shall I tamely submit to the yoke of slavery and wanton aggression?" And he himself answered in the negative and said that he would fight for his privileges as a freeman. The fight for the freedom of the press sponsored by James Augustus Hickey constitutes a significant chapter in the history of the Indian Press. He was the first journalist who stands out as a fearless critic of the administration. It is very unfortunate that even a hazy picture of this pioneering genius is not available. The only memory left about Hickey, is a bound volume of the Bengal Gazette which is preserved as a commemoration in the British Museum Newspaper Library at Colindale and at the National Library in Calcutta. Such has been the strange story of the pioneer newspaper editor, and the first newspaper of India.

3.4 SUMMARY

James Augustus Hickey, being the first man to lay the foundation of modern day journalism in India, can be called as the father of Indian journalism. Whatever be the reasons behind his launching his newspaper, Hickey paved way for the long road of journalism in India. Following in the footsteps of Hickey many other newspapers began in India, first under European ownership and later under Indian ownership. Journalism played a huge role in Indian fight for independence and this all began with Hickey's Gazette. In the next lesson we shall discuss about the newspapers that followed Hickey's Gazette and occupied a page in the history of early journalism in India.

3.5 GLOSSARY

- **Issue:** Each of a regular series of publications.
- **Censure:** Express severe disapproval of (someone or something), especially in a formal statement.
- **Commotion:** A state of confused and noisy disturbance.
- **Gazette:** A journal or newspaper.
- **Journal:** A newspaper or magazine that deals with a particular subject or professional activity.
- **Advertiser:** A person or company that advertises a product, service, or event.
- **Governor General:** The chief representative of the Crown in a Commonwealth country of which the British monarch is head of state.

3.6 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a brief note about William Bolt's attempt at starting a newspaper in India
- 2) Who started the first newspaper in India? Why did Hickey start a newspaper?
- 3) What do you understand about colonialism through Hickey's approach towards journalism?
- 4) Write a short note about Hickey's fight against the government for freedom of press.

3.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Nair, P. T. (2001). *Hicky and His Gazette*. India: S & T Book Stall.
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 - 3) Otis, A. (2018). *Hicky's Bengal Gazette: The Untold Story of India's First Newspaper*. India: Westland Publications Private Limited.
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LESSON 4

EARLY JOURNALISM IN INDIA

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an in-depth knowledge about early journalism in India.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding of early journalism in India
- To discuss origin and growth of journalism in Bengal presidency
- To study the growth of journalism in Madras Presidency
- To analyze the early years of journalism in Bombay presidency

STRUCTURE

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Early Newspapers in India
- 4.3 Journalism in Madras Presidency
- 4.4 Journalism in Bombay Presidency
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Glossary
- 4.7 Self-Assessment Questions
- 4.8 Suggested Readings

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Journalism in India, began its relentless journey with the first step made by James Augustus Hickey in the year 1780. Within two decades, journalism spread not only across Bengal presidency but also to Madras and Bombay Presidencies, thus reflecting the need for journalism in those days and the impact of journalism since its inception in the country. The rift between government and press began as early as with Hickey's Gazette and continues till date. In this lesson we shall discuss about early journalism in India with emphasis on Bengal, Madras and Bombay presidencies.

4.2 EARLY NEWSPAPERS IN INDIA

Following Hicky's brave bid for Journalism in India, five more news papers were founded in the next five years. After the daring Bengal Gazette of James Augustus Hicky, the second Indian newspaper was the India Gazette. It was established in November 1780. The sponsors were to shrewd business man of Calcutta. Bernard Messink was connected with the Theatrical companies and Peter reed was a salt merchant. They had fancied journalism with the main intention of commercializing it. Their newspaper was partially meant for the improvement of their business. There were the Henchmen of the East India Company.

Unlike Hicky, before embarking upon their venture, they addressed a letter to Warren Hastings Soliciting permission to publish the paper. They requested him for postal

concessions and in the same letter they wanted that they should be appointed printers to the East India Company. They assured the Governor that they would abide by all regulations to be laid down by him.

The India Gazette, though successfully in enlisting the co operation before of the authorities, courted the wrath of James Augustus Hicky who bitterly attacked the printers, promoters and even the partners of the party. Hicky used defamatory words against the Swedish missionary John Z. Kiernander, for he supplied types and other printing material to the India Gazette. The Bengal Gazette used to attack bitterly the rival newspapers and lampoon the editors. Hicky was a audacious person but he could not tolerate a competing journal.

The venture that followed that of Bernard Messink and Peter Reed, was in February 1784 which saw the third newspaper of India. It was a quarto size publication entitled the *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser*. It was published under the explicit patronage of the Government. It carried notices in Bengali and Persian as well as in English. Later, it was designated as the official Gazette and it is still published.

The fourth newspaper was the Bengal Journal which made its appearance in February 1785. Businessman Thomas Jones, its proprietor, writing on March 15, 1785, to the Supreme Council offered to publish all Government advertisement free of charge and requested postal concessions for the paper.

Two months later, in the same year, the *Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement* was established as the first monthly publication. The *Calcutta Chronicle* was begun in January 1786. Thus the ball set by Hicky rolled on and journalism was adopted by many persons as a profession. The ability of the newspaper was gradually recognized by the administrators as well.

Edited by English men, published in English and mostly circulated amongst members of the East India Company, almost all these newspapers were carrying gossip columns. Since news from abroad was stale by the time it reached India, the editors' concentrated attention on reporting scandals involving official as well as private affairs, thus transforming personal grudges to public grievances.

The news material incorporated in these journals was interesting. More attention was paid to spicy stories of human frailties than to important "news" in public life as such. The editorials were marked by a clear tone of ridicule and disguised verbal attacks were many. Despite this pungent material, individual newspaper circulation hardly touched the figure of a hundred copies. As production costs were high and postal charges heavy, the retail prices were heavy, the price being, at times, as high as ten annas per copy.

After 1790, newspapers in India grew in large numbers. The *Asiatic Mirror* was started in 1794. The *Indian World*, the *Calcutta Courier* and the *Indian Apollo* were begun in 1795 in Calcutta. In the same year, the *Bengal Harakuru* was started by Charles MacClean. The *Bengal Harakuru* became the *Indian Daily News* in 1864. The *Telegraph* was founded in 1796. The *Calcutta Morning Post* was established in 1798. In the same year, the *Oriental Star* was started. The *Relator* made its appearance in 1799. All these newspapers were started in the city of Calcutta. There was a perpetual tug of war between the authorities of the Government and the pressmen on the principles of freedom and control. The Fourth Estate was vigorous in its criticism of the administration of the East India Company. The officials of the Company, with imperialistic tendencies could hardly face the bitter truth exposed in the columns of the newspapers. Ultimately, they planned crushing the press. It is of interest to note that all the pioneer journalists were Englishmen or Europeans who passionately criticized the Company's administration and activities of the men concerned therewith.

4.3 JOURNALISM IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Richard Johnston, who was printer to the Government, was the founder of the first newspaper in Madras. His paper, the Madras Courier came into existence on October 12 1785. It was officially recognized. A resolution was passed and an order was issued to the effect that all advertisements which appear under the official signature of the Government officials could be published in the Madras Courier and they would be deemed as official notifications for practical purposes. The paper was published once a week on four pages. It enjoyed full support at the hands of the authorities. The price of each copy was one rupee and it was allowed to be sent by post without any payment. News items copied from European papers occupied two pages. One page was reserved as the readers' forum and for news concerning Indian affairs. The last page was adorned with pieces of poetry and display advertisements. The assistance of Government was unstinted. When Richard Johnston arranged to import printing Machinery from England, he was exempted from the payment of duty. Hugh Boyd who became the editor of Madras Courier in 1789 resigned in 1791 after being suspected of being the author of some objectionable letters published in the paper against the East India Company. Later, he started independently a paper called the Harakuru. It continued for two years and ceased publication when Boyd died.

The Madras Courier was in trouble on several occasions for having published unauthenticated news about the East India Company. The Madras Courier had published an offensive paragraph against the Danish East India Company in Tranquebar. The directors of that company protested and drew the attention of the Madras Government to delete the offensive paragraph through an order issued to the paper. The said offensive paragraph was taken from the original English Paper. The Governor-in-Council of Madras promptly ordered the paper to publish the protest note of the Danish officials, which it did.

There was another instance of this early Madras journal getting into trouble. An English man by name Landon was a civil servant of East India Company in Madras. The Madras Courier published a malicious statement against Landon. James Stuart Mill, the then editor of the paper apologized to Landon, explaining that he had no intention whatsoever to cast any reflection on Landon's character. On yet another occasion, it humbly retracted the news it had published and on a later occasion still it apologized.

Another weekly paper was founded by Robert Williams in 1795, under the title, the Weekly Madras Gazette. The Madras Courier was enraged at this competition and complained to the Government that this new venture would harm the interests of the company. The newspaper was interested in introducing the Persian and other Indian Language types. The Government did not show any step motherly feeling towards this paper in spite of the complaint by the Madras Courier. The Government's printing work was evenly distributed between the two printing establishments.

A few months later the first issue of the India Herald was published and edited by Humphreys another English man. He had applied for a permit to start a paper, but it was refused to him. Yet, he started a newspaper, the India Herald in 1795 without the consent of the Government. The government arrested him for this crime and leveled the charge against him that his paper contained, "severe Gross libels on the Government and on the Prince of Wales." He was arrested and an order for deportation was passed. He has put aboard a ship for deportation but he escaped from the ship mysteriously and disappeared in Calcutta for some time.

Censorship was introduced in Madras on December 1795. The general orders of the Government before they were published in the Weekly Madras Gazette were to be sent to the Military Secretary for scrutiny. In 1799 the scope of censorship was widened with the

notification that all newspapers should be submitted to the Government for the due inspection prior to their publication. Postage facilities allowed hitherto were withdrawn. Newspapers were asked to pre-pay full rates. On a protest, the Government agreed to levy the prescribed fee on delivery, relaxing the earlier order of pre-payment of postage. A similar order was served on the Madras Courier. Thus the press in Madras began to feel early the heavy hands of Government censorship.

4.4 JOURNALISM IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Although the story of the early growth of the Indian Press centers around Calcutta, the seat of the Government, the growth of journalism in other parts of India was not hampered. The means of communication and transport were poor, but the influence of the Calcutta's Pioneer venture in journalism and its entire struggle was felt in other parts of India as well.

Bombay was under English domination earlier than either Bengal or Madras. The first English newspaper, the Bombay Herald appeared there only in 1789. It was started as a weekly. The second newspaper in Bombay, the Bombay Courier was founded in 1790 by Luke Ashburner, Alderman of the Bombay Municipality. The Courier, forerunner of the present Times of India was changed to the Bombay Times in 1838 under the editorship of Robert Knight. It carried advertisements in Gujarati Language for the first time. Types founded by a Parsee printer, Mobed Jijibhai Behramji Chapgar were used to print these Gujarathi advertisements.

The Bombay Gazette was established in June 1791. The editor of the paper promised to the Government that he would remain faithful and abide by every order of the Government. However, the paper got into trouble with the authorities over an alleged criticism of the doings of the Police Commissioner of Bombay. In September of 1791, the editor was accused of publishing a libelous story on Anderson, the Police Commissioner. So, it was ordered that the proof sheets should be submitted for inspection before the printing of the paper. A month later, the Government was pleased to favour a request made by the editor of the Bombay Herald to authorize it as 'Government's paper'. As it catered to the whims and fancies of the authorities rather than the public it came to be known as 'Government's paper'. In 1792, the Bombay Herald and the Bombay Gazette were merged and again were at the mercy of the Government and sought financial support. Official recognition was given to the notification printed in this new form of the amalgamated venture.

These early newspapers from Bombay were a source of interest though they vied with one another in publishing excerpts from London newspapers. They deliberately avoided any conflict with the Government. Letters to the Editors were given a place although Government notices, society news, the poet's corner, advertisements and fashion notes occupied a major part of the space available. Arrivals and departures of important Britishers and announcements of births, marriages and deaths were published judiciously. As most of the contents were selected and reported from foreign newspapers, these journals paid insufficient attention to Indian affairs. Whenever editorials were written they were not connected with the welfare of the Indians. Thus the character of these early newspapers was prominently "British".

Reviewing the progress of the Bombay Press during this period, J. H. Stockqueler, editor of the Englishman of Calcutta, said that the Bengal Press was weakened by the commercial failures and prosecution by the Government and the Bombay Press was very immature. He continued that the Bombay papers were 'very comical things', made up almost entirely of selections from English newspapers and occasional legal reports. He said that the editorial pen seldom nobler occupation than the reporting of a Ball or supper or lauding amateur

theatricals. Robert Knight, editor of the Bombay Times remarked: "The ruffianism of the Bombay Press for several years was unprecedented."

4.5 SUMMARY

After Hickey's bold attempt not only to setup a printing press in India but also to fight for freedom of press against the government, many newspapers started sprouting across India. Journalism in India began its journey from Bengal presidency, slowly moved to Madras presidency and then spread to Bombay presidency. Though these newspapers began with modest missions and not-so-far-sighted visions, journalism played a huge role in Indian freedom movement. In next lesson, we shall discuss about the role of journalism in Indian freedom movement.

4.6 GLOSSARY

- **Henchmen:** A squire or page of honour to a person of rank.
- **Malicious:** Intending or intended to do harm.
- **Commercialize:** Manage or exploit (an organization, activity, etc.) in a way designed to make a profit.
- **Herald:** An official employed to oversee state ceremonial, precedence, and the use of armorial bearings, and (historically) to make proclamations, carry official messages, and oversee tournaments.
- **Courier:** A person employed to guide and assist a group of tourists.
- **Oriental:** Of, from, or characteristic of Asia, especially East Asia.

4.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a short note on early journalism in Bengal presidency.
- 2) Write a short note on early journalism in Madras presidency
- 3) Write a short note on early journalism in Bombay presidency
- 4) Do you find any difference between journalism practices in Bengal, Madras and Bombay presidencies?
- 5) Discuss first two decades of journalism since its beginning in 1780.

4.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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LESSON 5

INDIAN PRESS AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to understand the role played by Indian press in Indian freedom movement.

Key Objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding of role played by press in freedom movement in India
- To discuss about few nationalist newspapers in the country
- To discuss about rise of journalism against government during freedom struggle
- To analyse the role played by journalism in the wake of draconian laws

STRUCTURE

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Newspapers during Freedom Movement

5.2.1 The Aj.

5.2.2 The Swarajya.

5.2.3 Hindustan Times.

5.2.4 The Forward

5.3 The Press and the Freedom Movement

5.3.1 The Free Press Journal

5.3.2 The United Press of India

5.4 Summary

5.5 Glossary

5.6 Self-Assessment Questions

5.7 Suggested Readings

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Indian freedom struggle is greatly supported by journalism. Many freedom fighter and national leaders ran parallel newspapers and periodicals to gain mass support to their struggle. Many newspapers worked day-in and day-out to garner masses towards freedom movement and to act as a bridge between national leaders and common man. In this lesson we shall discuss about few important newspapers during freedom movement and the importance of journalism during India's struggle for independence.

5.2 NEWSPAPERS DURING FREEDOM MOVEMENT

The newspapers had played a predominant role during freedom movement starting from Non-cooperation, non-violence, Civil disobedience to August Revolution and through the midnight of August 14, 1947.

A large number of newspapers were born from 1900 and they all played a crucial role in mobilizing the people towards freedom struggle through their instigating stories, news and views.

Some of the important newspapers that began in this period are:

- 1) Krishna Patrika
- 2) Swarjya
- 3) Andhra Patrika
- 4) Bharathi
- 5) Dhanurdhari
- 6) Viswakarnataka
- 7) The Aj,
- 8) Hindustan Times,
- 9) The Forward,
- 10) The Young India,
- 11) The Navjivan,
- 12) Harijan,
- 13) The Leader,
- 14) National Herald and many others.

5.2.1 The Aj

It was during this time that the question of a national language was looming large. A need was felt to start a daily newspaper in Hindi and so the Aj was born on September 5, 1920. Shivaprasad Gupta, a millionaire of Banaras, started the paper. The Aj was a nationalist independent paper fully supporting the Indian National Congress in its programme for achieving complete independence. A copy of the Aj was sold for half-an-anna. It sought to establish itself as a national institution comparable in influence with the Times of London. "While this objective was steadily pursued, the Aj set the standard for Hindi Journalism; and consciousness of Hindi gave a fresh impetus to Hindi journalists."

5.2.2 The Swarajya

In 1922, the Swarajya was started in Madras to advocate the ideals and principles of Mahatma Gandhi by Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam. He had gathered around him some of the patriotic, young, brilliant enthusiasts who assisted him in the running of the daily without expecting any pecuniary remuneration. As a nationalist organ it was very popular. People used to crowd before the offices of the Swarajya to gather their day's newspaper. It was a timely publication and rendered yeoman service to the cause of the national movement in the South. It closed down after 12 years of fruitful service.

The Prince of Wales came to India in 1921 to undertake his long awaited tour. There were hostile demonstrations wherever he went, organised by the nationalists. All the accepted leaders of the country were in jail because of the non-co-operation movement. Gandhiji was still outside, propagating his views on non-co-operation movement. Gandhiji was arrested in 1922 under section 124-A for making seditious speeches and after a trial in the court of law in Ahmedabad, he was imprisoned for six years.

At this time Lord Reading was appointed Viceroy. There were expectations of happy changes in the status of the Press. A committee was constituted in March 1921 to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act of 1928, the Press Act of 1910 and the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908. On the strong recommendations in the report submitted by the Committee, the Central Legislature in 1922 repealed the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908 and Act I of 1910.

5.2.3 Hindustan Times

A new party called the Swaraj Party was formed in 1923 under the leadership of Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das of Bengal. Gandhiji was in jail at that time. The Swaraj Party differed from Gandhiji with regard to the non-co-operation movement. They wanted to wreck the new reforms by entering the legislatures. They needed a newspaper to voice their opinions. With this objective was started the Hindustan Times, with Sardar K. M. Panikkar as its first editor. The original owners were the Sikhs as the newspaper was started with the funds of the Akalis. It so happened that enlightened Sikhs were not happy with the system under which their shrines were virtually managed by the Mahants. Inspired by Gandhiji's ideas that religious places should not be monopolised by the resident priest, a few reforming Sikhs organised themselves into groups called "Jathas". These volunteers aimed at acquiring the Sikh shrines from the age-long control of the Mahants. As was evident, the Mahants were not ready to forego their positions and possessions so easily. Unfortunately the tussle between the Jathas and Mahants took a violent turn. A jatha of young Sikh volunteers was massacred at a religious centre, Nankana Sahib. It was firmly believed that the disgruntled Mahants had employed Pathans to alay the agitating Sikh youths. This ferocious act created a stir and the Sikhs en masse became indignant against the Mahants as a class. A neutral policy was adopted by the Government of the Punjab. The Sikh Movement abruptly became articulate and a number of journals literally sprang up to foster the reformist tendencies. The Akalis needed immediately, an English daily journal to propagate intensively the cause of Sikh reform and to strengthen their revolutionary movement. The outcome was the sudden birth of the Hindustan Times. However, the Akalis did not keep the newspaper going. They soon sold it to the group of Swarajist leaders who in turn formed a company to run the newspaper as an official organ of the recently formed party. The first directors of the newspaper were Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Raja Narendranath and Dr. M. R. Jayakar. The Hindustan Times was bought over by G. D. Birlalater in 1927.

5.2.4 The Forward

In order to support the Swaraj Party in Bengal, C. R. Das started the Forward in Calcutta in 1923. C. R. Das was a popular leader in Bengal who had the full support of Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel and S. Srinivasa Iyengar of Madras, in his political aims and objects.

As a journalist, he was a regular contributor to the Bandemataram, edited by Aurobindo Ghosh. In 1923, Das shouldered the responsibilities of editing a daily newspaper, the Forward as an organ of the Swaraj Party. As the Swarajya had caught the imagination of the people in Madras, the Forward had its popularity in Bengal. It strongly supported the policies of the Swaraj Party which wanted to wreck the constitutional machinery from within, by entering the legislatures. The Forward vehemently supported the Swarajist candidates in the General Elections to the Bengal Legislative Assembly to capture as many seats as possible. He succeeded in his attempts. Capturing the public imagination in Bengal, the Forward was a successful newspaper until the death of C. R. Das in 1925. It continued its publication even after 1925 and later its name was changed to the Liberty. After some time, it again reverted to its old title of the Forward and it was edited by Subhas Chandra Bose as an organ of the new

political party, Forward Block, founded by himself. As a nationalist newspaper, the Forward contributed a great deal to the growth of democratic ideals in Bengal and India.

5.3 THE PRESS AND THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

The Indian Press played a valiant part in the struggle for Indian freedom. From 1920 onwards, the Indian Press played a prominent part in various stages of freedom struggle. The press incited the anti-British agitation. It played a definite role in infusing into the common people bitter aversion of the alien rulers. With the intention of imposing restraints, the administration pressed into service every adroit legislative action. The Indian nationalist press suffered very badly and the Government discovered that sending the editors to prison was not much of a deterrent to those who were fighting at once for the freedom of the press and freedom of the country. If an editor went to prison, there were many others who were only too willing to take up his responsibilities. The advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene of India marked a great change in the attitude of the press also. Gandhiji awakened the political consciousness of the people. Gandhiji's opposition to the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms was publicized in all the nationalist papers. When the British Government sent Simon Commission, it was opposed by the Nationalists, liberals and Muslim Leaguers and the press gave wider publicity to the protests against Simon Commission.

The struggle to win Indian freedom continued despite British checks and even atrocities. On April 5, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi started the historical Dandi March to break the salt tax laws by himself preparing salt for the common people in a symbolic protest. He was arrested on the way and put into prison. The press was all vigorous and gave full publicity to the news of the Dandi March. The British Government was once again alarmed and realized the importance of the press as a propaganda medium. It lost no time in gagging the Press. The Indian Press Ordinance 1930 was expediently promulgated to provide for the better control of the Press. The Act spread the net wide for curbing the freedom of the press. The definition of the offence was more comprehensive. The newspapers which were asked to deposit securities under the Ordinance and those whose amounts were forfeited were innumerable. The Press Ordinance of 1930 precipitated a crisis. The danger to the freedom of the press held out as a threat by the Ordinance compelled the leading newspapermen to confer together. This resulted in an early meeting of the important editors. For the first time, they met on a common platform. The significant meeting of the editors was presided over by A.Rangaswamy Iyengar, editor of the Hindu of Madras. Yet such expression of public opinion had little effect on the Government and it did not change its repressive attitude to the Press. Newspapers were asked to deposit securities whenever they made a declaration to publish. These securities were later forfeited and fresh securities were demanded. The punishment for more serious offences was the forfeiture of the printing press itself. N.C.Kelkar of the Kesari was fined Rs.5,000/- for contempt of court and the Bombay Chronicle forfeited a security of Rs.15,000 for criticizing a magistrate. The Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act was mercilessly promulgated to curb the hostility of the Press against the Government. At this time, an underground newspaper was being circulated entitled the Congress Bulletin in Bombay, which gave the news of the freedom fight every day. The Indian National Press played a very important part in the national campaign of 'salt satyagraha'. The enthusiasm of the people was kindled and maintained by the vigorous writings in these papers. The newspapers displayed bold headlines, the arrests of the leaders and published pictures of the huge protest processions organised and of the Congress volunteers who were injured in the lathi charge made by the police.

By this time, there were a few important developments which had taken place on the mechanical side. The flat-bed presses were running out of use and the Rotary presses were being preferred. The Statesman of the Calcutta was the first to install the mechanical typesetting apparatus and to print from a Rotary press. The Times of India in Bombay was the next to buy a Rotary plant. The Bengalee of Calcutta and The Hindu of Madras also went to Rotary press.

5.3.1 The Free Press Journal

The Free Press of India news agency started an English daily newspaper called "The Free Press Journal" on June 13, 1930 with the help of mercantile community of Bombay. In order to reach the common man, the paper was priced at half-an-anna per copy. By publishing the news dispatches of the Free Press News Agency, it kept the public well informed of the progress of the freedom fight. It also broke the orthodox way of the news display. The layout was quite attractive. Headlines were printed in bold types. With concentration on political news, the paper set the pace for popular journalism in the country. The language was simple and the issues were so clearly published that the ordinary reader had no difficulty in understanding the public affairs. S.Sadananda, its editor, was a dynamic personality and he worked hard to build up the paper. In the progress of his enterprise, he had the backing of leading citizens of Bombay like Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Walchand Hirachand, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Ghanshyam Das Birla, and M. R. Jayakar. Sadanand himself was a disciple of Gandhiji.

Meanwhile, prominent Congress leaders were released. Some were re-arrested. The boycott of English goods continued without any abatement. Interest in the London discussions was widespread and keen. Thousands of men and women participated in the Civil Disobedience campaign. At the right time the leader called a halt to the movement. Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, released Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders just for restoring a peaceful atmosphere. Gandhiji met Irwin several times, by the mediation of Sapru, Jayakar and V. S. Srinivasa Sastry. Their talks resulted in what came to be popularly known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. It was signed in 1931 and paved the way for Gandhiji to attend the Second Round Table Conference, in London. As the sole representative of the Indian National Congress, Gandhiji attended the Round Table Conference. The Conference was a great failure for there was no agreement even on fundamentals.

By this time, Lord Willingdon had succeeded Lord Irwin as Viceroy. Though the country was practically calm, there were some violations from both sides. While Gandhiji was in England to attend the Second Round Table Conference, terrorism broke out in Bengal. Many British officers were killed. The Government was forced to pass many Ordinances. There were six Ordinances, all directed to control the Civil Disobedience Movement. One such was the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931. It 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 only, but the Governor-General was vested with the powers to extend its appli-

cability. Among other stringent provisions, this Act empowered the local Government to direct a magistrate to issue a search warrant for property where copies of newspapers and books declared forfeited were suspected to be stored for distribution. The powers conferred by the Act were very wide and restrictions included the prohibition of the publication of Congress propaganda of any kind including messages from persons arrested and jailed. It restricted publication of exaggerated reports of political events, notices and advertisements of meetings, processions and other activities tending to promote the Civil Disobedience

Movement, or of any other matter in furtherance of the ugly incidents for which both the people and the Government were responsible.

The terrorist activities in Bengal, the serious agrarian situation in Uttar Pradesh, (the former United Provinces) and the unrest in the North- West Frontier Province by the arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan were some of the serious episodes which worried the British Government. People in India were eagerly expecting the arrival of Gandhiji to give a lead in the troubled circumstances. He came back to Bombay on December 28, 1931 and immediately wrote a letter to the Viceroy protesting against the promulgation of the various obnoxious ordinances in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and the North-West Frontier Province.

There was a correspondence going on between Gandhiji and the Viceroy. Though the letters were not released for publication, the Indian Press was aware that certain momentous changes were taking place. Reliable rumour was that the Viceroy had demanded co-operation from the Congress. Gandhiji could not give up his creed that non-violent Civil Disobedience was not only the natural right of the people, but also an effective substitute for violent rebellion. He justified the people's agitation, especially when they had no effective voice in their own Government. Gandhiji very ably guided the public and always considered it his bounden duty to evaluate and respect public opinion. All his actions were in conformity with the prescribed creed of non-violence and only essentially constitutional agitations were launched by him. The Civil Disobedience Movement was resumed and now included non-payment of taxes and the boycott of foreign goods. The Nationalists abandoning foreign spun cloth, for themselves chose Khadi for clothing. Liquor houses and shops vending foreign goods were picketed by Congress

volunteers.

5.3.2 The United Press of India

The idea of a news agency starting newspapers was not liked by many people and newspapers in Calcutta. Many of the subscribers of the Free Press news agency wrote to the promoters that it was not proper for a news agency to start newspapers. They feared that it would encourage rivalry and competition with the news agency's clients. The nationalist newspapers of Calcutta did not like this idea and so protested against newspapers being started by the news agency. They withdrew their support. The Free Press news agency was the only nationalist news agency which was providing news of the freedom struggle in detail to the nationalist newspapers in Calcutta. When they stopped support to the Free Press, they were afraid that the Associated Press of India news agency might again get the monopoly of the news service. So, B. Sen Gupta, who was the chief editor of the Free Press in Calcutta resigned his job there and decided to start a new nationalist news agency. He founded an independent organisation called the United Press of India. Thus was born the second national news agency in India. The Nationalist Press of India whole-heartedly supported Gandhiji in his Civil Disobedience Movement. But it made it clear that it was anti-fascist, and friendly to the allies.

In 1940, the Government established the Press Advisory Committee at the Centre and the Provinces. This was an alternative to the orders prohibiting the printing or publishing of any matter calculated to oppose the successful prosecution of the war. These advisory committees did not function properly and there was always a hitch. The launching of the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement by Gandhiji changed the attitude of the British Government, towards the Indian Press. Immediately, the Government of India issued a notification, "prohibiting the printing and publishing of any matter calculated directly or indirectly, to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war or relating to the holding of meetings or the making of speeches for the purpose."

This was directed against the publicity given to Gandhiji's movement by the Nationalist Press. Naturally, the Nationalist Press saw in it an attempt to suppress the campaign for Indian independence.

5.4 SUMMARY

Journalism has a huge role to play in times of rebellions and protests as it acts as a bridge between government and common man. During Indian freedom movement journalism played a crucial role in garnering masses into freedom struggle as well as in voicing out the opinion of national leaders for citizens as well as Crown to listen. Many political leaders like Gandhi and Ambedkar used journalism to spread awareness about freedom struggle among masses. In the next lesson we shall discuss about journalism in 19th century and rise of nationalist press.

5.5 GLOSSARY

- **August Revolution:** The August Revolution, also known as the August General Uprising, was a revolution launched by Ho Chi Minh's Việt Minh against French and the Japanese Empire colonial rule in Vietnam, on August 14, 1945
- **Nationalist:** a person who strongly identifies with their own nation and vigorously supports its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.
- **Akali:** A member of a Sikh political group
- **Swaraj:** Self-government or independence for India.
- **News agency:** An organization that collects news items and distributes them to newspapers or broadcasters.

5.6 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Name few important newspapers during freedom movement in India. Write a short note about any four newspapers and their role in freedom struggle.
- 2) Write a short note about Free Press Journal
- 3) Write a brief note about United Press of India
- 4) Discuss the role played by journalism during freedom movement.

5.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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LESSON 6

JOURNALISM IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to understand status of journalism in early 19th century in India.

Key Objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding of journalism in late 18th century India
- To discuss Bengal Gazette as one of the earliest newspapers of 19th century
- To discuss early journalism by Serampore missionaries
- To study about James Silk Buckingham and his Calcutta Journal in-depth.

STRUCTURE

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Bengal Journal
- 6.3 Bengal Gazette and Dig Darshan
- 6.4 James Silk Buckingham and the Calcutta journal
- 6.5 Summary
- 6.6 Glossary
- 6.7 Self-Assessment Questions
- 6.8 Suggested Readings

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Journalism, after the first two decades since its beginning in 1780, grew significantly by early 19th century. Many Europeans as well as Indian fancied the field of journalism and took to print. By early 1800s journalism already spread across all popular cities of British India. In this lesson we shall discuss about journalism in early 19th century through four newspapers viz. Bengal Journal, Bengal Gazette, Dig Darshan and Calcutta Journal.

6.2 BENGAL JOURNAL

One of the persons who fell as a victim to the abnormal policy of suppression of the Press adopted by the Government was a sturdy Irish American editor, William Duane. He was a printer by avocation and on arriving in Bengal in 1787 found employment in Revenue Department. In Calcutta he took two legal practitioners, Dimkin and Cassan, as his partners and established the Bengal Journal. The Madras war was in progress and the Bengal Journal carried a news item that Lord Cornwallis died while campaigning. This was published, with an attribution to an eminent French diplomat. The Commandant of the Affairs of the French Nation in India, Colonel De Canaple immediately lodged a complaint with the Bengal Government and Duane was in trouble. A repudiating apology was demanded but Duane was willing only to insert in his paper a corrigendum.

Lord Cornwallis, who wanted to rehabilitate the Company's administration by consolidating all its conquests, disliked even the slightest antagonism. In consultation with the legal experts he issued an order for arresting and deporting William Duane. In protest, Duane filed a writ petition. Though the writ of Habeas Corpus was granted, the Supreme Court positively approved the right of the Government to deport him. However, he was saved by the timely intervention of the French official M. Fumeron, who asserted that as the Colonel had died no further action against Duane was necessary especially in view of the fact that he had already suffered enough for his inaccurate publication of the rumoured "death of Lord Cornwallis".

Duane could not continue as the editor of Bengal Journal. He then started India World in 1795. This paper had a slow prosperity and took three years to get it stabilized. Duane was in trouble again. His residential quarters were raided. When he recorded his protest demanding the reason for the raid, he was given to understand that it was the wish of the Government that he should precede to Europe. Duane's journalistic activities were resented by the Government.

The story of his deportation was interesting. Sir John Shore, successor of Lord Cornwallis determined to deport him. One day, he was invited by the Governor to attend a breakfast at the Government House. When he arrived there, he found a number of soldiers and no breakfast. The soldiers took him to the nearest port from which he was sent to Europe by the first available ship.

William Duane was thus shrewdly arrested and taken abroad. On an appeal he was permitted to take with him three orphan children of whom he was the guardian. His property estimated at Rs. 30, 000 remained in India and no compensation was ever paid to him in spite of several reminders. After a short stay in London, he shifted to America. At Philadelphia, the then capital of United States of America, there was an influential newspaper called, the Aurora. Duane joined the staff of the Aurora and became its editor in 1798. Very soon he made headway and impressed his master, Benjamin Franklin Bache, who owned the Aurora. When Bache died, Duane married his widow and became the editor and the proprietor of the paper for the next 25 years. Duane's case is a typical example of the Company's strangulation of rising newspapers in India.

As the editor, Duane always wrote anti-British editorials. During the period 1791-1798, newspapers in Bengal were hauled up for various allegations mostly concerning military matters. On several occasions, newspapers courted the displeasure of the authorities by their publication of confidential matters. The Bengal press was greatly restrained by Lord Wellesley, the Governor General. In 1799, an order was issued by the Bengal Government prohibiting the publication of any news before it was passed by the Government Censor. It also directed the printer of every newspaper to write his name at the bottom of every issue of the newspaper and every editor and publisher had to declare his name and address to the court. Penalty for violation of these orders was immediate deportation to Europe.

During the eighteenth century, there was an avowed discouragement to newspapers. Errant newspapermen were artfully deported. Those who made sarcastic remarks of the East India Company's administration were denied postal concessions. Pre-censorship was imposed on certain newspapers. Most of the early pioneering journalist was ex-workers of the East India Company. All these were English newspapers run by Englishmen for European residents in India. India saw the birth of newspapers in 18th century, but it was an entirely English press, and Indians were hardly associated with it. The beginning of the 19th century saw the birth of Indian language newspapers.

6.3 BENGAL GAZETTE AND DIG DARSHAN

Nineteenth century marks an eventful chapter in the history of Indian journalism. It saw the birth of journalism in Indian languages, side by side with the ever growing English press. It was the beginning of a new era in the field of journalism. The early years of the 19th century, however, witnessed the imposition of rigid restrictions and controls over the press by the then Governor General Wellesley.

Despite unfavourable treatment meted out to the Press, Indian public opinion was becoming expressive by the end of 18th century and early 19th century. In 1816 the Bengal Gazette was started. Established by Gangadhar Bhattacharya it was the first newspaper by an Indian. It lived for only one year but it was recognized and justly remembered as the pioneer Indian-owned newspaper.

In April 1818, the Serampore Missionaries started Digdarshan, a monthly magazine in the Bengali language. Dr. Carey, the founder of the mission, was skeptical, because of the fact that English journals in Calcutta were published under stringent pre-censorship. He feared that a journal in an Indian language would be treated with meticulous scrutiny. His colleagues, Dr. Marshman and Ward, were earnest about the publication, and carried out the programmes.

Marshman intended to "feel the official pulse" and to observe the Government's reaction to an Indian language journal. Notices, articles relating to history and political news items were published in the journal. When there was no objection or displeasure expressed in Government circles even after two months of the establishment, the Editors were happy and set themselves to further their publication programme.

They started a weekly Samachar Darpan. Dr. Carey was not enthusiastic to have a weekly. In order to win him over Dr. Marshman voluntarily went to Calcutta and presented the inaugural issue of the Samachar Darpan to Vice-President Neil Benjamin Edmonstone and the Chief Secretary John Adam. Both were happy and commended the news weekly Samachar Darpan. Lord Hastings, then on tour, on receiving a specimen copy was thrilled, and he expressed in a letter that he was pleased to note the awakening spirit of enquiry in the Indian mind by the newspapers.

The Serampore Missionaries started a monthly periodical, the Friend of India in April 1818. This monthly published essays on subjects connected with India and a review of works on India published either in Europe or in India.

The Samachar Darpan was served not only as a propaganda journal but also as a source of information to the people publishing news collected from many places in Bengal and near about. It enjoyed the patronage in high circles. Official circulation was a great boon to this paper and it reached many places.

6.4 JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM AND THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL

One of the formative forces of public opinion in India and the most courageous of the early editors, James Silk Buckingham, was originally a mariner. He was known for his adventurous career and for his specific notions about the freedom of the press. A Britisher by birth, he had always subscribed liberally to progressive views. He was destined to play a significant part in the fight for the freedom of the press in India. He successfully enlisted the support of many enlightened Indians and he did also provoke bitter antagonism. He was the captain of the ship The Humayoon Shah and he was given an assignment to carry slaves from

the coast of Madagaskar. He surrendered his command of the ship in protest, branding the embarkation as "an obnoxious quest". For this spirited action he gained publicity and was held in esteem by the citizens of Calcutta. His gesture was duly recognized by the Governor General and the Lord Bishop.

He took to journalism and became the editor of the Calcutta Journal thus from the position of a ship's captain, Buckingham became the editor of the Calcutta Journal.

The inaugural issue of the Calcutta Journal appeared on Friday, October 2, 1818. It was a bi-weekly issued on eight quarto-sized pages. The price of a copy was one rupee. The editor's function according to James Silk Buckingham was, "to admonish Governors of their duties, to warn them furiously of their faults and to tell disagreeable truths". Buckingham was a humanitarian and his good taste was reflected in the pages of Calcutta Journal.

The carelessness of the police was pointed out and a few prevailing public grievances were judiciously exposed. It was reported in the Calcutta Journal that certain Europeans were a constant nuisance in the streets of Calcutta during the nights. The Readers' Forum was opened to express noted inefficiencies of the public rule without reservation of any kind and the Forum was open to all. The paper was well received and commended as a "well conducted independent, clever" paper. The circulation was around about a thousand copies. Buckingham with his devotion to navigation wrote articles pointing out the possibilities of discovering shorter routes to foreign countries and planned development of new means of communication.

Repeatedly, he asserted that the Press was very necessary to check an irresponsible government, particularly in the absence of law-making machinery. He pursued his policy of publishing letters in his Journal, which discussed matters of the local importance. There was a violent opposition from contemporary journals like India Gazette, the Bengal Harakuru and the Asiatic Mirror. The journal was not only well edited but also intelligently supervised and managed by him. Buckingham was primarily bold and impartial in his writings. He did not hesitate to attack even high dignitaries like the Chief Justice, Governor of Madras and Lord Bishop of Calcutta. In 1819, he was warned for writing against the Governor of Madras. In 1821, another newspaper called the John Bull in the East was started in Calcutta. There began a straight fight between the John Bull in the East and Calcutta Journal, the former upholding the Tory and the latter supporting the Whig ideologies in British politics.

A dispatch from a military correspondent, in the Journal, brought Buckingham once again into trouble. The question of promotion in the army was exposed in a story published. This provoked the authorities and immediately, the name of the author was demanded which was promptly furnished by the editor in consultation with the correspondent. Lt. Col. Robinson of Nagpur Regiment, the author of the dispatch was taken to task by the company. The liberty of Government servants to have access to the press was questioned and debated. John Adam was furious and had one more argument to advance against the Press. In this affair, Buckingham was saved. But Lt. Col. Robinson was removed from the command of his regiment and was made to quit the country. An order was issued to all Government officials advising them to refrain from sending signed or unsigned letters to the newspapers.

Lt. Col. Robinson died on his way to England. John Adam who was branded as one of the merciless counselors also died on his way to England, off Madagascar in 1825, at the age of 46 while proceeding on leave to improve his health in his home town.

Buckingham was consistent in his critical attitude towards the administration, and this criticism promoted public good. In July 1822 he boldly criticised a certain appointment and said that favouritism was rampant in the administration. This comment made both the authorities and the appointee angry. There was a vehement demand that Buckingham be

deported immediately. This furious demand was supported by John Adam, who pointing out the dangers of a free and uncontrolled newspaper said that it would weaken if not destroy, the habitual subordination to superior officials, which was necessary in the interest of discipline. It was his view that the destiny of India should be in the hands of Parliament and not in the hands of the Press. He staunchly suggested re-imposition of the censorship without delay. Adam was provoked at every repeated assertion of the freedom of the Press while Hastings thought otherwise and took no action.

Adam was infuriated and hurriedly sent an intimation to Buckingham that if he continued to incur the extreme displeasure of the Government, he, Adam, would be constrained to penalize him by translating threats into deeds. When Buckingham questioned the propriety of Adam's communicating such warnings ignoring the Parliament, Adam sent a counter-threat that his licence would be immediately cancelled and that deportation orders would be issued compelling him to leave the country.

Adam and his two colleagues, Fendell and Bayley, were for the suppression of the free Press, while Hastings was all for the independence of the newspapers. So, Hastings was not happy with these colleagues and even said that they were a 'mischievous set'.

Rev. Samuel James Bryce after his return from England became the editor of the John Bull and began labeling Buckingham, his old rival. He endeavoured to show Buckingham as an imposter and consequently had to defend himself when a libel suit was brought against him. As ill-luck would have it for Buckingham, Hastings' rule came to an end and accidentally John Adam became the officiating Governor-General in January 1823. That sealed the fate of James Silk Buckingham.

Adam who was anxious to take revenge on Buckingham, lost little time in dealing with his arch rival. James Bryce was named Clerk of the Stationery despite the irregularity of such an appointment. Buckingham sarcastically criticized in one of his strong editorials this unusual favour by the new Governor-General and vindictively said that anything might happen under the temporary regime. As was expected, Adam's Council supported the cancellation of Buckingham's licence. In a declaration, Adam justified his action and passed order to the effect that Buckingham should leave India immediately. He was served with an order of deportation which read as follows:

Referring to the editorial remarks contained in the Calcutta Journal of the 8th instant and to the communications officially made to you on former occasions, I am directed to appraise you that in the judgment of the Governor-General-in-Council you have forfeited your claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government. I am further directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an order passed by the Government on the present day by which the license of the Court of Directors authorizing you to proceed to the East Indies is declared to be void from and after the fifteenth day of April next. You will be pleased to notice that if you should be found in the East Indies from and after that date you will be a person residing and being in the East Indies without licence or authority for that purpose and will be sent forthwith to the United Kingdom.

To Buckingham, the order of revocation of his licence and expedient deportation was not a surprise. While issuing a statement to the readers, he made an announcement that he would try to stage a come-back to India very soon. In the issue of the Calcutta Journal dated February 8, 1823 he wrote: "The Governor General has, in his supreme wisdom and unimpeachable judgment thought it fit to distinguish his brief but happy elevation, by an act without parallel in the history of India during the whole of the preceding administration." In his affectionate address he said: "I would lose no time in directing all my personal exertions in another and higher quarter to obtain for my countrymen in India, 'the freedom and

'independence' of mind." Before sailing to England he sold all his property except Calcutta Journal by public auction. Sandys, an Indian-born colleague was made the editor of the Calcutta Journal. Two Englishmen, Sandford Arnot and James Sutherland were appointed by him to assist the Editor. Buckingham left about Rs 27, 000 to enable Calcutta Journal to have continuous publication.

In England, Buckingham started publishing a newspaper called Oriental Herald. The Calcutta Journal was freely reproducing articles and extracts printed in the Oriental Herald. Most of the reproduced matter was related to freedom of the press in India. James Silk Buckingham was one of the fiery champions of the freedom of the Press in India. It was evident that he advocated Indian Rule for India way back in 1832 in his London based newspaper Oriental Herald.

6.5 SUMMARY

Journalism in India grew significantly in 19th century. Journalism until early 19th century was run by the English. Journalism was initiated in India by James Augustus Hickey. It was later continued by many Europeans. Bengal Journal of late 18th century was started by William Duane. Gangadhar Bhattacharya was the first Indian to start a newspaper in India. His newspaper was the Bengal Gazette. Later, following in his footsteps, many Indian started entering the field of journalism. In the next lesson we shall discuss about role of press during first war of Indian Independence.

6.6 GLOSSARY

- **Repudiate:** Deny the truth or validity of.
- **Corrigendum:** A thing to be corrected, typically an error in a printed book.
- **Pioneer:** A person who is among the first to research and develop a new area of knowledge or activity.
- **Missionary:** A person sent on a religious mission, especially one sent to promote Christianity in a foreign country.
- **Deportation:** The action of deporting a foreigner from a country.

6.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a short note about Bengal Journal.
- 2) What are the first missionaries to start journalism in India? Why did missionaries enter the field of journalism?
- 3) Write a short note about Bengal Gazette.
- 4) Describe the status of journalism in early 19th century with respect to the Calcutta Journal.

LESSON 7

PRESS AND FIRST WAR OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an in-depth understanding about first war of Indian Independence and the role of press during the war.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding of the first war of Indian independence
- To discuss Gagging Act and its impact on Indian press
- To learn about the status of journalism in British India
- To analyze few important newspapers that were founded after sepoy mutiny

STRUCTURE

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 First War of Indian Independence
- 7.3 Gagging Act
- 7.4 Journalism under the Crown
- 7.5 Next Wave of Newspapers
- 7.6 The First Press Commissioner
- 7.7 Summary
- 7.8 Glossary
- 7.9 Self-Assessment Questions
- 7.10 Suggested Readings

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Newspapers, being the only form of mass media during 19th century, played a crucial role during India's first war of independence in the year 1857. Journalism, that already set its foot firmly into Indian soil by 1857 fought bravely against government suppression of freedom of speech and journalism. In this lesson we shall discuss about First War of Indian Independence, reasons behind the mutiny, and role of press in lending a hand to the movement.

7.2 FIRST WAR OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

The darkest period of Indian Journalism set in, in 1857. Fetters were again forged during and after the First War of Indian Independence or the “Indian Sepoy Mutiny” as some historians prefer to call it. It began in May 1857 at Meerut.

That the “greased cartridge caused the revolt of 1857”, had been the usual version till now. But a variety of causes, political, religious, economic and social were at the root of the revolt.

The British gave offence to the religious susceptibilities of the soldiers who were both Hindus and Muslims. Some of the military mandates offended the orthodox among the Hindus and the Muslims. The Britishers made some obnoxious innovations and the soldiers regarded these innovations as the Englishman's crafty attempts to make them Christians. Many an offensive regulation was enforced on the military men, interfering with their religious ideology and practice. Lord Bentinck's abolition of Sati also was regarded as a serious interference with the customs of the Hindu religion. The abolition of Sati disturbed the feelings of Muslims too; for they felt that no custom was safe from interference by the alien rulers. Faith in the British people was lost. Discontent was not confined to the army alone. Soon it spread to all sections of the populace. Everywhere there was fear of conversion to Christianity. The situation was grave. Never before had the British authority here felt less helpless and less secure, than at this time.

7.3 GAGGING ACT

While the great rising was in progress, the Press was issuing statements of a highly provocative nature. Both the correspondence columns and the editorial notes were full of inflammatory incitement on both sides. The tone of the press was unbearable. The Anglo-Indian newspapers wanted revengeful action and exaggerated the 'deplorable' tone of the Indian Press. The Indian Press was violent and exhorted the Indians to further the revolutionary activities. Manuscript incitements to rebellion were widely read in almost all quarters. Government was not ready to let the passionate Press have its way anymore and wanted to control the state of affairs. Their main object was to curb the independent spirit of the Indian soldiers. So on June 13, 1857, a new Act to regulate the establishment of printing presses was promulgated. The chief aim of this Act was obviously to restrain, in certain cases, the circulation of printed books and papers. This Act required licences for maintaining printing presses. It prohibited any matter designed to create chaos or inspire hatred of the British among the Indians. This legislation became known as the "Gagging Act."

The Government believed that to a dangerous extent sedition had been poured into the hearts of the Indians under the guise of news in the language newspapers; and that it had been done sedulously, cleverly and artfully. It was alleged by Lord Canning that facts were grossly misrepresented and the readers were imperfectly acquainted with the proceedings of the Government. With the declaration, "there are times in the existence of every State in which something of the liberties and rights which it jealously cherishes and scrupulously guards in ordinary seasons must be sacrificed for the public welfare", no quarter was now given to the Press.

The Gagging Act No.XV of 1857 was operative for one year. The first War of Independence came as a rude shock to the British Government. Never before had such an attempt been made to overthrow their power in India. It was followed by a series of Press Acts and many of them aimed at preventing a repetition of the upheaval. The Act XV of 1857 revived the main features of the much hated Adam's Regulations of 1823. The first victims of this re-imposition of restraint of the Press included the Bengal Harakaru owned by Dwarakanath Tagore and others. Its licence was revoked on the ground that it printed observations "calculated to bring the Government into contempt and weaken its lawful authority". The Indian printers and publishers of the Doorbeen, the Sultan-ul-Akhbar and the Samachar, Sudhaburshan were prosecuted in the Supreme Court for publishing seditious libels. The editors of the first two papers admitted their guilt and were discharged. The editors of the third won the case. He was found not guilty. The press in which the Gulshan-i-nau-bahar was being printed was confiscated by the Government for having published 'malignant'

articles in that paper. Out of the thirty-five popular publications of 1853, only six were found surviving in 1857.

The Act XV of 1857 restored the system of licences in addition to the existing registration procedure. A number of Indian editors were prosecuted for publishing seditious articles. The manuscript press was not within the control of the authorities. As it was beyond the purview of the Act of 1857, it contained inflammatory writings and was widely distributed.

The Friend of India and the Bombay Times tasted the power of the newly enacted Gagging Act. Henry Mead, the editor of the Friend of India wrote an article on June 25, 1857, under the title, "The Centenary of Plassey", criticizing the previous rulers of India. In that article he made out a case for British Rule in India. But those were bad times for the Press and the Governor-General thought that the article did more harm than good to British rule here. So a warning was given to him by the Bengal government to the effect that if he were to write such an article again, his licence would be withdrawn. He wrote in his editorial under the caption, "The First Warning" that his paper had been honoured by the promulgation of the "Gagging Act". Strongly criticizing the Governor-General's popularity, Mead declared: "To-day there is not half a dozen Europeans who would lift up their hands in his favour". The Government strongly resented these remarks and wanted to withdraw the licence but the proprietor of the paper who was away when this controversy was going on, apologized and the action proposed was dropped.

The part played by the editor of the Bombay Times, Dr. George Buist was quite different. He had to suffer dismissal by the proprietors of his paper. Soon after his return from England in 1859, he joined the fray. His slogan was "Blood for Blood". He was making sweeping remarks on the Indians. He began to write that the whole population of India consisted of, "freedom tigers, treacherous barbarians and cruel savages." The shareholders of the Bombay Times headed by Naoroji Furdoonji were mostly Indians. They did not like the editor's policy. They met in a body and denounced the editor. They passed a resolution condemning his policies as "illiberal, impolite and unjust." The shareholders directed him to desist from the fatal policy and change the tone and tenor of his editorials. Dr. Buist was asked to give a pledge to honour the course recommended by the Board of Shareholders. He declined to do any such thing. Immediately Dr. Buist was dismissed and Robert Knight became the editor of the Bombay Times.

The editor of the Bombay Gazette, John Cannon, wrote a letter to the Government thoroughly disapproving of the new Press Act. The letter was filed and a reply was sent that it had already become operative.

The language newspapers, the Bombay Samachar, the Jam-e-Jamshed, and the Rast Goftar strongly defended the part played by the Indians in the First War of Independence and some papers published English versions to make the British rulers know what was happening on the other side.

The Gujarati Press of Bombay very effectively defended the Indian revolt. A paper by name the Hindu Patriot ably edited by Harish Chandra Mukherjee played a prominent part in the "Indian Mutiny". It kept up its balance in that prejudicial atmosphere. At the very same time a Bengali journal, the Som Prakash was started by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Dwarakanath Vidyabhusan to propagate the political ideals of the day.

The paper was well edited and immediately appealed to the Indians. According to the Act of 1857, the Bengali journal Som Prakash was banned. The editor stopped publishing it but started another Bengali language newspaper called the Navabibhakar printed in the same press with only a change of name. The Amrita Bazar Patrika, a vigorous nationalist paper of Calcutta which was published in Bengali, changed overnight to a full-fledged English daily

newspaper in order to evade the 1857 Act. All the above journals worked for the independence of India during the revolution. Besides the printed press there were many manuscript journals, both metropolitan, and mofussil, brought out mostly in North India to enflame the rebellious feelings.

At the time of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, there were 30 newspapers publishing in the North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh. They were published in Urdu and most of them were edited by Muslims. Only three of them survived after the Mutiny. The North-West Provinces of Agra and Oudh later became the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and are now in the present Uttar Pradesh.

Rumour was abroad that the May-Rebellion might break out at any time and that seriously. The news had passed on from mouth to mouth. Songs and catch phrases had become the medium of mass communication. The Indian language Press was naturally suspected by the Government. Sensing trouble from these quarters, strict censorship was imposed. An editor at Peshawar became a victim of this Press censorship and was imprisoned. The printing presses at Sialkot, Multan, Peshawar and Rawalpindi were prevented from working.

The South Indian language newspapers which were in existence at that time also published some extracts from news of the rebellion culled out from journals published in different parts of North India. Here also, many papers were ordered to stop publication and a few editors were arrested and sent to jail.

7.4 JOURNALISM UNDER THE CROWN

The First War of Indian Independence was crushed by the British Authorities here and there was a change in Indian administration. Queen Victoria took charge of the administration of India on November 1, 1858 and there was a change in the system of dual control. Lord Canning continued to be the representative of the British in India. He was newly designated the Viceroy of India.

After the new administrative set-up in India there was a small change in the attitude of Viceroy Canning to the press. In order to bring about better relations between the Press and the Government, he founded the "Editors' Room" where journalists could come and examine the Government papers relating to public interest. Some official papers were printed and pasted on notice boards and some attached to the Gazette for public information. Some of the efforts of Lord Canning to liberalise the stringent provisions of the Press-laws did not bear any fruit. So, he was compelled to accord equal treatment to both the English and the Indian language newspapers, so far as the Gagging Law was concerned.

Lord Elgin, Sir Robert Napier and Sir William Danison who became Viceroys successively from 1862 to 1864, after Lord Canning, did not interfere with the Press. When Sir John Lawrence became the Viceroy in 1864, he revived the idea of having a Government news paper because some Indian newspapers had severely criticized him. The proposal was discussed thoroughly but was found financially unwise.

Again this was a move in the official circles to start an official newspaper to give publicity to the Government's point of view. Lawrence's successor, Lord Mayo, discussed this matter with the Secretary of State for India. The result was not the birth of a newspaper but the Act XXVII of 1870. It read as follows:

"Whoever 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

for any term, to which fine may be added; or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added; or with fine."

All the provisions of this section were later incorporated in the Indian Penal Code as Section 124-A.

Earlier, Metcalfe's Press Act No.XI 1835 for the liberation of the Indian Press was repealed in 1867 by Act No.XXV of 1867. This Act was designed for the regulation of printing presses and newspapers. With little alteration, this Act is still in force. Among its provisions are:

- a) Keepers for printing presses shall make a declaration before a magistrate.
- b) The printer and the publisher shall make a declaration with a precise description of the premises where the printing or publication is conducted.
- c) The printer shall deliver, free of expenses to the Government, two copies of each issue of the newspaper, failing which he shall pay a fine of Rs. 2,000 or in default undergo imprisonment for six months.

The Vernacular Press Act of 1857 was denounced by Gladstone in the House of Commons in London. When he became the Prime Minister of England, he sent Lord Ripon as Viceroy with special instructions to repeal the law. Lord Ripon came to India in 1882, and the first act of legislation by him was the repeal of the Act of 1857.

The ordinary law with a special section in the Indian Penal Code was now the Government's only weapon. That was Section 124-A. It was called by the Indians as "the Prince Section". It read as follows:

124-A Whoever by words either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings 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 for any shorter term, to which may be added fine, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine."

Explanation: I. The expression "Disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity. II. Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtaining their alteration by lawful means without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not constitute an offence under this section.

III. Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

The above sections were used in rare cases so far as Press publications were concerned. One outstanding victim of Section 124-A was Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak, the fiery editor of the Marathi language weekly, the Kesari. He was arrested and tried in 1897 for an alleged seditious editorial. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for six years.

So, it can be seen that instead of starting a Government newspaper, the British Government resorted to the enactment of Acts to curb the patriotic fervor of the Indian people, and they thought they had successfully crushed the freedom rebellion of 1857. But they were sadly mistaken; for the revolt of 1857 was only the beginning of the great revolution that swept over the country in the first half of twentieth century.

7.5 NEXT WAVE OF NEWSPAPERS

A new phase of the Indian Press appeared with the rise of a new wave of nationalism and the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, for the tone of writing and the attitude of many English newspapermen and almost all Indian journalists. Inspiring and patriotic statements upheld the cause of freedom. This also irritated the bureaucracy. The language of the newspapers, both English and Indian became insistent and effective. The papers paid attention to political views than to the dissemination of news.

Queen Victoria's administration heralded a new era in Indian politics. With the passage of the India Council's Act in 1861, new constitutional reforms were ushered. For the first time great Indians with distinction were associated with the administration of the country. Indian non-officials became members of the Councils in Madras and Bombay and of the Council of the Governor-General. Every member was assigned a department of Government and the cabinet system of Government came into existence in India. Indian non-officials, who were members of the Council acted purely in an advisory capacity without having any power of action whatsoever. When these reforms were brought into force, Indian public opinion reacted to it. The Indians began to discuss the new reforms. They had become politically conscious. In order to give vent to their feelings, they wanted a forum and that forum was provided by the newspapers that were started then. Many great newspapers of importance which are flourishing today were born at the close of the 19th century. They were the Times of India of Bombay, the Pioneer of Allahabad, the Madras Mail of Madras, the Statesman of Calcutta, the Civil & Military Gazette of Lahore and The Hindu of Madras.

Technical advances which were taking place at this time favoured the growth of modern journalism in India and incidentally new journals benefited by them. The Reuters news agency had already started and correspondents in London and other European capitals were sending dispatches by mail to Indian newspapers. Direct telegraphic communication between India and Great Britain was helpful in the dispatch of important news sent from across the sea to the Indian newspapers.

It was evident that the activities of the Government and the Press in India were growing rapidly and Government was very sensitive to growing press criticism. The Indian language newspapers both in the north and south were increasing in numbers and in circulation strength. The survey conducted by Dr. George Birdwood showed that there were 62 language newspapers in Bombay State comprising the languages of Gujarathi, Marathi, Persian and Hindustani. The north-west frontier province (Pakistan) and the central provinces (now called Madhya Pradesh) had 60 papers. Bengal had 28 papers. There were 19 newspapers in Madras area published in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada.

Newspapers both in English and Indian languages were being started in large numbers from 1858 to 1877. Criticism of Government was there from both the sections. The Indian language newspapers and Indian editors and proprietors of English papers were vehement and strong in their criticisms of Government policies and actions.

In order to control and regulate the press, the British Government brought out a Vernacular Press Act in 1878. According to this Act, the printer and publisher of any language newspaper had to execute a bond, that they would not publish anything which would excite the feelings of disaffection against the Government or of hatred between persons of different races, castes and religions among Her Majesty's subjects. The Vernacular Press Act was a great blow to the freedom of the Press in India. The language newspapers suffered heavily because of this Act.

7.6 THE FIRST PRESS COMMISSIONER

In order to keep the press fully posted with accurate and current information, Lord Lytton instituted the post of the Press Commissioner for India. Sir Robert Lethbridge was appointed as the First Press Commissioner for India. His duty was to supply the Press with the early and accurate information with regard to public measures and he was to be a liaison officer between the Government and the Indian language Press. Being a former journalist, Robert Lethbridge knew the difficulties of the Press in collection of information. He became real friend of the Indian language newspapers. He was supplying Government with information accurate and regularly and his relationship with Indian language press very cordial. The Government was not happy with this, and the post of Press Commissioner was abolished in 1881.

Lord Lytton became very unpopular when he got the Vernacular Press Act passed. The Indians resented his actions severely. There was famine in two provinces when he became the Viceroy and adding insult to injury, he raised the taxes. The people became very bitter against such autocratic methods of Lytton.

The immediate effect of the Vernacular Press Act was felt by the Amrita Bazar Patrika. It was a bilingual daily, published in two languages viz., Bengal and English. It was functioning as a vigorous nationalist organization. In order to evade the Vernacular Press Act, it changed overnight to a full-fledged English daily.

It was during this time that one of the most important and reputed newspapers of India, The Hindu, was born in Madras. Though there were already two newspapers, the Native Public Opinion and the Madrassee, they did not command public support. Even the first Indian-owned paper, the Crescent run by the Native Association had ceased publication. Opposition to the Vernacular Press Act was growing rapidly and it was left to the Hindu to protest against this Act in the South. It was with this in view that six young men under the able leadership of M. Veeraraghavacharu decided to establish the Hindu. The Hindu, was born on September 20, 1876.

The Marquess of Ripon who became the next Viceroy in 1880 was a very shrewd man. He saw the general discontent among the Indians and immediately thought of repealing the Vernacular Act and it was removed from the Indian Statute Book. Further, he invited the co-operation of the Indians in local administration, in order to help the Indians to improve their administrative capacities. The Hindu of Madras was converted into a tri-weekly from a weekly in 1883 to help increase the political consciousness of the people.

7.7 SUMMARY

One of the main reasons behind the first war of Indian independence is the suppression of journalism through Gagging Act by the then Governor General of India in the year 1857. Press fought vehemently for freedom of speech and expression and succeeded to a great extent in spearheading the early fight against media muzzling. In the next lesson we shall discuss about status of press in 20th century.

7.8 GLOSSARY

- **Muzzle:** Prevent (a person or group) from expressing their opinions freely.
- **Gagging:** Characteristic of choking or retching.
- **Cartridge:** A casing containing a charge and a bullet or shot for small arms or an explosive charge for blasting
- **Mutiny:** An open rebellion against the proper authorities, especially by soldiers or sailors against their officers.
- **Revolt:** Take violent action against an established government or ruler; rebel.

7.9 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) What are the causes that lead to first war of Indian independence?
- 2) Write a short note on Gagging Act. Why was the gagging act introduced?
- 3) Describe few eminent newspapers that were started after 1857.
- 4) Who was the first press commissioner of India? Did the status of press improve after 1857?

7.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Bugg, J. W. (2007). *Gagging Acts: The Trials of British Romanticism*. United Kingdom: Princeton University.
 - 2) Jayapalan, N. (2001). *History of India*. India: Atlantic.
- Mead, H. (1858). *The Sepoy Revolt: Its Causes and Its Consequences*. United Kingdom: G. Routledge.

LESSON 8

JOURNALISM IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an in-depth understanding about the status of press in 20th century before independence.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding of the status of press in India during freedom struggle
- To discuss about the Associated Press of India
- To study the Minto Morley reforms and how they impacted journalism
- To analyse Home Rule movement by Annie Besant and the role of press in promoting the movement

STRUCTURE

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Overview of Early 20th Century Journalism in India
- 8.3 Associated Press of India
- 8.4 Minto Morley Reforms
- 8.5 Home Rule Movement
- 8.6 Summary
- 8.7 Glossary
- 8.8 Self-Assessment Questions
- 8.9 Suggested Readings

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Journalism grew in leaps and bounds in India by late 19th century. Indian freedom struggle found a strong supporter in journalism and by early 20th century journalism became an important part of Indian freedom struggle. Many national leaders took to press to spread awareness and freedom movement and to voice out their opinion openly. In this lesson we shall discuss about associated press of India, Minto Morely reforms that lead to great changes in Indian legal system as well as the status of journalism in India. We shall also discuss Annie Besant's Home Rule movement and New India.

8.2 OVERVIEW OF EARLY 20ST CENTURY JOURNALISM IN INDIA

The twentieth century heralded a new era in Indian politics and contributed a great deal towards the development of the Press. G.A. Natesan of Madras started the Indian Review in 1900. He was an able young man who had his apprenticeship in the editorial office of the Madras Times. His monthly journal contained articles bearing on India's welfare contributed

both by Indians and Englishmen. He specialized in editing and publishing numerous political biographies of the great men of India. These biographies are even to-day valuable record of political thought.

C.Y. Chintamani and N.G. Kelkar were two other ambitious and energetic youngmen who appeared on the journalistic scene in India. C.Y. Chintamani had just then ably edited a book on the social reforms of Mahadev Govind Ranade. Kelkar was editing the Kesari and the Mahratta as Tilak was in prison serving a sentence for sedition.

8.3 ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

News agencies became important with the invention and development of the electric telegraph. This brought a radical change in the distribution of news, especially after the reduction in charge of Press telegrams. Paul Julius Reuter of Germany, was the pioneer in establishing a news agency. He started a pigeon post service in July 1850, which transmitted commercial and financial news only. Gradually, after gaining experience, he thought of promoting a world-wide news service. His home-town in Germany was no place for such a venture, because the Press there was not firmly established. So he went to London to start his news agency. The Central Press News agency was already there in London and supplied news to provincial journals. The idea of Reuter was to start a telegraph agency for foreign news with the help of James Grant, editor of the Morning advertiser. With the improvement of communication lines, Reuter was able to establish a telegraphic news service and he succeeded in contacting India. The Bombay Times of Bombay was receiving Reuter's dispatches by mail until 1860. When telegraphic communication was established the news was transmitted by wire. The Bengalee in 1900 was the first Indian language daily to subscribe to the Reuter agency.

Reuter's office in Indian was established in 1866. Henry Collins was the man in charge and he was assisted by a Paris clerk as messenger. Cables were so costly that one word would cost £1 with a minimum of 20 words per message. Still the subscribers were ready to receive news. In 1870 the Times of India besides being enlisted on Reuters Service, enlisted itself as a client of the British Indian Cables and the Indo-European Telegraphs. However, these telegraphic messages were drastically edited and occupied only about half a column.

In course of time, Reuters became a world organization catering news to thousands of papers in different countries and Indian Newspapers depended on Reuters for all foreign news until other foreign news agencies made headway in the country. When the Associated Press of America and the United Press of America began to transmit foreign news quite ably and fast, monopoly of the Reuters was broken. But the high cost of transmission made Indians think of an Indian news agency. K.G. Roy, who worked as a correspondent at the Government headquarters in Calcutta during winter and in Simla during summer founded the first Indian news agency, the Associated Press of India. Newspapermen in India complained of the high cost of transmission. They requested Roy to undertake the establishment of an Indian news agency. He was then connected with six Indian Newspapers and the Central Press News agency of London. He collected information about the working of the Associated Press of America. He studied the ways of popularizing news and lessening the cost of transmission. Roy's efforts materialized in 1910 when the Associated Press of India was born, with the head office in Calcutta and branch offices in Bombay and Madras. Because of Roy's influence, the Indian Telegraph Act was amended to facilitate the acceptance of Press telegrams at reduced rates. The news agency gained popularity in a very short time. Roy had

a very good staff of experienced workers, who did the work in a spirit of patriotism and did not care for monetary reward.

When there was no news agency in the strict sense of the term, a few special correspondents had their heyday. Prominent among them were A. J. Buck of the *Englishman* Edward Coates of the statesman, and Dallas of the *Indian Daily News*. Besides them were Howard Hensman and K. G. Roy who enjoyed very friendly relationship with some top officials of the Government both in Calcutta and Shimla. When the Associated Press was formed Buck and Coates were also connected with the venture as directors. K.G. Roy for some time was away from the Associated Press when he was refused a directorship. At that time he collaborated with Usha Nath Sen to establish another news agency called the Press Bureau. Some time later, K.G. Roy was offered a directorship and thereby the Press Bureau was absorbed by the Associated Press.

Now, in addition to being a Director, K.G. Roy became the Managing Editor of the Associated Press of India. With the formation of this news gathering system, the system of special correspondents disappeared. These men used to travel throughout the country and send special dispatches based on their personal knowledge of affairs. This personal touch was now gone. The routine news service had taken its place. K.G. Roy proved a great success in this field. He played a prominent part in politics, becoming a member of the Legislative Assembly. He rendered great help in organizing service from all parts of India. K.G. Roy under whose guidance the agency achieved great renown and status may, therefore, be called the virtual founder of the Associated Press of India.

This news agency gave newspapers an opportunity of covering a wider field of news than would have been possible with their individual and limited sources. The formation of the Associated Press of India was a death-blow to the system of special correspondents and that system soon disappeared. The newspapers, however, maintained their representatives in big towns and metropolitan cities. These special correspondents displayed quite a personal and predominantly individualistic touch. With the service of the news agency, there emerged a conscientious impersonal routine service of the news. Reports flashed by the Associated Press of India were regarded as biased and in the circumstances of the country prevailing then; it only purveyed official news, the activities of commercial magnates, big landlords and other vested interests.

8.4 MINTO MORLEY REFORMS

Lord Curzon's rule was too authoritarian and it was therefore much resented by the public. The people felt that only some direct action would force the Government to respect public opinion. Curzon had good intentions about India but he failed utterly to understand the sentiments of the people. He restricted many liberties and set up many a hurdle to throttle educated opinion in the country. He was one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to India, according to Gokhale, but he had an extreme disregard for public opinion which was generally deemed a chief flaw in an administrator. Curzon was very imperious despite a few virtues that he possessed. The Swadeshi Movement was launched in his day and there was a country-wide boycott of British goods. The Indians were growing freedom conscious and nationalism was becoming a religion.

The patronage of indigenous products and the boycott of foreign commodities did not go as peacefully as was planned. The movement, though it gained momentum in a few places, led to unhappy incidents. Some of the staunchest supporters resorted to violence. Some of the demonstrations connected with the swadeshi Movement were wild and chaotic. A few fanatic

sympathizers even committed crimes in the name of swadeshi activities, in Bengal and Bombay. Even in Madras and the Punjab, there were reported cases of terrorism witnessed under the banner of the swadeshi Movement. It was unfortunate indeed that because of the excessive zeal of some persons in the movement, its efficiency itself suffered a little set-back. Perhaps, these persons were ill-advised or had a misconception about the significance of the line of action advocated by the swadeshi leaders.

Lord Minto succeeded Lord Curzon in 1906. He was an able and liberal Viceroy. But his hands were tied by the Government in London. The Indian leaders were demanding that elected representatives be entertained both in Provincial Councils and in the Viceroy's executive Council. The Indian National Congress met in Calcutta in 1905. Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the meeting. There were differences of opinion among the Indian leaders regarding the aims and objects of the self-government proposed by the British Government. Two groups known as the Liberals (Moderates) and the Nationalists (Extremists) respectively, were formed as the Indian leaders could not come to a decision.

The leading figures among the Moderates were: Sir Phirozeshaw Mehta, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Rash Bihari Ghosh and Surendranath Banerjee. In no way were they anxious to get themselves involved with the extremists. Neither were they ready to support the policies of the Government. The extremists on the other hand were eager to continue contacts with the Congress.

The Indian Press was also divided, one section supporting the British Government and the Liberals and the other supporting the Nationalists. There was the partition of Bengal over which the Indian Press very strongly wrote protesting against the action of the Viceroy. There was trouble in the Punjab with regard to the agrarian situation. Lala Lajpat Rai, the leader of the Punjab who took active part in supporting the farmers of the Punjab was deported in 1907. This enraged the Indian Press which vehemently criticized the British Government.

In order to ease the situation, Lord Minto desired that an Indian be included in his Council of Ministers. He wished also to stem the tide of the revolutionary spirit of the Indians by this lure. The authorities in England did not agree to this proposal. Even a personal letter written by Lord Minto to King Edward VII did not yield any fruit.

Meanwhile, the Indian National Congress met in Surat in 1907. Again there was a split among the Indian leaders regarding the acceptance of the Reforms, as suggested by Minto. There was trouble and the session ended with Gopalakrishna Gokhale leading the Liberals and Bal Gangadhar Tilak becoming the leader of the Nationalists. The Kesari and the Desha Sevak of Nagpur supported Tilak and campaigned in such an effective way that it necessitated the British Government to pass the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act VII of 1908, which empowered the authorities to take judicial action against the editor of any paper which published matter inciting to rebellion. Under the authority of this Act, seven presses were confiscated. Five prosecutions were launched and many warnings were given.

The partition of Bengal was a result of the Morley-Minto Reforms. The capital was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi. The Reforms, inter alia, gave members the right to discuss the budget, put in interpellations and move resolution.

The Morley-Minto Reforms paved the way for more dissensions among the Indian leaders. The Liberals wanted to work the Reforms while the Nationalist vigorously protested against the Reforms. All the important leaders of the nationalist group were arrested and sent to jail for having opposed the Reforms. The Indian Press wrote very strongly against these ill-conceived arrests, and the unbaked Reforms. Even the Liberals resented these repressive measures. But they wanted to try these Reforms, one of which suggested the inclusion of an Indian minister in the Viceroy's Council. Satya Prosanna Sinha was appointed to the

Viceroy's Council representing the Indians and he was given the portfolio of Law. Sir S.P. Sinha was an eminent barrister of the Calcutta High Court. He later became the Under-Secretary for India and was raised to the peerage. Lord Sinha piloted the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Act, 1919 in the British House of Lords. During this time the Liberals wanted to have a party organ to propagate their views and so they started a daily newspaper, the Leader, in Allahabad. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the chief organizer of the paper. His supporters included Phirozeshaw meha, Gopalakrishna Gokhale and Dinshaw Wacha. Another journal started in Bombay entitled the advocate of India proved a failure because of Phirozeshaw mehta's insistence on his views and it reverted to anglo-Indian ownership.

Lord Minto's regime in no way solved the burning problem of the freedom of India. The Britishers were unable to curb the growing hostility. The Indians were uncompromising and stubborn with their demands. The press was one of the potent instruments. It had quickened the national alertness and had spread in the country ideas of justice and equality not only between man and man but also between class and class. It had roused public spirit and had set high standards of public duty. Seditious ideas, as the authorities had termed them, were consistently spreading to all parts of the country. It was practically impossible for the authorities to arrest this rapid spread. So, a more stringent Act was contemplated and was passed in 1910 known as the Press Act I of 1910.

Under this new Press Act, the Government was empowered to demand security from any newspaper, publishing matter considered offensive. While making his comment on this new piece of legislation, Gokhale emphasized that unless the Act was used with the utmost care and caution, the evil which it was intended to combat would only be driven underground. The new Act had various obnoxious features. It substituted the discretion of the executive for the former rights of public hearing and appeal which had been allowed to the Press so far and thus thwarted the basic principle of jurisprudence. It directed the accused to prove his innocence. Though it provided for an appeal, the Court of appeal was divested of the right to question the discretion of the executive. Journalists were asked to furnish a security even before they could publish a newspaper. This was humiliating and rightly was taken as an insult by the intelligentsia of the Indian Press.

Between 1910 and 1914 were many demands for security amounts. Some chose to pay the security and some refused. A few newspapers were courageous enough to refuse the security and yet continued publication. They were mercilessly persecuted and consistently harassed. The following table gives a clear idea.

The above list is just an indication. In fact many Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi and Gujarati newspapers were constrained either to yield to the arbitrary demand of security deposit or had to put a stop to their publication. The worst sufferer was Bombay city. This abominable practice was termed the sedition hunt by Gokhale. The Government did not stop at the loathsome practice of extracting the so-called security deposits. Much to the discomfiture of many, there was a system of prosecuting the seditious agitators. S.M. Paranjape an associate of Tilak himself in the Bombay High Court under section 124-A. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Densil Ibbetson, deported Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. There were such prosecutions in Bengal also and the victims included Krishna Kumar Mitra, aswini Kumar Dutt, Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, Pulin behari Das, Manoranjan Guha and Bhupesh Chandra Nag. They were all asked to quit the province of Bengal at once. Action was taken against Aurobindo Ghosh of the Bandemataram. Brahma-Bandhava Upadhyaya of the Sandhya and Bhupendranath Dutta of the Juganthar (brother of swami Vivekananda), Bepin Chandra, Pal and the printer of the Bandemataram had to enter jail. In May 1908 started the trial of that sensational case known as the Alipore Conspiracy Case.

This notorious case involved 34 persons and Aurobindo was also taken into custody, pending disposal of the case. After his release, he declined to be associated with political journals like the Bengalee and the Bandemataram. Instead, he chose to be proximately connected with religious activities. Ultimately, he launched two theological journals entitled the *Karmayogin* and the *Dharma*, exclusively demoted to Hindu philosophy and the tenets of Vedanta. There was another case against Aurobindo but at that time he was in the French-Pocket of Pondicherry beyond the British-Indian bounds. These national afflictions are a good pointer to the pattern of restraint practiced by the British authorities then, on agencies that voiced public opinion.

It was an irony of fate that S.P. Sinha who was holding the portfolio of Law was to sponsor the Act of 1910, in the reformed executive Council. Sinha did not like the bill. So were Gokhale and other moderates. But an incident which took place on January 24, 1910 in Calcutta changed the entire situation. A police officer was murdered in the premises of the Calcutta High Court. This angered Lord Minto and forced him to bring forth this measure immediately. Lord Sinha gave his consent and Gokhale approved of the principle underlying the Act but not of the method of executing the Act. The Act came into force and incited much disloyalty in the country which led progressively to a deterioration of faith in British rule in India.

The Bombay Chronicle. Sir Phirozeshaw Mehta, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji were the champions of the people's causes. They had gathered round them all progressive spirits. Bombay was taking the prime place in Indian politics and had become a forum for the expression of the nationalist viewpoint. Phirozeshaw Mehta was the undisputed leader of Bombay. He also wanted an organ to voice his opinions. The existing three newspapers, *The Times of India*, the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Advocate of India* were all English-owned dailies which were opposed to Mehta. So, Mehta decided to establish a daily newspaper in English to propagate his views. As a result, the Bombay Chronicle was born on March 3, 1913. A famous Englishman, Benjamin Guy Horniman, known for his ability became its first editor. He had worked in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *statesman* before he became the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*. He was a firm believer in the independence of India. He identified himself with all the Indian causes. The Bombay Chronicle helped the popular movement with vehemence, sincerity and unprecedented vigour.

It is said that for the editorship of the paper Sir, Phirozeshaw Mehta first endeavoured to get the services of Pat Lovett but he, Pat Lovett, preferred to stay in Calcutta. However, under the ace editorship of Horniman, the Bombay Chronicle, made its mark as a sprightly newspaper and continued to be closely associated with the Congress.

Morley-Minto reforms. The period after the Morley-Minto Reforms witnessed the gradual growth of constitutional understanding. Diarchy was in practice in the provinces. It was an era of speedy political pursuits. Striking developments were taking place in Indian Political scene. The country's political thought was largely concentrated on the condition of the *Indians in South Africa* against the severe discriminatory laws of the south African Government was widely published in Indian newspapers. The Indians overseas were in trouble and naturally the well-being of their own men in a foreign country was a constant pre-occupation of the Indian Press. In South Africa, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi had started a journal called the *Indian Opinion* mainly to champion the cause of Indians living in South Africa and mobilizing public opinion in favour of the suffering Indian community there. It was to this question that the columns of the country's Press were largely devoted when war was declared in Europe, on August 4, 1914.

The impact of the First World War on India was only indirect except for one incident. That was the shelling of the Madras harbor by the German cruiser Emden. The Anglo-Indian Press opined that the national activities should give way to the necessities created by the Emergency of the war. The Indian nationalist Press unanimously pleaded that the British Government should accord to India, the rights and liberties for which the allies were fighting in Europe. Fuller cooperation was extended by the princes and the people of India in response to a call for assistance made by the British rulers.

8.5 HOME RULE MOVEMENT

Some leaders approved by the generous assistance offered by the Indians and some disapproved and emphasized that the Indian claims to freedom should be pressed without any delay or postponement. As could be seen, there was divided opinion among the Indians, and this led to the formation of a new national group known as the Home Rule League, inspired by Dr. Annie Besant and Bal. Gangadhar Tilak. To advocate their cause and propagate their ideas, Dr. Besant bought the Madras Standard and re-christened it as the New India and advocated Dominion Status for India.

As journalist, Dr. Besant never sacrificed her principles for the sake of boosting circulation, advertising revenue or cheap reputation. She was gifted with the qualities of leadership and attained success in practically every field of activity. In her journalistic pursuits she was ably supported by B.P. Wadia. He controlled the business side and managed the offices under the vigilant guidance of Dr. Besant, who had made it a routine practice to keep her in the know of every bit of activity going on the premises. She was a prolific writer and strenuous worker. The New India had one full page of editorials, which were sometimes even carried into the next page. Most of these editorials were from the versatile pen of Dr. Besant and rarely some brief editorial notes by others were selected and incorporated in the columns. On the Line was a regular feature wherein the editor recorded her personal opinions. Much emphasis was always laid on the correct way of writing, tone of the articles, punctuation, careful proof reading and code of ethics. On the advertisement side, objectionable matter was tabooed. Members of the staff had every opportunity to learn things meticulously. When the promoters of the newspaper, the New India, B.P. Wadia and another close associate George S. Arundale were arrested, the offices of the paper had become almost a place of pilgrimage. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, the then editor of the Swadesamitran was one of the principal coordinators. He contributed editorials to the paper and made frequent visits to the members of the staff to counsel as well as console them. Later, Prof. K. T. Telang took over the responsibility of continuing the paper in Dr. Besant's inevitable absence. Her output of work in the course of her journalistic duties was amazing. She was an enthusiastic devoted, idealistic and her vehicle, the New India was greatly responsible for setting India on the road to freedom.

8.6 SUMMARY

Journalism in India, which earlier began as a European's pastime, later on moved into Indian elite circles. With the advent of language journalism, the status of journalism greatly changed in the country. By early 20th century journalism has a destined place for itself in India's freedom struggle. It became an inseparable part of Indian independence movement. One of the key reasons behind the growth of journalism in India was the initiation of language journalism. In the next lesson we shall discuss about language journalism in India.

8.7 GLOSSARY

- **Sedition:** Conduct or speech inciting people to rebel against the authority of a state or monarch.
- **Reform:** Make changes in (something, especially an institution or practice) in order to improve it.
- **Home Rule:** Home rule is government of a colony, dependent country, or region by its own citizens. It is thus the power of a constituent part (administrative division) of a state to exercise such of the state's powers of governance within its own administrative area that have been decentralized to it by the central government.
- **Civil Disobedience:** The refusal to comply with certain laws considered unjust, as a peaceful form of political protest.

8.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a brief description about Associated Press of India
- 2) What do you understand by the term Minto-Morley reforms? How do you think these reforms impacted the status of journalism in the country?
- 3) Describe Home Rule Movement in your own words. How did New India support Home Rule Movement?
- 4) Write a detailed overview of status of press in early 20th century.

8.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Aggarwal, S. K. (1988). *Press at the Crossroads in India*. India: UDH Publishing House.
- 2) Besant, A. (1917). *The Birth of New India: A Collection of Writings and Speeches on Indian Affairs*. India: Theosophical Publishing House.
- 3) Division, I. M. (1988). *Mass Media in India*. India: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
- 4) Iyengar, A. S. (2001). *Role of Press and Indian Freedom Struggle: All Through the Gandhian Era*. India: A.P.H.
- 5) Kaul, C. (Ed.). (2006). *Media and the British Empire*. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- 6) Raj Kumar, R. P. (1981). *Annie Besant's Rise to Power in Indian Politics, 1914-1917*. India: Concept Publishing Company.

LESSON 9

RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY AND LANGUAGE JOURNALISM

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an insight into the origin of language journalism and Raja Rammohan Roy's role in spearheading the movement.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding about Raja Rammohan Roy's early life
- To discuss Roy's role in catalyzing language journalism in the country
- To study various reforms initiated by Raja Rammohan Roy.

STRUCTURE

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Beginning Tides of Language Journalism
- 9.3 Raja Ram Mohan Roy: Early life
- 9.4 Reforms by Raja Rammohan Roy
- 9.5 Liberators of the Indian Press
- 9.6 Summary
- 9.7 Glossary
- 9.8 Self-Assessment Questions
- 9.9 Suggested Readings

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Language journalism, was a tool to educate Indian masses about the freedom struggle and other social issues that could not be touched upon by English press. During early 19th century there were very less number of English educated Indians. Press, if it wishes to reach masses, should definitely move to Indian languages. Raja Rammohan Roy, a great social reformer during that period spearheaded the language journalism movement. In this lesson we shall discuss about the early tides of language journalism, Raja Rammohan Roy's role in expanding language journalism in India and discuss in detail about Raja Rammohan Roy as a person and his social reforms.

9.2 BEGINNING TIDES OF LANGUAGE JOURNALISM

The period between 1813 and 1818 was a period of significant development in the field of newspaper publication. The Serampore Missionaries in Bengal had established three journals. They are:

- 1) Dig Darshan, a monthly magazine in Bengali,
- 2) The Friend of India, a monthly magazine in English
- 3) Samachar Darpan, a weekly newspaper in Bengali.

The aim of Dig Darshan, the first Bengali monthly was to feel the official pulse. The monthly published historical data, some notices, and items of political news but cleverly avoided political controversies. The Serampore Missionaries used a wooden printing press which was purchased in 1798 for Rs.500 for printing this magazine.

The Friend of India, a monthly magazine in English was founded on April 30, 1818. J. C. Marshman was the editor. In June 1820, a quarterly of the Friend of India was started especially for publishing subjects connected to India.

The Samachar Darpan was born in 1819 under the editorship of J. C. Marshman and it regularly appeared till 1840. The object of starting this paper was said to be to support the views of the administrators for the development of Indians in all ways. It was the first Bengali weekly newspaper. News about India and Indians occupied the largest space in the weekly. It was the idea of the promoters to bridge the gulf between the foreign administrators and the natives. It became a bi-lingual in 1829. Columns in English language were set parallel to Bengali versions.

However, the Samachar Darpan, the magazine of Serampore Christian Missionaries, had launched a criticism of the Vedanta philosophy. The magazine invited replies to this criticism and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who was the man of vision and was known for his patriotism, vigour, dynamism, patience, persistence and politeness, sent to the editor of Samachar Darpan, through a letter, his personal views on the subject. Despite voluntary invitation extended by the magazine, the letter was refused publication. Ram Mohan Roy was keen about some reply to the mischievous attacks made on Hindu philosophical thought. With the main intention of answering the criticisms made by the Samachar Darpan, he issued a magazine entitled Brahmanical Magazine. The editor's name was given as Shiva Prasad Sharma, who was a pandit friend of Ram Mohan Roy. The motto of the magazine was specified as "the vindication of the Hindu religion against Christian Missionaries". Twelve issues of his learned periodical appeared.

Later, a regular periodical in English and Bengali with the title Brahmin Sevadhi was started by Ram Mohan Roy. In this bi-lingual magazine not only were attacks on Vedanta refuted but counter questions were also posed on the authenticity of the concepts of the Christian religion.

It was soon clear that the Christian missionaries had a superficial knowledge of Vedanta and they had misconceived many of the Hindu tenets and philosophical ideas. The allegations of the missionaries were baseless and mischievous while the replies given by Ram Mohan Roy through his writings were convincing, balanced and admittedly scholarly.

When in 1819, Press Regulations were relaxed and the strict censorship uniformly imposed by the British Government was removed to a great extent, Ram Mohan Roy was alert to seize the opportunity. He seriously examined how Journalism could be conducted on purely Indian lines. With his foresight he had realized the potentialities of the press. His plans materialized when the Sambad Kaumudi made its appearance in 1821. It was purely an Indian venture. The Calcutta Journal edited by James Silk Buckingham gave ample publicity in its columns to this new Indian project. Buckingham was a very close friend of Raja Rammohan Roy. They used to meet in the evenings and discuss matters of common interest. The weekly was printed at the Sanskrit Press and later the Unitarian Press was established by Ram Mohan Roy. He got his own types and men to conduct the press.

In 1821 again, another paper was started by Ram Mohan Roy. It was a weekly in the Persian Language meant for the intelligentsia issued every Friday. It was called the Mirat-ul-Akhbar or the Mirror of News. Persian was the court language and was widely used by both the masses and the classes at that time. The editorials written in the Mirat-ul-Akhbar were the

result of deep thinking about fundamental truths and doctrines. The English weekly, the Calcutta Journal of James Silk Buckingham often published editorials by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in its English translation. His editorials irritated the Government and led to the enactment of John Adam's Vernacular Press Act of 1823, which placed great restrictions on the freedom of the Press.

According to the Vernacular Press Act of 1823, every newspaper had to obtain a licence from the head of the Government under the signature of the Chief Secretary. This rule was applied very rigorously when the officials held that matters tending to bring Government into hatred and contempt published in the journals. They declared that circulation of printed matter which amounted to sedition tended to disturb peace in society. The apprehension and nervousness of the authorities was resented by the people, but the Government then disregarded such distrust and agitation.

According to the procedure, the Press Regulations had to be notified for three weeks in the Supreme Court before they could have the status of 'Law'. The Governing Council also decided that protests should be admitted and indicated their willingness to hear any one who was opposed to the system of licensing. Sir Francis Macnaughten, Acting Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, fixed March 31 as the date for considering the objections. This provision gave Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his five esteemed Indian colleagues an opportunity to protest against the measure in the name of the Indians. He was the leader of the group which took strong exception to this infringement of the liberty of the Press, Cutlar Fergusson, an advocate, was engaged by the group to advance the pleas of objectors. Evidently, Ram Mohan Roy took part in the proceedings, because he foresaw all kinds of evil effects resulting from the Regulations. He had a free mind and was an arduous lover of freedom. He stood against the Government. His agitation was not with a political motive. It was his anxiety to see the nation's political uprising which prompted him to assume the role of the foremost objector. The time was critical but he branded it as the dawn of India's modern life. His line of thought and action was a model to future constitutional agitators. A memorial was drafted declaring that the people of Calcutta were opposed to such extreme Regulations. This petition became known as the "Areopagitica of the Indian Press". It argued that a strict enforcement of the regulations would put a stop to the diffusion of knowledge and the resulting mental improvement. Pointing out all the evil effects of the regulations, the petition specifically demanded "the unrestrained liberty of publication" as the only effectual means of meting out justice to the Press.

The judge contended that the city of Calcutta was enjoying the utmost practical liberty more than any other place on the surface of the earth. He opined that a free Press should follow a free constitution and not precede it. So, Ram Mohan Roy's appeal was rejected by the Supreme Court. Subsequently another appeal was sent to the King-in-Council. These two memorials marked a new era in Indian political awakening. In this appeal to the King-in-Council, he described the conditions prevailing in Moghul rule and said that the Indians enjoyed more privileges then and that the British regime was suppressing many of their birthrights. This appeal also was rejected. A high tribute was paid to Ram Mohan Roy's memorial as a magnificent piece of English composition. His appeal added: "History has given a verdict that a free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the World". His stern logic was that Government could only be brought into contempt and hatred by its own acts. His arguments were well-reasoned and were characterized by real insight and statesmanlike vision. The memorial drafted by him was constructive as well as cogently argued out and was entirely free from emotional outbursts. But the English authorities held that the spread of knowledge in India was dangerous to the continuance of their legitimate

authority. Ram Mohan Roy longed for a national regeneration of liberty but the British were proverbially despotic.

9.3 RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY: EARLY LIFE

Raja Ram Mohan Roy is one of the greatest Indian reformers of modern times. He belongs to the galaxy of builders of modern India and can more appropriately be called “the father of modern Indian language Journalism”.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born at Radhanagar, in the district of Hoogly, on May 22, 1772. His father was Rama Kanta Roy and his mother, Tarini Devi popularly known as Phul Thakurani. While Ram Mohan Roy was hardly nine, his father got him married three times. Hindu marriages, at that time were arranged by the parents of the parties in their childhood, when they had hardly any sense of responsibility or could understand the seriousness of the bondage. This happening coloured his whole after-life. Even in his early life he showed himself a prodigy. He had a wonderful memory and a brilliant intellect. Keeping pace with the times, he learnt Persian, Arabic and Bengali. He was sent to Patna, then the centre of Islamic culture and higher studies, for an advanced course. There, he was inspired by monotheism, and was fascinated by Sufi poetry as well as mysticism. He soon acquired a spiritual vision and defeated his own instructor in scholarly debates.

When he returned to his village at the age of 16 as a changed man, differences arose between him and his father over religious ideas. His open condemnation of Hindu idolatry infuriated his parents and the other members of the family. He was so disgusted with the treatment meted out to him in the house that he left his home. To quench his thirst for acquiring knowledge and experience, he traveled to Tibet and spent some four years in the Trans-Himalayan region, studying much of Buddhist faith. Personal homage i.e., worship of the Lama in Tibet was disfavoured by him. His open criticism of this common mode of worship there was seriously viewed by the inhabitants and they wanted to kill him. Fortunately, a Tibetan woman was kind enough to save him at the right time. This incident made him an unfailing worshipper of womankind. When he staged a comeback to the paternal home after four years of wanderings in and around the Himalayas, he was accorded a warm welcome by the family as “young rebel” who had already acquired a passion for truth.

Later he decided to live in Varanasi as a copyist. His father supplemented his meager income with periodical gifts. When his father died in 1803, there was a division of the family property. His mother wanted to disinherit him on the ground of his disbelief in the Hindu religion. Ram Mohan Roy defended himself before the judge and came out victorious in the law suit but out of generosity, he did not take any portion of his father’s property.

He had a scholarly bent of mind and he pursued his studies. At 22, he learnt English, understanding its supreme significance and its potentialities for the future of India. He published many books advocating monotheism in the Persian language.

In 1803, he entered the Bengal Civil Service as a clerk and by 1814 rose to the position of a Dewan. His immediate superior John Digby was very affectionate towards him. Ram Mohan Roy was troubled by his own men for his monotheistic tendencies, but he faced his antagonists with boldness describing them as an ignorant lot. Retiring from this service in 1814 he took up residence in Calcutta with enough money. He went on propagating his views on religion. His technique was threefold. He convinced people by conversation and discussion; he aroused the public conscience by writing and publication; and finally he gathered around him firm and faithful associates.

9.4 REFORMS BY RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was essentially a social and religious reformer. He wielded his powerful pen against image worship and the horrible custom of sati, the burning of Hindu widows alive with the bodies of their dead husbands. He founded schools to provide modern education to the youngsters and organized societies for proper forms of worship. His ideal was to make the Government constitutional with respect for established law. He wanted modern science to be wedded to culture. As a fighter for the rights of women, as a great social reformer with defined standards and the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, he will be remembered long in the history. He died on September 27, 1833 and was buried at Stapleton Grove, Bristol, England.

The Sambad Kaumudi. A weekly organ of Hindu political and social opinion, the Sambad Kaumudi or the Moon of Intelligence was founded by Bhowanee Charan Bannerjee in December 1821. It was later taken over by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and this change was suitably commended and widely published by James Silk Buckingham in his Calcutta Journal. Raja Ram Mohan Roy mostly introduced theological discussions. The Samachar Darpan of the Serampore Missionary generally came out with attacks on Hindu religion and practices. The Sambad Kaumudi was vigilant to refute statements made by journals edited by the missionaries. The verbal war between these two journals was generally described as a war between Christianity and Hinduism. He described the higher principles of Hinduism and denounced the Sati system in the columns of the weekly paper. The paper was published every Tuesday. The first number announced that its object was 'public good'.

Some newspapers in the Persian language had made their appearance towards the close of the eighteenth century, but most of them were little known, and short-lived. The well-known newspaper in the Persian language, the Jam-i-Jahan-Numa appeared in March 1822. This weekly journal was offered at Rupees two per annum. The object was to make news available to the Indians. The publishers declared that they would print news culled out from English newspapers and collected systematically from the principal cities of India. The readers were invited to send letters for publication on various subjects, consequently the letters published generally criticized the administration under the British authority.

Inspired by the success of this Persian newspaper, Raja Ram Mohan Roy started a newspaper in Persian also entitled the Mirat-ul-Akhbar. News comments were of course published here. Theological controversies too found their place in it but emphasis was more on social reform. The authorities were disturbed over such articles also and they apprehended that the writings against Sati might endanger the tranquility of society. In the prospectus of his paper, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was very specific about his editorial duties.

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 and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their rulers: that the rulers may more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people; and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their rulers.

When the first Indian language newspapers appeared, there was little organized education of the modern type in the country. There were few elementary schools and no universities to stimulate higher studies. India knew very little about English literature, the Western institutions and European science; but there was yearning to know much about all this.

Ram Mohan Roy was the first to interest him in the above problems and he did his best to educate the Indian people. He was a versatile scholar and a linguist. He was born in a time of transition. Western culture was trying to get a foot-hold in India and skepticism and disregard for Hindu ideals were manifest in a class of people. Ram Mohan Roy viewed this with concern and held up before his countrymen the glories of Hindu philosophy and culture.

Though Raja Ram Mohan Roy was essentially a social and religious reformer, his contribution to Indian language Journalism was great and permanent, through his numerous periodicals, the Brahminical Magazine, the Brahmin Sevadhi, the Sambad Kaumudi, the Mirat-ul-Akhbar and the Bengal Herald. In fact he carried on his fight for reform through his journals effectively and successfully.

9.5 LIBERATORS OF THE INDIAN PRESS

The period between 1825 and 1857 was a period when the Indian Press suffered very little interference from the Government. That was mainly due to two generous Governors-General of India, Lord William Bentinck and Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Under Lord William Bentinck, the Indian Press was not seriously molested. His rule as Governor-General marked a turning point in the history of the Indian Press. The credit for putting an end to the cruel custom of Sati and for suppressing the Thugs goes to him. (The Thugs were desperate bandits and murderers in Central India.) He was applauded for his plan of ably reorganizing the administrative offices. His sincere attempt to spread the English language in India for good was widely known. Lord William Bentinck was so considerate towards journalists and freedom lovers that his name stands out in the pages of the history of India as that of the liberator of the Indian Press.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, the next Governor-General, followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, restoring the freedom of the Press. Legislation for this purpose was initiated in 1835 and the Act No. XI of 1835 repealed most of the existing regulations in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. This Act was the work of Metcalfe and Macaulay. With the promulgation of the 1835 Act only one restriction was retained and that was that every newspaper should declare before the regional Magistrate, the place of publication, the premises of the printing press, and the names of the people acting as the editor, printer and publisher. Every printed material was expected to contain the address of the printer and the publisher, failing which they had to pay a fine or in default, go to prison. Sir Charles paid heavily for this leniency towards the Press. He was made to retire from the post of Governor-General, as the East India Company was displeased with his liberal policy.

It was between 1835 and 1857 that the Indian language Journalism with the experience of English Journalism behind it may be said to have been born. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the founder and father of the Indian language Journalism or vernacular Journalism as referred to by the British authorities. In no small measure was the Press later responsible for the breakout and development of the 'first war of Indian independence'.

9.6 SUMMARY

Language journalism as first initiated in India by missionaries with an aim to spread the word of God in regional languages. These newspapers and periodicals seemed to question the system of Vedanta and Hindu religion through their writings. This led to Raja Rammohan Roy, a social reformer to take to printing his own views in the form of a newspaper. Raja

Rammohan Roy, along with James Silk Buckingham was a pioneer in Indian led language journalism and in using journalism to spread the nationalist message and awareness about social evils. In the next lesson we shall discuss about Bal Gangadhar Tilak, another great freedom fighter of India, who played a significant role as a language journalist.

9.7 GLOSSARY

- **Sati:** A former practice in India whereby a widow threw herself on to her husband's funeral pyre.
- **Social Reform:** A Social Reform refers to any attempt that seeks to correct any injustices in a society. Social Reform is a kind of social movement that aims to make gradual change, or change in certain aspects of society, rather than rapid or fundamental changes.
- **Widow Remarriage:** Widow Remarriage is a marriage that takes place after a previous marital union has ended with the death of a spouse.
- **Theology:** The study of the nature of God and religious belief.

9.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a brief note on the beginning tides of language journalism in India.
- 2) What do you understand by the term language journalism? What is the need for language journalism in India?
- 3) Describe early life of Raja Rammohan Roy.
- 4) Mention few reforms by Raja Rammohan Roy. Explain the role played by language journalism in implementing the social reforms of Raja Rammohan Roy.

9.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Anand, M. R. (1989). *Sati, a Writeup of Raja Ram Mohan Roy about Burning of Widows Alive*. India: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- 2) Goyal, S. (2009). *Raja Ram Mohan Roy*. India: Prabhat Prakashan.
- 3) Harihara Dasa, S. M. (1996). *The Indian Renaissance and Raja Rammohan Roy*. India: Pointer Publishers.

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LESSON 10

NOTABLE JOURNALISTS OF INDIA

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain a brief overview about Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Swaminathan Sadanand and M Chalapathi Rau and their respective role as a journalist during freedom movement.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To study the role of Bal Gangadhar Tilak as a language journalist
- To discuss Bal Gangadhar Tilak as a person and freedom fighter
- To analyse important writings of Bal Gangadhar Tilak
- To discuss in-detail about Swaminathan Sadanand and his Free Press Journal
- To discuss about M Chalapati Rau and National Herald in detail

STRUCTURE

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Bal Gangadhar Tilak

10.2.1 Sedition Charges

10.3 Swaminathan Sadanand

10.4 M Chalapathi Rau

10.5 Summary

10.6 Glossary

10.7 Self-Assessment Questions

10.8 Suggested Readings

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Language struggle in India saw innumerable leaders taking to printing press. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was one such renowned national leader known for his immense work in promoting language journalism as well as using journalism in freedom struggle. Bal Gangadhar Tilak can be called a pioneer in this field. In this lesson we shall discuss about Bal Gangadhar Tilak and his role as a journalist. We shall also discuss about Swaminathan Sadanand, a renowned journalist and editor in those times.

10.2 BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an educationist-turned-journalist, entered into the freedom movement with his popular and powerful slogan “Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it”. He was in the forefront of the national struggle with two powerful newspapers, Kesari and Mahratta. These two newspapers were started in 1881 by him with the help of his trusted colleagues and followers. It was the time when bitterness against the British rule was at its highest. A section of the Indian Press even advocated violence against the Britishers. The

Indians were seemingly tired of prayers, petitions and protests against the alien rule. They wanted to do something tangible to achieve freedom. Lokmanya Tilak was convinced and started convincing other people that the only possible way of attaining liberty was by revolution and violence. He found it necessary and gave a religious turn to his cry of nationalism and freedom and consistently propagated his views through his weeklies, Kesari and Mahratta. Soon the weeklies became the most influential instruments of public opinion. The editorials written by Bal Gangadhar Tilak were very powerful. To cite an example on one occasion, Tilak started his editorial saying "Is Government in its senses?" On another occasion, Tilak wrote a powerful editorial "Fifty persons were lying dead and the Viceroy without giving moment's thought to them plunged himself into hearty enjoyment. Under the prevailing situation there is no one to bring the Viceroy to book." Very daring and bold criticism by Bal Gangadhar Tilak influenced the readers to a great extent.

10.2.1 Sedition Charges

The Government felt the strength of these Marathi newspapers. At that time there were no special Press acts to gag the press. But the authorities decided somehow or other to suppress the papers edited and published by Tilak. A special section 124-A was added to the Indian Penal Code and Tilak was booked by the Government under the provisions of this section. Tilak was arrested in 1897 for an alleged seditious article published in the Kesari. He was convicted and imprisoned for six years rigorous imprisonment. He was the first Indian editor to be dealt with in this way. He was put in Yeravada jail near Poona where he wrote his well-known commentary on the Bhagavadgita.

Tilak, who started educational institutions, strongly felt that proper education would help in achieving freedom. He also felt that the pen is powerful than a sword and wielded his pen against the Britishers. He wrote powerful editorials criticizing the British Government. Through his writings, he had inspired and mobilized the people towards freedom struggle.

10.3 SWAMINATHAN SADANAND

Sadanand was one of the prominent journalists and editors during freedom struggle. In 1927 Sadanand started the Free Press of India Agency, which was the first news agency owned and managed by Indians. Free Press of India was an Indian nationalist-supporting news agency founded in the 1920s by Swaminathan Sadanand, during the period of the British Raj. Beset by dubious business acumen from the outset, and beholden to those who financed it, the agency failed to obtain substantial support from Indian-owned press and hence closed down in 1935. It was revived briefly between 1945 and 1947 before being stifled by the government of the newly independent country. It was at various times a supporter of the Swaraj Party and, later, of the Responsive Cooperation Party, as well as various business interests.

The Free Press of India (FPI) was the first news agency in the country to be both owned and managed by Indians. Sadanand said that he had planned its creation in 1923 and that it was actually established in 1925. K. M. Shrivastava, a professor of news agency journalism, notes that Sadanand's account of the origins is one of several differing versions. Milton Israel notes late 1924, but also an announcement of the FPI office opening that was published by The Bombay Chronicle on 8 January 1925. Sadanand had issued an appeal in September 1924, and earlier in that year he had approached Congress with his ideas and costings. His appeal noted that he proposed "An independent news agency that will collect and disseminate news with accuracy and impartiality from the Indian viewpoint a long-felt public want". One difficulty that would have to be surmounted, as the Chronicle noted, was that among all the

various nationalist factions there was no common "Indian viewpoint"; Israel describes the extant monopoly as "efficient, dependable, and generally accurate". Another difficulty was to be the poor financial acumen of Sadanand, who envisaged that the FPI could be financially self-supporting by its second year of operation. Experienced newspaper businessmen, such as J. B. Petit and F. H. Holsinger, foresaw a much longer period of subsidy being required, as well as little chance of success because there were neither sufficient newspapers in print to justify another agency nor means to prevent the existing agencies from temporarily engaging in a price war to see off the new business. J. K. Singh was later to describe him as a great journalist but a poor business manager and a "sad failure".

Although Petit served briefly on the board of directors, he refused to invest. Others did provide funds and the FPI became beholden to its principal financial backers, being various businesses and political factions. The Swaraj Party was a major initial supporter but when one member, M. R. Jayakar, who was also a director of FPI, shifted his support from that to the Responsive Cooperation movement after October 1925, so too did the FPI. Other early board members included GD Birla and P. Thakurdas. Israel writes that the FPI since its establishment "had been run by a coalition of Bombay industrialists and journalists". A primary stimulus in the formation and growth of the nationalist-supporting FPI was probably the "rupee ratio" debate that pitted the colonial government against Indian nationalists. This debate concerned whether it was better to devalue the rupee or restrict the amount of rupees in circulation, together with the aim of maintaining a fixed ratio between the rupee and sterling. Any outcome of the debate would affect business but Israel also says that

It was clear from the beginning that the long term future of the FPI was going to be Sadanand's problem; and the willingness of his affluent backers to continue more than marginal philanthropy would depend on his success in becoming a stable competitor in the professional press world. They were never willing, however, to underwrite the high cost that might have made it possible to achieve that goal.

Sadanand was already aware of the constraints acting on the press as a result of the repressive laws of the British Empire. Newspapers could not carry factual reports of what Shrivastava calls "official excesses" even though FPI supplied them. To counteract this problem, he started his own newspaper, first as a cyclostyled news bulletin, the Free Press Bulletin, and finally The Free Press Journal on 13 June 1930. The Bulletin was a short-lived affair that had become a supplement to the Advocate of India Sunday newspaper as early as 1926, due to the inability to finance it as a standalone publication.

In 1930 Sadanand became founder editor of The Free Press Journal which, according to A. R. Desai, was a strong supporter of the Indian National Congress's (INC) "demand and struggle for independence" from Great Britain. In 1933, he bought The Indian Express, (Madras), from Varadarajulu Naidu, an INC supporter who had founded it in 1932. The closure of The Free Press Journal caused The Indian Express to pass into the control of Ramnath Goenka. He was one of the seven initial shareholders of the Press Trust of India when it was founded in 1947.

Sadanand never went to college and was a self-taught journalist. J. K. Singh calls him a great journalist but a poor business manager and a "sad failure". Rangaswami Parthasarathy calls him an able editor, an innovator and a fearless patriot.

10.4 M CHALAPATHI RAU

The man who has guided the destinies of the National Herald after 1946 is M. Chalapathi Rau, a distinguished editor and a sympathiser of the working journalists. He entered the National Herald office as an assistant editor in August 1938 and continued in the office till August 1942 when the paper was closed; and he worked with The Hindustan Times of New Delhi.

He re-joined the Herald as an assistant editor in 1945 and was appointed editor in 1946. He has given to the paper its present stature. He was elected as the President of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists and took active part in ameliorating the grievances of the working journalists. He was one of those because of whose efforts the Government of India constituted the Press Commission to enquire into the state of affairs of the Indian Press and of the working journalists. He was appointed member of the Press Commission. He was the Indian delegate to a seminar on Journalism conducted by the UNESCO in 1957 in Paris.

Eminent leaders of the national movement were regular contributors to the paper, men like Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Dr. Kailasanath Katju, Acharya Narendra Dev, and Mohan Lai Saxena.

After the attainment of the nation's freedom, it has been the National Herald's task to translate that freedom into social and economic terms. In the words of M. Chalapathi Rau: "In the processes of constitution-making, the integration of the country, in free India's contribution to the fight for freedom in, other parts of the world, in the shaping of India's plans and the ceaseless task of nation-building, in the political, social and economic integration of the people,—the National Herald has set out writing stout-heartedly and freely, as a critic and as a friend, with the ideals of services, for which it was started, constantly in view." It has striven to write without malice and with freedom from fear. And whatever its shortcomings, it has, true to Nehru's inspired lead and its high ideas, striven to work sincerely for the cause of freedom and of world peace.

There were plans for a simultaneous publication of the National Herald from Delhi, but they could not be put into effect and other newspapers took the lead in establishing themselves in Delhi. But the National Herald, continuing to be published from Lucknow, has in serving its immediate neighbourhood not forgotten its role as an expression of national and international currents of thought. It has never recognised barriers of any kind.

The National Herald covers all of Uttar Pradesh, with concentration on Lucknow and Kanpur. It is published under the auspices of the Associated Journals Ltd., Lucknow. The Navajivan, a Hindi daily and the Qaumi Awaz an Urdu daily are the other journals of this group of papers. The National Herald is one of the brightly edited English national daily newspapers of India, representing the views and ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru till his death.

10.5 SUMMARY

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, with his "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it", slogan, moved the entire nation into freedom struggle with vehemence. Tilak, like many other mass leaders believed in the power of press in moving the masses into freedom movement. Tilak stood as a representative to language journalism and was a pioneer in using journalism to spread nationalist propaganda. Swaminathan Sadanand, another renowned journalist under British Raj started the Free Press Journal to support Indian National Congress's movement against colonialism. There are many such leaders who took to journalism to

support national movement including Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation. In the next lesson we shall discuss about Mahatma Gandhi and his role as a journalist.

10.6 GLOSSARY

- **Birthright:** A particular right of possession or privilege a person has from birth.
- **Swaraj:** Self-government or independence for India.
- **Sedition:** Conduct or speech inciting people to rebel against the authority of a state or monarch.
- **Sloganeering:** The employment or invention of slogans, typically in a political context.
- **British Raj:** The British Raj is a term: "Raj" is a word in the Hindi language which means "rule", so "British Raj" means rule by the British Empire in India. This rule ended in 1947. These areas were governed by their own traditional rulers, but under the overall authority of the British crown.

10.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) What was the prominent slogan of Bal Gangadhar Tilak? Write in a few words your idea of Bal Gangadhar Tilak as a person.
- 2) How did Bal Gangadhar Tilak use language press? Why did he start language press?
- 3) Write a short note on Swaminathan Sadanand and Free Press Journal.
- 4) Describe in a few words the role played by M Chalapati Rau in National Herald

10.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Kamath, M. V. (2002). *A Reporter at Large*. India: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
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- 3) Pati, B. (2011). *Bal Gangadhar Tilak: Popular Readings*. India: Primus Books.
- 4) Rau, M. C. (1976). *MC: Selected Editorials and Other Writings of M. Chalapati Rau, Editor, 'National Herald' for 30 Years from 1946 Onwards*. India: Young Asia Publications.

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LESSON 11

MAHATMA GANDHI'S VIEWS ON JOURNALISM

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the readers should be able to gain an insight into Gandhi's views on journalism and his role as a journalist during freedom struggle.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To discuss Gandhi's role as a journalist during freedom movement
- To analyse Gandhi's views on journalism through his select writings
- To analyse Gandhi's fight for freedom of press through his writings and his actions

STRUCTURE

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Overview

11.3 Gandhi's Views on Journalism

11.4 Harijan

11.5 Freedom of Press

11.6 Summary

11.7 Glossary

11.8 Self-Assessment Questions

11.9 Suggested Readings

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of Indian nation, believed in the immense power of press in promoting a mass agitation like the Indian freedom struggle. Gandhi, who began his journey with journalism from South Africa, continued the trend in India to fill the vacuum left by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Gandhi, time again wrote at length about the powers and responsibilities of journalism through his writings. He also relentlessly fought for freedom of press and the right to speech and advocate one's message. In this lesson we shall discuss in detail about Gandhi's role as a journalist and his views on journalism through his select writings.

11.2 OVERVIEW

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was in the forefront of the national struggle with his two Marathi dailies, died suddenly in 1920 and there was a void in the leadership of the Indian National Movement as well as Indian press. But it was ably and successfully filled by an equally patriotic son of India, Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi who had returned to India in 1915 after his successful political and social experiment in South Africa took charge of the Indian freedom movement. He started newspapers to mobilize public opinion and influence the people on various issues.

He persuaded many young people to take to the pen and impressed upon them the need to adopt direct style in writing the prose.

Mahatma Gandhi was instrumental in launching, Indian Opinion, in 1903 a weekly which started publication in four languages – English, Hindi, Tamil and Gujarati with an intention to serve all Indians in South Africa. His work in journalism began when he used the weekly to educate and mobilize Indians through The weekly columns on various aspects of life. Also he supported the publication financially. In his autobiography, he noted that lack of funding to The weekly forced them to discontinue the publication in Tamil and Hindi.

11.3 GANDHI'S VIEWS ON JOURNALISM

Gandhiji, in fact, wrote only two books, 'My experiments with truth' in Gujarati and 'Hind Swaraj or Home Rule' which was written in Gujarati was translated by him into English. In the preface to the book Hind Swaraj, he said:

"It was written in 1908 during my return voyage from London to South Africa in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I felt that their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills, and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self protection. The Satyagraha of South Africa was still an infant hardly two years old. But it had developed sufficiently to permit me to write of it with some degree of confidence. What I wrote was so much appreciated that it was published as a booklet. In my opinion it is a book which can be put into the hands of a child. It teaches the gospel of love in place of that of hate. It places violence with self sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force. It has gone through several editions and I commend it to those who would care to read it".

Hind swaraj used the technique of dialogue between the reader and the editor. The purpose of adopting of such dialogue seemed to be that Mahatma did intend to clarify the doubts that would linger in the mind of the reader. He answered many queries posed by the reader such as education, civilization, culture and so on. Answering a query of the reader in Hind Swaraj, Gandhiji explained the objectives of newspaper. He said 'one of the objectives of the newspaper was to understand popular feeling and to give expression to it; another was to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments, and the third was fearlessly to expose popular defects'.

While explaining the objectives of the newspapers, he further, commented on the power of the press.

"In the very first month of Indian Opinion, I realized that the sole aim of journalism should be service. The newspaper press is a great power, but just as an unchained torrent of water submerges whole countryside's and devastates crops, even so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy. If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when exercised from within. If this line of reasoning is correct, how many of the journals in the world would stand the test? But who would stop those that are useless? And who should be the judge? The useful and the useless must, like good and evil generally, go on together, and man must make his choice."

As soon as he returned from South Africa in 1915, Gandhiji started his political life. However, he launched three newspapers during 1919-20 defying the Indian Press Act. Although the Act barred new publications, he boldly launched Satyagrahi (in Hindi and Gujarati), Nava Jivan (Gujarati), and Young India (English).

He gave a note to the subscribers of Young India on October 8, 1919:

"The editing of "Nava Jivan" has been a perfect revelation to me. Whilst "Young India" has a little more than 1200 subscribers, "Nava Jivan" has 12000. The number would leap to 20000 if we would but get printers to print that number. It shows that a vernacular newspaper is a felt want. I am proud to think that I have numerous readers among farmers and workers. They make India. Their poverty is India's curse and crime. Their prosperity alone can make India a country fit to live in. They represent nearly 80 p.c. of India's population. The English journals touch but the fringe of the ocean of India's population. Whilst therefore I hold it to be the duty of every English knowing Indian to translate the best of the English thought in the vernacular for the benefit of the masses, I recognize that for a few years to come i.e. until we have accepted Hindustani as the common medium among the cultured classes and until Hindustani becomes compulsory in our schools as a second language, educated India, especially in the Madras Presidency must be addressed in English.

But I will not be party to editing a newspaper that does not pay its way. "Young India" cannot pay its way unless it has at least 2500 paying subscribers. I must appeal to my Tamil friends to see to it that the requisite number of subscribers is found, if they wish to see "Young India" continued. The more so now, because the proprietors of "Young India" have decided to give up all advertisements. I know that they have not been entirely if at all converted to my view that a newspaper ought to be conducted without advertisement. But they are willing to let me make the experiment. I invite those who wish to see "Young India" free from the curse of advertisements to help me to make the venture a success. The Gujarati "Nava Jivan" has already demonstrated the possibility of conducting a newspaper without advertisement soiling its pages. What a financial gain it would be to the country, if there was for each province only one advertisement medium- not a newspaper – containing innocent unvarnished notices of things useful for the public. But for our criminal indifference, we would decline to pay the huge indirect taxation by way of mischievous advertisements. Some readers who are interested in the purity of journalism recently sent me a most indecent advertisement extracted from a well known newspaper. I have refused to soil the pages of "Nava Jivan" by reproducing it. But anyone turning to the advertisement sheets of even leading journals can verify the aptness of my criticism".

11.4 HARIJAN

Subsequently in 1933 he launched Harijan which contained, 'his views on untouchability, village sanitation, rural reconstruction through village industries, women's education, women's rehabilitation, basic education, and the upliftment of all (sarvodaya) through employment for every able bodied person.

For instance, Gandhiji wrote in Harijan on February 27, 1937:

"I believe in the proper education of woman. But I do believe that woman will not make her contribution to the world by mimicking or running a race with man. She can run the race, but she will not rise to the great heights she is capable of by mimicking man. She has to be complement to the man". However, on an earlier occasion in Young India (April 10, 1930), he admonished men for degrading women. He said: To call woman the weaker sex is a libel; it's man's injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then indeed is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior...If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman. Further, in 1946, he advised women "not to look for men for protection. They must rely on their own strength and purity of character and on God".

11.5 FREEDOM OF PRESS

Though Gandhiji viewed that the duty of the newspapers was only to serve the people, he used Young India to resist the British boldly in not compromising with any aspect related to the freedom of India, and also the freedom of the press. In the face of mounting hostility against the British administration, the government brought in the Press Act of 1910 which imposed heavy security deposit to open a printing press, and thereby muzzle the freedom of the press. However, Gandhiji stood firmly for the freedom of the press, and two cases reported below illustrate how Mahatma argued his cases related to contempt of court, and sedition. As a journalist, Gandhiji never shirked from the responsibility of carrying the burden of proof, and he favoured objectivity in the news reports and also exhorted the newspapers to abide by objectivity instead of favouring other methods to escape the law. He boldly published a letter against the judge to express the truth. He stood by his conviction in questioning the judge's attitude. He was prepared to face the consequences of violating the rule, and in the face tough stance of the judge, he firmly argued his case to resist contempt of court. In the two issues of Young India, he published articles which attracted the law of contempt.

On March 10, 1920, in Young India, contempt of case proceedings were reported with a heading, 'Was it contempt of court? Proceedings against Mr Gandhiji and Mr Mahadeo H Desai'. Two judges Marten, and Hayward Kajiji were hearing the contempt case against Editor Gandhiji and Publisher Desai of Young India for publication of a letter addressed by Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad to the Registrar of the High Court complaining of the conduct of certain Satyagrahi lawyers of Ahmedabad. In April 1919, Judge Kennedy found that certain lawyers in Ahmedabad had signed the Satyagraha pledge, and he asked them to explain why their Sanads should not be cancelled for their having signed the pledge. He did not consider their explanation satisfactory and hence addressed a letter to the Registrar of the High Court on April 22, 1919. In consequence, two notices were issued by the High Court to the lawyers concerned. A copy of Mr. Kennedy's letter was given by the Registrar to Divetia, pleader for one of the lawyers, who handed the same to Mr Kalidas J Jhaveri, one of the Satyagrahi lawyers, who in turn handed it Mr Gandhiji. On August 6, 1919 the letter was published in Young India with a heading "O'Dwyerism in Ahmedabad" along with an article with a heading "Shaking Civil Resisters" commenting on the letter. As soon as the proceedings were completed, the Registrar addressed a letter to Mr. Gandhiji requesting him to attend to the Chief Justice's Chamber to give an explanation as regards the publication of the letter. Mr. Gandhiji replied by telegram explaining his inability to attend on the appointed date as he was going to the Punjab. The Registrar replied saying that the chief Justice did not wish to interfere with Mr. Gandhiji's appointment and that a written explanation would do. Gandhiji was asked to publish an apology in the paper, which was refused by Gandhiji. Following his refusal, the judge declared the publication of the letter would come under the contempt of court. On the judgment of the High Court, Gandhiji stood firmly on the ground saying he would honour the independence of the journalist and would go to any extent to undergo punishment.

The article appeared on March 24, 1920 in Young India with a heading, contempt of court as follows:

"The long-expected hearing of the case against the editor and the publisher of Young India in connection with the publication of a letter of the district Judge of Ahmedabad regarding Satyagrahi Lawyers and my comments thereon has been heard and judgment has been pronounced. Both the editor and the publisher have been severely reprimanded. But the court did not see its way to pass any sentence upon either of us. If I dwell upon the judgment it is

only because I am anxious as a satyagrahi to draw a moral from it. I wish to assure those friends who out of pure friendliness advised us to tender the required apology, that I refused to accept their advice not out of obstinacy but because there was a great principle at stake. I had to conserve a journalist's independence and yet respect the law. My own reading of the law was that there was no contempt committed by me. But my defence rested more upon the fact that I could not offer an apology if I was not prepared not to repeat the offence on similar occasion. Because I hold that an apology tendered to a court to be true has to be as sincere as a private apology. At the same time I owed a duty to the court. It was no light thing for me to refuse to accept the advice of the Chief Justice especially when Chief Justice was so very considerate in the correspondence with me. I was on the horns of a dilemma. I therefore decided not to offer any defence but simply to make a statement frankly and fully defining my position, leaving it to the court to pass any sentence it thought fit in the event of an adverse decision. In order to show that I meant no disrespect of the court and that I did not desire to advertise the case I took extraordinary precautions to prevent publicity and I venture to think that I succeeded eminently in convincing the court that behind my disobedience- if it was disobedience, there was no defiance but perfect resignation, there was no anger or ill-will but perfect restraint and respect: that if I did not apologize, I did not because an insincere apology would have been contrary to my conscience. I hold that it was about as perfect an instance of civil disobedience as it ever has been my privilege to offer. And I feel that the court reciprocated in a most handsome manner and recognized the spirit of civility that lay behind my so called disobedience. The luminous judgment of Justice Marten lays down the law, and decides against me. But I feel thankful that it does not question the propriety of my action. Justice Hayward's judgment recognizes it as an instance of passive, i.e. civil resistance and practically makes it the reason for not awarding any sentence. Here then we have an almost complete vindication of civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, and never defiant, must be based upon some well understood principle, must not be capricious and above all must have no ill will or hatred behind it. I submit that the disobedience offered by Mr. Desai and myself contained all these ingredients".

Gandhiji published three articles in Young India dated September 29, 1921 with a heading 'Tampering with Loyalty', another article on December 15, 1921 with a heading 'the puzzle and solution', and the third article on February 23, 1923 with a heading 'Shaking the Manes'. In these articles, he severely criticized the British administration, and asked the people to rebel against the government, and in particular the Indian sepoy to rebel against the government.

Through his writings Gandhi always advocated the right to revolt, right to speech and freedom of press.

11.6 SUMMARY

Mahatma Gandhi was a journalist at heart and leader at soul. He believed in the power of journalism and advocated it to others. He always promoted journalism as a tool for mass mobilization with his followers. Gandhi started newspapers in Indian languages and English to connect with the public. He never failed to write to these newspapers all along the freedom struggle. One can learn great journalistic values through Gandhi's example. In the next lesson we shall study about vernacular press, origin and growth in India.

11.7 GLOSSARY

- **Daily:** A newspaper published every day except Sunday.
- **Weekly:** A newspaper or periodical issued every week.
- **Social Experiment:** A social experiment is a kind of psychological or a sociological research for testing people's reaction to certain situations or events. The experiment relies on a particular social approach when the main source of information is people with their knowledge and point of view
- **Self-Sacrifice:** The giving up of one's own interests or wishes in order to help others or advance a cause.
- **Untouchability:** Untouchability, in its literal sense, is the practice of ostracising a minority group by segregating them from the mainstream by social custom or legal mandate. The term is most commonly associated with treatment of the Dalit communities in the Indian subcontinent who were considered "polluting". Untouchability is a crime in India.

11.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) What are Gandhiji's views on journalism? Explain through few writings of Gandhi.
- 2) Write a short note on Gandhi's Harijan.
- 3) Mention few newspapers started by Mahatma Gandhi.
- 4) How did Gandhi fight for freedom of press?
- 5) Discuss Gandhi's role as a journalist in freedom movement.

11.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Barns, M. (1940). *The Indian Press: A History of the Growth of Public Opinion in India*. India: G. Allen & Unwin Limited.
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- 3) Fischer, L. (2015). *A Week With Gandhi*. United States: Normanby Press.
- 4) Gandhi, M. K. (1949). *Communal Unity*. India: Navajivan Publishing House.
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LESSON 12

VERNACULAR PRESS

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an insight into language journalism or rather vernacular press as it is popularly called.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding of the beginning of language journalism in India
- To discuss the need for language journalism
- To analyse few characteristics of vernacular press

STRUCTURE

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Birth of Vernacular Press in India

12.3 Need for Language Press

12.4 Characteristics of the Vernacular Press

12.5 Summary

12.6 Glossary

12.7 Self-Assessment Questions

12.8 Suggested Readings

12.1 INTRODUCTION

India is a land of multiple languages and more than multiple dialects. With significant number of languages with a unique script of their own, needs of Indian readers are different from other nations. Indian freedom fighter realized this as a pressing need in promoting freedom movement in India. This gave rise to birth of vernacular press in India. Though vernacular press was introduced by missionaries for religious preaching, language journalism stands as a backbone to freedom movement. In this lesson we shall discuss about vernacular press during freedom movement and its characteristics.

12.2 BIRTH OF VERNACULAR PRESS IN INDIA

Vernacular Journalism was the name employed by the British for newspapers published in the native Indian languages. The number of journals in the Indian, languages began to grow in the early part of the nineteenth century. Lord William Bentinck's regime as Governor-General of India witnessed rapid growth of the language press. He was a gentleman who firmly believed that the "liberty of the Press is one of the most useful engines for promoting good administration in the country." Lord Bentinck will always be remembered for his courageous abolition of the barbarious practice of Sati, and his name will stand for ever as the "Liberator of the Indian Press". Assuring a satisfactory deal to the Press, a great admirer of the liberty of expression as he was, Lord William Bentinck gave a free hand to the development of the Indian language papers.

Bentinck was succeeded by a Governor-General who was yet more liberal, Sir Charles Metcalfe. He took it for granted that the Press ought to be free, provided it was not dangerous to the stability of the Indian Empire. The rule of both these Governors-Generals marked a turning point in the history of the Indian Press.

One great name stands prominent in the annals of Indian Language Journalism. It is the name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the brilliant social and religious reformer. He started newspapers between 1819 and 1822. He gave the real impetus to the language Press in India though he was not the actual pioneer in the field. The pioneer was J. C. Marshman, a missionary of the Serampore Mission. He was the first to start a monthly magazine in the Bengali language in 1818. This was called the Dig Darshan. The magazine concerned itself with general information stating new discoveries.

Local news occupied a very small space. This magazine, made a tremendous appeal within four months of its appearance. It soon became a weekly newspaper, changing its name to Samachar Darpan. Indian and foreign news of importance was now published. Later, in 1829, it became a bi-lingual newspaper. English columns were printed parallel to Bengali versions of news and views.

Bengali newspapers were now coming out in large numbers. There was a remarkable public awakening at that period. Lord William Bentinck's reformist measures were applauded. He re-organised the administrative machinery and endeavoured to intensify the spread of the English language. The people and the Indian language journals were divided sharply on the issue of the abolition of Sati.

Bombay saw the birth of language newspapers to voice forth opinions on a different controversy. There was a dispute between two sections of the Parsi community in Bombay, over the correct method of calculating their calendar. Dastur Mulla Firoz, a famed savant who had been to Persia, came to Bombay and declared that the Parsi calendar then current was incorrect by one month. This raised a storm of protest and two rival parties, each advocating its own viewpoint, grew up. To propagate their respective views, they started newspapers in the Gujarati language. Thus the two Gujarati language papers called the Ebtal-e-Kabiseh and Akhbar-e-Kabiseh came into existence. Another Gujarati weekly, the Mumbai Varthaman was started by Naoroji Dorabji Chandaru in 1830. The name of this paper was changed to Mumbaina Halkaru and Vartaman, and it became a bi-weekly.

12.3 NEED FOR LANGUAGE PRESS

In the early days, when language journalism in India started, Indian society was not 'educated.' So journalism was at its low level and public opinion was undeveloped. When English editors of India's early English journals disputed among them, the Indian public looked upon it as a matter of fun and entertainment. But, the atmosphere was different in the case of the Indian language Press, because statesmen like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, and Tagore with a proved nationalist bias gave vent to lofty ambitions and ennobling ideals, and they were all Indians to the core. They had a great responsibility to educate the Indians.

Intimately connected with the Bengali weekly the Sambad Kaumudi, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of its principal promoters and the virtual editor. He inculcated the principle of higher Hinduism and denounced many irrational social systems through the columns of this periodical. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, as we saw earlier, interested himself in many newspapers and founded the Mirath-ul-Akhbar in Calcutta. To this paper, he contributed editorials which were the result of deep thinking on fundamental rights and idealistic doctrines. The Calcutta

Journal often published the English translations of the editorials written by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. But the editorials which were vigorous and argumentative were always resented by the Government authorities.

The Banga Dutta or Bengal Herald, published in four languages was started by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and other leaders who held noble principles and ambitious programmes to popularise education through vernacular journals.

Slowly as the languages Press grew, it had to encounter many impediments. The development of the printing press was very slow. Obstructions were many in the way as the country was very backward in education. There was little market for what the Language Press produced with great difficulty. The latest machinery was not used and the types used were of the crudest sort. The lack of encouragement and the non-availability of the latest printing equipment were great obstacles in the way of the Indian Language Press, especially in small towns.

There was no systematic supply of news. Methods of news gathering were indigenous and editing was done with self-made rules. Mails were slow and the telegraph services, wherever they existed, were expensive: information was not readily available. Newspapers were forced to reproduce news items from contemporary journals. Obviously, mutual exchange of stories was prevalent. Suitable acknowledgments were given whenever the material was freely adopted from any other newspaper or periodicals. The difficulty of gathering and evaluating news was primarily because of inadequate means of communication and transport and added to it, the general ignorance of the people.

In spite of these and many other difficulties, the Language Press struggled hard to develop, and was successful in its attempts. The majority of the newspapers that exist in India to-day are papers published in the major Indian languages. That fact is itself an evidence of the rapid development of vernacular Journalism in India. The Indian language newspapers vary greatly in revenue, get-up and circulation. Many of the language papers could not afford news agency services.

12.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VERNACULAR PRESS

A survey reveals that the language papers are read widely but the copies sold are few. In rural parts only one man in the village may buy a newspaper. In the smaller villages, each copy of a newspaper has a wide circulation among the friends of the man who pays for it, and it is usually the school teacher or the village accountant who reads aloud to a large gathering, the contents of the newspaper.

The Language Press in India has been a potent instrument in the education of public opinion in matters of political life, social reform and economic development. It has been responsible, intelligent and dispassionate in its estimates of men and measures. Editors of Indian language papers are known for their rectitude and impartiality. Their views are greatly esteemed by the readers and even by those who are criticised by them. Throughout its history, which was full of ups and downs, the Indian Language Press has given expression to the passions and aspirations of our people. The part played by the Language Press in the national struggle is significant and unforgettable. The language newspapers always uphold the cause of a free country and a free Press. Particularly in post-independence period, the language papers have presented a striking evidence of objective journalistic activity and vitality. They are spearheading now on their merits as well as a little assistance from the Government.

Though Indian language journals are obsessed with politics; local, national and to some extent international, the editorials are not merely propaganda. They select certain facts and

argue in consonance with the general policy of the paper. The analysis of situations is generally rational. However, the newspapers published in Indian languages have established themselves as moulders of public opinion. The editors are demonstrating an awareness of importance of editorial influence at the local level.

The language newspapers penetrate in every nook and corner of the country, unlike English newspapers which are predominantly confined to urban areas. This wider reach to masses has helped the language newspapers to strike deep roots in India. With phenomenal spread of literacy and effective increase in newspaper readership, the language newspapers are slowly building up a commercial position also. The result is seen in the present combines, groups and chains.

Keeping in line with the English papers, language papers also have adopted advancing professional techniques. They are providing better opportunities for their reporters, correspondents, staff-members, free-lance journalists and news-photographers. Besides they are serving the advertisers also in an effective manner. Readers, agents, advertising agencies and other dependent institutions are also comparatively better served now-a-days.

An over-all picture in this sphere denotes the upgrading of values. In competition with the ever-growing English Press, the language papers have many handicaps. One chief difficulty is the translation. The news agency reports flow in the newspaper offices through the teleprinters. News dispatches from various correspondents come via telegrams and cables. These news reports are first to be sub-edited and then translated into respective language. In this regard, language newspapers have an added responsibility of their profession which consumes much time and requires much vigilance at every step in the process. Yet, they are successfully carrying on as the practice is inevitable until teleprinter and telegraphic services are begun in major Indian languages. This appears to be a complex problem and its solution, at least in near future is not feasible.

The public getting its facts and ideas from the language papers is on an increase. Simultaneously, the newspapers also are increasingly conscious of the substantial part they have to play as purveyors of facts and views. Generally speaking, the language papers are serious and with some rare exceptions, are free from sensationalism. On the whole it should be said that the Indian language newspapers have been steadily growing in strength and importance.

With the starting of the Indian National Congress, an impetus was given to the growth of the Indian language papers. Taking into consideration the figures of newspapers and periodical published in India to-day, over 85 per cent of them are in the Indian languages. That fact in itself is an evidence of the rapid development of Language Journalism in India.

The Indian Language Press can be broadly divided into two sections, the North Indian Language Press and the South Indian Language Press. The North Indian Language Press publishes papers in Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Oriya and Assamese. The Press in South India has newspapers in four major languages namely, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam. Indian princes and jagirdars were attacked in the columns and their private lives were exposed with pep.

The first daily newspaper from Ahmedabad was the Swarajya under the editorship of Nandlal Bodiwala. It stopped publication, after serving the Gujarati public for a couple of years. Bodiwala, its editor, established the Sandesh, an evening newspaper temptingly priced at one price per copy. Started as a news-sheet, it later appeared with six pages for the same price till 1937. A rival contemporary, the Ahmedabad Samachar was bought and merged. The establishment was considerably improved and equipped with the latest machinery including a rotary plant. In 1943 the paper turned itself into a morning daily. Sandesh Ltd., published

besides the daily Sandesh, the Sevak, an evening daily, the Aram, a literary weekly and the Gujarati Punch, a monthly.

Surat, an important commercial town of Gujarat, saw the birth of its first daily in 1921 entitled the Gujarati under the editorship of Ramanlal Chhotubhai Desai. A year later the Samachar was started by M. R. Vidyarthi. The Ujatan Prabhat was the first Gujarati daily of Baroda. It was started in 1930 but failed to continue long. The same fate befell the Pratap established as a daily in 1935. Among the distinguished journalists of the Gujarati language, the names of Narmad, Ichcharam Suryaram Desai, Sorabji Kapadia, Natwarlal I. Desai, Ravishanker Mehta, K. M. Munshi and Kapilaraj Mehta are remembered with respect and affection.

At the end of 1964 there were 34 dailies, 114 weeklies, 235 monthlies and 99 other periodicals making a total of 482 newspapers published in the Gujarati language. Ahmedabad, Bombay, Baroda, Surat, Rajkot and Bhuj (Kutch) are the important centres of publication.

The new State of Gujarat with Ahmedabad as its capital was inaugurated on May 1, 1960. Prior to this Bombay was a bi-lingual State with Gujarati and Marathi languages. With Gujarat's formation, a brighter future for Gujarati Journalism is expected.

The Bombay Samachar tops the list of the largely circulated Gujarati language newspapers with the Gujarati Samachar coming close on its heels. The Jansatta of Ahmedabad and the Janmabhoomi of Bombay follow. The Prajatantra of Bombay also enjoys a good circulation.

Tilak was arrested in 1897 for an alleged seditious article published in the Kesari. He was convicted and imprisoned for six years. Tilak was the first Indian editor to be dealt with in this way. It was in the Yeravada Jail near Poona that he wrote his well-known commentary on the Bhagavad Gita.

The Kesari was a weekly till August 1929. Later it appeared twice a week and at present continues publication as a tri-weekly. J. S. Tilak is the editor and the price per copy is six paise. The Mahratta remained a weekly for a long time and later it appeared as a fortnightly. Now it is published as an annual priced at one rupee per copy. Few journals have influenced the national life of the Marathi-speaking community as have the Kesari and the Mahratta. Tilak not only made newspapers the vehicles of his manifold activities, but started the unique tradition of disbursing all profits for political and nation-building activities. Since his death in 1920 his newspapers viz., the Kesari and the Mahratta have been the property of a trust called the Kesari Mahratta Trust, Poona, according to the term, of his will.

Another pioneer Marathi newspaper in the erstwhile Central Provinces was started in 1882 in Nagpur. It was called the Hitavada and was first edited by Pandey, a distinguished Marathi journalist. Started as a weekly, the paper struggled hard during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and ultimately passed into the hands of the Servants of India Society, in 1911. The society's president, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, made one of his colleagues, N. A. Dravid, its editor. The paper later changed over to an English language weekly. In 1936, the paper came into the hands of A. D. Mani, the present managing editor. He converted the paper into an English language daily in 1943. The title of the paper, however, remained unchanged. The Hitavada is one of the nationalist papers of Central India, and it occupies a unique place in the field of Indian Journalism. After the division of the country, on a linguistic basis, Nagpur fell to Bombay State which is now called Maharashtra. A simultaneous edition of the paper was arranged for from Bhopal to have an extensive coverage of news in Madhya Pradesh.

Among the daily newspapers in Marathi, the pride of place is held by the Sakal. It is published from Poona, the heart of Maharashtra. The Sakal was established in 1931 by Dr. N.

B. Parulekar who graduated from die Columbia University, (U.S.A.). He was the first Indian to study Journalism as a subject in the United States. Slowly and steadily, the Sakal developed strength and to-day it is a daily with an enviable circulation and prestige.

Dr. Parulekar, an ex-correspondent of the New York Times who was for some time Chairman of the Press Trust of India is a man of vision known and respected for his prolific writings and thoughtful leadership in the journalistic field. He was one of the founders of the Audit Bureau of Circulations and several other journalistic and social organisations. With remarkable foresight and a genuine interest in Marathi Journalism, he literally built up the Sakal.

His rational approach and well-laid out plans succeeded as far as the Sakal was concerned but a one-price daily called the Tej started by him did not prosper and ultimately ceased to appear.

The Sakal follows an entirely independent policy. The aim is to educate the general public in the democratic values of life. It regularly publishes feature articles relating to the political, social, economic, educational and cultural life of Maharashtra in particular and India as a whole in general and thus tries to focus general interest on public affairs. It has a network of agencies and correspondents throughout the erstwhile Bombay State and outside and has by now earned a reputation for its fearless leading articles and reliable news service. The paper maintains an office in Bombay and commands up-to-date technical facilities.

The Sakal has on its staff many eminent young journalists of Maharashtra. Every possible encouragement is extended to trained journalists and talented newcomers to the field. G. P. Deshmukh who has written several books in Marathi, including two volumes on the subject of Journalism has been with the Sakai for many years now. As an executive editor, his contributions to the progress of the Sakai are of undoubted significance.

The Sakal is priced at seven paise per copy and has a large circulation. Its Sunday edition called the Ravivarche Sakal or the Sunday Sakal is priced at 12 paise and is read with great interest and enthusiasm. Another Marathi weekly the Swarajya is issued from the Sakal Printing Press. It is one of the brilliantly-edited and attractively produced Marathi journals. With a good circulation it is sold at 12 paise per copy.

The Sakal papers are famous for their healthy criticisms. They are admired and held in high esteem by the Marathi reading public. Dr. Parulekar has been consistently working heart and soul, to make the papers more and more popular and educative. A fine morgue is the proud possession of the Sakal offices. Various editions are brought out to meet the timely demands. The Sakal maintains a hard-won reputation and is noted for its occasional special issues. The credit for conducting these papers on the right lines and for establishing standards in the Marathi Language Journalism rightly goes to Dr. N. B. Parulekar.

12.5 SUMMARY

Vernacular press, even in 21st century stands tall in Indian journalism owing to its connectivity with huge number of people. It is unsurprising that vernacular press, to-date, has greater circulation than national newspapers. Telugu language, one of the most popular languages in the country is no exception. Number of newspapers were launched in Telugu during freedom movement in order to reach out to Telugu people across the country and especially in Madras and Mysore presidencies. In the next lesson we shall discuss the origin and growth of Telugu press.

12.6 GLOSSARY

- **Vernacular:** The language or dialect spoken by the ordinary people in a particular country or region.
- **Vernacular Press Act:** Vernacular Press Act, in British India, is a law enacted in 1878 to curtail the freedom of the Indian-language (i.e., non-English) press. The act excluded English-language publications. It elicited strong and sustained protests from a wide spectrum of the Indian populace.
- **Regime:** A government, especially an authoritarian one.
- **Biweekly:** A periodical that appears every two weeks or twice a week.
- **Parsee:** An adherent of Zoroastrianism, especially a descendant of those Zoroastrians who fled to India from Muslim persecution in Persia during the 7th–8th centuries.

12.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a short note on the birth of vernacular press in India
- 2) What is the need for language press during freedom movement?
- 3) Is language press still relevant in India? If yes, how?
- 4) What are the characteristics of vernacular press that makes it more reliable than nationalist English press?
- 5) Is there a difference between local press and vernacular press? Write a short note on local press and vernacular press.

12.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Barns, M. (1940). *The Indian Press: A History of the Growth of Public Opinion in India*. India: G. Allen & Unwin Limited.
- 2) Boyce, M. T. (1988). *British policy and the evolution of the vernacular press in India, 1835-1878*. India: Chanakya Publications.
- 3) Dacosta, J. (1878). *Remarks on the Vernacular Press Law of India (Act IX of 1878)*. United Kingdom: W.H. Allen.
- 4) Iyengar, A. S. (2001). *Role of Press and Indian Freedom Struggle: All Through the Gandhian Era*. India: A.P.H.

Sethi, D. (2019). *War Over Words: Censorship in India, 1930-1960*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

LESSON 13

TELUGU PRESS – OVERVIEW

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an in-depth understanding about Telugu press.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart a brief understanding of Telugu language and culture
- To discuss the early years of Telugu press
- To analyse the growth of Telugu press
- To discuss in brief about periodicals in Telugu language

STRUCTURE

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Brief Overview of Telugu Language

13.3 Early Years of Telugu Press

13.4 Growth of Telugu Press

13.5 Periodicals

13.6 Summary

13.7 Glossary

13.8 Self-Assessment Questions

13.9 Suggested Readings

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Telugu language is the primary language of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana states of India. It is one of the Dravidian languages spoken in South India. Telugu language is the fourth most spoken language in India with nearly 82million native speakers according to 2011 census. Vernacular journalism in India was promoted through Telugu language journalism during freedom movement. In this lesson we shall discuss about the origin and growth of Telugu language journalism.

13.2 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TELUGU LANGUAGE

Peninsular India has been the home of the Dravidian languages, twelve in number, namely, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tulu, Kodagu, Todda, Kota, Gond, Khond, Oraon, and Rajmahal. These languages are spoken in the following regions or districts of India: the South-Eastern, the North-Eastern the South-Western parts, the Malabar Coast, Coorg, the Nilgiri Hills, Central India, North-West Orissa, and the Rajmahal hills of Bengal.

Tamil is also spoken in the northern parts of Ceylon. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada are the most important among these languages. Tamil, the oldest member of the group,

preserves a good deal of the character and vocabulary of the ancient Dravidian speech and has a very extensive vocabulary.

The literature of the Telugu people goes back to the eleventh century. In the nineteenth century, the Andhras (the Telugu people) early experienced the throes of a cultural rebirth in India. Gurzada Apparao, Rayaprolu Subba Rao, and Basavaraju and more recently, Krishna Sastry and Satyanarayana. These persons did each prove true to the finest traditions of Telugu poetry. The pioneering efforts of Viresalingam Panthulu laid the foundations for modern Telugu prose, while the enterprise and vision of Nageswara Rao Panthulu established Telugu Journalism on a secure basis. Telugu fiction, too, has been taking big strides since 1920, and Satyanarayana's novel, Malla Pilai has had a great vogue in the Andhra area. The influence of both English and Bengali has from the first been marked in nascent Telugu literature.

Throughout history, the Andhras have been famous for their pioneering spirit. In empire building, in developing a mercantile navy and in establishing commercial relations with distant countries, in colonisation and in other such activities which demand initiative and enterprise, the Andhras were always in the front. The achievements recorded in early Andhra history have always been a source of pride and inspiration to succeeding generations. Java and Indonesia have relics which give evidence of the cultural and intellectual contacts, the Andhras had established overseas. In the field of art, the Ajanta and the Ellora frescoes are a standing monument to Andhra's glorious past.

In engineering, in architecture and in industry, they have now specialised in certain ways which make their name distinctive in contemporary history. In Journalism, also, the contribution of the Andhra is by no means negligible. In many States of India there have been, and there still are, a number of outstanding journalists hailing from the Andhra area. Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Dr. B. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, Kamakshi Natarajan, B. Hanumantha Rao, Ch. V. Hanumantha Rao, T. Prakasam, G. V. Krupanidhi, Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, Khasa Subba Rao, S. Natarajan, M. Chalapathi Rau, K. Ramakoteswara Rao, J. Natarajan, Kottamraju Rama Rao and host of others have earned national and international fame. Beyond the boundaries of the Andhra State, in areas where, as in Bombay, a number of Andhras are living as a group enterprising Andhras have established and have been conducting journals which tend to develop and foster cultural unity. In some other areas where the Andhras are a minority group, as in Tinnevely, journalists have been busy fostering a spirit of unity among the scattered Andhras. Successful scribes hailing from the Andhra areas have made a name not only as editors of first rank English newspapers in India, but have also contributed something very substantial to Tamil, Kannada and Urdu Journalism.

13.3 EARLY YEARS OF TELUGU PRESS

The first journal in Telugu language was the Satyadoota. It made its appearance in 1835 and is believed to have been printed at Madras and published by the Christian Association from Bellary. This was a monthly journal published in a simple styled Telugu. It was devoted to religious propaganda.

The Vrittantini established in 1840 used a high-flown literary language. It was followed by the Vartamana Tarangini in 1842. This journal continued publication for eight years. It used to publish some information which cannot be described as "news" as understood in the modern sense. The language employed was simple and prosaic. The Dinavartamani started in 1861 was

among the early weeklies in Telugu language. It was also published in popular Telugu and had a successful run for about seven years. Another important journal during this period, started for the same purpose was the Hitavadi appearing in 1862. It was a weekly edited by Rev. Shirkie and this weekly journal **ceased to exist after a few years of** its inception in the sixties of the last century. The Telugu script, as compared with the Roman script, is very complex and in the beginning it was a difficult task to adapt type for it. Because of this technical hardship, the early publishers of Telugu journals and books used to calligraph the matter and get page-size blocks made. It was a time-consuming, laborious and expensive process.

The Hitavadi also was published in this manner. Another noteworthy journal was the Ravi, published from Kakinada by the Canadian Baptist Mission Press. This journal gave equal treatment to news and matters of religious consequence. As is evident, most of the early journals in the Telugu language were initiated by the Christian missionaries with the obvious aim to propagate their religion. To counteract Christian propaganda, a few newspapers were founded among which the most distinguished was the Tattvabodhini started in 1864 published from Madras by the Veda Samaj. Among its notable features was the serialisation of the Rig Veda coupled with Telugu meanings, correct pronunciation and appropriate commentaries. Besides, there were lively discussions concerning religion, ethics and social issues.

From the viewpoint of intense cultural activity, **the last two decades of the nineteenth century, in** the Telugu areas, were significant. Rao Bahadur Kandukuri Veereslingam Panthulu, the renowned Andhra social reformer and literature, was the central figure in the social and cultural life of that age. In 1885 he started from Rajahmundry a journal called the Vivekavardhini. He set up a printing press of his own to conduct this journal mostly devoted to language reform and allied educational matters. A little space was earmarked for local news and special announcements. Basically the journal was the mouthpiece of the literary and informative enthusiasm of its founder-editor cum proprietor. He had also started another magazine called the Hasyavardhini which was devoted to fun and frolic. The Satihitabodhini was a magazine which he founded to cater to women readers. The Satyavadini was another popular weekly promoted by Panthulu.

The ardent zeal of Veereslingam Panthulu for social reform and cultural revival was soon a matter of state-wide interest. His literary criticisms were also keenly noted. This resulted in the starting of other journals by the orthodox section of society which was not in favour of Panthulu's reformist attitude. The first competing journal to emerge as a counter-propaganda sheet was the Andhrabhasha Sanjivini, launched by Mahamahopadhyaya Kakkanti Venkatarathnam Panthulu. He was also a leader, scholar and a popular figure in society interested in reform. With a similar aim of opposing Veereslingam Panthulu's activities, a magazine called the Purusharoba Pradayini was published from Masulipatam. The controversy between these sets of journals was carried with bitterness. Since that time literary controversy was a feature of Telugu journalism. Another important contemporary journal was the Suryalokam founded by G. C. V. Srinivasacharalu and Vedam Venkatachallaiah from Madras. The aims and objects of this journal were the publication of news and criticism, social and cultural activities, evincing great interest in dramaturgy.

The first news weekly in Telugu appeared in 1885, under the title of the Andhra Prakasika. It was edited by A. P. Parthasarathi Naidu in Madras. It was the year when the Indian National Congress was founded, and this paper whole-heartedly supported and propagated the aims of the new political party. For the next 25 years it was continuously published as a weekly, and then it was converted into a bi-weekly. But after a short-while, it once again became a weekly and continued for some time and then ceased publication. Its first editor, Naidu, was an

ardent nationalist and a great linguist. He had a perfect sense for news-value and conducted the paper with vigilance as well as vigour. Among journals, the Sasilekha was the first paper to take up the cause of Andhra unification. It was started by Gathupalli Seshacharyulu in 1894 and passed through a process of expansion and contraction. Ably edited, it revealed a taste for news and features. For some time, it was run as a daily. But it did not make much headway. During its existence, it gave great support to the movement for a separate province of the Telugu speaking people to be called the Andhra Pradesh.

Among Telugu newspapers issued from outside Madras, mention may be made of the Godavari and the Andhra Kesari, both from Rajahmundry. Before 1900 many minor newspapers made their appearance in interior towns e. g., Nellore had the People's Front and Guntur the Dharma Sadhani. The Vrittanta Manjari was another Telugu journal from Madras which dealt exclusively with public affairs. From Elluru was started the Desopakari by Seetharamayya Panthulu. Later, this journal was edited by Veerabhadra Rao who struggled hard and succeeded to make the paper popular, particularly in the districts of Krishna and Godavari.

Devagupta Seshacharalu alias Seshachalapathi Rao deserves the credit of being the pioneer in starting a daily newspaper in Telugu. He started the Deshabhimani as a fortnightly, changed it to a weekly, and a little later to a bi-weekly, and ultimately converted it to a daily newspaper.

About this time, there were many literary journals published in the Telugu language. One of these prominent monthly magazines was the Amudrithagrandha Chintamani. Its founder-editor was P. Ramakrishnayya. It attracted great attention. With the assistance of a few literary enthusiasts, the editor reproduced in print, the contents of a number of old palm-leaf manuscripts. This service was held in esteem and was very much lauded. Veereslingam Panthulu also launched a monthly called the Chintamani. In the new magazine also he strongly propounded his ideas on social reform. An important contemporary was the 'Manjuvani, edited by Chalapathi Rao enjoying the financial support of Raja Mantripragada Bhujanga Rao. Other journals of significance were the Saraswathi, edited by Kochcherlakota R.V. Krishna Rao, the Kalpalata edited by A.V. Sankhayana Sarma; the Manorama edited by Chilakamarati Lakshminarasimham, the Kalpavali edited by Venkatarama Rao; the Vijayanathi, edited by P. Anandacharalu, the Sarada edited by A. Suryanaraju, the Chintamani of Nyayapati Subba Rao Panthulu, and the Kalavathi of Sripada Krishnamurthy Sastri.

13.4 GROWTH OF TELUGU PRESS

In the beginning of the present century, Pinjal Subramanya Setty started a Telugu daily called the Samadarsini. It had a lively but very brief existence. The editor had identified himself with the non-Brahmin cause. Under the auspices of the Sitanagram Ashram of Rajahmundry appeared a periodical titled the Congress. It was edited by M. Arnapurniah. There was rampant in literary circles, at that time, a bitter controversy over the quality of the language employed in journals. Some wanted that the language must be simple, for the benefit of the masses. A few others championed the continuance of high toned language with all literary flourish. One of the most important journals which advocated the employment of the popular style was the Andhra Sahitya Parishad Patrika, started in 1911. Closely following it, came the Telugu, founded by Venkata Rama Murthi in 1912. But it ceased to appear just a year later. The journal which staunchly championed the literary style in Telugu was the Vajrayudham conducted by ace scholar Sripada Krishnamurthy Sastry. These contending journals succeeded in creating a deep interest both in Telugu literature and in journalism in that

language. Both the views had their sympathisers and supporters. When these two sects were engaging themselves in a verbal war, each justifying its own stand, there was a new move upholding a via media. It was Srirama

Sastry who wanted to have a compromise and recommended a middle course. This he did in the columns of his journal, the Sarada published in Machilipatam.

A precursor of modern Telugu was the journal, the Janata launched by two eminent literateurs Viswanadha Satyanarana and Ramakoteswara Rao. It would be appropriate at this stage to mention the emergence of small-town papers in Telugu. Two such newspapers which made a phenomenal appearance were the Gandeepam and the Devadattam. Both these sheets commended a large circulation but unfortunately they were short-lived.

The outstanding journalist in the Telugu language was Desodharaka K. Nageswara Rao Panthulu. He was an enterprising young man when he migrated to Bombay where he built up a good business patenting a pain balm known as Amrutanjan. As he was deeply interested in the Telugu language, he founded a Telugu weekly in Bombay, by name Andhra Patrika, in 1908.

Within a short time, it developed and gained enviable reputation and popularity. It was precisely keyed to the interests of the Telugu-speaking public. Desiring to serve an enlightened class of readers, it maintained integrity in news and editorial content. In 1914 the Andhra Patrika was shifted from Bombay to Madras and came to be issued as a daily newspaper. It was acclaimed Andhra's first successful daily paper. In more than one respect it followed a new line in Telugu Journalism. It made its influence felt within a few weeks. Its circulation steadily increased and the readers were convinced of the wisdom of its editorial policy. Under the supervision of Seshagiri Rao the Patrika flourished well and very soon attained shape and sound journalistic traits. When Seshagiri Rao died, the founder Nageswar Rao Panthulu himself assumed the role of the editor. He continued the publication of the paper, imbued more with patriotic fervour than with professional acumen. On the question of the formation of a separate Andhra Province, he pursued a sober policy. The First World War was responsible for the meteoric rise in the circulation of this daily, which was sustained after the advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political field with his non-co-operation movement. Nageswara Rao had to pay heavily for his nationalistic attitude as he suffered imprisonment a number of times.

Despite repression, the Andhra Patrika always stood for fearless and robust nationalism and earned for itself the love of its satisfied readers. It was now looked upon almost as a national institution by all Andhras, near and far. It was the only Telugu daily for a number of years but it did not exploit the advantages of monopoly at any time. The weekly edition was revived and

a monthly called the Bharathi also was launched by the Andhra Patrika office.

These journals are widely patronised by the Telugu-reading public. The editor was S. Shambhu Prasad. The daily Andhra Patrika published in Madras was priced at seven paise. The journals are now conducted and managed by the Trust, Nageswara Rao Estates (Private) Ltd., Madras. The Golden Jubilee of the Andhra Patrika was celebrated in 1964.

In the wake of the Andhra Patrika, appeared a number of dailies started by a band of young journalists. Some of these new papers were the AndhraBharati, the Andhra Vartha, the Andhra Praja, the Sasirekha, the Janavani, the Samadarsini and the Desabhimani. But they were all short-lived in spite of the brilliant contributions made by some of them for the short period of their existence. Among these, the Janavani under the able editorship of Tapi Dharmarao Naidu, was perhaps the only daily which earned considerable popularity and

raised high hopes for a bright future. But as ill-luck would have it, the Janavani became extinct after an existence only of a few years.

Besides the dailies, many weeklies and monthlies devoted to politics, literature and science made their appearance in the language. Most of them had lightening triumphs. Among those periodicals which became the symbols of effective national journalism, special mention should be made of the Krishna Patrika. It was founded in 1862 by Konda Venkatapaiah Panthulu and was ably edited, by Muthnuri Krishna Rao of Masulipatam. M. Subramaniam Sharma was its editor and the weekly was sold at 25 paise per copy. It was one of the national institutions that sprang into existence in different parts of the country in the wake of the Swadeshi agitation after the partition of Bengal. This weekly had admittedly contributed a great deal to the growth of national consciousness in the country. Among the most popular journals of this period, mention may be made of the Sahiti and the Sakhi promoted by Shivashankara Sastri. They were followed by the Sujata, the Pratibha, the Kinnera, the Jayanti and the Jwala. These journals were esteemed for their brilliant literary articles.

In the Telangana area, the pioneer journal was the Hitabodhini started in 1913 with Srinivasa Sharma as its editor. The most important journal was the Golkonda Patrika promoted by Madapati Hanumantha Rao Panthulu. Among those who were actively connected with the development of the Golkonda Patrika were persons like Suravaram Pratap Reddy and N. Naravottam Reddy. Besides this, many weeklies and monthlies were published from Telangana region of the Andhra Pradesh.

The most important Telugu journal to make its appearance was the Andhra Prabha. It was published in 1938 and was first edited by Khasa Subba Rao, later by N. Narayana Murthy. The famous column of Khasa Subba Rao entitled "Pan Supari" was a rage with the readers and was held in esteem for its polished language and wit. Very soon, this paper established itself and became a popular rival to the Andhra Patrika. Today it happens to be one among the dailies with the largest circulation and is being published regularly. It was mainly promoted by Narla Venkateswara Rao who is much respected as a gifted writer with a remarkable power of language and a measure of sound scholarship. He is reckoned as one of the luminaries of Telugu Journalism.

The Andhra Prabha belongs to the Express Group of newspapers controlled by Ramnath Goenka. Its editor was Neelamraju Venkateshaiah. Good display of a rich variety of news, carefully selected and properly presented is the marked feature of the paper. It claims to be the Telugu daily with the largest circulation. There is a Sunday edition of the paper which contains lively features on art, and culture and science and religion, besides exclusive material for women and children, as well as the film fans. Another journal of the same group is the Andhra Prabha Illustrated Weekly which is reputed to be the brightest Telugu weekly with the largest circulation. And as the title suggests, it is enlivened with appropriate illustrations mostly in colour. It carries instructive articles by well-known writers on varied subjects. This week-end magazine of the Andhras, most sought after, and most reliable, publishes the latest material and so has been able consistently to satisfy a large number of readers. These two journals are growing in popularity and are admittedly standard publications.

Mocherla Krishna Murthy who was an assistant editor of the Andhra Patrika, made an attempt to run a provincial daily from Vijayawada called the Janmabhoomi. Great hopes were raised and it was thought that a daily, published from a central town in Andhra would be more successful and eclipse the dailies published from Madras and other far off towns. But this daily did not make much headway and soon ceased publication. In the same town the Prajasakti, with a note of communism in its writings was started as a daily and quite often it tended to be seditious. It had to close down because of Government's repressive action.

Later, came in 1952, the Visalandhra, the daily organ of the Communist Party. Its editor is K. Rajagopal Rao.

The inauguration of Andhra Pradesh on October 1, 1953 gave a real fillip to the development of Telugu Journalism. The new State extended every possible practical facility for the progress of the language. It may be remembered here that Andhra was the first State to come into existence on a linguistic basis. The achievement of a separate State for the Telugu-speaking people, in no small measure was due to the efforts of the Telugu Press.

The following four daily newspapers were started in Andhra Pradesh after 1953: the Andhra Janata edited by K.S.Subramanyam and published from Hyderabad, priced at seven paise, the Andhra Bhoomi started in 1960 by K. R. Pattabhiram; the Rajahmundry Samacharam edited by Gandham Seetharamayanajulu and published from Rajahmundry since 1956 and the Vishalandhra started in Vijayawada in 1952, by K. R. Rajagopala Rao. It was sold at six paise per copy. The most prominent daily in Telugu in the recent years is the Andhra Jyoti which started publication in 1960. Its editor was Narla Venkateswar Rao.

Other minor dailies now published in Andhra include the Manadesam from Vijayawada edited by Seripati Kamala and the Golkonda Patrika from Hyderabad edited by N. Narotham Reddy and the Mundadugu edited by C. V. K. Rao from Kakinada. There are also two bi-weeklies in Telugu. One is the Nellore News edited by M. Ismayeel from Nellore and the other the Sudarsanam edited and published by N. Gopalakrishnamacharlu from Gudivada.

13.5 PERIODICALS

Weekly journals have been steadier in Andhra than the daily papers. Some of the successful Telugu weeklies were: the Prajamitra and the Ananda Vani edited by V. Kalidas; the Janavani edited by Dharma Rao and the Prajabandhu edited by S. D. Acharya. The one weekly which commanded enviable prestige was the Swatantra conducted by the famed Khasa Subba Rao. It was published in English also. In addition to these, many journals exclusively devoted to children's interest, movies, women, astrology, detectivefiction and other concerns appeared and made their mark in Telugu Journalism. The other most important Telugu weeklies were: the Andhra Kesari, Masulipatam; the Desabandhu, Narasapuram; the Mahatma, Vijayawada, the Praja Mora, Cuddapah; the Telugu Desam, Hyderabad and the Vanita Vihar, Rajahmundry. A Telugu weekly was published from Bangalore, the capital of Mysore state. The paper was called the Prajamata.

Like dailies and weeklies, the monthly magazines in Telugu language maintain a high standard and have contributed substantially to the development of Telugu literature and journalism. Among monthly magazines highest sales were commanded by children's magazines published from Madras. The Chandamama and the Balamitra enjoyed wide sales. The other journals with good circulation were the Christer Agamanadootham and the Cinemarangam. Important monthlies were: the Andhradootha, the Andhrakala, the Bala, the Dharma Jyoti, the Jayanti, the Kalyani, the Navakala, the Sandesham, the Shanti, the Subhasini, and the Telugu Sankranthi. The new trends in Telugu poetry were evident in the pages of the Nevata. The Tuva specialized in standard short stories. The Pustaka Prapancham was the book-lover's delight. The most important ladies' magazine was the Gruhalakshmi, and the Jyoti catered to a large number of readers with humorous articles, witty features and chaste reading material.

13.6 SUMMARY

Telugu language journalism began with Satyadoota in the year 1835. Like every other language press, Telugu language press was also initiated by missionaries to spread Christianity in India. It was soon taken up by freedom leaders to take forward the Indian freedom struggle. Telugu press still has a huge circulation and large audience base in the country. In the next lesson we shall study about the origin and growth of Telugu press.

13.7 GLOSSARY

- **Dravidian:** Relating to or denoting a family of languages spoken in southern India and Sri Lanka, or the peoples who speak them.
- **Journal:** A newspaper or magazine that deals with a particular subject or professional activity.
- **Press:** Newspapers or journalists viewed collectively
- **South India:** South India is the area encompassing the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Telangana as well as the union territories of Lakshadweep and Puducherry, occupying 19.31% of India's area (635,780 km² or 245,480 sq mi).
- **Periodicals:** A magazine or newspaper published at regular intervals.
- **Magazine:** A periodical publication containing articles and illustrations, often on a particular subject or aimed at a particular readership.

13.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a brief overview of Telugu language and culture.
- 2) Discuss the early years of Telugu press.
- 3) Briefly discuss the growth of Telugu language journalism.
- 4) Write a short note on periodicals published in Telugu language.

13.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) *Press in India*. (1960). India: Office of the Registrar of Newspapers.
- 2) Somasekhara, G. (n.d.). *Telugu Press and Indian Freedom Movement*. India: Lulu.com.

Subramanyam, K. (1984). *The Press and the National Movement in South India, Andhra, 1905-1932*. India: New Era Publications.

LESSON 14

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF TELUGU JOURNALISM

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to understand the origin and growth of Telugu journalism.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To discuss a brief history of printing in Telugu press
- To discuss early years of Telugu press
- To study the origin of Telugu journalism
- To briefly analyse the growth of Telugu journalism

STRUCTURE

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Brief History of Printing in Telugu

14.3 Origin and Growth of Telugu Journalism

14.4 Summary

14.5 Glossary

14.6 Self-Assessment Questions

14.7 Suggested Readings

14.1 INTRODUCTION

The root for all history of journalism lies in an invention of the language press. Type for each particular script had to be invented first to begin the journey of journalism in that particular language. Printing, first began for books and soon shifted to press and journalism. In this lesson, we shall discuss a brief history of printing in Telugu. We shall also discuss the origin and growth of Telugu journalism.

14.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF PRINTING IN TELUGU

East India Company officials and the Christian missionaries tried to master the Indian languages to carry out their work in India successfully. In that process, they systematized the study of the Indian languages and introduced techniques of printing. Benjamin Schultze, the German Lutheran from Halle was the first man to make a thorough study of the Telugu language.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, a number of works on the Telugu language were printed in Halle, and it was clearly showing the interest of European world on Telugu. Some examples were

- (1) Catechisms Telugicus Minor (1746);
- (2) Colloquium Religiosum Telugice (1747); and
- (3) Pespigua Explicatio Doctrinae (1747).

Moreover, the appendix to Thomas Hyde's *Syntagma Dissertationum Oxoniae* (1767) published 47 Telugu words collected by Greg Sharpe. Although the titles of the works indicate that they were about Telugu, historians have yet to determine whether the script was Telugu. Charles Wilkins, the first Englishman to learn Sanskrit, came as a clerk to Bengal in 1770 as many others did subsequently. He translated works such as *Bhagavadgita*, *Hitopadesa* and *Shakuntala* into English. He himself prepared the type for print, cut letters in steel, made matrices and moulds, and cast from them a type font of Devanagari characters. He trained the local people to apply his art to other Indian scripts. Panchanan, an expert blacksmith in 1798 picked up this art, the best of all, and later played a key role in Serampore. He selected as his assistant youth of his caste and craft, Manohar, who continued the work for more than forty years. These two people must probably, prepared the early type in Telugu.

In 1804, the Serampore missionaries submitted to their society in England their plan to translate scriptures into the languages of the East. They identified seven languages of India including "Telinga". But on March 11, 1812 fire destroyed their printing office in Serampore.

The office contained fourteen fonts of the Eastern languages, a large assortment of types received from England and the manuscript of the translation of the Ramayana. The fire destroyed all these, as well as the materials for the Polyglot Dictionary, the rough copy of the Telinga Grammar and other works in the press.

The pundits were set again to the work of translation. The melted metal collected to the extent of more than four tons was made over to the type-casters. Within a few months, the press was again in full operation. Grammar in Telinga, which consumed by fire was recommenced. Prilokar in his work has reproduced page 66 of the New Testament in Telinga – a copy of which is available in the Serampore college library.

As early as 1788, Henry Harris an English man proposed to establish a new printing office at Madras and to introduce Persian and other oriental characters. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Harris was ready to take up from the Vizagapatnam press as early as 1809 and 1810 and Edward Pitchett who arrived in 1812 at Vizagapatnam prepared a version of the New Testament, which was printed in Madras, in 1818, and its second edition in 1829.

William Brown, who contributed much to Telugu later, also brought out dictionary printed at Madras in 1818. A Vocabulary of Gentoo and English composed of words in current use and illustrated by examples applicable to the familiar speech and writings of the middle orders and more elevated ranks of the modern Gentoo people.

Besides Bellary press, another press was started in 1818 by the Madras Religious Tract Society in the middle of the century. A.D. Compbell's two works were printed at Madras. Priolkar in his book *Printing Press in India* has reproduced a copy of Page 47 of the 1820 edition, which he has in his possession.

In addition to Christian literature, Grammar and Dictionaries, an attempt was made to print school books in Telugu. Another significant development pertaining to Telugu printing was Charles Philip Brown's work. The prosody of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages explained was printed in Madras in 1827. Thus, the early missionaries and the British civil servants contributed much to the early printing in Telugu.

14.3 ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF TELUGU JOURNALISM

The credit for devising printing types for the vernacular press of India, including Telugu, goes to the Serampore missionaries. In its early stages and in fact, till the attainment of

Independence, vernacular journalism had to face great problems. Journalism in its initial stages was a highly risky undertaking, as elsewhere.

The British rulers viewed newspapers with suspicion and placed as many obstacles in their way as they could. They deported even British editors who were bold enough to criticize the policies of the East India Company. The British rulers throughout their rule in India attempted to suppress newspaper critics and frequently prosecuted newspapers for sedition. Gajula Lakshmi Narsuchetty was a pioneer of journalism in Andhra Pradesh.

The development of Telugu printing resulted in appearance of a number of publications. The establishment of several printing presses in Madras also facilitated the journalism activity. In 1835, *Satyadoota* a Christian missionary journal in English, Tamil and Telugu, appeared under the auspices of the Bellary Christian Tract Society. Several studies, such as Aarudra (1967), Seshagiri Rao (1968) identify it as the first journal in Telugu. It used colloquial Telugu and contained only news and articles relating on the propagation of Christianity.

Gadyachinthamaniedited by Gidugu Rama Murthy Panthulu, included *Varthamaratharangini*, a journal launched in 1842 in which an article attacking the practice of nautch parties at wedding festivities originally published in *Vrittanthini*, a monthly published in classical Telugu.

Varthamaratharangini was a forward looking Telugu newspaper published between 1842 and 1850 in Madras. It adopted popular style, carried many good features and had a wide readership. The standard of Telugu journalism improved with the progress of this paper.

Christian missionaries contributed a lot to Telugu journalism, particularly colloquial Telugu. They published the *Dinavarthamani*, a weekly newspaper, and *Hitavada*, another Telugu newspaper in classical Telugu. Both were published in Madras. The journal *Sujana Ranjani* appeared under the joint editorship of V. Krishnamacharyulu, B. Sitaramacharyulu and K. Subbarayalu Naidu between 1864 and 1867.

Sitaramacharyulu later became famous as the author of the dictionary *Shabda Ratnakaram*. *Sujana Ranjini* published articles and commentaries useful to Telugu students. It also published some articles of Chinnaiah Suri, the author of *Neetichandrika*, which set the standard for the Telugu prose of the time.

The April 1868 issue *Thatvabodhini*, a journal founded by Brahmosamaj asserted, "there is no other journal in Telugu except the *Dinavarthamani*. *Sriyalakshmi* and *Hitavada* have ceased publication. These three publications are not equal to *Sujana Ranjani*. It was a very useful journal. It is a pity that this journal also is defunct. It was good if some philanthropist revives such a highly valued journal". These comments show the high regard for *Dinavarthamani*.

Allen Barrow, a Britisher, started *Godavari Mandala Vidya Prabodhini*, an educational Telugu newspaper in 1870. Veeresalingam Panthulu contributed to it, and he published a portion of his *Naishadham* in its pages. Practically no publication run by Telugu people, existed between 1869 and 1870. This prompted Kokkonda Venkataratnam Panthulu, an eminent scholar of the time, to start *Andhra Bhasha Sanjivani* with the help of Kalasapam Vijayaraghava Naidu. The paper had no press of its own; Sabdaratnakara press of K. Pusaparadha Chetty printed it.

Features that made *Andhra Bhasha Sanjivani* famous were:

- 1) Its use of classical Telugu
- 2) Its coining of Telugu equivalents of English technical terms
- 3) Its publication of articles on as well as social and other subjects
- 4) Its regular book review
- 5) Its supplements with special articles

The first issue of the journal came out in 1871. It received the acclaim of eminent Telugu scholars like Kandukuri Veeresalingam, the author of Mahabharatham Sabha Parvam parts of which appeared in this journal. Later on, difference of opinion cropped up between Kokkonda and Kandukuri on matters of widow remarriage, women's education, social reform, and also on the literary matters. In 1874, Kandukuri started his own paper *Vivekavardhani* leading to a battle between the two journals. Despite the bitterness involved, the competition served the cause of Telugu journalism.

Some even sought public support for newspapers, as was the case with *Purushardha Pradhayini*, started by Daiva Samajam, an association founded by Uma Raganyakulu Naidu of Masulipatnam. The paper had four sections: Scientific, commercial, religious and miscellaneous. The news of the month and the editorial comments appeared in English, along with a Telugu translation. In 1871, the Samajam appealed to the public to help the survival of its newspaper. It published translations of important pieces of English literature and promoted Telugu writing and published Indian and foreign news. It carried articles on Andhra history, places of historical interest and also reviewed books and periodicals. It also published articles on the Hindu principles of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* and *Moksha*, adopting them to modern conditions.

In addition to articles on religion, law and social problems, it carried special articles on such controversial matters as idolatry, caste women's education and widow remarriage and encouraged the fearless discussion of these problems. No social evil escaped its vigilant eye.

The profession of dancing girls, bribery and corruption among public servants, the high-handedness of the British police, the vagaries of the bureaucrats and their racial arrogance, and many other evil topics came under its hammer. Its August 1872 issue came down heavily on the irregularities and waste in the construction and maintenance of roads and public buildings.

It criticized the British Government for its negligence in education. It said, "Whatever might be the state of affairs when English rulers did not consult the wishes of the people and as they liked, it is not just that they should be indifferent to education and other matters at a time when they profess to take the advice of native or Indian representative members of the Local Fund Boards". It further pointed out that the British used the system of education to inculcate in the Indians the idea of superiority of European civilization religion and culture so as to keep them servile.

Although the English education opened new vistas of knowledge for Indians, it also brought their attitudes to admire the Christianity as well as the manners, dress and habits of the English. They began to look down upon their own culture and religion thereby developing clerical mentality.

Purushardha Pradhayini, by boldly criticizing all this, served the cause of nationalization. Veeresalingam, who was a regular contributor to this journal also founded *Vivekavardhani* in 1874. *Purushardha Pradhayini* and *Vivekavardhani* became the trial blazers of Telugu journalism. *Vivekavardhani* began its glorious career in Madras in October 1874 as a monthly journal first published and shifted to Rajahmundry. Soon it developed into a powerful weapon for Veeresalingam to fight his battles against the social evils and official tyranny.

In one of the early issues of *Vivekavardhani*, Veeresalingam wrote

"If bribery is condemned, the local officials would be encouraged; if prostitution is derided, the rakes of the town would be irate; if customs and traditions are attacked, the ignorant and the bigoted would fly at our throat; if the mere observance of the externals of religion while disregarding its moral tenets are denounced, the clergy would swear vengeance – if our

journal is to fulfill even a fraction of its chosen mission, it has to defy the fury of such a wide circle”.

Veeresalingam, even when he was in the government service did not hesitate to lash out at the British officials. He faced quite many libel charges, civil and criminal, but came out unscathed through them all. It was unfortunate that Veeresalingam had to close down *Vivekavardhani* in 1890, because of the hostility of the British rulers.

Another noteworthy publication *Andhra Patrika* of Madras began in 1885. A.C.Parthasarathi Naidu was its first editor. It also boldly criticized the policies of the government, pointed out lapses in administration, exposed corruption in the police department, and brought to light the atrocities of the soldiers. It waged many battles for justice and fair play. Parthasarathi Naidu was a staunch congressman and a follower of Lokamanya Tilak. Like him many journalists served the profession and wrote numerous stories against British chauvinism.

The journals of the 19th century were pioneers in the field, and they laid a solid foundation for the future growth of journalism. The journalism they practiced was not motivated by profit. Patriotism inspired them.

They attacked many social evils, fearlessly and with missionary zeal. In the process, they incurred the wrath of British officials, as well as some of their own Indian compatriots. They also brought scholarship and an enlightened outlook to bear on their chosen Mission. Telugu journalism continued and consolidated these traditions throughout the period of freedom struggle.

Krishna Patrika, was another pioneer newspaper of these days, which began publication from Masulipatnam in 1902. As first editors were Konda Venkatappaiah and Dasu Narayana Rao. Venkatappaiah, who later became as Desabhimani for his part in the nationalist movement directed the main editorial later upto 1907 when he shifted his law practice to Guntur. During his editorial direction in *Krishna Patrika* he called for social uprising, exposed corruption, and criticized the government policies and the vagaries of officials.

Mutnuri Krishna Rao who became editor in 1907, whose fearless writings made *Krishna Patrika* a popular Telugu newspaper. Krishna Rao was not only a profound scholar and literary critic but also a patriot, who joined the national struggle.

Krishna Rao's editorials and other writings were unique for his time. He rallied around him a team of talented young writers and carved a pre-eminent place for his newspaper in the annals of Telugu journalism. This newspaper, which reappeared after a gap in publication failed to regain its former glory and prestige.

Swaraj another paper, began publication in 1908 from Bezvada (present Vijayawada) under the editorship of Gadicherla Hari Sarvothama Rao. A patriot and an eminent journalist, he was considered one of the founders of the Library movement in Andhra Pradesh. As a student in Rajahmundry, he was suspended for taking part in the Vande Mataram movement.

He was arrested on July 18, 1908 for his writings in the *Swaraj* and subsequently convicted for sedition. The High Court sentenced him to three years in prison. The treatment meted out to him was similar to that of Balagangadhar Tilak of Bengal who published *Kesari*, a newspaper. He was handcuffed and was treated as an ordinary criminal. After his release, he joined *Andhra Patrika*, another newspaper published from Madras.

Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, whom the people honored as Desodharaka started the weekly *Andhra Patrika* in 1908 and published in Bombay. Then he converted it a daily published from Madras. He had to struggle in the early days to make his paper financially viable. His was the only Telugu daily for a number of years, though it was not the first

Telugu daily. Running a daily was not an easy job in those days because news dissemination had to conform to nationalistic spirit and dedicated service.

Bharati, started in 1923 by Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, had also contributed to the cause of freedom struggle. It was an illustrated magazine mainly dedicated to literature, culture and history. *Sarada*, a monthly launched and edited by Katha Srirama Sastri in 1922, also made meritorious contribution during its brief life.

14.4 SUMMARY

Credit for development of vernacular press in India goes to Serampore missionaries. Like every other language, Telugu language press was also pioneered by Serampore missionaries in order to spread spiritual message in Telugu. Telugu journalism later grew to support freedom movement like elsewhere in the country. In the next lesson we shall discuss in detail the role of Telugu journalism during Indian freedom movement.

14.5 GLOSSARY

- **Type:** A piece of metal with a raised letter or character on its upper surface, for use in letterpress printing.
- **Mould:** A hollow container used to give shape to molten or hot liquid material when it cools and hardens.
- **Appendix:** A section or table of subsidiary matter at the end of a book or document.
- **Systematize:** Arrange according to an organized system; make systematic.
- **Classic:** Judged over a period of time to be of the highest quality and outstanding of its kind.

14.6 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a brief note of history of printing in Telugu
- 2) Why did missionaries start vernacular press in India? How did they help develop vernacular journalism?
- 3) Discuss the origin and growth of Telugu journalism with few examples of noted newspapers
- 4) Write a short note on Andhra Patrika

14.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Manukonda, R. (2003). *History of Telugu Journalism: Print and Electronic Media*. India: Kiran Publications.
- 2) Rao, N. V. (1968). *Studies in the History of Telugu Journalism: Presented to V. R. Narla on the Occasion of His Shashthyabdapurti*. India: Narla Shashthyabdapurti Celebration Committee.
- 3) Somasekhara, G. (n.d.). *Telugu Press and Indian Freedom Movement*. Lulu.com.
- 4) Vajpayee, R. (2002). *Press Inside Outside*. India: Kalpaz Publications.

LESSON 15

TELUGU PRESS IN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an understanding of the role of Telugu press in freedom movement.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To impart an understanding of the role of Telugu press in freedom movement
- To discuss about Krishna Patrika and its role in Freedom Movement
- To discuss about Andhra Patrika and its call for social reforms
- To analyse the role played by Telugu press in promoting Andhra liberation movement

STRUCTURE

15.1 Introduction

15.2 An Overview to Telugu Press during Freedom Struggle

15.3 Krishna Patrika

15.4 Andhra Patrika

15.5 Summary

15.6 Glossary

15.7 Self-Assessment Questions

15.8 Suggested Readings

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Indian freedom movement was greatly supported by language journalism. Across the country, many freedom fighters stressed the need for journalism in promoting nationalism among the masses. Telugu journalism also has its share in promoting nationalism during the freedom struggle through its writings. Various newspapers entered freedom struggle in Telugu language while also fighting for Andhra sentiments. In this lesson we shall discuss about Telugu press and its role in freedom movement.

15.2 AN OVERVIEW TO TELUGU PRESS DURING FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Between 1909 and 1924 a variety of Telugu dailies, weeklies, monthlies and other periodicals sprouted in the Telugu area of the Madras presidency. Many social and political workers and some Telugu scholars started their own papers on their own during the non-cooperation movement. Patriotic young men who started publications were jailed for sedition, and ruthlessly suppressed their publications.

Vavilala Gopal Krishnayya compiled a list of all sections of Telugu periodicals published between 1875 and 1929 from the records of the registrar of books in Madras. The January issue of Bharati in 1930 published the list specifying the journal, its editor, its subscription rate, its contents and its year of publication. The list contains 516 periodicals published

during the period. Many had short life, for lack of funds or public backing. A few had to close down because of government suppression. By 1940, only 184 out of these 516 publications remained in existence.

Ramanth Goenka started Andhra Patrika, Telugu daily in 1938 with Khasa Subba Rao as its editor. After four years i.e. in 1942, Nyapati Narayana Murthy took over as its editor. Later, under the editorship of Narla Venkateswara Rao, Andhra Patrika quickly became the premier Telugu daily. Narla adopted spoken Telugu to make the paper easily understood. He became noted for his vigorous writing and fighting editorials, which made the Andhra Patrika so popular. Telugu journalism started in the Telangana region in 1913. Telangana was one among three regions in Andhra Pradesh which contributed a lot to Telugu journalism. The Hitabodhini edited by Srinivasa Sharma was the first Telugu weekly published from Mahaboobnagar in 1913, it did not survive for more than a year. The Nizam of Hyderabad was neither a patriot of Telugu literature, nor a promoter of freedom of thought and expression. His feudal regime placed many obstacles and ordeals on Telugu journals.

In 1925, Suravaram Pratab Reddy founded its weekly Golkonda Patrika which he later converted a daily. The paper under the editorship of Pratab Reddy contributed much to the freedom struggle. Narothama Reddy, who succeeded Pratab Reddy, had also brought so much name and fame to Golkonda patrika.

Thus many newspapers were born while many also died during freedom struggle. They bore the brunt of the struggle. They laid solid foundation on which they built contemporary journalistic practice. The multiplicity of Telugu publications in the nineteenth century showed sufficient evidence that the Telugu Journalism was well established and continued healthy vigour.

15.3 KRISHNA PATRIKA

Krishan Patrika was a weekly founded by Konda Venkatappaya in 1902 and its editor was Mutnuri Krishna Rao. His writings were highly penetrating and inspired the people of Andhra largely. Krishna Patrika in its editorial on August 11, 1907 wrote that the patriots are, tools of God and God never use his tools in vain. It quoted the views of Aurobindo to establish the connection between religion and patriotism, on July 12, 1908, "What did Aurobindo Ghosh say?" He said that the national movement is God's Mission, that the nationalist leaders are instruments in the hands of God working for the welfare of the country and that the national movement cannot be trodden down. Patrika also in its issue dated May 24, 1907 wrote, "We shall regard Bharata Khandam as our Goddess and Patriotism as our Religion and the Liberation of our country as Yagnam".

Krishna Patrika also wrote on August 11, 1911 that the patriotism is the first step towards Nation building. The paper during the non-cooperation movement in its editorial on October 16, 1920 remarked, "Allow the country to make use of you as she desires. Your body is not yours. Your life, mind and future are not yours. They are all are the property of your mother's. The arrow does not ask the bow where it is being shot. The Supreme dedication and sacrifice are needed at present for the country".

Supporting Vande Mataram, Satyagraha and non-cooperation movements Krishna Patrika proudly reported on August 5, 1907, the refusal of a washerman in a village to wash the foreign clothes. The washerman told the owner of the clothes that he would throw the foreign clothes into the river. On January 5, 1908, the paper also wrote, "There is only one way for adoption of boycott. If the arrow of boycott is left off by all its force, Swaraj will be at once got".

Krishna Patrika writing on the Home Rule Movement published the speeches of Tilak, Annie Besant and others and made news of the establishment and activities of the branches of Home Rule League in several parts of Andhra. In an editorial dated September 30, 1916 the paper wrote that the people need not fear to establish the branches of Home Rule League and supported the declaration of High Court of Madras that demanding self-government was not sedition".

The paper appealed to Lawyers to boycott the courts and wrote, "The time has come when the Lawyers have to make great sacrifices. They can make the bureaucracy crumbled with their power", on January 29, 1921 the paper appealed to the students to boycott the educational institutions as it wrote, "Students, Students! In our colleges you do not learn anything better than self-interest, dependence etc., give them up and devote one year to the attainment of freedom, to the thought about the country and to the worship of the people. Then you and your mother country will be regenerated". It published the inspiring message of C.R. Das on February 5, 1921 and called the students to give up their studies for the motherland.

Determined to write on the launching of Salt Satyagraha, Krishna Patrika described it as, the dawn of the moon of independence and as, a movement of soul-force unprecedented in the annals of the civilized world. The Krishna Patrika published the news of Salt Satyagraha and wrote an editorial on March 12, 1930, entitled 'Salt War'.

Krishna Patrika in another editorials pertaining to the Andhra movement wrote that there was no evil desire in the Andhra movement and that those wished to strengthen the nation should at the first cause, work for Andhra movement.

In general, the Congress and its policies were praised by majority of newspapers and sometimes they criticized too. Krishna Patrika stands a good example which occasionally condemned the Congress. In an editorial on June 27, 1914 the paper wrote, "The present Congress is not people's Congress. It is not connected with the country. It has more strength to unite the different sections in the country. It is not able to attract the imagination of the people".

On December 25, 1915 Patrika made a severe condemnation in its lengthy editorial and declared, "Destroy the Congress, with courage and faith, destroy the Congress and worship the motherland".

The paper published the message of Lenin for Hindu-Muslim unity in India. The message read during the Khilafat movement as, "The unity which is developing between Hindus and Muslims in India will lead to success".

In 1923, Krishna Patrika serialized a drama Zebunnisa written by Pingali Nagendra Rao. The drama was resented by some and A. Kaleswara Rao wrote to Swarajya that a national newspaper like Krishna Patrika should not have published such a drama as the critics opined that the drama would hurt the feelings of the Muslims. Krishna Patrika replied its critics in three editorials that the publication of the drama was intended for unity between Hindus and Muslims and not for hurting the community.

In its editorial on July 28, 1923 the paper clarified that the British historians did not literally mean the character of Shivaji and Aurangzeb when they called one as mountain-rat and the other as an idol-breaker. It also explained that Aurangzeb was neither cruel nor an idol-breaker but such remarks only indicated the intention of Krishna Patrika to encourage Hindu-Muslim unity in the National struggle for Independence.

Krishna Patrika, in its May 1, 1905 issue wrote an editorial in support of a widow-remarriage at Masulipatnam. Again, Krishna Patrika in its issue dated August 25, 1907 wrote, "The injurious social customs cannot stand in the way when changes in political matters, are brought about in countries". While attacking the nautch practice, the paper in

its editorial expressed its disappointment and wrote that nothing becomes sacred simply because it is ancient.

Patrika congratulated the Mysore Government for disallowing nautch parties in the temples, and also appealed to the Madras government to implement such orders in the Madras presidency.

Krishna Patrika, on June 16, 1911, mentioned that Susruta, the famous exponent of the Ayurvedic medicine in ancient India, had stated in his book that the girls below the age of 16 years were not fit for giving birth to children. The paper supported very rigidly to the abolition of the child marriages that it even ridiculed the threats from the Peetadhipathis, self styled 'Gods representatives'.

In an inspiring editorial on September 8, 1911, Krishna Patrika mentioned; the threat from Virupaksha Sringeri Swamy, that those who associated themselves with the post-puberty marriages will have to perform Prayaschittam (repentance). Peetadhipathis are lifeless, stone like institutions in the country. It is foolish to think that the progress of the country depended in them".

In support of the widow remarriages, on May 1, 1905, Patrika wrote criticizing the orthodox people who obstructed such marriages. It said that the widows were treated worse than the animals and that the people did not show any sympathy. Again in an editorial on January 26, 1910, Patrika mentioned that the widows below the age of 15 should be allowed to remarry. The paper revealed a sorrowful story that a child-widow by name Kameswari became pregnant by a Swamy and that her life was ended when she took some pills for abortion.

On July 28, 1911, published a letter with the signatures of 38 members from the dancing girls' community, urging the people all over the country to support the government's efforts in putting an end to the Devadasi system. It also published another letter from a dancing girl of the community from Peddapuram, a village in East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh, in which she welcomed the government's proposal. Patrika also applauded the efforts of a great social reformer Muthulakshmi Reddy, the man responsible for the abolition of the Devadasi system through passing a bill.

Patrika attacked on the evil – prostitution and published a letter, in its "Letters to the Editors" column written by one of the reader appealing all the vesyas (prostitutes) to meet at a place to discuss on the transformation and rehabilitation of their community. The news paper greatly resented the sale of a girl, by the mother to prostitute homes. And further requested the vesyas to cooperate with the government in checking the evil of prostitution.

Patrika also attacked the dowry system. It wrote that the dowry devil was destroying many families. It cited the rates of dowry during above period as, Rs.8,000/- for a Post-graduate, Rs.6,000/- for a Pleader, Rs.10,000/- for a Doctor, etc.

The paper published a number of articles written by people in various walks of life and suggested that the primary means of transferring the position of the lower castes was education alone.

In its editorial page of May 19, 1911, Patrika published the articles of social reformers who decided to educate the Panchamas through night schools. On February 6, 1915, it wrote, "To raise those who are in a degrading position is far more a sacred act than building temples and performing prayers".

On March 23, 1919, the Patrika in its article, entitled Deenabandhu, wrote: "What was needed was not reform of the lower classes, but of the higher castes". It also declared, "Until we remove conviction that no man is untouchable the upliftment of the lower classes is impossible". It also gave prominent coverage for the Panchama conferences.

On March 28, 1925 in its editorial, Patrika said, "Indians were treated worse than panchamas both at home and abroad because they were treating their own brethren in the society with much inhumanity". Patrika also expressed its profound agony on the problems of Harijans. "In this sacred country where the Buddha was born, why have the hearts of the people become stones?" wrote Patrika in its columns on October 1, 1932.

15.4 ANDHRA PATRIKA

Andhra Patrika, one of the pioneering newspapers also believed that the social reform should be the foundation for all the activities connected with the progress of the county. In its issue dated July 31, 1917, the paper expressed its view: "It is made to contend that one should not work for political reforms before social reform is attained". Reacting on widow marriages, Andhra Patrika published articles bringing opinion in public against the ill-treatment of the widows and in favor of remarriages. It also aimed at women upliftment and lent their influence for the cause. It also stressed on the need for women education through its editorials, letters and articles. Kalavantulu (dancing girls community) received much attention in the columns of Andhra Patrika. Writing on prostitution it suggested the appointment of ladies in the police force to control prostitution. In an article on February 4, 1930 it emphasized the need for removing such social evils and appealed to the elite to take part in the mission.

Like Krishna Patrika, Andhra Patrika also exercised its strength during the freedom movement. It highlighted the harm that the practice of untouchability in Hinduism. It expressed that it would be suicidal for the Hindus to ill-treat the panchamas. It published another article on June 18, 1914, in which stated that the establishment of schools would solve the problem and also suggested that the government should give them lands to make them agriculturists as the change of profession would enhance their prestige.

November 6, 1917 issue of Andhra Patrika declared: "The panchama problem is not just a social problem. It is a political problem also. By keeping 1/6 of nation in darkness it is impossible to attain national progress".

Andhra Patrika gave due concern to Panchama Conferences and stated in its columns a few days before the Andhra Panchama Conference appealing to the people, "Andhra Panchama Mahasabha will be held at Bezwada on November 4, Panchamas and well-wishers of Panchamas are requested to attend it". In an editorial on February 9, 1925 while writing on Harijan upliftment, the paper bitterly attacked the Travancore government for denying a basic natural right to the Harijans that which was enjoyed even by insects and animals. It questioned, "After taking birth as a man why is Harijan not entitled even to walk on the roads?"

Andhra Patrika, a weekly originally started in Bombay in 1908. The great patriot, Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao was the founder. This transformed into a daily in 1914. This paper always campaigned nationalism and exercised a dynamic role in the struggle for Independence. The mission of the paper can be understood from its writings, "It is a fight for Dharma and as such it could never be defeated".

The paper urged through its inspiring editorials to the Andhras to be patriotic in order to repay the debt that they owed to the motherland. It wrote, "Service for the country is the most significant of all the duties of man. To serve the motherland in the same manner as you serve your own mother is the natural duty of all human beings. The relationship between the people and the motherland is inseparable like the relationship between the mother and the child". In 1911 the paper wrote, "It is the patriotism that fosters national Congress. It unites all classes of people together.

Andhra Patrika of November 16, 1920 enunciated, "The idea of nationalist in India is not the outcome of English education". The same point was elaborately discussed in the issue of November 18, 1920 through an editorial Vision of the Mother and said "National consciousness was not born in India, recently. It did not start in the British rule. It did not have its birth due to English education. The idea of nationalism had been existing since times immemorial in the minds of the people residing in between the Himalayas and Kanyakumari".

Andhra Patrika in its editorial on January 23, 1917 wrote that the love, the devotion to God and the patriotism were the three essentials for the salvation of human beings and added that patriotism was more important than the other thing. On July 9, 1917 it wrote, "Nationalism should not become chauvinism. It should not lead to hatred among nations, and should be beneficial to the entire mankind".

The paper contemplating over the Home rule movement said, that the League should not have existed as a separate organization and that it should have been emerged as a branch of the Congress. On October 5, 1915 the paper wrote, "We believe that in the present circumstances it is Necessary to have besides the Indian Congress, another all India association with the same ideals and aspirations as those of the Congress". Andhra Patrika on September 27, 1920 wrote on non-cooperation movement commenting on the lawyers that the Lawyers spending their time by playing Billiards was over and that it required on them **to sacrifice for the sake of the country**.

Andhra Patrika of August 12, 1922 appealed to the people to wear Khadar and wrote, "Khaddar is the wheel of Lakshmi for the poor and destitute". It described the non-cooperation movement as the movement of ethics, truth and dharma.

Criticising to Simon Commission Andhra Patrika vehemently appealed to the people, on February 2, 1928, and printed black flags in its columns and urged the people to boycott the commission.

Reacting on Satyagraha, Andhra Patrika appealed to the people to make the realization of Gandhi's ideals possible, by giving their support. It pointed out that the Salt Satyagraha did not aim at the abolition of the Salt Tax, but for achieving Independence. On April 9, 1930 it published an article by Vedantam Kamala Devi under the title, "An appeal to Andhra women". The article appealed women to come forward to participate in the Salt Satyagraha".

Participating in Andhra movement Patrika demanded for a separate Andhra province. After it became a daily newspaper in 1914 clearly outlined regarding the Andhra movement and wrote, "It is the foremost duty of the managers of this paper to advocate the Andhra movement and it is their opinion that the Andhra movement a help rather than an obstruction to the Indian National Movement".

On April 13, 1923 it wrote that the blood of The Hindus and Muslims flowed together in the massacre of Jalianwalabagh and reminded that the people of India can secure happiness only in Swaraj.

Andhra Patrika exercised its fullest duties when it also strived for the communal harmony in India. It wrote that those who desire Independence for the country should follow the maxim of Mahatma Gandhi which exhorts that the Indians should consider themselves as Indians only and not as Hindus and Muslims. It also mentioned that nothing would be more harmful for the National movement than the communal differences.

15.5 SUMMARY

Telugu press played a crucial role in promoting nationalism among Indians during freedom movement. From early 20th century to mid-20th century, many newspapers began in Telugu that stood the test of time and greatly supported the national cause. These newspapers laid the foundation stones for later entrants in Telugu journalism. 20th century, post-independence saw a rise in Telugu newspapers to address various concerns of Telugu people like Andhra liberation movement. In the next lesson we shall discuss about few eminent journalists in Telugu language journalism during freedom movement.

15.6 GLOSSARY

- **Patriotism:** Patriotism or national pride is the feeling of love, devotion, and sense of attachment to a homeland and alliance with other citizens who share the same sentiment. This attachment can be a combination of many different feelings relating to one's own homeland, including ethnic, cultural, political or historical aspects.
- **Nationalism:** Nationalism is an idea and movement that promotes the interests of a particular nation (as in a group of people), especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining the nation's sovereignty (self-governance) over its homeland. It also encourages pride in national achievements and is closely linked to patriotism.
- **Periodicals:** A magazine or newspaper published at regular intervals.

15.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write an overview of Telugu journalism in freedom movement.
- 2) What are the reforms promoted by Krishna Patrika?
- 3) Write a short note on Andhra Patrika
- 4) What are the reforms initiated by Telugu journalism?

15.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Jeffrey, R. (2000). *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics and the Indian-language Press, 1977-99*. United Kingdom: Hurst.
- 2) Natarajan, J. (1955). *History of Indian Journalism*. India: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- 3) Raju, P. Y. (2003). *Rayalaseema During Colonial Times: A Study in Indian Nationalism*. India: Northern Book Centre.
- 4) Stoddart, B. (2014). *Land, Water, Language and Politics in Andhra: Regional Evolution in India Since 1850*. India: Taylor & Francis.

LESSON 16

NOTABLE TELUGU LANGUAGE JOURNALISTS DURING FREEDOM MOVEMENT

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an understanding of few eminent Telugu language journalists during freedom movement.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To study the role played by Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu in freedom struggle and other social reforms
- To discuss the role of Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu as a journalist during freedom movement
- To gain a brief overview about Mutnuri Krishna Rao, a pioneer in Telugu journalism during freedom movement
- To discuss about Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao and his contributions to Telugu journalism

STRUCTURE

16.1 Introduction

16.2 Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu – A Crusader for Telugu Journalism

16.3 Mutnuri Krishan Rao

16.4 Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao

16.5 Summary

16.6 Glossary

16.7 Self-Assessment Questions

16.8 Suggested Readings

16.1 INTRODUCTION

Telugu journalism has seen many eminent journalists since its early years. During freedom struggle, like everywhere else in the country, freedom fighter played a dual role as journalists to promote freedom awareness among citizens. Telugu journalism played an important role in boosting freedom movement in Madras and Mysore presidencies. Freedom fighters like Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu spearheaded the journalistic movement in Telugu. In this lesson we shall discuss about the contributions of Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao to Telugu journalism.

16.2 KANDUKURI VEERESALINGAM PANTHULU – A CRUSADER FOR TELUGU JOURNALISM

Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu was born on April 16, 1848. His parents were Subba Rayudu and Poornamma. He lost his father at the age of five; widowed mother took up his upbringing. He passed matriculation in 1869 and worked as a teacher (Telugu Pandit)

at Korangi in Rajahmundry. Much earlier to Veeresalingam's birth Andhra was rampant with caste, creed, communal and other problems. The tradition was deep rooted in the state when evil practices like the child marriages, destitute widows, Sati, Prostitution, untouchability, etc., hampered the growth of the society.

The 19th century in its later half awakened and imbued the minds of Andhras with national spirit. With the establishment of the University of Madras in 1857 began higher education in Andhra. English education in Andhra especially in the coastal districts accelerated a new class of elite. They were liberal in thought and felt suffocated with the orthodox set-up of Hindu society of the time. They differed with the tradition and custom and became pioneers of the social and political movement. The greatest of such pioneers was Kandukuri Veeresalingam. Veeresalingam awoke the orthodox sect of their ignorance and gave an entirely modern, progressive and philanthropic change to their life in Andhra. The people could not have their identity, had Veeresalingam not determined to vitalize them. With a keen sight, and valor Panthulu was considered one of the great men of India. He fought for truth and championed the cause of social reform. He was one of the earliest pioneers in South India to have initiated the radical changes in Andhra society. He suffered persecution and accusation during his fight for reform.

He activated a diversified style of literary activities. He wrote Rajsekhar Charitam, the first novel in Telugu. He was the first to render drama in Telugu. He also wrote natural science and history books first time in Telugu. Having positive attitude towards women wrote volumes of prose on women issues. In reality he was the father of renaissance movement in Andhra. Before he paid his attention to social reform, he introduced new literary forms in Telugu literature like the Novel, Autobiography, including literary criticism in Telugu. In the beginning Veeresalingam followed the style of Parvathu Chinnayasi who wrote Panchatantra. Later he discarded the style as he found that the students were finding it difficult to understand it. Hence he wrote in easy prose.

His first Telugu novel Rajasekhara Charitam, a story of goldsmith was translated into Kannada and English. The Times of London reviewed it. He started Satitabodhini (1883) and Hasyavardhini (1875) two journals for women.

Mahamahopadhyay, Kakkonda Venkataratnam Panthulu edited Andhra Bhasha Sanjeevani in 1870. Purushardha Pradayani was another Telugu journal edited by Uma Ranganayakula Naidu. These two journals opposed to western learning and social reform. Veeresalingam took part in the controversy and championed women's education. Veeresalingam with his journal Vivekavardhini, propagated this ideology. He wrote many satires and dramas like Brahma Vivaham (marriage of God) criticizing early marriages, marriages of young girls with old men and Kanyasulkam.

To provide education to girl child, Veeresalingam started a separate school at Dawaleswaram in September 1874, the first institution of its kind in Andhra. After few years he established another school for girls at Rajahmundry in 1881. He had educated his wife Rajyalakshmi, so that she could help him in his activities. Besides the schools for women, he also established schools for Harijans and night schools for the working class people. Veeresalingam introduced co-education in Andhra for the first time.

Veeresalingam's relentless reforms intended to the emancipation of widow in Andhra. Paravasthu Venkatarangacharyulu of Visakhapatnam published a book, Punarvivaha Sangrahamu in 1875, which favored the widow marriages. Kakkonda Venkata Ratnam was outraged by the very idea and took up cudgels against Rangacharyulu. Veeresalingam had no cordial terms with Venkata Ratnam as he supported the movement for widow marriage.

In 1875, Veeresalingam became an influential personality among the eminent citizens of Madras and the other towns of presidency. Kakkonda Venkata Ratnam convinced the

orthodox leaders that the remarriage of the widows was prohibited by the old Dharmasastra. On August 3, 1874 delivered his first lecture on the remarriage of the widow at Maharaja's girls school followed by second lecture on October 12. Orthodox people countered Veeresalingam and also resorted to assault Veeresalingam through rowdies and students saved him. In 1880, Veeresalingam, along with two of his friends, Challapalli Bapayya and Basavaraju Gavara Raju founded widow marriage association in Rajahmundry and performed many widow marriages. His own students helped him. A mother of a young widow was anxious of getting her daughter remarried. He sent his students to the remote village and brought her to Rajahmundry where she was married to Gogulapati Sreeramulu from the higher caste with the help of his students, followers and police. By 1892, 20 widow marriages took place with his efforts. He built a widows' home at Madras in 1897 and at Rajahmundry in 1905. In support of his activities he started the monthly magazine Satihitabodhini for women in 1883.

Veeresalingam's reforms spread to different parts of country and abroad. The social reformers Eswara Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahadev Govinda Ranade etc., appreciated Veeresalingam. Manning Carry, a lady from United Kingdom visited widow home and donated 50 pounds. In appreciation of his work the Government conferred on him the title Rao Bahadur in 1893. He received the highest applaud when he presided over the Indian Social Reform Congress held at Madras in 1898. In this meeting Govind Ranade acclaimed Veeresalingam as Eswara Chandra Vidya Sagar of the South. On December 15, 1905 he established Hitakarini Samajam to run the institutions that he had established. He registered it and endowed it with all his property worth Rs.50, 000/-. He fought against the nautch system. The practice of Concubines, who were called Devadasis, was a status symbol then. When dance programmes by the Devadasis was a regular feature in the marriage of the officials, Kandukuri attacked the practice and termed it sexual depravation. With his indomitable vigor, and will power, Veeresalingam contributed much to the freedom struggle in Andhra. His literary works and journalistic career disseminated the truth and awakened the Andhras in driving away the British. He lost his wife on August 11, 1910 which gave him terrible blow as he was by then upset by the death of his intimate associate Desiraju Pedabapayya in 1909, Veeresalingam died on May 27, 1919 at Madras. For his multifaceted activities, particularly journalistic contribution, Veeresalingam is known as the "Founder of Modern Telugu journalism".

16.3 MUTNURI KRISHAN RAO

Not only an editor but also an institution by himself, Mutnuri Krishna Rao rendered services to the nation through his inspiring nationalist writings in Krishna Patrika. He was the first sub-editor when Patrika was founded in 1902. He became its editor in 1907 and continued till his death in 1945. Several youth in Andhra were inspired by Mutnuri Krishna Rao's, writings. Many people in Andhra, during the freedom struggle, derived motivation from his patriotic articles. Krishna Rao was considered as a political 'guru' by Gottipati Brahmayya, a veteran leader during the freedom movement.

Although he did not participate actively in the politics, Krishna Rao supported Congress Party. He had an intimate relation with the eminent national leaders of the time. He denied active politics for contributing his total attention to Krishna Patrika. Krishna Rao brought about the national resurgence in Andhra through his writings. Krishna Rao through his editorials inspired many people in politics, literature, art culture, education.

16.4 KASINATHUNI NAGESWARA RAO

Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao was born on March 1, 1876 in Elakurru a village in Krishna district. He did matriculation, followed by fine arts in B.A., from Madras University. By then the renaissance movement in Andhra was at a ripening stage.

It was the time when the Swadeshi movement had taken its acceleration. He was imbued with the idea that the existing newspapers in Andhra could not disseminate the news with the required strength and quality. To fill the gap he started Andhra Patrika a weekly in September 1908 in Bombay.

Andhra Patrika could not reach Andhra in time and the people felt the weekly news to be stale as the circumstances then were changing rapidly. Nageswara Rao then sensed the need, shifted it to Madras and converted into a daily in 1914.

The national movement, Andhra movement and all other events that had taken place during the freedom struggle were reflected in Andhra Patrika. He revealed its Mission that the Patrika would take up relentless service without being succumbed to caste, creed, communal and sectarian differences. The Patrika, with its aim to propagate Telugu language, education, establishment of Andhra University and the renaissance and reconstruction of Andhra fought throughout its survival.

An eight paged Patrika used rose color news print and attracted the readers. It was the only daily which successfully had taken a long stand for many decades.

Later in 1920, Nageswara Rao started Andhra Sachitra Vara Patrika, a family weekly known for its Sunday supplement and, was considered the mother of all the Sunday supplements in Telugu. In those days Sarada (1922) a monthly contributed much to culture, art and literature but could not gain the readership. Nageswara Rao then started Bharathi a monthly in 1930 bridged the gap in the fields of literature, art, science investigation and modern versification.

Nageswara Rao himself was an excellent writer. He, as an editor and publisher of different newspapers gained a fame and name hence nominated for the Rajya Sabha in 1934. As the first president of Andhra Harijanabhyudaya Sangam he received Kalaprapoorna a title from Andhra University for his dedicated service to education and other fields.

The children of rural India were deprived of education which moved the heart of Nageswara Rao. With this idea of promoting education in the rural he started a middle school 'Sree Syamalamba Dharma Patasala' to impart free education to the children in his native village Elakurru. Despite the pressure from the orthodox families, Rao gave admissions to the harijan children in his school.

Nageswara Rao with the assistance of Komarraju Lakshmana Rao a contemporary, made all the attempts to impart knowledge through his newspapers and responsible for the compiling of the list of published and unpublished books in Telugu as Andhra Vangmaya Suchika (An index for Telugu language). He was only a journalist who aimed at the emancipation of the people at large by languages and knowledge. He wrote many articles in which, highlighted development, and success stories.

He desired such a revolution in Andhra literature which would accommodate all the peoples from all sects and creed with no discrimination. He said, "The nation is wide, the language is sweet, the people are enthusiastic and they are in thousands to read the newspapers. Several people would contribute the writing expertise. Hence there should be no dearth for the newspapers and journals which can expound the public opinions". Such was his journalistic tendency and hence established newspapers and proved himself the procreator and pioneer of Telugu journalism.

Nageswara Rao was said to be the product and prodigy of policies and principles of Kandukuri Veeresalingam. Veeresalingam appreciated Nageswara Rao for his qualities of self-help, self-confidence and an untiring dedication to work. Hence, Nageswara Rao was inspired and taken over by the influences of Veeresalingam.

Rao worked for William and company, a pharmaceutical company in Bombay. Later he took over the company and produced the pain balm 'Amritanjunam' in 1893. It was said by his family members that Nageswara Rao along with his wife worked for the company with their own labour and at times they labeled the bottles too.

With all his talent he activated the business with the help of all advertising methods and earned lakhs of rupees. But Nageswara Rao proved his personality with all generous and kind nature by spending all the money for his social reform activities for popularizing education and literature.

Nageswara Rao encouraged young writers. He presided over Pratyekandhra Maha Sabha and Andhra Library Movement in 1919. He participated in non-cooperation movement in 1920. He was the president of the state Congress committee of Andhra during the years 1924, 1929, 1930 and 1934. He was awarded the title Desodharaka in Andhra Maha Sabha held in 1924 under the chairmanship of Kattamanchi Ramalinga Reddy. He was also honoured with another title Viswadata, in the Andhra Maha Sabha held at Vijayawada in 1929. He participated in salt-satyagraha in 1930. He was imprisoned in 1932 for his participation in Civil Disobedience Movement. Mahatma Gandhi unveiled Rao's portrait in the Andhra Maha Sabha in 1933.

Rao was the veteran and doyen in Telugu journalism. Narla Venkateswara Rao, a great journalist had rightly mentioned that Nageswara Rao was responsible for the growth of Telugu journalism and particularly for the progress of Telugu dailies. One social reformer, Unnava Lakshmi Narayana compared Nageswara Rao with Bala Gangadhara Tilak and Madan Mohan Malavya for his spiritual thought and philosophy. Several papers of his period were benefitted from his patronage.

16.5 SUMMARY

Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, a crusader for Telugu journalism played a dual role as journalist and educationist during freedom struggle. His contributions to Telugu journalism are unparalleled. Mutnuri Krishna Rao and his Patrika go a long way in the history of Telugu journalism while Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao laid foundations for Telugu journalism in 20th century. Apart from vernacular press, English language journalism also has seen a significant growth in India throughout freedom movement. In the next lesson we shall discuss about few eminent English language newspapers of India during freedom struggle.

16.6 GLOSSARY

- **Crusader:** A person who campaigns vigorously for political, social, or religious change; a campaigner.
- **Prose:** Written or spoken language in its ordinary form, without metrical structure.
- **Novel:** Novel, an invented prose narrative of considerable length and a certain complexity that deals imaginatively with human experience, usually through a connected sequence of events involving a group of persons in a specific setting.
- **Pioneer:** A person who begins or helps develop something new and prepares the way for others to follow.
- **Subeditor:** A sub editor checks newspaper articles and magazine features, as well as website content, to make sure there are no spelling mistakes, or factual and grammatical errors. They will also rewrite some of the content, if necessary, to try and make it clearer for readers.

16.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) What are the reforms brought by Kandukuri Veeresalingam Panthulu through journalism?
- 2) Write a short note on Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu as a journalist.
- 3) What are the contributions of Mutnuri Krishna Rao to Telugu language journalism?
- 4) Discuss the role played by Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao as a journalist.

16.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Anjaneyulu, D. (1976). *Kandukuri Veeresalingam*. India: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
- 2) Raju, P. A. (1986). *Social and Political Ideas of Kandukuri Veeresalingam: A Study in Political Thought*. India: P.A. Raju.
- 3) Rao, P. R. (1991). *The Great Indian Patriots*. India: Mittal Publications.
- 4) Suguna, B. (2009). *Women's Movement*. India: Discovery Publishing House.

LESSON 17

HISTORY OF ENGLISH PRESS IN INDIA

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should gain an understanding of the history of few eminent English language newspapers in India.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To discuss the history of Amrit Bazaar Patrika and its role in freedom movement
- To study the origin of The Statesmen
- To discuss the birth and growth of Times of India and to study its ownership crisis in later years
- To study the history of The Hindu and its growth as a national newspaper
- To discuss the history of Indian Express and its contributions to English press

STRUCTURE

17.1 Introduction

17.2 Amrit Bazaar Patrika

17.3 The Statesmen

17.4 Times of India

17.4.1 Ownership

17.5 The Hindu

17.6 Indian Express

17.7 Summary

17.8 Glossary

17.9 Self-Assessment Questions

17.10 Suggested Readings

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Apart from vernacular press, English language press also grew in leaps in bounds in India by 20th century. Though started by Europeans, English language journalism, later on, changed hands and new papers began publications under Indians. These newspapers catered to the needs of elite, educated Indians, who further spread the freedom call to their populace. In this lesson we shall discuss about few eminent English language newspapers of India, their origin, early years and growth as national newspapers.

17.2 AMRIT BAZAAR PATRIKA

Amrita Bazaar Patrika was the oldest Indian-owned English daily. It played a major role in the evolution and growth of Indian journalism and made a striking contribution to creating and nurturing the Indian freedom struggle. In 1920, Russian Communist revolutionary Vladimir Lenin described ABP as the best nationalist paper in India.

ABP was born as a Bengali weekly in February 1868 in the village of Amrita Bazaar in Jessore district (now located in modern-day Bangladesh). It was started by the Ghosh brothers to fight the cause of peasants who were being exploited by indigo planters. Sisir Kumar Ghosh was the first editor. The Patrika operated out of a battered wooden press purchased for Rs 32.

In 1871, the Patrika moved to Calcutta (now Kolkata), due to the outbreak of plague in Amrita Bazaar. Here it functioned as a bilingual weekly, publishing news and views in English and Bengali. Its anti-government views and vast influence among the people was a thorn in the flesh of the government. Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India promulgated the Vernacular Press Act on 1878 mainly against ABP.

The Patrika became a daily in 1891. It was the first Indian-owned English daily to go into investigative journalism. During the tenure of Lord Lansdowne, a Patrika journalist rummaged through the waste paper basket of the Viceroy's office and pieced together a torn up letter detailing the Viceroy's plans to annexe Kashmir. ABP published the letter on its front page, where it was read by the Maharaja of Kashmir, who immediately went to London and lobbied for his independence.

Sisir Kumar Ghosh also launched vigorous campaigns against restrictions on civil liberties and economic exploitation. He wanted Indians to be given important posts in the administration. Both he and his brother Motilal were deeply attached to Bal Gangadhar Tilak. When Tilak was prosecuted for sedition in 1897, they raised funds in Calcutta for his defence. They also published a scathing editorial against the judge who sentenced Tilak to 6 years of imprisonment, for 'presuming to teach true patriotism to a proved and unparalleled patriot.'

The Patrika had many brushes with Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India at the time of the Partition of Bengal (1905). It referred to him as 'Young and a little foppish, and without previous training but invested with unlimited powers.' Because of such editorials, the Press Act of 1910 was passed and a security of Rs 5,000 was demanded from ABP. Motilal Ghosh was also charged with sedition but his eloquence won the case.

After this, the Patrika started prefacing articles criticising the British government with ridiculously exuberant professions of loyalty to the British crown. When Subhas Chandra Bose and other students were expelled from Calcutta Presidency College, the Patrika took up their case and succeeded in having them re-admitted.

Even after Motilal Ghosh's death in 1922, the Patrika kept up its nationalist spirit. Higher securities of Rs 10,000 were demanded from it during the Salt Satyagraha. Its editor Tushar Kanti Ghosh (son of Sisir Kumar Ghosh) was imprisoned. The Patrika contributed its share to the success of its freedom movement under the leadership of Gandhi and suffered for its views and actions at the hands of the British rulers.

The Patrika espoused the cause of communal harmony during the Partition of India. During the great Calcutta killings of 1946, the Patrika left its editorial columns blank for three days. When freedom dawned on 15 August 1947, the Patrika published in an editorial:

"It is dawn, cloudy though it is. Presently sunshine will break".

17.3 THE STATESMEN

The origins of The Statesman lie with the Friend of India, a newspaper started by a Baptist missionary, William Carey in Serampore (West Bengal) in the early 19th century.

While a streak of evangelical zeal was evident in some of the positions taken by the Friend of India (founded 1818), its role in denouncing the practise of sati and its fierce attacks on the custom of infanticide – which involved children being thrown into the sea at the time of the annual Ganga Sagar mela – were notable. It found an ally in Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, who took up the battle and first outlawed sati, and then deployed special officers to the mela to ensure that no children were thrown into the sea.

In January 1875, Robert Knight, had already established The Indian Statesman with backing from 24 merchants. By that time, the Friend of India was facing severe distress. A sum of Rs 30,000 changed hands, and Knight bought the Friend of India. He then shifted its publication from Serampore to Calcutta. For nearly eight years, the two newspapers were published simultaneously until in 1883, the Friend of India was incorporated with The Statesman and for many years, the newspaper called itself “The Statesman and Friend of India.”

While British owned until the 1960s, The Statesman endeared itself to readers with its objective coverage of the famines of 1877 and 1943. But more than anything else, it was Robert Knight’s affinity with Indian aspirations which led to his – and the paper’s – vociferous support for a movement called the Indian National Congress that began in Bengal and later spread all over India.

As was recorded after Knight’s death, his contribution to the Congress cause was two-fold; he “admitted into the correspondence and other columns of his paper a continuous series of letters and articles on the reform of the administration and he followed these up with one magnificent leading article after another.” The Indian-owned Press was effusive in his praise when he died and called it a public calamity.

The Knight family owned The Statesman until 1927 when it was acquired by Sir David Yule. The paper was then headed by Alfred Watson, who was to be knighted in 1932, and it was he who was responsible both for the shift of The Statesman’s operations to its office at 4 Chowringhee Square, Calcutta and the launch of the New Delhi edition of the paper, an innovation that gave the paper a more extensive geographical spread than any newspaper in the world.

The Statesman remained British-owned until the 1960s. When the Cabinet resolutions on the Press were taken up in 1955, it was described as the “honourable” exception to the new rule adopted under Prime Minister Nehru that barred foreign-owned publications from operating in India.

The Statesman has remained committed to its liberal values for well over a century. Its policy enjoins editors to resist all forms of tyranny and to support the Constitution, especially the chapter on fundamental rights. This policy was cited by the paper to justify its opposition to the internal Emergency of 1975 and it was one among a handful of publications that refused to either bend or crawl in the face of severe restrictions placed on the Press.

Over the many decades of its existence, The Statesman has led efforts to organise and modernise institutions of the Press. It was a founding member of the Indian Newspaper Society, and even lent the Society space in its Delhi building for more than 15 years and until the INS Building was inaugurated in 1956.

It played a major role in the setting up of industry bodies such as the Audit Bureau of Circulations, the Press Trust of India and United News of India and has played a key role in the Media Research Users’ Council.

The Statesman is a founding member of Asia News Network, a grouping of 21 Asian newspapers, set up in 1999. The Statesman has had an active web presence since the late

1990s and its website – www.thestatesman.com – is followed by hundreds of thousand followers around the world

17.4 TIMES OF INDIA

The Times of India issued its first edition on 3 November 1838 as The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce. The paper was published on Wednesdays and Saturdays under the direction of Raobahadur Narayan Dinanath Velkar, a Maharashtrian social reformer, and contained news from Britain and the world, as well as the Indian Subcontinent. J.E. Brennan was its first editor. In 1850, it began to publish daily editions.

In 1860, editor Robert Knight (1825–1892) bought the Indian shareholders' interests, merged with rival Bombay Standard, and started India's first news agency. It wired Times dispatches to papers across the country and became the Indian agent for Reuters news service. In 1861, he changed the name from the Bombay Times and Standard to The Times of India. Knight fought for a press free of prior restraint or intimidation, frequently resisting the attempts by governments, business interests, and cultural spokesmen and led the paper to national prominence. In the 19th century, this newspaper company employed more than 800 people and had a sizeable circulation in India and Europe. This was just the start of a historic journey.

17.4.1 Ownership

Subsequently, The Times of India saw its ownership change several times until 1892 when an English journalist named Thomas Jewell Bennett along with Frank Morris Coleman (who later drowned in the 1915 sinking of the SS Persia) acquired the newspaper through their new joint stock company, Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd.

Sir Stanley Reed edited The Times of India from 1907 until 1924 and received correspondence from the major figures of India such as Mahatma Gandhi. In all he lived in India for fifty years. He was respected in the United Kingdom as an expert on Indian current affairs. He christened Jaipur as "the Pink City of India".

Bennett Coleman & Co. Ltd was sold to sugar magnate Ramkrishna Dalmia of the then-famous industrial family, the Dalmias, for ₹20 million (US\$280,000) in 1946, as India was becoming independent and the British owners were leaving. In 1955 the Vivian Bose Commission of Inquiry found that Ramkrishna Dalmia, in 1947, had engineered the acquisition of the media giant Bennett Coleman & Co. by transferring money from a bank and an insurance company of which he was the Chairman. In the court case that followed, Ramkrishna Dalmia was sentenced to two years in Tihar Jail after having been convicted of embezzlement and fraud.

But for most of the jail term he managed to spend in hospital. Upon his release, his son-in-law, Sahu Shanti Prasad Jain, to whom he had entrusted the running of Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd. rebuffed his efforts to resume command of the company.

In the early 1960s, Shanti Prasad Jain was imprisoned on charges of selling newsprint on the black market. And based on the Vivian Bose Commission's earlier report which found wrongdoings of the Dalmia – Jain group, that included specific charges against Shanti Prasad Jain, the Government of India filed a petition to restrain and remove the management of Bennett, Coleman and Company. Based on the pleading, the Justice directed the Government to assume control of the newspaper which resulted in replacing half of the directors and appointing a Bombay High Court judge as the Chairman.

Following the Vivian Bose Commission report indicating serious wrongdoings of the Dalmia-Jain group, on 28 August 1969, the Bombay High Court, under Justice J. L. Nain, passed an interim order to disband the existing board of Bennett, Coleman & Co and to constitute a new board under the Government. The bench ruled that "Under these circumstances, the best thing would be to pass such orders on the assumption that the allegations made by the petitioners that the affairs of the company were being conducted in a manner prejudicial to public interest and to the interests of the Company are correct". Following that order, Shanti Prasad Jain ceased to be a director and the company ran with new directors on board, appointed by the Government of India, with the exception of a lone stenographer of the Jains. Curiously, the court appointed D K Kunte as Chairman of the Board. Kunte had no prior business experience and was also an opposition member of the Lok Sabha.

In 1976, during the Emergency in India, the Government transferred ownership of the newspaper back to Ashok Kumar Jain, who was Sahu Shanti Prasad Jain's son and Ramkrishna Dalmia's grandson. He is the father of the current owners Samir Jain and Vineet Jain). The Jains too often landed themselves in various money laundering scams and Ashok Kumar Jain had to flee the country when the Enforcement Directorate pursued his case strongly in 1998 for alleged violations of illegal transfer of funds to an overseas account in Switzerland.

On 26 June 1975, the day after India declared a state of emergency, the Bombay edition of The Times of India carried an entry in its obituary column that read "D.E.M. O'Cracy, beloved husband of T.Ruth, father of L.I.Bertie, brother of Faith, Hope and Justice expired on 25 June". The move was a critique of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's 21-month state of emergency, which is now widely known as "the Emergency" and seen by many as a roundly authoritarian era of Indian government

17.5 THE HINDU

The Hindu was founded in Madras on 20 September 1878 as a weekly newspaper, by what was known then as the Triplicane Six consisting of 4 law students and 2 teachers viz.,

- 1) T. T. Rangacharya,
- 2) P. V. Rangacharya,
- 3) D. Kesava Rao Pantulu and
- 4) N. Subba Rao Pantulu, led by
- 1) G. Subramania Iyer (a school teacher from Tanjore district) and
- 2) M. Veeraraghavacharya, a lecturer at Pachaiyappa's College.

Started in order to support the campaign of Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer for a judgeship at the Madras High Court and to counter the propaganda against him carried out by the Anglo-Indian press, The Hindu was one of the newspapers of the period established to protest the policies of the British Raj. About 100 copies of the inaugural issue were printed at Srinidhi Press, Georgetown, on one rupee and twelve annas of borrowed money. Subramania Iyer became the first editor and Veera Raghavacharya, the first managing director of the newspaper.

The paper was initially printed from Srinidhi Press but later moved to Scottish Press, then to The Hindu Press, Mylapore. Started as a weekly newspaper, the paper became a tri-weekly in 1883 and an evening daily in 1889. A single copy of the newspaper was priced at four annas. The offices moved to rented premises at 100 Mount Road on 3 December 1883. The newspaper started printing at its own press there, named "The National Press," which was

established on borrowed capital as public subscriptions were not forthcoming. The building itself became The Hindu's in 1892, after the Maharaja of Vizianagaram, Pusapati Ananda Gajapati Raju, gave The National Press a loan both for the building and to carry out needed expansion.

The Hindu was initially liberal in its outlook and is now considered left leaning. Its editorial stances have earned it the nickname, the 'Maha Vishnu of Mount Road'. "From the new address, 100 Mount Road, which was to remain The Hindu's home till 1939, there issued a quarto-size paper with a front-page full of advertisements—a practice that came to an end only in 1958 when it followed the lead of its idol, the pre-Thomson Times [London]—and three back pages also at the service of the advertiser. In between, there were more views than news." After 1887, when the annual session of Indian National Congress was held in Madras, the paper's coverage of national news increased significantly, and led to the paper becoming an evening daily starting 1 April 1889.

The partnership between Veeraraghavachariar and Subramania Iyer was dissolved in October 1898. Iyer quit the paper and Veeraraghavachariar became the sole owner and appointed C. Karunakara Menon the editor. However, The Hindu's adventurousness began to decline in the 1900s and so did its circulation, which was down to 800 copies when the sole proprietor decided to sell out. The purchaser was The Hindu's Legal Adviser from 1895, S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, a politically ambitious lawyer who had migrated from a Kumbakonam village to practise in Coimbatore and from thence to Madras. Iyengar's son, Kasturi Srinivasan, became managing editor of The Hindu upon his father's death in 1923 and Chief Editor in February 1934. The descendants of Kasturi Ranga Iyengar have since owned and, through most of the paper's life, held the top editorial positions in the company.

17.6 INDIAN EXPRESS

In 1932, the Indian Express was started by an Ayurvedic doctor, P. Varadarajulu Naidu, at Chennai, being published by his "Tamil Nadu" press. Soon under financial difficulties, he sold the newspaper to Swaminathan Sadanand, the founder of The Free Press Journal, a national news agency.

In 1933, the Indian Express opened its second office in Madurai, launching the Tamil edition, Dinamani. Sadanand introduced several innovations and reduced the price of the newspaper. Faced with financial difficulties, he sold a part of his stake to Ramanath Goenka as convertible debentures.

In 1935, when The Free Press Journal finally collapsed, and after a protracted court battle with Goenka, Sadanand lost ownership of Indian Express.

Later Goenka bought the remaining 26% of the company held by Sadanand. The newspaper then came under Goenka's sole control, taking the already anti-establishment tone of the paper to greater heights. Also at that time, it faced stiff competition from the well-established The Hindu and the Mail, as well as several other prominent newspapers. In the late 1930s the newspaper's circulation was no more than 2000.

In 1939 Goenka bought Andhra Prabha, another prominent Telugu daily newspaper. The name Three Musketeers was often used for the three dailies namely, Indian Express, Dinamani and Andhra Prabha. In 1940 the whole premises was gutted by fire. The Hindu, a rival newspaper, helped considerably in re-launching the paper, by getting it printed temporarily at one of its Swadesimithran's press and later offering its recently vacated premises at 2, Mount Road, on rent to Goenka, which later became the landmark Express Estates. This relocation also helped the Express obtain better high speed printing machines.

The district judge who did inquiry into the fire concluded that a short circuit or a cigarette butt could have ignited the fire and said that the growing city had inadequate fire control support.

In later years, Goenka started the Mumbai edition with the landmark Express Towers as his office when he bought the Morning Standard in 1944. Two years later it became the Mumbai edition of Indian Express. Later, editions were started in several cities; the Madurai edition in 1957, the Bangalore edition in 1965, and the Ahmedabad edition in 1968. The Financial Express was launched in 1961 at Mumbai, Kannada Prabha (Kannada daily) at Bangalore in 1965 and a Bangalore edition of the Telugu daily Andhra Prabha, Marathi daily Loksatta from Mumbai in 1948 and Gujarati daily Jansatta, from Ahmedabad and Vadodara in 1952.

The Delhi edition started was when the Tej group's Indian News Chronicle was acquired in 1951, which in 1953 became the Delhi edition of Indian Express. In 1990 the group bought the Sterling group of magazines, along with it the Gentleman magazine.

17.7 SUMMARY

Amrit Bazaar Patrika, The Statesmen, Times of India, The Hindu, Indian Express are some of the newspapers that began publications before independence and have stood the test of time. After independence, Indian press was left in a vacuum of news and cause. The role of journalism shifted from that of an anti-government stand to pro-government stand. During Nehru Era, journalism played the role of a government spokesperson by promoting awareness about development issues and social reforms. In the next lesson we shall discuss about the role of journalism in Independent India.

17.8 GLOSSARY

- **Lenin:** Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (22 April 1870 – 21 January 1924), better known by his alias Lenin, was a Russian revolutionary, politician, and political theorist. He served as the head of government of Soviet Russia from 1917 to 1924 and of the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1924.
- **Weekly:** A newspaper or periodical issued every week.
- **Wooden Press:** The term "wooden common press" is fairly self-explanatory. It is a press, and it is made of wood. Before the invention of the iron hand press, all presses were common presses, and all of them were wooden.
- **News agency:** A news agency is an organization that gathers news reports and sells them to subscribing news organizations, such as newspapers, magazines and radio and television broadcasters. A news agency may also be referred to as a wire service, newswire, or news service

17.9 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a short note on Amrit Bazaar Patrika
- 2) Write a brief history of The Statesman
- 3) How did Times of India begin its journey in India? Discuss the current status of Times of India in the country.
- 4) Who started The Hindu publications? How did The Hindu differ from other newspapers?

- 5) Write a short note on the origin and growth of The Indian Express.

17.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Ahuja, B. N. (1996). *History of the Indian Press: Growth of Newspapers in India*. India: Surjeet Publications.
 - 2) Ghosh, S. (1998). *Modern History of Indian Press*. India: Cosmo Publications.
 - 3) Natarajan, S. (1962). *A History of the Press in India*. India: Asia Publishing House.
- Raghavan, G. N. (1994). *The Press in India: A New History*. Gyan Publishing House: India.

LESSON 18

PRESS IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an understanding about the role of press in early years of independent India.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To give an overview to press in independent India
- To discuss the key features of press after Indian independence
- To discuss about various press institutions in the country
- To study about the press commission and its role and responsibilities
- To analyse other significant developments in press in India post-independence

STRUCTURE

- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Press in Independent India – An Overview
- 18.3 Features in Independent India
- 18.4 Audit Bureau of Circulation
- 18.5 The Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi
- 18.6 Press Trust of India
- 18.7 The Newsprint Control Order
- 18.8 States Reorganisation and Press
- 18.9 Other Significant Developments
- 18.10 Summary
- 18.11 Glossary
- 18.12 Self-Assessment Questions
- 18.13 Suggested Readings

18.1 INTRODUCTION

Press in India had a drastic change pre-independence to post-independence. Before independence, Indian press played an active role in freedom struggle continuously engaging the ruling class into a debate. After independence, Indian press was left in a state of confusion as to play the role of opposition or supporter of government. Press, after independence, can be called to have taken a rebirth in India. In this lesson we shall discuss about the state of press in independent India and its gradual growth until late 20th century.

18.2 PRESS IN INDEPENDENT INDIA – AN OVERVIEW

The year 1947 was a year of great fulfilment, a year which witnessed the end of foreign rule and the attainment of freedom in India. The great struggle for national liberty that started in 1857 came to a glorious end. On August 15, India was independent. The year witnessed also the unfortunate partition of the country, followed by a dreadful outbreak of communal violence and an unprecedented mass exodus of population, from the newly born Pakistan to India and from India to Pakistan.

Soon after India and Pakistan became independent, Pakistan with the assistance of Frontier tribesmen invaded Kashmir in October 1947. The main purpose was to annex Jammu and Kashmir. There was war in the Kashmir Valley between the Pakistani intruders abetted by the Pak troops and the Kashmiris. The Maharaja of Kashmir, immediately announced his decision to accede to the Indian Union. Consequently,

Kashmir became an integral part of India legally and constitutionally. The Indian Government then rushed its troops to save Kashmir from the Pakistani aggressors. By this time the Pakistani troops had already occupied some territory of the valley and called it the 'Azad Kashmir'. At this time India went to the United Nations, asking the world body to condemn the invaders branding Pakistan as an aggressor. The result was a Cease-Fire and the U.N. observers were posted all along the Cease-Fire line pending decision of the problem, though India had insisted that there was no prima facie problem as the State of Kashmir had legally and constitutionally opted to join India.

During this period, Indian newspapers played their part with a sense of responsibility and patriotism. They geared their machinery on war footing and published the details of the war, channelising public opinion in right earnest. The Baramula incident where innocent civilians and foreign missionaries were brutally massacred by the Pakistan army and the invaders was vividly described with appropriate photographs. The discussions and the deliberations of the United Nations Security Council were given due importance. The Indian newspapers fully supported the stand taken by the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Press in India has very ably played a great role in influencing the public opinion for the freedom of the country. On many an occasion the Press was perhaps the only means of expression of the country's aspirations.

In the achievement of freedom, the Press had made a great contribution over more than five decades of the nation's struggle for emancipation. The evolution of the Indian Press from the obscure beginnings in the days of the East India Company up to the present time has striking features of its own. Equally significant has been the development of the Press on the technical side. When the country attained independence, the days of the professionals with a missionary ardour gradually receded. The character of newspaper ownership changed fast. Progressively, the newspaper proprietors evinced keen interest in building up commercial positions. Consequently "group" newspapers, "chain" publications and "trust" publications emerged with a new control of newspaper readership.

Some of the important group newspapers are the following:

- 1) Kasturi and Sons (Private) Limited. This group publishes the Hindu, the Sport & Pastime and the Hindu Weekly Review from Madras
- 2) The Indian National Press (Private) Limited, Bombay, publishes the Free Press Journal, the Free Press Bulletin, the Bharat Jyothi, the Navakshakti and the Janashakti.
- 3) Ananda Bazar Patrika (Private) Limited, published the Ananda Bazar Patrika, the Hindustan Standard and the Desh (Bengali Weekly) from Calcutta.

A “group” functions for publication of more than one newspaper under common ownership from the centre.

The following are some of the “chain” newspapers operating in India:

- 1) Express Newspapers (Private) Limited.
Ramnatha Goenka was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of this chain. This chain consisted of the Indian Express, an English daily published from Madurai, Madras, Bangalore, Vijayawada, Bombay and New Delhi; the Lokasatta, a Marathi daily from Bombay; the Dinamani, a Tamil daily from Madurai; the Andhra Prabha from Vijayawada; the Financial Express and the Screen from Bombay and Sunday supplements from all the six centres where the Indian Express is published.
- 2) Bennett Coleman & Co., Ltd
The second big chain belongs to Bennett Coleman & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Shanthi Prasad Jain is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of this chain. This chain publishes the Times of India from New Delhi and Bombay, the Navabharat Times from Bombay and Delhi, the Evening News of India, the Illustrated Weekly of India, the Filmfare, the Femina, the Dharmayug, the Parag, the Saarikha, the Economic Times, the Maharashtra Times the Madhuri, the Indrajal Comics and the Dinaman from Bombay.
- 3) Hindustan Times
The third important chain belongs to the Hindustan Times and the allied publications. This chain is controlled by the famous industrialist, G. D. Birla. The Hindustan Times, the Hindustan Times Evening News, the Hindustan, the Saaptahik Hindustan, the Hindustan Film Visheshank are published from New Delhi. The Allahabad centre publishes the Leader and the Bharat. The Searchlight and the Pradeep are published from Patna.

There are three important Trusts operating in India. They are the Saurashtra Trust, the Kesari-Mahratta Trust and the Lok Sikshan Trust.

- 1) The Saurashtra Trust
The Saurashtra Trust runs the Janmabhoomi, the Phulchhub, the Pratap, and the Kutch Mitra in Bombay, Rajkot, Surat and Bhuj respectively. They are both dailies and weeklies published in the Gujarati language. Amritlal Seth was the man behind this trust.
- 2) The Kesari- Mahratta Trust
The Kesari- Mahratta Trust is situated in Poona and runs the tri-weekly Kesari, the English fortnightly Mahratta and a Marathi monthly, the Sahyadri. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was responsible for this trust. J. S. Tilak was its Trustee.
- 3) Lok Sikshana Trust
The third trust is managed by Ranganath Ramachandra Diwakar in the name of Lok Sikshana Trust, Hubli. It publishes the Samyukta Karnataka daily in Hubli and Bangalore and publishes a weekly Karnaveera and a monthly, Kasturi in Hubli.

18.3 FEATURES IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

The Press celebrated August 15, 1947 with bumper special supplements devoted to articles on various phases of the freedom struggle, on the men who guided the destinies of the country, on personalities who saved the country in its years of agony and on the problems confronting the people as a free nation. Newsprint was made available without any restriction. The unique and historic occasion was flooded with colourful independence numbers of almost all the

Newspapers and magazines. There was a record sale of the special editions brought out. Enthusiasm was great and patriotic newspapers were generous in making an illuminating record of the progress of the Indian independence movement.

The partition of the country brought in its wake untold misery. It was a colossal tragedy which uprooted millions from their ancient homes and brought unbounded suffering and humiliation to countless men and women.

Many newspapers also were obliged to shift their offices. As a result of the partition many journalists were cruelly forced out of their original headquarters.

During this period there was a kind of revolution in news service, through the presentation and the interpretation of news with a nationalist leaning. The journalistic scene was enlivened by many forces at different levels. There were many successful attempts to make bright the craft of the journalist.

In the post-independence period, newspaper circulation rose and touched record levels for many dailies and weeklies. In order to cope up with the increased circulation it was found necessary to become self-sufficient in the matter of paper and this was done by the starting of factories in India, to supplement supplies from abroad. Newsprint shortage gave an impetus to a new industry, the manufacture of newsprint in India. The Nepa Mills at Nepanagar near Nagpur started production in 1956 with a production capacity of 120 tons per day. (It is expected to save the country two crores of rupees in foreign exchange.) With the phenomenal rise in circulation, advertisement revenue multiplied and for many papers this resulted in a doubling of their pre-war revenue. The high profits enabled many papers to build up large resources which were later utilised for expanding and modernising their technical equipment. Large orders for the latest machinery were placed and with their installation, there was a striking improvement in the quality of Indian newspaper production. Copies of newspapers were sent by air to centres which could be reached more quickly by plane. A rebate of 25 per cent on the regular air freights was granted to newspapers by the air-transport companies. Another notable feature was the emergence of journalists' organisations with more or less pronounced leanings towards trade unionism.

Gradually the newspapers craved for more effective professional techniques and conveniences. Provision was made for better opportunities for special correspondents at home and correspondents abroad. Feature-writing which was hardly an activity of Indian Journalism got an impetus. Encouragement was given to "personalised columns". This helped columnists to shine and the time was ripe for individual triumphs. Eminent journalists like B. Shiva Rao, Pothan Joseph, Durga Das, N. Raghunatha Iyer, Khasa Subba Rao, M. Chalapathi Rau, S. Gopalaswamy, Krishnalal Sridhami, H. Venkata subbiah and Frank Moraes achieved distinctions in various ways in the Indian newspaper world with their sparkling by-lined columns. Besides these columnists writing in English, there were numerous other equally famous columnists in almost all the Indian language newspapers who popularized columns through their facile pen. Most of them followed the technique of writing behind-the-scene stories based on current affairs. Journalistic rank expanded itself and administrative improvements were also effected inside. The newspapers became better organized and were now systematically managed. A close study reveals that slowly Government policies came to be influenced by the reactions of the public and the Press.

18.4 AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATION

The Audit Bureau of Circulation was formed in Bombay in 1948 to guarantee the circulation of each of its member publications. This bureau was registered as a non-profit making organisation with no share capital and limited liability by guarantee. The A.B.C. is one of about a dozen organisations in the world whose certificates regarding the circulation of any paper are accepted at face value all over the world. The Bureau has now more than 250 publications of national and provincial importance, and 80 leading advertisers and advertising agencies. To maintain the prestige of its certificates, the A.B.C. insists on proper circulation records, audited accounts and processes of accounts, through its own panel of experts working by reading audit, re-check audits and surprise audits. Some periodical publications from Ceylon and Pakistan are also-members of the A.B.C.

18.5 THE ASSASSINATION OF MAHATMA GANDHI

The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was a shocking event and an outstanding item of news in the modern world. It was flashed by and commented on by all the Indian newspapers extensively and with profound grief.

That was one of the darkest days in the history of the world,—Friday, January 30, 1948. The crafty planners of the murder took advantage of the fact that Gandhiji refused to be protected by the State Police and choose that fatal day for their inhuman deed.

Covering Gandhiji's sudden demise was a trying and challenging task to the Indian journalists. They were taken aback by the unexpected flashes sent on circuit by the *United Press of India* and the *Associated Press of India*. Gandhiji breathed his last at 5-45 p.m. and the news reached the news centres in the course of a few seconds. Evening papers were in a position to announce the sad news in their late editions. *The Madras Mail* was the first evening newspaper in India to announce the unexpected end of the Mahatma.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* came out with a double-deck bold-face headline:

GANDHI CRUCIFIED BY FANATICISM.

The *Times of India* bannered:

MAHATMA GANDHI ASSASSINATED AT DELHI.

Practically every Indian newspaper in its editorial regretted the brutal act of violence and praised the life of Mahatma Gandhi as a life of selfless dedication to the cause of truth and violence.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* thus began its editorial:

"In life a mighty rebel, in death, a beacon light."

The *Times of India* stressed:

"He stood for humanitarian principles".

The *Statesman* pointed out editorially:

"He provided an alternative to atomic warfare".

The *Hindustan Times* underscored the fact that he was "born to refashion a new civilisation."

The *Hindu* significantly described the noble life of Gandhiji as "a life of service to all".

18.6 PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

The most interesting development with significance for the years ahead, was the formation of the Press Trust of India in 1949. It took over the control of the Associated Press of India. Under the P.T.I.-Reuters agreement, the Press Trust was expected to raise the status of the members of the profession of journalism; to maintain the highest standards of professional conduct; to strive for the bettering of the working condition of journalists; to safeguard their interests; to promote legislation for their welfare; to build up funds for their benefit and to strive for the freedom of the Press.

The P.T.I. was till recently the only nationwide Indian news agency. Its membership was limited to the proprietors of the newspapers in India. The income from the agency is applied solely to the promotion of the objects of the news agency and no profits are declared as dividend to the shareholders. The P.T.I. has the longest teleprinter link in India and is one of the biggest news agencies in Asia.

The Indian Press entered the world scene in 1949 when India became a founder-member of the International Press Institute (IPI), Zurich, Switzerland, which is dedicated mainly to research in the improvement of information gathering and dissemination.

This organisation with an international character was a private one and had no links with governments. Its objects include safeguarding the freedom of the Press, achieving understanding among journalists, promoting better flow of news and improving practices in journalism. The I.P.I. has more than 1,300 members representing over 600 newspapers in 45 countries. There is an Indian Committee of the I.P.I. also. The Institute has an arrangement to conduct regional seminars e.g., under the Asian Programme, annual seminars are conducted for discussing particular problems under the guidance of the experts. In addition the I.P.I. arranges for exchange of journalists among member newspapers to help them gain experience abroad by working on the staff of a foreign newspaper and for travelling in the host country.

The growth of parliamentary democracy was responsible for great developments in parliamentary reporting and political news-writing. Lobby correspondents were appointed. This system brought vivacity and colour to Journalism. Intensified interests in political activities have a distinct tone to the editorial page. With India as a free country, there appeared a large number of foreign correspondents in New Delhi.

18.7 THE NEWSPRINT CONTROL ORDER

This order was necessitated by the sudden shortage of newsprint and the incredible increase in the price thereof was issued in January 1951. With this came into force the Price-page schedule. This order had a bad effect on widely circulated newspapers and circulation went down.

The Press (Objectionable Matters) Act No. LVI was the first curbing action of the free Indian Government. It was introduced in Parliament on August 31, 1951, by C. Rajagopalachari, the then Minister for Home Affairs.

The bill which sought to provide against the printing and publication of incitement to crime and other objectionable matter contained 34 clauses and two schedules. There was a full debate in the House running for several days.

Parliament adopted the bill and it received the assent of the President on October 23, 1951.

The freedom of the Press is 4 times likely to lead to conflict with Government's policies. One such case arose in 1951, when Article 19 of the Indian Constitution was amended so as

to permit restrictions on freedom of speech and publication in the interests of "friendly relations with foreign States, public order, and the preventing of incitement to offences."

The Newsprint Control Order was withdrawn on September 11, 1952. In the same year, the Indian Society of Advertisers was formed to promote ethical and economic principles of advertising; to secure joint and constructive action; to represent, protect, inform and guide the members in all matters relating to advertising, trademarks, business names; to expose fraudulent or wasteful advertising propositions; to co-operate with all other organizations connected with advertising and to publish statistics, and information."

18.8 STATES REORGANISATION AND PRESS

When the Indian National Congress began to strive for the attainment of freedom for the country, it was found very difficult to direct the mass movement effectively and efficiently in the irregularly formed administrative provinces. To overcome this inconvenience, the Congress appointed an expert committee to devise ways and means to facilitate a change in the set up. The foremost recommendation the committee made was a re-grouping of the provinces on a linguistic basis. In 1920 this suggestion was ratified at the Nagpur Session of the All India Congress and the Indian area was divided by the Congress into 25 linguistic units for administrative convenience.

Many newspapers were opposed to the attempt to re-draw the political map of India on a linguistic basis. Even stalwart newspapers like the Times of India and the Statesman expressed their doubts about the wisdom of cutting up multilingual states and reorganising them on the basis of the principal language spoken in an area.

There were several issues involved and all the demands of the people could not be met. In Western India many newspapers, including the Janmabhoomi stood for a bi-lingual Bombay State. The then Bombay Government throughout maintained the plea for a State of two languages viz., Marathi and Gujarati. Almost all the Bombay newspapers told what was then the policy of the Government and the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

18.9 OTHER SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS

Financial Journalism has now become a prominent feature in the field, with the inauguration of two daily newspapers exclusively devoted to commerce and industry. The Express Group of newspapers has started the Financial Express and the Times of India Group has its financial daily christened as the Economic Times. Both the publications have made their mark and are increasingly popular with the mercantile community and have become indispensable in commercial and financial circles. With emphasis on planning, economic news has assumed greater importance. The extent of influence of this significance has resulted in the popularity of financial daily journalism. The Economic Times has special arrangements to reproduce some of the outstandingly important articles published in reputed specialised dailies like the Financial Times of London and the Journal of Commerce of New York. The characteristic services of the Economic Times and the Financial Express have evidenced that the financial journalist can nurture a reasonable sense of participation in the development of national policies. The circulation figures of these two dailies have long indicated that there is greater scope for this new avenue of Indian Journalism.

Another significant development is the establishment of the India News and Feature Alliance. Founded and promoted by Durga Das, former editor of the Hindustan Times, the INFA has

truly trodden a new path in Indian Journalism. It brings to the newspaper reader the much needed "Syndicated Column."

The inauguration of the United News of India added one more news agency to the news agency system of India. Started by a group of 40 leading newspapers in India in 1959, it came into operation on March 21, 1961.

It has a link with the Associated Press of America for the distribution of items of foreign news. Kuldip Nayyar was its Managing Editor. In order to meet the growing demand for the communication of news and consequently to secure the necessary equipment, a teleprinter factory was commissioned early in 1962 at the Industrial Estate of Guindy, Madras. The factory called the Hindustan Teleprinters in collaboration with the Italian firm "Olivetti" is producing teleprinters to meet the ever increasing need for the equipment.

18.10 SUMMARY

Indian press grew in leaps and bounds after India attained independence. It acted in accordance with government policies and acted as a mouthpiece to Government schemes and practices. Indian press, in this period played the role of neutral, pro-ruling media. New regulations to press slowly changed the equation between press and government. Slight cracks began forming on the surface by the end of Nehru era. These fissures broke all boundaries with the declaration of national emergency in 1975. In the next lesson we shall discuss about the role of press during Emergency.

18.11 GLOSSARY

- **Assassination:** The murder of someone famous or important.
- **Newsprint:** Cheap, low-quality absorbent printing paper made from coarse wood pulp and used chiefly for newspapers.
- **Communal Violence:** Communal violence is a form of violence that is perpetrated across ethnic or communal lines, the violent parties feel solidarity for their respective groups, and victims are chosen based upon group membership.
- **Features:** A feature is a longer piece of writing than a news story. Features come in many different types and are widely used in magazines, newspapers and online. A feature will often cover an issue in greater depth than a news story would do; or it might look at an ongoing story from a different angle.

18.12 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a brief note on press in independent India.
- 2) What are group publication and chain publications? Write about few group and chain publications in India.
- 3) How did Indian press react to assassination of Mahatma Gandhi?
- 4) Write a short note on Press Trust of India.
- 5) How did Indian press cover the states reorganisation exercise in India?

18.13 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) *Indian Information*. (1941). India: Bureau of the public information of the government of India.
- 2) Jeffrey, R. (2000). *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics and the Indian-language Press, 1977-99*. United Kingdom: Hurst.
- 3) K. C. Shrivastava, K. M. (2007). *News Agencies from Pigeon to Internet*. India: New Dawn Press.
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LESSON 19

INDIAN PRESS AND EMERGENCY

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an overview of the status and role of Indian press during national emergency.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To discuss in brief about the First Press Commission
- To study about Press Council of India
- To discuss in brief about Emergency and the role of press during emergency

STRUCTURE

19.1 Introduction

19.2 First Press Commission

19.2.1 Major Recommendations

19.3 Press Council

19.4 Press during Emergency

19.5 Summary

19.6 Glossary

19.7 Self-Assessment Questions

19.8 Suggested Readings

19.1 INTRODUCTION

Indian press can be said to have taken a rebirth with independence. Early years and growth of press in independent India is an interesting study. Indian press began with a pro-ruling stand and slowly gained the field of a neutral observer and development agent. In this lesson we shall discuss in-detail about First Press Commission in India and outline its major recommendations. We shall also discuss about Press council as well as the status of Indian press during national emergency.

19.2 FIRST PRESS COMMISSION

After the birth of Indian freedom, there was an insistent demand by the editors and journalists urging the government of India to inquire into the state of the Press in India. A Press laws Enquiry Committee was set up to review the existing Press Laws in 1947. As a result the Government of India Passed the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act and amended Article 19(2) of the Constitution, contending that Article 19(2) "restricted the freedom of expression to preventing libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or offences against decency or morality or offences undermining the security of the state or tending to overthrow the state. Journalistic organizations opposed the law which led the government to the appointment of Press Commission of India in 1952.

The government of India announced the constitution of a Press Commission under the Chairmanship of Justice Rajadhyaksha on September, 23, 1952.

The terms of reference were to examine:

- 1) The control, the management and the ownership and the financial structure of news agencies and feature syndicate.
- 2) The working of monopolies and chains and their effect on the presentation of accurate news and fair news.
- 3) The effect of holding companies, the distribution of advertisements and such other forms of external influences as may have a bearing on the development of healthy journalism.
- 4) The methods of recruitment, training, the scales of remuneration, the benefits and other conditions of employment of working journalists, the settlement of disputes affecting them and the factors which influence the establishment and maintenance of high professional standards;
- 5) The adequacy of newsprint, the supplies and their distribution among all classes of newspapers and possibilities of promoting indigenous manufactures of (a) newsprint and (b) printing and composing machinery
- 6) Machinery for (a) ensuring high standards of journalism and liaison between government and the press; the functioning of Press Advisory Committees and organization of editors and working journalists etc. and
- 7) Freedom of the Press and repeal or amendment of laws not in consonance with it; and to make recommendations thereon.

The committee submitted its report in 1954.

19.2.1 Major Recommendations

Major recommendations made by the commission are:

- 1) The constitution of an All India Press Council,
- 2) The formation of a Code of Ethics,
- 3) The appointment of a press Registrar,
- 4) The establishment of the State Trading Corporation,
- 5) The fixing of minimum wages to working journalists,
- 6) The operation of Price-Page Schedule,
- 7) The establishment of a single unit newspaper system,
- 8) Diffusion of ownership and recognition of the news agencies.

Recommendation were also made with regard to

- 1) The Press laws,
- 2) The independence of the editors,
- 3) The ethics of advertisement,
- 4) The starting of district newspaper and
- 5) The establishment of the Central Press Institute to train journalists.

The Government of India has since accepted some of the recommendations of the Press Commission. It has established the institution of the Press Registrar. A law has been passed urging the newspaper proprietors to give minimum basic wages to working journalists. The Government has constituted two committees to establish the Press Council and to formulate a Code of Ethics for the journalists.

An Act has been passed setting up a Press Registrar who is charged with the responsibility of keeping a record of the capital invested in the industry, the names of the responsible

members of the staff, the changes that take place in the ownership and management of papers, the circulation figures etc.

The first report of the Registrar of Newspapers related to the year 1956. It gave particulars of 2,000 newspapers and magazines. The total circulation of these magazines and other publications amounted to a little over nine million copies. There is no doubt that a considerable growth in the number of papers and the circulation figures has taken place since the advent of independence. The Press Registrar has been issuing his annual reports regularly.

19.3 PRESS COUNCIL

The proposed Press Council was to be composed of 25 members of whom 13 or more should be working journalists of ten years standing in the profession including working editors. It envisaged the appointment of a Chairman, who should either be a sitting or a retired judge of a High Court to be nominated by the Chief Justice of India.

The objects of the Press Council will include:

- 1) To safeguard the freedom of the Press and help the Press to maintain its independence;
- 2) To censure objectionable types of journalistic conduct and by all other possible means to build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards;
- 3) To keep under review any development likely to restrict the supply of and dissemination of news of public interest and importance;
- 4) To encourage the growth of a sense of responsibility and of public service among those engaged in the profession of journalism;
- 5) To study the development in the Press which may tend towards concentration or monopoly and if necessary, to suggest remedies thereof;
- 6) To publish reports, at least once a year recording its works and reviewing the performance of the Press, its development and the factors affecting them; and
- 7) To improve methods of recruitment, education and training for the profession, by creation of suitable agencies for the purpose such as a Press Institute.

The Press Registrar is to keep a close watch on the circulation of newspapers and if he comes to the conclusion that a particular area or in a language a monopoly has developed has to bring it to the attention of the Press Council. The Commission recommends that the publication of newspapers and periodicals should be considered a central responsibility. It suggested the banning of crossword puzzles competitions and also recommended the introduction of price-page schedule for newspapers. Another suggestion was that the advertisements should not cover more than 40 percent of the total space.

The state trading corporation for newsprint is to entrusted with a monopoly of imports and take over the entire output of the Indian mills on a fair basis and sell it along with imported newsprint at equated prices. Referring to news agencies the Commission said that they should not be state-owned or state controlled and any assistance from the State to the news agencies should be without any strings attached. The commission found a considerable degree of concentration in the ownership of Indian newspapers and felt that there was a danger that the tendency might develop in the future. It proposed the Press Council to review at the end of five years all the consequence of newspaper ownership in the light of circumstances then existing and to make appropriate recommendations, including the setting up of fact-finding enquiry, if it considered that necessary.

The commission noted a general decline in the status and independence of the editor and suggested that with a view to stabilizing and defining the editor's ultimate responsibility in the conduct of a newspaper, the appointment of an editor be attended with the execution of a contract of employment laying down the general policy of the paper in as precise terms as possible. The editor in discharging his responsibility should be bound by the generally accepted code of journalistic ethics and practice.

19.4 PRESS DURING EMERGENCY

The darkest chapter in the history of Press after independence occurred during 19 month period of Emergency (1975-76). The then council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi recommended to the president of India to declare "Emergency" in one of the largest democratic nations of the world i.e., India.

On the midnight of June 25th, 1975 the President of India issued an Ordinance declaring "Emergency" in the country in view of severe internal disturbance and grave situation. The reasons for the imposition were the events that took place in the country like rebellion in the Congress Party against Mrs. Gandhi, the corruption charges against Mrs. Gandhi, the growing discontentment among the people, the political events in Gujarat and Bihar particularly the student agitation, the defeat of Congress Party in the Gujarat elections. One of the dominant factors in this process was the emergence of Jayaprakash Narayan into active politics in the name of Total Revolution.

On 25th June 1975 at 11-45 PM, the President of India issued a proclamation saying that "A grave emergency exists whereby security of India is threatened by internal disturbances.

The press became the first casualty. The President of India suspended not only the Right to Freedom of Speech and Expression under Article 19(1) a, but also the Right on any person to move the Court for enforcement of rights conferred under Article 19.

Many opposition leaders were arrested on the morning of June 26th. Censorship was imposed on all writings relating to internal situation. The Hindustan Times and the Statesman had planned supplements to cover the Cabinet meeting, which discussed the proclamation of Emergency. All news had to be sent to the Government for scrutiny. The Statesman newspaper sent its page proof to the Press Information Bureau office for clearance. But by the time it was returned the names of the arrested leaders were deleted and their pictures removed and finally the power supply to the newspaper office was cut.

The supplements could not be printed. The police seized large number of newspapers from hawkers and delivering vans. Justifying imposition of censorship, Prime Minister Gandhi told the representatives of National Union of Journalists that "a section of the press was not concerned with the national interests and it was helping in building up a vicious atmosphere in the country".

In protest against pre-censorship, several leading newspapers left blank space and some other papers published extracts from famous poems of Rabindranath Tagore. By January 22, 1976 action was taken against 272 newspapers for violating censorship guidelines. This includes seizure of printing presses, withdrawal of exemption to journalists and arrests of editors and journalists. The Press Council of India was abolished.

During the period of Emergency, the press was victimized however, the press had fought against the oppression and suppressive attitude of the government and continued its cause for freedom of speech and expression.

Finally, the then Prime Minister agreed to General Elections. All the political parties in their manifestoes pledged restoration of **freedom of speech and expression** and other freedoms **guaranteed** under **Article 19** and also the Press Council of India.

The Janata Party, which came to power in 1977 elections, restored Press Council of India and upheld the freedom of speech and expression to the press.

19.5 SUMMARY

Indian press, **is one of the largest** media institutions **in the** world with **large scale** national newspapers as well as countless vernacular language newspapers. Press, since independence has grown at a significant level in India. Since the first press commission, many changes have taken place in the field of print media across the world and in India. In the next lesson we shall discuss about Telugu language journalism in independent India.

19.6 GLOSSARY

- **National Emergency:** A state of emergency resulting from a danger or threat of danger to a nation from foreign or domestic sources and usually declared to be in existence by governmental authority.
- **Emergency:** An emergency is a situation that poses an immediate risk to health, life, property, or environment. Most emergencies require urgent intervention to prevent a worsening of the situation, although in some situations, mitigation may not be possible and agencies may only be able to offer palliative care for the aftermath.
- **Ethics:** Moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity.
- **Council:** An advisory, deliberative, or administrative body of people formally constituted and meeting regularly.

19.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a short note on First Press Commission
- 2) What are the major recommendations given by First Press Commission?
- 3) Write an short note on Press Council of India
- 4) What do you understand by the term National Emergency? Discuss the role played by Indian press during Emergency.

19.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) James Curran, J. S. (1997). *Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain*. Kiribati: Routledge.
- 2) Kumar, V. (1994). *Committees and Commissions in India, 1947-73*. India: Concept.
- 3) Levy, H. P. (1967). *The Press Council: History, Procedure and Cases*. United Kingdom: Macmillan.
- 4) *The Press Council Act*. (1978). India: Universal Law Publishing.

LESSON 20

TELUGU JOURNALISM IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

OBJECTIVES

After reading this lesson, the reader should be able to gain an understanding about the status of Telugu journalism in the early years of Independent India.

Key objectives of this lesson are:

- To discuss few eminent Telugu journalists in national press
- To discuss the status of M Chalapati Rao in national media
- To study the contributions of Khasa Subba Rao to national press
- To analyse the trends in Telugu journalism in early years of Independence to late 20th century

STRUCTURE

20.1 Introduction

20.2 M Chalapati Rao

20.3 Khasa Subba Rao

20.4 Telugu Journalism in Independent India

20.5 Summary

20.6 Glossary

20.7 Self-Assessment Questions

20.8 Suggested Readings

20.1 INTRODUCTION

Telugu language journalism has a significant place in national media as well as world media owing to its huge circulation and readership base. Currently there are vast number of Telugu newspapers published across Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Telugu language journalists not only cater to Telugu journalism but also to national media. In this lesson we shall discuss about a brief history of the growth of Telugu journalism in independent India. We shall also discuss about few eminent Telugu journalists who made a mark in national media.

20.2 M CHALAPATI RAO

The man who has guided the destinies of the National Herald after 1946 is M. Chalapathi Rau, a distinguished editor and a sympathiser of the working journalists. He entered the National Herald office as an assistant editor in August 1938 and continued in the office till August 1942 when the paper was closed; and he worked with The Hindustan Times of New Delhi.

He re-joined the Herald as an assistant editor in 1945 and was appointed editor in 1946. He has given to the paper its present stature. He was elected as the President of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists and took active part in ameliorating the grievances of the working journalists. He was one of those because of whose efforts the Government of India

constituted the Press Commission to enquire into the state of affairs of the Indian Press and of the working journalists. He was appointed member of the Press Commission. He was the Indian delegate to a seminar on Journalism conducted by the UNESCO in 1957 in Paris.

Eminent leaders of the national movement were regular contributors to the paper, men like Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Dr. Kailasanath Katju, Acharya Narendra Dev, and Mohan Lai Saxena.

After the attainment of the nation's freedom, it has been the National Herald's task to translate that freedom into social and economic terms. In the words of M. Chalapathi Rau: "In the processes of constitution-making, the integration of the country, in free India's contribution to the fight for freedom in, other parts of the world, in the shaping of India's plans and the ceaseless task of nation-building, in the political, social and economic integration of the people,—the National Herald has set out writing stout-heartedly and freely, as a critic and as a friend, with the ideals of services, for which it was started, constantly in view." It has striven to write without malice and with freedom from fear. And whatever its shortcomings, it has, true to Nehru's inspired lead and its high ideas, striven to work sincerely for the cause of freedom and of world peace.

There were plans for a simultaneous publication of the National Herald from Delhi, but they could not be put into effect and other newspapers took the lead in establishing themselves in Delhi. But the National Herald, continuing to be published from Lucknow, has in serving its immediate neighbourhood not forgotten its role as an expression of national and international currents of thought. It has never recognised barriers of any kind.

The National Herald covers all of Uttar Pradesh, with concentration on Lucknow and Kanpur. It is published under the auspices of the Associated Journals Ltd., Lucknow. The Navajivan, a Hindi daily and the Qaumi Awaz an Urdu daily are the other journals of this group of papers. The National Herald is one of the brightly edited English national daily newspapers of India, representing the views and ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru till his death.

20.3 KHASA SUBBA RAO

The Swarajya was started in 1956 from Madras as English weekly by Khasa Subba Rao who was held in esteem as one of India's most distinguished and fearless journalists and known for his courage as a crusader. He was a staunch Congressman before independence. Towards the end of his career, he joined the Swatantra Party but only a little later he passed away in June 1961. After Khasa Subba Rao's death, Pothan Joseph took over as the editor of the Swarajya, which was regularly published from the Kalki office in Madras. C. Rajagopalachari, M. R. Masani, Prof. N. G. Ranga, A. D. Shroff, J. M. Lobo Prabhu, B. V. Narayana Reddy, C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, K. M. Munshi, and Prema Nandakumar were among the regular contributors to this weekly journal which is easily recognised as an official mouthpiece of the Swatantra Party, the political party which professes itself to be of the conservative order upholding the concept of free enterprise and vehemently opposing the socialistic pattern of society.

Though the Swarajya is now appearing as a weekly, its existence is spiritually linked with the history of the Swarajya, a daily founded and promoted by T. Prakasam. It was continued long as a vehicle for the propagation of the non-co-operation movement. Some of our ace journalists like G. V. Krupanidhi, N. S. Varadachari, K. Srinivasan, Venkatappiah and K. M. Panikkar, were trained in the offices of the Swarajya, daily. It fitted into the need of the time, and it rendered, while it lasted, a service unsurpassed to the cause of journalism.

When the daily Swarajya ceased publication, Khasa Subba Rao joined the Indian Express as a joint editor, working with such stalwarts as K. Santhanam and Pothan Joseph.

In his long and brilliant career, he also worked with the Indian Finance of Calcutta and the Free Press Journal of Bombay.

The most popular column of the Swarajya was the "sidelights" which appeared under the by-line of Saka, the pen-name of Khasa Subba Rao. Besides newspaper work, Subba Rao wrote several books including Men in the Lime-light, Revived Memories, and Sidelights on Rajaji. His many pen portraits of eminent personalities are valuable contribution to English literature. Journalism was a mission with Khasa Subba Rao to which he dedicated himself throughout his life. It was read by a fairly highly educated people had noted for its analytical articles, sobriety and good reading material.

20.4 TELUGU JOURNALISM IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

The Telugu Newspapers played a definite role during freedom struggle and for cause of development and education in post-independent era. Starting from Vivekavardhini to Krishna Patrik, Andhra Patrika, Bharathi, Golkonda Patrika, Swarajya, Swaraj, Congress, Bharathi, Andhra Prabha and many other prominent newspapers contributed not only to freedom struggle but also for the promotion of values in journalism profession.

In the post-independent era, several newspapers started publishing in Andhra Pradesh. Prominent among them are Andhra Prabha, Andhra Patrika, Andhra Jyothi, Visalandhra, Prajasakthi, Andhra Bhoomi, etc. Udayam, Vaartha, Saakshi also made a mark in presentation of news.

However, the launching of Eenadu in Visakhapatnam in the year 1974, the face of the Telugu newspapers has changed and it has revolutionized the writing style, headline, page layout, etc.

Khasa Subba Rao, Narla Venkateswar Rao, Nanduri Rammohan Rao, Potturi Venkateswara Rao, ABK Prasad, Puranam Subahamanyam, Turlapathi Kutumba Rao, I Venkata Rao, MVR Sastry, K.Ramchandra Murthy, Mangu Rajagopal, R.V.Rama Rao, and many other editors have made a mark in their style in writing editorials, page layouts, spicy headlines, etc.

Eenadu is the largest circulated Telugu newspaper in the state. According to NRS (National Readership Studies) 2011 it has a readership of 17,00,000 and is the third most circulated regional language daily and the 10th most circulated daily in India. Eenadu (meaning "Today" in Telugu) was founded by the India media baron C.Ramaji Rao in 1974 at Visakhapatnam. It has played a role in both crowing and dethroning governments in the State. It has also successfully adapted the latest publishing and communication technologies. Eenadu's rapid expansion enabled diversification of its portfolio by venturing into numerous other markets such as finance and chitfund (Margadarsi chits), foods (Priya Foods). Film production (Usha Kiran Films), Film distribution (Mayuri Films), and a group of television channels (ETV) and Film Studio. All the businesses are organized under Ramoji Group.

Initially, the circulation of Eenadu was limited. When launched in the city of Visakhapatnam; it wasn't able to sell more than 3,000 copies a week. Eenadu found itself struggling to become a daily publication ranked amongst other popular rival publication.

By 1975, Eenadu managed to achieve its target of becoming a daily publication.

Eenadu began with a print order of 4000 copies, composed by hand and produced using second hand printing press. But by the time it was admitted into the Audit Bureau of

Circulations in 1976, its circulation was 48,000 by 1978. This was primarily due to its remarkable marketing strategy.

When Eenadu expanded to Hyderabad in 1975, it divided the city into target areas, recruited delivery boys three months in advance and gave away the paper for free for a week.

During the 1980s, technology enabled Eenadu to spread over larger areas besides the main cities. Earlier, it was difficult to manage even the three editions of the 1970s (Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada and Hyderabad) because the only communication facilities were the telegram, telephone and teleprinter, which had limited presence in rural Andhra Pradesh. But with the introduction of offset printing, photocomposing software and computers, Eenadu was able to launch editions in smaller towns like Tirupathi in 1982. From the 1980s the new editor of Eenadu, from his Hyderabad office, oversaw an enormous local-based news gathering and dissemination in the organization.

However, by the end of the 1980s, there were six substantial Telugu dailies running, and the business was highly competitive. In 1989 Eenadu introduced district dailies tabloid editions to carry its presence into not only districts towns like Rajamahendravaram, Karimnagar, Guntur and Adilabad, but also taluka towns. Eenadu's district dailies were based on market research that had heavy local content and could generate new group of readers and boost advertising revenue. Now the district dailies print local news specifically for major location in the area, thereby negating the need for any separate local daily.

The recent trend in Telugu newspapers is that almost all the papers are published in colour and with special supplements. The advertising and marketing strategies adopted by Telugu newspapers are praiseworthy.

In addition to newspaper business, the establishments are diverting their business to other areas like TV channels (ETV, ABN, HMTV, Saakshi etc), film distribution, film production, pickles, shipping, chitfunds, real estate, hotels etc.

20.5 SUMMARY

Telugu language journalism has grown at an incredible pace since its early years. It played a significant role in freedom struggle, in Andhra liberation movement, during Emergency, in Telangana and Samaiyandhra movements and is still growing to address every need of Telugu people while also making a mark on national stage. With huge circulation figures and readership base Telugu journalism stands as a stalwart in national as well as global media scale. In current era of digitalization, Telugu press has moved to online journalism with a decent presence on digital platforms as well. Owing to its continuous growth, Telugu press is bound to stand the test of time to cater to the sustenance of Telugu language and to voice the concerns of Telugu people across the globe.

20.6 GLOSSARY

- **Independent:** Free from outside control; not subject to another's authority.
- **Indian National Congress:** Founded in 1885, it was the first modern nationalist movement to emerge in the British Empire in Asia and Africa. From the late 19th century, and especially after 1920, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Congress became the principal leader of the Indian independence movement
- **Column:** A regular section of a newspaper or magazine devoted to a particular subject or written by a particular person.

- **Circulation:** The number of copies sold of a newspaper or magazine.
- **Readership:** the readers of a newspaper, magazine, or book regarded collectively.

20.7 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- 1) What are the contributions of M Chalapati Rao to national media?
- 2) What are the contributions of Khasa Subba Rao?
- 3) Write a short note on Telugu journalism in independent India.
- 4) Write a brief note on the origin and growth of Eenadu.

20.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- 1) Jan Brouwer, B. D. (2005). *Media and Mediation*. India: SAGE Publications.
- 2) Jeffrey, R. (2000). *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics and the Indian-language Press, 1977-99*. United Kingdom: Hurst.
- 3) Kumar, K. J. (2000). *Mass Communication in India*. India: Jaico Publishing House.
- 4) Rao, P. R. (1991). *The Great Indian Patriots*. India: Mittal Publications.
- 5) Verghese, B. G. (2017). *Warrior Of The Fourth Estate: Ramnath Goenka of the Express*. India: Penguin Random House India Private Limited.

101JM21

M.A Degree Examination January -2022

First Semester

Journalism and Mass Communication

Paper-I: History of Journalism

Time : Three Hours

Maximum : 70 Marks

Answer any FIVE questions

All questions carry equal marks

1. Explain about the origin or early newspaper in India.
2. Discuss about the early printing in India.
3. Discuss about the origin and growth of language journalism in India.
4. Explain the contribution of Raja Rammohan Ray to Journalism.
5. Discuss thje contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to freedom movement.
6. Write about Maratha and Kesari newspaper.
7. Discuss about the origin and growth of Telugu newspapers.
8. Write about Kandukuri Verasalingam Pantulu.
9. Explain about the role fo Telugu newspaper during freedom struggle.
10. Discuss about the growth of recent newspapers in Telugu language.

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