Chapter 5

Critical Analysis of Role of Press in Karnataka Area during the Indian Nationalist Movement.

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5.1 Introduction:

Newspapers were found in chains since the time of their inception. Severe restraints was inflicted upon the newspapers by the Government for the fact that the newspapers were found to be dangerous weapons which can easily mobilize, educate and overturn the despotic rule of the government. Newspapers represent voice of the mass. The people of England had a strong degree of conviction for the use of Newspapers as she had parliamentary form of Government.

5.1.1 Memorandum by John Milton: Ariopagitica (1644) Demanded for:

- The Right of the press to publish Logical and thoughtful facts,
- And the greatest Right to freedom to know, to express and
- Right to put forth the views in accordance with the conscience

Journalism found hurdles in 1680 there in Great Britain, where in it was prerogative of the king to, by order, proclamation under his hand and seal to prohibit the newspapers. Pamphlet Rozer L. Estrange, the superintendent was authorized to publish newsbooks. He was empowered with the right to issue license to publish the newsbooks. He was of the opinion that the newspapers were published with the sole intention to interfere in the affairs of the state. As a matter of fact many newspapers were crushed – news writers and publishers were punished with imprisonment, sellers of newspapers were punished with

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1 DVG, Vritta patrike: Adara Chhitre, Adara Kartharya and Adara Swatantrya, p.59
2 ibid, p.58
lashes or imprisoned. The very development had given rise to Underground newspapers in The Great Britain.

The order of restraint had been inflicted on newspapers ever since the newspaper started the Courant in 1822 in England. The King’s privy council warned the proprietors and editors not to write about the affairs of the state.

The mention can be made about the use of press by Martin Luther who published pamphlets against the affairs of the Catholic Church there in Vatican city such that the protestant views about the Christianity was spread to all over the European Continent in a short span of time. The people of Europe got the message of Martin Luther and there started reformation movement in Europe. Thus, Christianity underwent the process of purification and emerged as two divisions: Catholic and Protestant religions each with meritorious features. The press played the vital role and expedited the process of purification of the Christianity by means of making the people to participate through rational thoughts. Thus the press acted as the catalyst in the reformation movement. A few thinkers can make the people understand the degree of exploitation that they underwent there by act upon proportionately for the common good. Thus, the press played the vital role with regard to the issues which concern human dignity.

In Indian Context, Anglo-Indians started newspapers there in Bengal. The aim of the newspaper was to amass wealth. They never had any intention to educate the people nor make Indians fit for Democracy nor make Indians to go for Indian National Movement. But, theirs main purpose of running the press

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3 ibid
4 ibid
5 ibid
6 ibid
was to make money by extending the service to the East India Company—such as printing the bills, government orders etc. Proprietors used to get good fees for the work. More so government got a good deal of services from these proprietors. Thus, the early press in British India was very friendly and supplement to the British Administration.

The first newspaper stated in England in 1660. That was released by Oliver Williams—it ran for 24 days. Its name was Perfect Dayarnal(Full Diary) the news about deliberations of the parliament was published in the newspaper.

An enactment prohibiting to publish the deliberations of the parliament was passed in 1695.

1712—Tax was imposed on the newspaper.

1763—The Editor of North Britain by name John Wilkes was accused of the charges of disloyal to the state became popular figure in England.

1770—JUNIAS—for the first time, wrote on political developments which got published in Advertiser.

The people of England were very much interested to know about the news due to the fact that there was frequent battle with France; the people of England used to travel to the oriental and occidental countries on account of trade and commerce; friction did take place between England and America; curious to know about developments in England and outside England.

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7 ibid
8 DVG; Vritta patrike: Adara Chritte, Adara Karthavya and Adara Swatantrya, p.6
9 ibid p.11
10 ibid 8
11 ibid
12 ibid
13 ibid
Restriction on newspapers were removed gradually in 1771, and newspapers were freed from taxations in 1855. Ever since, England Newspapers developed, independently.14

5.2 Growth of Newspapers in British India:

In Indian context, the growth of newspapers can be ascertained as follows:

Out of 35 Publications of 1853, 6 (six) Survived till 1857.15

The effect of Vernacular Press Act was that 286 out of 991 newspapers were taken to task. In 1880 the total number of English educated in India was approaching the 50,000 mark if the number of Matriculates may be taken as a rough indicator (Only 5000 as yet had BA Degree). The number of these studying English went up rapidly from 2,98,000 in 1887 to 5,05,000 in 1907 while the circulation of English Language newspaper climbed from 90,000 in 1885 to 2,76,000 in 1905.16 By 1911- Literary rate: 1% for English; 6% for Vernacular. The Bengal Movement spearheaded by the Newspapers. Bangabasi (which attained a circulation of 20,000 as against 4000 of the Pro-Reform Brahma Journal, Sanjibani and against which a SEDITION case was launched) Bangabasi, Kesari and Kal of Poona- critique of the Congress. (1818-1855) -99 Newspapers and periodicals had average life of 5 years.17

According to William Digby; 1875 there were18:

374 Vernacular/ Anglo-vernacular newspapers

147 English papers

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14 ibid
15 The Press in India; Times of India Directory and Year Book; Who’s Who, 1872. p. 338
16 Maclean J. R.; Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress;
18 ibid
5.3 Indian National Congress: Growth of Newspaper:

Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organisation as adopted by the Congress of 1908, amended by the Congress of 1911, and further amended by the Congress of 1912.

ARTICLE I

OBJECTIVES:

The objectives of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and its participation by them in the rights and responsible ties of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objectives are to be achieved by constitutional means by barring about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

ARTICLE II:

Every delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the objectives & of the Congress as laid down in Article I. of this

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19 Amiya Charan Majumdar; The Indian national Congress and the Growth of Indian nationalism Daya Publishing House Delhi, 1915. Appendix A
Constitution and his willingness to abide by this constitution and by the rules of the Congress hereto appended.

SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS:

ARTICLE III

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such town as may have been decided upon at the previous session of the Congress.

(b) If no such decision has been arrived at, the All-India Congress Committee shall decide the matter.

APPENDIX A:

(c) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee, either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever and whenever it may deem it advisable to hold such session.

(d) It shall be open to the All-Indian Congress Committee to change the venue of the Congress to some other town when such change is deemed by it to be necessary or desirable owing to serious or unforeseen difficulties or other contingencies of a like nature.

COMPONENT PARTS OF THE ORGANISATION.

ARTICLE IV.

The Indian National Congress Organisation will consist of:

(a) The Indian National Congress.

(b) Provincial Congress Committees.

(c) District Congress Committees.

(d) Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Congress Committees.
(e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised by the Provincial Congress Committees.

(f) The All Indian Congress Committee.

(g) The British Committee of the Congress; and

(h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conferences or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the Provincial or District or other Congress Committees unless he has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I. of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this constitution and by the rules of the Congress hereto appended.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES:

ARTICLE VI.

(a) To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District Conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces.

The above stated the Indian National Congress made use of press as an instrument to disseminate information, programmes various schemes and plan of action of INC at various capacities to the nook and corner of British India systematically. It was also used as the one of the media for redressal of grievances of the natives inflicted by the colonial masters.
The 700 newspapers published in 1901-02 fall under three main heads:

I. **English papers owned by Europeans, and issued for European Community.** About one-fifth of the total are published in English.

- *The Pioneer* (Allahabad)
- *The Englishman* (Calcutta)
- *The Indian daily News* (Calcutta)
- *The Statesman* (Calcutta)
- *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore)
- *The Madras Mail and Madras Times* from Madras.
- *The Times of India and Bombay Gazette* from Bombay.
- *Rangoon Times* and *Rangoon Gazette* from Rangoon.

II. **English Papers Owned by NATIVES.** Most of the journals issued under this category were weekly. Fortnightly or monthly were in small in number.

III. **Vernacular.** Most of the journals issued under this category were weekly. Fortnightly. Many are unimportant journals of ephemeral character, and with a circulation of over 2000 copies is very small. The number of readers is however, greater than the number of copies printed. Vernacular Press in order (Highest to lowest).

IV. The 8400 books which were published in 1902 include works of the most diverse character and merit. Of the 1312 English publications, 621 appeared in Bengal; 341 in Madras; 184 in Bombay. Distribution of Indian publications was as follows.

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21 ibid
22 ibid
Bengal-2448; the United province- 1362; the Punjab 1135; Bombay 1104; Madras- 825; and Burma -127. Most the noteworthy features of these statistics are the prominence of Bengal and, the literary activities of the educationally backward United Province and Punjab. In the subject of the books- religion is conspicuously prominent; poetry and the drama take the second place, and then, in other language, fiction, History and biography, medicine, law and mathematics and mechanics and philosophy.

The Growth of Literacy in India, Literacy in Karnataka Area and growth of newspapers in British India are shown in Graph No.8, Graph No.9, and Graph No.10 respectively.

5.4 Salient Features of Indian Press as on 1902:

The salient features of Indian Press as on 1902.

1. Bombay: Marati and Gujarati- The political attitude of the Marata press is generally that of opposition to Government( Maratta , Kesari Poona ). The Gujarati newspapers are mainly the organs of the Parsis, and of the trading community generally. The Bombay press includes several organs of the Young India school of politicians, such for instances as the Kaiser-I-Hind, Native Opinion, the Voice of India and East and west.

2. Madras: Highest Circulation due to Mission Organs; Satya Dutan

3. (Messenger of Truth) Tamil Newspaper; Anglo-Telugu (Messenger of truth ); Swadesh Mitran; Andra Prakashika( Telugu)

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The Growth of Literacy in India for the period 1901 to 1960 (Percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male Series 1</th>
<th>Female Series 2</th>
<th>Total Series 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1950</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1960</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, Registrar General of India.
### Literacy Rate in Karnataka Area During the Period 1901 to 1951

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Male (Series-1)</th>
<th>Female (Series-2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1921</td>
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<td>1931</td>
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<td>1941</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Series 1 = Male % of Literacy

Series 2 = Female % of Literacy
The Circulation of Newspapers of India excluding Karnataka Area, 1780-1950

Circulation of Newspapers, 1780-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Newspapers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1780-1789</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790-1799</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1809</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810-1819</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1820-1829</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830-1839</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840-1849</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1850-1859</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1860-1869</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>1920-1929</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1939</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1949</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph No. 10

Circulation of Newspapers, 1780-1950

No. of Newspapers

Years

Graph No. 10
4. United Provinces: A considerable number of papers are published in Calcutta and many of them conducted with ability and enterprise, and fairly be described as representative of local native opinion among the educated classes.

5. The Punjab, United Provinces: A considerable number of papers are published in Calcutta and many of them conducted with ability and enterprise, and fairly be described as representative of local native opinion among the educated classes.

6. Bengal: The Bengali, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, and the Indian Mirror printed in English; and the Bengabasi, the Bassumati and the Hitabadi printed in Bengali. All these journals were published in Calcutta and they largely occupy themselves with political discussion.

In developed countries like USA, England, Newspapers have became vehicle of spreading of Education, and strive hard to eliminate bad practices. And keeping vigilance on the duties of the government official and the people24.

In India, Native newspapers were struggling for the survival due to poverty and they were restrained by the Government Ordinances from time to time. Press Acts were passed in British India and in the Provinces. Press in India was not getting any support from the influential political people25

5.4.1 Linguistic States and the National Language:

Two great issues of language politics restructuring the new nation when India gained its independence in 1947. One was the problem of linguistic states (linguistic provinces), the other the problem of the National language.

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24 Reconstruction of India- p. 14
25 ibid p. 15
Conceptually and in substance these were altogether different things. The former was a matter of division and category - how best to define the local governing units of the new country. The latter was more a matter of national prestige: what language best captured the character and unity, the essence, of the newly independent country? Though different, the two language problems shared a common core which was of course 'language'; but more than that they went to the heart of the greatest question which independent India had to face: was India a unity, or was it a geographical amalgam of entities so disparate that only the distorting simplifications of colonialism could for a time make these units appear to be one? The rubrics of language politics' include both the issue of linguistic states and the issue of the national language, but the former was the more taxing of the two.

5.5 Linguistic States:

The idea that nations or states should correspond to boundaries of language dates from the nineteenth century and is therefore, as such things go, a relatively recent dictum of geopolitics. Nonetheless, it has become difficult to imagine drawing national boundary lines in any other way.

The early twentieth century, received opinion had settled upon a one-to-one relationship between nation and language as virtually the only natural or rational relationship between the two. It was a principle elevated to the status of a 'natural law'. Its political equivalent was the principle of self-determination associated with the Treaty of Versailles and Woodrow Wilson at the end of the First World War, when the boundaries of the former states created out of the Austro-
Hungarian Empire were drawn more nearly according to language (qua ethnicity) than any other single consideration.  

Certainly one can see why nation as language area has its appeal. Countries with, for all intents and purposes, but a single national language Japan, Germany, France, England, the United States - transparently have advantages of ease of communication if little else. Countries united by one language do of course have their problems. The fact that it is possible to communicate with someone else in a common language does not guarantee that problems will disappear or be easily resolvable. People disagree and even come to blows within the same family, and countries with only one language do have civil wars.

However, it is an empirically observable fact that the countries with only a single national language does tend to have greater political stability than multilingual countries. When even two languages are spoken by large percentage of a country's population, as in Belgium, eastern Canada, Sri Lanka, in many of the countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Empire, or in any number of African nations that gained independence following the Second World War, political stability appears harder to achieve and to sustain in the long run. Switzerland, with German, French, Italian, and the increasingly marginal Romans, is of course an exception to this socio-political generalization; but it is recognized that Switzerland is an anomaly in all 'social-science' theorizing, whether about politics, language, culture, economics, or stability.

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29 ibid, 52
30 ibid
31 ibid, 53
32 ibid
33 ibid
34 ibid
The unity of India is a problematic concept. It was one of Nehru’s major preoccupations throughout his life and a major factor in his attitude towards language politics; but it is plain to see that India is and remains a single nation whatever its unity is grounded in and whatever the clever bodies say, all doom saying to the contrary. India, that is to say, is the exception to the general rule that the relationship between country and language should be what mathematicians call ‘isomorphic’: one language, one nation; one nation, one language.

The map of India prior to Independence was a porridge of irregular and improbable jigsaw puzzle shapes composed of British India, native states and territories, and territories permanently administered by the Government of India. The native states ranged in size from tiny to huge; they were hereditary demi-empires in which language had played little if any role in the drawing of boundaries. Their boundaries spoke chance and force of arms. Rulers spoke this, the ruled spoke that. There was the familiar example of Hyderabad, with a largely Telugu speaking Hindu populace ruled by an Urdu-speaking Muslim aristocracy under the Nizam-ul-Mulk. It is not recorded that any of the Nizam spoke a word of Telugu, though a favorite diversion among them was writing poetry in elegant Persian. Mysore State was largely Kannada speaking, but in 1951, prior to the creation of linguistically delineated states, 34 per cent of the inhabitants of Mysore State spoke other languages.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to observe that perfect linguistic states are never possible in the real world. A state or province would have to be

55 ibid
56 ibid
57 ibid
58 ibid
some kind of ethnically homogeneous island like Iceland or Japan to contain all
and only the speakers of a single language. Modern India has done an
extraordinary job. Of drawing its state boundaries in such a way as to bring down
the percentage of speakers of minority languages in its component states to an
irreducible minimum. Even so, there will always remain linguistic minorities, in
India or anywhere else, however the lines are drawn.\footnote{ibid, 55}

The officials of the British East India Company had carved up the map of
those parts of India under British control not according to logical principles of
any kind but by an historical process, if something so haphazard and disjointed
deserves the name of process, of consolidations and treaties, treachery, bribery,
and force. For administrative convenience British India was divided up into an
assortment of units: the Bombay, Bengal, and Madras Presidencies, the United
Provinces, Punjab, the Central Provinces, sindh, and so on. Of these only Bengal,
Punjab, and Sindh had arguably any claim to historical organicity based on
culture, language, land use, and ethnography\footnote{ibid, 60} of India north to Jagannath's
temple at The Madras Presidency is emissary. It had been formed at the end of
the eighteenth century as the final resolution of skirmishes between Tipu Sultan
of Mysore and the Company Bahadur against a tedious background of
bewildering confrontations and negotiations and betrayals involving, among
others, the Marathas, Warren Hastings, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nizam's
devious brother, Tipu's father Haidar Ali, Cornwallis, and Sir John Shore.\footnote{ibid, 61}
Language and religion were the last and least important ingredients to be tossed
into the cauldron. Greed and avarice surpassed all other ingredients. The Madras
Presidency stretched from Cape Comorin on the southeastern decline of the
southern tip Puri, now located in Orissa. It touched the Bay of Bengal. In the east and the Arabian Sea along the Malabar Coast in the west. It encircled Mysore State and impinged on the princely states of Cochin and Travancore on the Coast of Coriander. The major languages spoken in the Madras Presidency were Tamil, Telugu, Oriya, Malayalam, and Kannada. In 1931, 60.3 per cent of the population of the Madras Presidency spoke a language other than Tamil, the language of the majority of Indians living in the city of Madras. In the same year 57.2 per cent of the population of the Bombay Presidency, spoke, a language other than Marathi, notably Gujarati, Sindhi and Kannada.

When the British did make adjustments to the boundaries of its administrative subdivisions, language played a frail role in the decision, if any at all. A celebrated chapter in the history of British bungling illustrates the case. In 1905 the then viceroy Lord Curzon announced the partition of Bengal into two provinces. The reason he gave for the partition was administrative convenience. The Presidency of Bengal had grown so much with the expansion of British rule that by 1803 it had reached the river Sutlej in the Punjab in the north-west. Various pieces of the Bengal Presidency - the United Provinces, Oudh, Assam - had been progressively shed or merged into other administrative units, but even so, by the turn of the twentieth century the Bengal Presidency encompassed not only Bengal proper, as commonly understood, but also Bihar and Orissa. It had, a population of 70,000,000 people. It lends perspective to observe that the population of France in 1911 was 39,600,000. Curzon proposed to divide the

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62 ibid
63 ibid
64 ibid
65 ibid
Bengal Presidency roughly in half, creating a province of eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31,000,000 and two major languages, Bengali and Assamese, and a province consisting of western Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa with three major languages, Bengali, Hindi (in its Bihar variant of eastern Hindi), and Oriya

It is no doubt true that Lord Curzon had administrative decentralization as his primary consideration. Partition for administrative reasons had been talked of for years. It is impossible however to overlook that an effect, almost casual as it were, of the partition of Bengal was to create a largely Muslim eastern Bengal and a largely Hindu western Bengal, thus foreshadowing the later division of Bengal between East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and India. Whatever Lord Curzon's innermost intentions, the politics of the thing were catastrophic for the British. The partition of Bengal was a spur to Indian nationalism as great as the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh. Out of the uproar that greeted Curzon's announcement came the Swadeshi movement, Tilak's coining of the magical word swaraj (self-rule), the hartal (general strike), the smoothing of the way for Gandhi, and in general the political hyper sensitization of the Indian middle class. It was one of the blunders the British Government of India ever made - of the issue in 1856 of the greased cartridges for the new Enfield rifle - and its nullification in 1911 could not undo its corrosive damage to the underpinnings of the British. The partition of Bengal had shaken the confidence of the Indian middle class and the intellectual class in British intentions, and nothing the British could have
subsequently done would have restored that precious trust without which a small
country. Cannot rule a large country on another continent\textsuperscript{71}.

For present purposes it is sufficient to observe that the idea of linguistic
boundaries was very nearly the last thing on Curzon's mind when he proposed the
partition of Bengal. Whether his motive was that of a thoughtless bureaucrat
simply trying to move pieces around on a geographical chessboard to ease
administration, or whether it was one more instance of \textit{divide et imperia},
language played a trifling role in his considerations\textsuperscript{72}. This is not to say that it
played no role at all, for one argument given in favor of partition was that it
would unify the Oriyas under one rule and, so said Sir Herbert Risley, Home
Secretary, Government of India, and a man linguistically knowledgeable, in a
letter to the Government of Bengal, would solve the question of (the Oriya)
language once and for all\textsuperscript{73}. The statement is curiously disingenuous, for any
benefits procured from uniting speakers of the Oriya language under a common
government were nullified a hundred times over by the splitting of the vastly
larger number of vastly more liable Bengali speakers into two groups under
separate governments\textsuperscript{74}.

In general, during British rule in India linguistic arguments were advanced,
if at all, as a posteriori justification for decisions the British government wanted
to make anyway. Language was mentioned in the partition resolution of 1905 as
well as in a dispatch of Lord Hardinge to the Secretary of State, 25 August 1911,
proposing to annul the partition of Bengal. But, as the Report of the States

\textsuperscript{71} \textit{ibid}
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{ibid}
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{ibid}
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{ibid}
Reorganization Commission 1955 says\textsuperscript{75}: The linguistic principle was, however, pressed into service on these occasions only as a measure of administrative convenience, and to the extent it fitted into a general pattern, which was determined by political exigencies. In actual effect, the partition of Bengal involved a flagrant violation of linguistic affinities. The settlement of 1912 also showed little respect for the linguistic principle, in that it drew a clear line of distinction between the Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus\textsuperscript{76}. Both these partitions thus ran counter to the assumption that different linguistic groups constituted distinct units of social feeling with common political and economic interests.\textsuperscript{77} These examples are instructive of the muddle-headedness of the British about Indian language sensitivities. But the muddle-headedness must be understood in a larger context of world indifference to language sensitivities, that is, indifference to language iconicity\textsuperscript{78}. It is altogether typical not only of British thinking about India in 1905 but also of European thinking about political boundaries in general at the time. The received views can be summed up in the question: what is so special about the equation one language = one nation? The Report of the States Reorganization Commission of 1955 states the matter with an objectivity and lack of rancor infrequently encountered in the chronicles of politico linguistic public statement\textsuperscript{79}.

The existing structure of the States of the Indian Union is partly the result of accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India and partly a by-product of the historic process of integration of former

\textsuperscript{75} ibid
\textsuperscript{76} ibid
\textsuperscript{77} ibid
\textsuperscript{78} ibid
\textsuperscript{79} ibid
Indian States. The division of India during the British period into British provinces and Indian States was itself fortuitous and had no basis in Indian history. It was a mere accident that, as a result of the abandonment, after the upheaval of 1857, of the objective of extending the British dominion by absorbing princely territories, the surviving States escaped annexation. The map of the territories annexed and directly administered by the British was also not shaped by any rational or scientific planning.

5.6 History of the Movement:

The attempt by Lord Curzon to partition Bengal was not the first instance of a government initiative to adjust administrative boundaries. Assam had been acquired by the Crown in 1826 and made part of the Bengal Presidency. This created a very large, sprawling Bengal Presidency that included not only the Bengali-speaking area but the United Provinces (today Uttar Pradesh) and beyond, far into the northwest. The Charter Act of 1833 provided for the creation of the North-West Provinces, which improved matters slightly, but the Bengal Presidency was still fantastically large for a single governor to administer sensibly. Assam was plucked out.

In 1874, and though this happened to amount to a division along a linguistic boundary (since Assamese is the language of Assam), linguistic considerations were nowhere to be seen. It was simply a matter of reducing the size of the Bengal Presidency in the least noxious way. Likewise, in 1901 the North-West Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab of which it had been a part since 1849. This created a linguistically homogeneous Punjabi-speaking Punjab, but
Curzon 'was actuated purely by political exigency: while Punjab had accepted British rule as a settled fact, many people in the Frontier nurtured a temper of revolt and often actively manifested it. Curzon felt that the latter needed a wholly different kind of administrative setup.

The earliest intimation of an Indian sentiment in favor of redrawing administrative boundaries to reflect linguistic differences came from B.G. Tilak, the leader of the left wing in Congress politics. In the Marathi-language newspaper Kesari (The Lion') that he edited, Tilak wrote on 17 November 1891:

The present administrative division of India is the result of a certain historical process and in some cases is exclusively the result of chance circumstances... If it is replaced by a system of administrative units created on a linguistic basis, each of them will be to some degree homogeneous and will facilitate the development of the people and the languages of the respective peoples.

It is not surprising to find these sentiments being expressed at this particular time, for the end of the nineteenth century was accompanied by major strides forward in the development of the vernacular languages and their rise in estimation among the English-knowing Mites. And it is hardly surprising that it was a Maratha who expressed the sentiment, for the Marathas since the days of their great national hero Shivaji were habitually outspoken and constitutionally disposed towards going their own way on most things. The growing strength of

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85 ibid
84 ibid
83 ibid
80 ibid
86 ibid
87 ibid, p. 59
the vernacular languages was of a piece with the growing tide of nationalistic feeling.88

In the wake of the uproar over the Bengal partition we find the Indian National Congress beginning to rethink its organizational structure in terms of vernacular units. In 1908 a separate Congress province of Bihar was created, followed by the formation of similar Sind and Andhra units in 1917.89 However, these was nothing more than subdivisions within the structure of the Indian National Congress? So far as the Government of India were concerned, Bihar belonged to the Bengal Presidency, Sind to the Bombay Presidency, and Andhra to the Madras Presidency.90 The first official notice of any consequence of the growing strength of the vernacular movement appears in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, which was an attempt to respond more constructively—than before to the demands of the Indian National Congress and of Gandhi and his associates for greater Indian involvement in the business of running the country:

We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogenous; and when we bear in mind the prospect of the immense burdens of government in India being transferred to comparatively inexperienced hands, such considerations acquire additional weight. It is also a strong argument in favor of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular, they would contribute to drawing into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English.91 But for all the fine words, which

88 ibid
89 ibid
90 ibid
91 ibid
summon memories of the language and sentiments of Macaulay’s Minute, very little changed in the attitude of the Government of India towards the vernaculars and the redrafting of the map according to language\textsuperscript{92}. Things went on as before; the Government of India Act, 1919, for example, made no provision for promoting the regional languages. In the Congress movement, however, events had been decisively launched on a different course\textsuperscript{93}.

In 1920 Gandhi had come out in favour of linguistic provinces, though only three years earlier he had agreed with Mrs. Besant in wishing to defer action on the question. At that time Andhra, meaning the community of Telugu-speakers in the broadest sense, had made a strong case for separate status, arguing that inclusion in the Tamil-dominated Madras Presidency was a great disadvantage\textsuperscript{94}. There was a receptive impulse within Congress for the Andhra position, but soon the contagion for separate linguistic provincial status spread to supporters of Sind (Sindhi language) and Karnataka (Kannada language). Tilak, always keen on language, supported the movement\textsuperscript{95}.

But Gandhi and Mrs. Besant in 1917, with the Congress meeting in Lucknow, were of one mind that there were more important items on the Indian National Congress agenda than linguistic provinces. They also feared, perhaps without knowing exactly why, the potentially divisive effects of the politics of language\textsuperscript{96}. We must recall that this was the beginning of the Khilafat movement, and the Congress leaders - Gandhi, really the others, failing in line behind him - had made common cause with Muslim unease about the abolition of the Caliphate. Apart from eastern Bengal, largely Muslim and Bengali-speaking, the

\textsuperscript{92} ibid
\textsuperscript{93} ibid
\textsuperscript{94} ibid
\textsuperscript{95} ibid
\textsuperscript{96} ibid
language of most Muslims throughout India was Urdu, but it was nowhere spoken in so solid a geographical mass as to make the drawing of an Urdu provincial boundary possible for any given region: it would have been to raise the spectre of an unborn Pakistan. Even to ask the question, let alone table a resolution regarding it, would have been to ask for trouble. This, more than anything else, lay behind Gandhi's and Mrs. Besant's coolness to linguistic provinces in 1917. An additional reason for Gandhi's reluctance to endorse linguistic provinces was his fear, expressed in an article of 21 January 1920 in Young India, that encouraging use of the regional language would detract from his mission to make Hindustani (Hindi) the national language.

However, with Gandhi having reversed field on the issue, the Congress at its meeting in Nagpur in 1920 accepted the general principle that provincial boundaries should be drawn on language lines and that the political machinery of the Indian National Congress should be organized according to language. The Congress constitution was, drafted to make provision, for the vernacular units, which took the form of Provincial Congress Committees (PCC), of which twenty-one were created. From this time onward in the accounts of the proceedings of meetings and motions of the Indian National Congress we find references to the Andhra PCC, the Tamil Nadu PCC, the Karnataka PCC, and so on.

Gandhi's reversal was tactical: it arose less out of intellectual conviction or emotional fervor than his desire to ease Muslim reservations about swaraj in provinces such as Assam. The crucial fact is that the Congress position on linguistic

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97 ibid
98 ibid
99 ibid
100 ibid
101 ibid
never carefully thought through\textsuperscript{103}. The inherent contradiction between the idea of linguistic provinces and the unity of India as a single nation hovered dimly in the recesses of percipient minds but was never allowed to circulate in public for long. All reservations were submerged in the common aspiration for swaraj\textsuperscript{104}. The Congress support for linguistic boundaries was almost always a consequence of other considerations, usually communal in nature. Even the very first glimmering of a Congress position on linguistic and political boundaries, in 1905 when a newly galvanized Congress demanded reunification of Bengal, was motivated as much by communal considerations as any others, communal in the sense that the Congress was at the time trying to find the middle ground between extremist Hindu and Muslim opinion\textsuperscript{105}.

5.7 INC Redistribution of Provinces on a Linguistic Basis:

In 1927 the Indian National Congress passed a resolution stating that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and arguing for the creation of separate provinces of 'Andhra, Utkal [Orissa], Sind, and Karnataka\textsuperscript{106}. By 1936 there was a general consensus, the accumulation of much realpolitik and very little sequential thinking about the practical consequences of implementation, in favour of linguistic states. Nehru himself explicitly accepted linguistic provinces in 1937\textsuperscript{107}: He said that linguistic areas and the language of the province necessitate that provincial units should correspond with such language areas\textsuperscript{108}. It is the accepted view that since 1920 a great deal of the organizing energy and success of the Indian National Congress derived from the
principle of linguistic units. Certainly Nehru believed this. As Selig Harrison wrote: 'There can be no disputing Nehru when he cites [Autobiography, p. 66] the demarcation of Congress provincial machinery on a linguistic basis in 1920 as the turning-point which saw the Congress transformed from a middle-class assembly of leaders to a mass movement able to speak to the people in their own language.\(^{109}\) Harrison’s opinion is probably correct, but the historical force behind the freedom movement was such that the final result, namely independence after the Second World War, would in all likelihood have been the same no matter what the organizational arrangements of the Congress were. It is obvious that the Congress message could not have been communicated directly to the masses except in the vernaculars,\(^{110}\) but one can accept the truth of that assertion while rejecting the proposition that states should be established along linguistic lines as opposed to lines drawn, say, along natural boundaries or in order to aggregate economically cohesive units. There are two quite different issues here: how to communicate to the masses, and whether to draw state lines according to linguistic boundaries. Indeed, Nehru says precisely this in his reply to debate on the President’s Address, Lok Sabha: Some hon. members are perhaps not well-acquainted with the development of the Congress outlook on the subject of linguistic provinces. Undoubtedly, in the twenties we were strongly in favour of all work being done in the language of the area in order to enable the local people to play their part. In so far as the importance of the language in doing work is concerned, we hold to the same principle. But let us not mix up two things, namely, the importance of the development of a language and linguistic boundaries. The two are not the same thing. If you see the Congress resolutions

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\(^{109}\) ibid

\(^{110}\) ibid
of the last three or four years, you will find that all of them have stated quite clearly that language is an important factor but that there are other economic, geographical and developmental factors which are equally important. Finally, the most important factor, the overriding factor, is the unity of India.\textsuperscript{111}

Some of this conceptual confusion can be seen in the Report of the Nehru Committee of the All-Parties Conference, 1928. The All-Parties Conference had been established to devise solutions to the most serious constitutional and political problems. Dividing the major parties lodged together within the Indian National Congress. The Nehru Committee Report came out with a strong endorsement of the linguistic principle: \textit{If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise aura of freedom about it.}\textsuperscript{112}

The English never on the whole grasped the intricacies of the language problems lurking below the Indian surface of things. Few of them actually had to learn a vernacular to do their jobs; fewer still were scholars of language. Language did not, as it were, show up on the radar screen of most English observers\textsuperscript{113}. For example, Alan Campbell-Johnson's \textit{Mission with Mount batten}, there is one diminutive paragraph that touches on language, and even there the facts are commonplace, predictable, and mostly wrong. Campbell-Johnson, like his chief, Lord Mount batten, knew little about languages. Language as icon was out of the line of sight of almost all the English.\textsuperscript{114} The linguistic stirrings in the
Indian National Congress began to be perceived by British official opinion in the 1930s, though there was nothing remotely approaching a wholesale acceptance of the idea of reforming the map of India according to language divisions. The greatest step in this direction appears in 1930 in the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, better known as the Simon Commission Report after its chairman, Sir John Simon. Only a small part of the voluminous Simon Commission Report deals with language, but the heart of the relevant section deserves to be quoted at length, in part because it shows the dawning perception among the more sympathetic and well-meaning of British officialdom that the boundary lines on the map of British India had arisen helter-skelter and had no sense behind them.

5.8 Growth of newspapers in Karnataka Area- Map study:
The study of Growth of Newspapers in Karnataka Area from 1840 to 1940. More than 2000 Newspapers which were in circulation for the said period are taken for the analytical study and the Map is drawn:

- Newspapers in circulation for the period 1840 to 1859 and 1860 to 1869 was meager. It shows that the contributions of press in the revolt of 1857 is negligible.
- There was gradual increase of circulation of newspapers for the period 1860 to 1869 inspite of the the Press Regulations i.e. Registration of Books and newspapers Act of 1867.
- For the period 1870 to 1879, the newspapers are marching downward. It shows the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 affected the growth of Newspapers in Karnataka Area.
- For the Period 1880 to 1889, it shows the newspapers in circulation is increasing. The factors favoring for the growth of newspapers can be attributed to : Lord Rippon annulled the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 in 115 Ibid
1881; Liberal policy of Lord Rippon; founding of Indian National Congress in 1885. Kannadigas participated in the first session of Indian national Congress. The direction of the INC was followed by the people of Karnataka Area.

For the period 1890-1899, the growth of Newspapers can be attributed to:

The Congress Sessions inspired the people of the region- hence they participated in the deliberation of Indian National Congress. Awareness of nationality created in the minds of the people.

The period 1900-1909 saw the division of Bengal which ignited Swadeshi movement in Bengal and set the waves in motion particularly in Karnataka Area. Newspapers in Karnataka Area served as the instrument of dissemination of information in the region to popularise the Indian nationalist movement.

The period 1910-1919, saw the growth of press in increasing trend: The people of this region were interested to know about the course of World War I. The main currents of Nationalist movement in India- the role of INC; Home rule of Annie Besant and of B.G.Tilak; Khilafat movement etc. The Press in Karnataka Area served here as the vehicle of information.- people were curious to know about the Nationalist movement in Indian Scenario.

For the Period 1920 to 1929, The Newspapers in Karnataka Area were rapidly growing: The reasons can be attributed to the Non-Cooperative Movement of 1920-21; the INC Session in Belgaum of 1924; Simon Commission etc. Curiosity and growth of education caused the growth of Newspapers in Karnataka Area.

ibid
For the period 1930-1939, saw growth of newspapers in Karnataka Area due to Dandimarch; Round Table Conferences; Gandhi Irwin Pact; passing Indian Act of 1935; Vidhurashwata incident in Karnataka Area.

For the period 1940-1949, Karnataka saw fall in the growth of newspapers due to the reason that Unification of Karnataka Movement, Quit India Movement; Mysore chalo incidents wherein newspapers took active role in the said movements. The result is that newspapers in the regions were crushed by the Press repressive laws.

Observations on evolution of Press in British India and in Karnataka Area:

The Press Ordinances were passed in British India from 1780-1840 inorder to check and control the Press. It follows that, the government found the reasons to restrain the press against their seditious writings of the Press which will otherwise collapse the government at the hands of the natives. As far as Karnataka Area is concerned, newspapers did not yet start functioning. From 1840 to 1857 the growth of newspapers was negligible in Karnataka Area.

During the period 1931-1932 and 1932-1934 were significant period in the History of Karnataka. Salt movement, No Tax movement started in Sirsi, Siddapur, Ankola, and other places. The details of these movements were covered by newspapers such as Tainadu, Vishwakarnataka, Swaraj, Kannadiga, Democrat, Vijaya, Navayuga, Rajahamsa, Kramiveer, Swadeshabhimani, Karmaveera, Samyukta Karnataka, Kannada Vritta, Kannada Dhureena and Karnataka Vaibhava. These papers also published the harsh act of the police on the Sathyagrahis and appreciated the tough stand taken by the protesters against the British Raj. In spite of the cruelty
and imprisonment meted out to the nationalist newspaper editors, government could not block the circulation of unauthorised newspapers. Dinakar Desai was serving as reporter and reported about Salt movement of 1930 in Ankola and No Tax movement of 1932 in Uttara Kannada District in Jaya Karnataka Newspaper. Thus, newspapers at the hands of the Nationalists held the glory of Kannadigas aloft with all flying glory.

Newspapers of pre-independence period were not meant for commercial venture but service oriented. Those newspapers served for the noble cause i.e. Fighting against British Tyranny; for social and political justice; economic freedom; for the protection of Native religions, culture and native heritage.

The literacy rate in India as on 1901 was 6% and it was approximately 14% in 1947. It means the growth of Literacy in India in the span of 41 years i.e., from 1906 to 1947 was mere 8% only. The growth of Newspapers was very significant in the above said period though the growth of Literacy was very low. Due to the growth of production of papers, availability of newsprint, ink and transportation and communication, the first and second world war created interest in the native to know about the wars, national movement all reasons put together, the circulation of Newspapers enhanced in India. As a matter of fact, Indian National Movement was a mass movement. The people belonged to the middle class: lower class; literate and illiterate were participated in the movement. The thoughts of Nationalist leaders such as Dadabai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerji, Firoj Shah Mehta, Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandrapal, Gopal Krishna Gokhale Mahatma Gandhi and others successfully inculcated the sprit of Nationalism in the minds of the
natives. Revolutionaries raised a standard banner of revolt against the British imperialism. The instrument of press was effectively used by the nationalists in order to give effect to their mission to carry out freedom struggle in India. This press was to work within the Caste Iron Frame bureaucracy of British Raj. The constant restrain was imposed on the newspapers throughout the period of British Raj in India in general and Karnataka Area in particular.

5.9 Habermas's public sphere:

Jurgen Habermas, the firm opponent of postmodernist theorizing, argues that in eighteenth century England there was the emergence of a public sphere which mediates between society and state in which the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion (Habermas -1989)\(^\text{117}\).

With the growth of urban culture, there was drastic change in public life such as growth of theatres, museums, opera houses, coffee houses, etc. There was also the growth of a new infrastructure for social communication like the press, publishing houses, libraries, together with increased literary and transportation. These communications web allowed discussion of matters, which branched out, from relatively small group into affairs of the state and of politics. According to Habermas, these led to increased social intercourse. Habermas identified a variety of liberal-bourgeois rights, which guaranteed the operation of the various spheres and their institutions\(^\text{118}\):

A set of basic rights concerned the sphere of the public engaged in rational-critical debate (freedom of opinion and speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly and association etc.) and the political function of private

\(^{117}\) Internet Sources: Habermas' Public Sphere

\(^{118}\) ibid
people in this public sphere (rights of petition, equality of vote etc.)\textsuperscript{119}. A second set of basic rights concerned the individual's status as a free human being, grounded in the intimate sphere of the patriarchal conjugal family (personal freedom, inviolability of the home etc.). The third set of basic rights concerned the transactions of the private owners of property in the sphere of civil society (equality before the law, protection of private property etc.)\textsuperscript{120}. The basic rights guaranteed: the spheres of the public realm and of the private (with the intimate sphere at its core), the institutions and instruments of the public sphere, on the one hand (press, parties), and the foundation of private autonomy (family and property), on the other, finally, the functions of the private people, both their political ones as citizens and their economic ones as owners of commodities (and, as 'human beings, those of individual communication', e.g. through inviolability of letters)\textsuperscript{121}. 

This \textit{bourgeois public sphere} is seen by Habermas, then, as an area of informed, public and reasoned debate, to which the emergence of an independent, market-based Press was crucial. It was open to a large number of people, within it various arguments and views were subjected to rational discussion and government policies were systematically submitted to its critical scrutiny, \textit{The fourth Estate}, guardians of the public sphere become increasingly converted into industries, wholly oriented towards the profit motive, Just another business held by some conglomerate\textsuperscript{122}.

Habermas, Eliot argues that in 1980s Britain technological and economic developments were promoting, a Continuation of the shift away from involving

\textsuperscript{119} ibid
\textsuperscript{120} ibid
\textsuperscript{121} ibid
\textsuperscript{122} ibid
people in Societies as political citizens of nation states towards involving them as consumption units in a corporate world\textsuperscript{123}.

5.10 Evolution of Public sphere, the Guardian of the Nationalists' endowed right of Swaraj:

In Indian context in general and Karnataka Area in particular, it is examined in application of \textit{Hebermas Public sphere}. The Public Sphere emerged between Indian society and the British Raj. There existed no cordial relation between British Raj and the Indian society during the pre-independence of India. India was in the process of \textit{Nation making}. English education was imparted to the natives in order to make them a potential part in the machinery of the British Administration. British Raj, in its own interest to enhance trade and commerce; to keep a perfect hold on the natives; strengthen military - it started railways, telegraph, postal service and transportation at the cost of native sources. The very act of the British Government became the reason to enhance social communications- coming up of press; publishing houses; literacy and transportation. Thus, the web was created wherein natives were allowed to discuss the matter of public concern as well as of private matter which branched out from relatively small group into mass with regard to affairs of the state and politics. The newly emerged medium i.e. Public Sphere mediated between the Government and the natives.

\textit{Types of Public sphere:}

Growth of rational critical debate- freedom of opinion, freedom of speech, freedom of press; freedom to assemble and freedom to have associations, right to file petition in the court of law, right to equality, equal opportunity in the affairs

\textsuperscript{123} ibid
of the state. Individual status-personal freedom: Right to private ownership of property. These elements became the institution and instruments of public sphere and private sphere. Press emerged as the guardian of the public sphere. Indian National Congress was the force behind the emergence of the public sphere pivoted the course of Nationalist movement towards Independence with the instrument of THE PRESS.

Initially Newspapers were not beautiful in appearance: The text of the newspapers usually contain-gossips regarding the important people, their personal life, and stolen news of the foreign newspapers- no norms, no code of conduct on the part of the editors of the newspapers. In short the earliest newspaper in India did not observe any norms of modern newspapers. Newspaper was an instrument to defame the reputation of the important personalities for personal reasons.\textsuperscript{124}

5.11 Press and the social life:

A veteran American Journalist has laid down six social responsibilities of the press:

1) Safeguarding personal liberties- The Press should keep a watch on Government, that ever dangerous force of freedom and sound the alarm whenever the Citizens rights are infringed.

2) Enlightening the publics,

3) Making a profit (the press to be free should be beholder to no single individual or group, hence it should earn its way in the market place)

4) Providing entertainment,

5) Serving the economic system (through the advertising) and.

\textsuperscript{124} Nagaraj K. V.; Patrika Vritti by, Karnataka Patrika Academy, Bangalore.
6) The Press can contribute to a dynamic and expanding economy by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and service.

In Indian context there were following types of Newspapers in circulation in Karnataka Area:

a) The press on corruption
b) Press on the position of women/ against dowry system
c) The press on law and order
d) Press on European dress
e) The press on reforms
f) The Press on communal Riots/ Communal Harmony
g) The press on early marriage
h) The Press on inter-caste marriage
i) The Press on sharada Bill (child marriage restraint Bill)
l) Rise in the price of cloths
m) Cloth Bill.

n) Kerosene oil trouble
o) Rise in the price of coal
p) Increase in the price of food-stuff.
q) Scarcity of food stuff.
r) Prohibition of the wheat export.
s) Price rise of salt
t) Famine problems.
u) Flood, drought, canals and irrigation
v) Drought/canal/Irrigation
w) Co-operative bank
x) Improvement of Agriculture
y) The depression of 1929-32.
z) Labour problem.
aa) Transport
bb) Epidemic in Karnataka Area and the Press.

The development of the movement for Independence in India was multifaceted and labyrinthine: arguably nowhere else in the colonial world were there themes of such contradictory richness played out. The most striking of the several special features that marked the nationalist movement in India was its attempt to deal with the great social plurality and heterogeneity which existed within the country. These posed before the nationalists problems of immense complexity in the period before 1947, and more particularly in the climacteric decade, 1937-47\textsuperscript{125}. Indeed the challenge of drawing together a diverse society like India into a militant and yet nonviolent movement against alien domination called for ideological and organizational creativity of an order rarely witnessed in History. The task of generating unity within Indian society was made even difficult by the fact that British rule had, over the years, organized itself by sharpening and redefining the diversities in terms of broad, abstract and homogenized categories and divisions, especially of religious communities\textsuperscript{126}.

Traditional political organization, informed by the hard facts of life and the value of coexistence of distinctiveness, cut across the many fault lines in Indian

\textsuperscript{125} Internet Sources: Towards Freedom Documents on the Movement for Independence in India (1943-1944) Edited 26.10.2004
\textsuperscript{126} ibid
Increasingly under British rule, politics came to follow these fault lines, above all the Hindu-Muslim divide, turning it into a conflict of apparently irreconcilable solidarities in full measure, and the history of India's struggle for freedom in the decade 1937-47 became simultaneously the history of the break-up of British India into the two sovereign states of India and Pakistan in August 1947. 

5.12 Government policy to suppress the growth of newspapers:

In order to suppress the patriotic messages for the natives by the native press, the Government passed series of repressive Acts and held control over the newsprint. The series of Acts which were passed during the pre-independence were elaborately explained in the Chapter No.1 (pp.38-44). Graph No. 11 shows the trend of the growth of paper production in India.

5.13 The salient features of newspapers of Karnataka Area:

- During the period of pre-unification of Karnataka State, the editors of newspapers were aimed at over all welfare of the people. They had concern on social welfare work; national service; freedom struggle etc. It was possible for anyone to start newspaper with small amount. The most essential capital required was pounds of courage. Newspapers of this period had two targets: One was to fight for Independence of India and other was to fight for the Unification of Karnataka.

- After the Independence of India, the Newspapers of Karnataka Area took up the Issue of Unification of Karnataka. In respect of Karnataka Area Newspapers contributed immensely as such Mysore state came into being getting into its folds the Kannada speaking Areas on 1st Nov. 1956.

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127 ibid
Graph No. 11

Paper Production in India, 1911-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Paper Production in Thousand Tons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>24.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>1942</td>
<td>92.5</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>110.1</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>105.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>92.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>106.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>109.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most of the newspapers of pre-independence period did not survive after the Independence of India due to the tough competition given by the well established newspapers. Even than some of them survived after independence and contributed a lot for the reconstruction of Independent India. The following newspapers (Weekly) did survive after Independence of India.\textsuperscript{128}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lcc}
\hline
Newspaper & Started & Year \\
\hline
Prajamatha (W) & & 1931 \\
Karmaveera & & 1920 \\
Janajeevala & & 1948 \\
Nava Karnataka & & 1927 \\
Nagarika & & 1947 \\
Kanteerava & & 1919 \\
Nava Bharata & & 1937 \\
Navayuga & & 1924 \\
Rastra Bandhu & & 1928 \\
Prabhat & & 1933 \\
Swadeshbhimani & & 1906 \\
Navabharata & & 1937 \\
Kodagu & & 1921 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

At the beginning of the post Independence of India there were around 37 (including small local newspapers) dailies, 85 Weeklies and 91 Monthlies were in circulation in Karnataka State, when the population of Karnataka was only three chores. As on date there are only 13-15 main newspapers dailies and weeklies exceeded number 173. Newspapers in circulation (dailies) is about 20,000 is very meagre, though the literacy rate is about 40%.

\textsuperscript{128} Prof. L.S. Sheshgiri Rao, Ed.; \textit{Swasthantrayottara Kannada Sahitya Matha Samskrithi}; Published by Udayabhanu Kala Sangha, Bangalore, 19, pp. 706-755.
From the beginning newspapers of Karnataka Area made sincere efforts to create interest in the readers to cultivate a habit of reading newspapers regularly. As such small stories, and articles on various subjects mainly Kannada literature were regularly printed in the Newspapers. Some newspapers such as Vikata Pratapa, Vikata Vinodhini and Sachitra Chaturya and Naguvananda, Ananda Jyoti were started in the first half of 20th century mainly concerned with Jokes to entertain the readers.

Most of the Newspapers in Kannada Language as well as English Language, during the period 1920 -1940, covering various subjects were in circulation. They wrote on Science, Theater, Cinema, Music, Adyatma, Social, Co-operation, Agriculture, Women, Children, Jokes, Ballad, Economics, Health, Caste, Backward people, Astronomy.

The main lapses that can be traced in Karnataka Journalism of the Pre-independence are that scarcity of Sports Newspapers. The same lacuna can be traced in the post-Independence of India. The fact that during the Pre-independence of India, the nationalist leaders and editors of Newspapers were committed for the liberation of India from the clutches of British rule. They were not nor in the position to think of sports which, in their opinion, supposed to be endowed gift meant for the people of Occidental rich countries.

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129 ibid