CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

(A) Missionary Periodicals

The Missionary papers and periodicals provide an interesting study as these throw newer and more extensive light than what we can get from the official records of the Missionary Societies on many facets of Missionary activities in the Presidency of Bengal.

The relation between workers in the Vineyard of Lord — the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and then again among the Protestants of various sects and denominations — the Episcopalians, the Congregationalists and the Baptists — was generally not cordial and in some cases even hostile. The depth and extent of this mutual coldness can be observed in the pages of these periodicals.

The Bengal Catholic Expositor (out of which subsequently the Bengal Catholic Herald was born) was started by the Roman Catholics in Calcutta to meet the wanton attack upon them and their faith by the Calcutta Christian Advocate of Rev. T. Broz, a Minister of the Congregationist church. 1

We may extract the following passage from the Calcutta Christian Herald (edited by W.H. Carey, a Baptist and a grandson of Rev. Dr. W. Carey of Serampore) as an instance of misrepresentation of a religious ritual of the Roman Catholics in a Protestant

We are informed that, about ten days ago, one of the Nuns of the Serampore Convent died of cholera, and her remains were exposed in the coffin to parties desirous of viewing them. Its left hand was made to hold a piece of paper and the right a pencil, signifying that with these in her hands she was to have approached the gate of the heavenly city and obtain passport from St. Peter to be enrolled among the blessed. What infatuation! What deception! We are lost in amazement at the power of the beast that can so work upon the minds of ignorant men as to make them believe the follies and absurdities of the Roman Catholic Church X X X X.

In reply to this the Bengal Catholic Herald wrote:

"..... Even a 'hater' would not make the crab to change his natural disposition of walking crooked and backward...... (We)

1. Calcutta Christian Herald, 13 May, 1845, extracted in the Bengal Catholic Herald, May 17, 1845, p. 269

2. The Bengal Catholic Herald thus gave out the actual implication of the ritual: "The paper in her left hand contained her profession of the religious vows and the pencil in her right signified that with her own hand she had signed the bond of greater perfection, and consented to be judged by Christ the Lord according as she had kept solemn promise to the spouse of her soul" — Bengal Catholic Herald, May 17, 1845, p. 278

can not help saying (this) regarding a most scurrilous article in the pages of the Calcutta Christian Herald published on the 18th instant.

At times, to belittle the Roman Catholics, such intelligence would be published in the Protestant periodicals like the Calcutta Christian Advocate which could make any one with ordinary good sense to blush:

"Of the Fruits of the Unmarried Life of Priests and Nuns: St. Ulrich, Bishop of Augsburg, in an epistle which he wrote, complained of a fearful spectacle at Rome; namely, that after Pope Gregory had erected and confirmed the Celibate, or unmarried kind of life, he intended to fish in a deep pond at Rome, hard by the monastery of the Nuns, the water in the pond being let out, they found more than six thousand heads of children, which had been cast into the pond and drowned; these were the fruits of unmarried life. The like happened in Austria, that in the monastery at Kempten had been Nuns, who by reason of their ungodly lecherous doings, were put out of the same, and placed elsewhere, in which monastery were set Franciscan Friars. Now the Friars intending to build, the foundation was digged up where they found twelve pots, in each pot was the carcass of a little child. It were better to marry, than to give occasion that so many innocent children should be strangled and murdered."

The Ministers of the various Missionary Societies engaged in evangelical works had also become engaged in

internecine warfare of words amongst themselves. Thus for example the Calcutta Christian Advocate issued a Supplement on the disputed claims of the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society (an auxiliary of the London Missionary Society) and of the Diocesan Committee of the Society for Propagation of Gospel (associated with the Established Church of England) entitled "Controversy Regarding Bishop Corrie's Pledge" publicly alleging bad faith on the part of the Diocesan Committee against the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in opposing extension of their works in the area south of Calcutta."

Editors of the Christian Intelligencer (mouthpiece of the Church Missionary Society) refused publication in its columns of a letter from Rev. T. Beaz, Minister of the London Missionary Society and editor of the Calcutta Christian Advocate, and also published this refusal intending to lower him down in public estimation:

"We are sorry we can not insert the letter of Mr. Beaz and that of the London Missionaries. They, having refused to publish the reply of the Sub Committee of the S.P.C. after having put forth heavy charges against them, must excuse our declining to publish their observations upon that reply. The papers are therefore returned."

The lowest depths to which had personal relationship amongst the Mission-workers could go, is possibly revealed by the "Letter from the Rev. K. M. Ranorjea to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan" in the Christian Intelligencer in which he recorded his protest against the accusation (which he obliquely hinted was from the Missionaries of the Church of Scotland in India) that he was gradually turning into a Puseyite, as also by the letters of Dr. Alexander Duff and Rev. David Grant which followed.

The pages of these periodicals also reveal the inter-denominational ill-feeling amongst the Missionaries over doctrinal issues. We may quote the following two passages — the first from the Calcutta Christian Advocate of Rev. T. Beaz, a Congregationalist Missionary (of the London Missionary Society) and the second from the Free Churchman, mouthpiece of the Missionaries of the Free Church of England. These were over the publication of the Oriental Baptist, by the Baptist Missionaries as their organ.

From the Calcutta Christian Advocate: "We have received the number for this month of the Oriental Baptist, which as our readers might presume from its name, represents the peculiar distinctive views of that body of Christians who practise immersion and confine the ordinance of baptism to adults.

2. Ibid., November, 1848, pp. 988-990.
3. Ibid., December 1848, pp. 1051-1054.
"We would perceive the sentiments and views of the Baptist body with great respect on all subjects, except that of baptism — this subject we think they are not able impartially, and dispassionately to discuss. It is a leaven which impregnates the whole of their system, until it appears as a part of the very body and soul of all the members of their community • • • • and rarely dies except when they themselves quit the world X X X X We • • • • regard the publication of the Oriental Baptist, as neither more nor less than throwing down of the gauntlet to renew a contest which for three centuries has divided Christian from Christian and Church from Church."\(^1\)

From the Free Churchman: "Hitherto we have abstained from direct reference to the points at issue between us and our Baptist brethren — but, as they have lately, in their new monthly magazine, published in this city, opened their pages to such matters, we feel quite at liberty, may rather urged, to introduce to our readers occasionally, what seems for edification on this interesting subject — but especially on whatever affects the baptism of the infant children of Christian believers."\(^2\)

In the early fifties there took place the development of a new phase in the missionary activities in Bengal. As an introduction to our discussion under this head we may first quote an editorial observation of the Hindoo Patriot on the exertions of the Christian Missionaries in Bengal. According

to this the Missionary exertions in Bengal passed through three phases of development:

"X X X X It is instructive to trace the successive systems upon which Missionary operations have been conducted in this country since their commencement upon a systematic scale, now dating more than half a century back. The first missionaries had for their object the conversion of the people to the Christian faith and mode of worship, and the means they adopted was the translation of the Bible into the vernacular of the country, and preaching unto the people Biblical truths. Ignorance of its merits, they believed, was the sole obstacle to the spread of Christianity, and they endeavoured to remove that ignorance by the easiest and most obvious means at their disposal. This system was pursued exclusively until the Missionaries of the Scottish Church introduced another and a more imposing one. These addressed themselves to the object of converting the educated intellect of the country, so as to make Missionary operations upon the lower orders more effectual in the end; and the means they adopted was the establishment of schools of a higher order.

At first the success of this new plan threatened the entire supercession of the older one. Gradually however, its novelty wore off, and the orthodox mode of conversion again drew many supporters from amongst the classes which support Christian missions in distant lands. Preachers were multiplied, and they were sent among the rural classes in order to convert them. A missionary brings himself into closer contact with the ryot than any other foreigner does. Having no adverse interest of

his own to serve, he often wins the confidence of the ryots more completely than their own countrymen do. Sympathy is returned for confidence, and the Missionary turns a partisan XXXX

The gradual development of this new phase, the third one according to the Editor of the Hindoo Patriot, marked by disparagement of education, particularly English and higher education, as means for conversion, is discernible in the pages of the Missionary periodicals and seldom in the official records of the Missionary Societies.

Thus, in an article in the Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer for December 1852 titled "Preaching and Other Mode of Missionary Labour", education as chief means for conversion was put to severe criticism: "Whilst we are far from disparaging schools as Missionary agencies, promising much usefulness, we must still recollect that schools are nowhere commanded by the Lord, or even so much as mentioned in Scripture as means or instruments of spreading the Saviour's religion in the world. X X X X The results that might have been anticipated on the supposition, that preaching is the agency which God has devised and education that has been devised by man, have actually followed. We have not the materials nor the time, at present, for minute comparative statistical details, but the impression seems general amongst Missionaries and others acquainted with the subject and it is certainly our strong persuasion, that the fruits in actual

converts resulting from schools in India, have not, at least as yet, been as one to twenty — we might, perhaps, say one to fifty — of those resulting from the preaching of the Gospel, direct and indirect. A carefully compiled little pamphlet, lately published by an educated Native Christian in Calcutta, states the whole number of known converts, from all schools and colleges in and about Calcutta, at 214, but there are many hundreds of native converts, in and about Calcutta, whose conversion can not be traced to education. X X X X

Missionaries frequently tell us, that the most virulent and troublesome opponents they meet in their preaching are the educated young men, of the Government and other Colleges — not excepting the Missionary Colleges, X X X X X

In its issue for March 1853, the Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer, set down for discussion the following points as "a few of the more practical questions that arise either from the principle of Missions, or in the carrying out of Missionary operations":

First, "How far may educational Missionary operations be regarded as authorised by Scripture"?

Secondly, "In educational institutions, is it advisable for the Missionaries to give their own personal attention to as many of the pupils as they can, or should the Missionary confine himself to a comparatively few pupils of

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the higher classes, selected on account of promising appearance, hopeful character, or superior talents, in order to give them every advantage of superior instruction? 

Thirdly, "How far it should be considered advisable to direct Missionary efforts rather to the learned and superior classes of natives, as likely to influence, by their conversion, the masses of the population, or to aim at preaching the Gospel to the poor, as the Saviour did?"

The very fact that such questions were raised indicates that a review of the Missionary activities of the past two decades (to be precise, since the arrival of Alexander Duff and the opening of his General Assembly's Institution) and re-examination of the comparative efficacy of the various means of conversion, were going on in the Missionary circle, informally at least, if not officially.

In this connection we have also on record, the opinion of Rev. James Long on the ineffectiveness of English instructions and his hints for a new direction:

"X X X X I had been long and pleasantly engaged in teaching natives in Calcutta through English, but I found that though English is very valuable in itself, yet, if you want to get at the masses, you must teach them through a Vernacular medium. The little knowledge Calcutta lads have generally of Bengali, their apathy to improvement, the mind-deadening...

1. Quarterly Missionary Intelligencer, September 1854, p. 34.
influence of kinship — these and other reasons prompted me to wish for a sphere of labour, where I could make some educational experiments on the peasantry.

Ultimately Rev. Long repaired to Thakurpukur to carry on experiments on vernacular education.

The new policy which emerged in this third phase of Missionary labour, appears to have been hinted at in the article — "What are the Hindrances in Missions?" In it the author suggests: "Listen, for example, to the poor ryots' tale of woe and he will readily listen to your message of Salvation."

The final outcome of all these discussions and reviews in the Missionary periodicals was the alignment of the Missionaries with the poor ryots against the Zamindars and the indigo planters (who were mostly Europeans). In May or June, 1854, the subject of the suffering of the ryots was brought before the Calcutta Missionary Conference and an apparently one-man Sub-committee was appointed (something like a fact-finding committee) with Rev. G.G. Cuthbert of the Church Missionary Society. This was also deliberated in the General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries in the

sitting of the 6th of September 1955. Two papers were read—one "On the Influence of the System of Indigo-Planting on the Spread of Christianity" by Rev. F. Schurr (of the Church Missionary Society) and the other "The Zamindary System and Christianity" by Rev. J.C. Raja (of the Baptist Missionary Society). Both the Zamindary System and the Indigo-Planting were condemned by the Missionaries—the first on the ground of "peculiar protection of private interests, to the detriment of the public at large" and the second as a "protected system, where individuals profit by the poverty and misery of tens and thousands." Day long discussions ensued in which five Missionaries took part—Rev. W.H. Hill (of the London Missionary Society), Rev. J. Wanger (of the Baptist Missionary Society), Rev. C.H. Humhardt (of the Church Missionary Society), Rev. C. Krukeberg (of the Church Missionary Society) and Rev. G.C. Cuthbert (of the Church Missionary Society). It was generally held by the Conference that in that contest of the unequal the ryots needed the Missionaries most: "They (the Zamindars), as well as the indigo-planters are perfectly able to plead their own cause. They have their own associations; they make use of the public press and send memorials to government and to parliament; but who is to plead for the ryots? He has no friend but the Missionary."

1. Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries held at Calcutta, September 4-7, 1855; Published at the Baptist Mission Press, 1855, pp. 84-116.
3. Ibid., p. 507.
4. Ibid., p. 523.
These proceedings in the Missionary Conference gave rise to a storm of resentment amongst the Zamindars and the Indigo-Planters who turned to the columns of the Bengal HarKar and the Racoa News for vindication of their position. In reply the three Missionary periodicals — the Christian Intelligencer (of the C.M.S.), the Oriental Baptist (of the B.I.S.), the Calcutta Christian Observer (of the Calcutta Missionary Conference) also went on publishing articles, letters, notes etc. asserting the Missionary viewpoint.

These give out the general impression that the Missionaries were all cut in this contest with the high hope.

1. The important writings in the Christian Intelligencer were —
   (i) Planters and Missionaries (May 1856), (ii) Indigo Planting and the Ryots (June 1856), (iii) The Planter and Ryot Question (July, August, September and October, 1856).


3. Same in the Calcutta Christian Observer were — (i) Indigo Planting (April 1856), (ii) Indigo Planters and Missionaries (June 1856), (iii) Missionaries and Indigo Planters (August 1856), (iv) Mr. Schurr, Missionaries & Indigo Planters (August 1856).
that this would open up their influence in a quarter of the
native society, downtrodden but the most numerous, and thus
Rev. C.C. Cuthbert, Secretary of the Calcutta Corresponding
Committee of the C.M.S. could write: "As the matter has been
opened, let us in the Lord's name and looking to Him for his
help and blessing, go forward humbly but firmly in the
endeavour to befriend the poor oppressed native, and take one
obstacle out of the way of the spread of the Gospel in India."

Finally, the Missionaries of all the Societies then
working in this Presidency, sifting their sectarian or denomina-
tional differences for the time, presented a Memorial to the
Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (to be forwarded to the Governor
General in Council) for appointment of a Commission to enquire
into the social condition of the people of Bengal and the
police and judicial system.

The reaction of the native English press over the issue
was unfavourable to the Missionaries as we can glean from the
following extract from the editorial of the Hindoo Patriot
then under the editorial management of Harish Chander Hookerjee:

"X X X X Christian Missionaries in
India belong mostly to that class of European
thinkers who have still the old puritan love

1. "Indigo Planting" in the Christian Intelligencer, May 1856,
p. 152.
2. (a) The Christian Intelligencer, October 1856, pp. 337-342.
(b) The Oriental Baptist, October 1856, pp. 309-313.
of republicanism strong in their bosom. Their sympathies are essentially democratic, and wherever not moderated by stronger social influences these sympathies are acted upon without regard to consequences. They are vehement in their demands for popular education. They are active promoters of those class combinations which have already deprived the roots of the sympathy of the upper classes of their countrymen. Emisaries of peace, they are now sometimes, — we speak in terms as guarded as truth will permit, — the firebrands of the local societies in which they exercise their ministry and their influence. Whether thinking Christians will consider this the proper direction of missionary effort in India is a question which might have been put with some effect.

The official records of the Missionary Societies then working here contain not much of information on this phase of development but the contemporary periodicals, particularly the Missionary periodicals abound with these.

The Missionary periodicals suffered from want of patronage and many of these had to cease publication abruptly. This became a topic for discussion at the initiative of the Calcutta Christian Advocate who raised the matter in an editorial. According to her these periodicals could not flourish because these "have to cope with their more popular brethren (the secular periodicals) in quantity and quality while they have to contend with the non support of those who feel no interest in the subjects they deem all important, and

1. Calcutta Christian Advocate, February 15, 1851, pp. 77-78.
with the want of support from those who differ with them on sectarian points." In a subsequent issue it mentioned another factor — these did "not contain general but only religious news, and this may be added to the other reasons why they have had but limited success." The Morning Chronicle gave its opinion on the question thus:

"To the shame of the public the truth must be told — religious discussions in India, are not the most popular ones: they appear to appeal less directly to the every-day business of life, for the sake of which men neglect what should most permanently interest them. We also think another ground of failure is, the extreme lowness of charge which would require a subscription list infinitely larger than the influence of religion in our society can insure."

The probable object for this cheapness was to allow the poorer class a means of pondering on the important subjects mooted in these periodicals.

Possibly, to these we may add another factor — divisions in the Church of Christ (besides the general hindrance of heavy postage common to all, both secular and religious papers and periodicals and removed almost at the end of our period). The handful of religious minded Englishmen

1. Ibid., p. 77.
2. Ibid., February 22, 1851, p. 85.
3. The Morning Chronicle extracted in the Calcutta Christian Advocate, February 22, 1851, p. 91.
then in India could not think of themselves as members of the Church Universal (mostly due to constant harping on the sectarian and denominational differences by the Missionaries themselves, of various societies then working here) but as Dissenters, Episcopalians, Baptists, adherents of the Free Church or the Established Church of Scotland. This point was nicely elaborated by the *Weekly Journal*:

"X X X X The *Christian Advocate*, as we see, represents the Dissenters; the Oriental Baptists, the Baptists; the *Free Churchman* belongs to the Free Church of Scotland; the *Catholic Herald* to the Catholics; and the *Christian Intelligencer* to the Church of England. The *Christian Observer* is perhaps the only exception, but it even is generally understood, — rightly or wrongly we do not pretend to say, — to be the organ of principally the body of Dissenting Missionaries, — and so it falls short of the success which it might have obtained, had such an impression not existed."

We have very little idea of the length of the subscription lists of these periodicals. In 1833, Mr. J.R. Stoqueler could count the subscribers of the three existing missionary periodicals of the time as follows:

Even with such a limited circulation and without any substantial income from advertisements, some of these periodicals could secure a profit. Thus, we find that in the same year the Calcutta Christian Observer could turn up a profit of Rs. 150/-1 on two other occasions as well. It made an identical amount to the Religious Tract Society, out of a profit. The Calcutta Christian Intelligencer also occasionally could not a profit which was solely to be "devoted to Missionary purposes". These profits could apparently be earned because of the low production cost of these periodicals which was largely due to the fact that the editorial labour could be secured gratis from the Missionaries of the respective denominations.

Another point also deserves mention: in spite of all the difficulties some of the missionary periodicals comparatively enjoyed a long life. This applies to the Christian Intelligencer, the Christian Observer and then the Christian Advocate. There were specific reasons for this. The Calcutta Christian Observer conducted by the Calcutta Missionary Conference was non-sectarian (it was mostly so in spite of the

1. Ibid., p. 422.
3. The Calcutta Christian Intelligencer 1844 — Complimentary Slip for the subscribers with the volume.
allegation by the Weekly Journal that her contents had greater
reflection of Independent ideas than of any other) and thus in
the last resort could fall back upon the benevolence of the
general Christian public. During 1844-46, the Christian
Observer became burdened with a debt of Rs.2250/- and by dona-
tions mostly from the public in response to repeated calls to
that effect the same could be paid off. The Christian Intelli-
gencer "representing as it does the most influential and exten-
sive denomination of Christians" had also a ground to fall back
upon for succour. Thus when it became burdened with a debt
of about Rs.700/- during 1852-'55/2 could collect sufficient
voluntary donations to clear up the same.

The success for the Calcutta Christian Advocate entirely
depended on Rev. T. Beaz's personal exertions who proved his
editorial capabilities by conducting the periodical (almost
single-handed except for the short period of furlough during
1847-1850) on Dissenting principles for upwards of sixteen years.

1. The Weekly Journal extracted in the Calcutta Christian
Advocate, March 15, 1851, p. 125.

2. "Appeal on behalf of the Calcutta Christian Observer" in the
Calcutta Christian Advocate, July 10, 1847, p.335, and 'A Word
for the Calcutta Christian Observer', Calcutta Christian

3. The Weekly Journal extracted in Calcutta Christian Advocate,
May 15, 1851, p. 125.

4. "The Christian Intelligencer, Acknowledgement", Advertise-
ment sheet with the Christian Intelligencer for April 1856.
(B) Problems of Native English Press

English papers — both under the English and native management — could not be favourites with the natives.

The most celebrated of the English papers of this period, the Calcutta Journal of James Silk Buckingham, had no more than 20 native subscribers according to the statement of Buckingham himself. Buckingham thought this smallness in number might be due to three reasons: first, its great expense, each copy of the paper costing a rupee or upwards of 2 s. Sterling, secondly, its language, with which the natives were not "sufficiently acquainted" and thirdly, the natives could not be "interested in the political and literary topics of which it treated." Further, it is also possible that even the educated Hindoos felt an aversion towards the English papers edited by the Europeans. The way in which these papers often noticed their socio-religious rites might have generated this sense of aversion. We may cite passages from the Calcutta Journal on this point.

In its issue of October 13, 1813, the ensuing "festival of Doorgah" (the national festival of the Hindoos) was denounced as some "obscene rites of worship" shocking to "our taste" and over which "we would rather draw a veil" (instead of publishing any

1. Reply to Question No. 613 of examination of Buckingham before the Select Committee of the Parliament on July 1, 1834; Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. 3, Paper 601, p. 52.

2. Ibid.
notice of them). Subsequently in the issue of May 23, 1819, "the dolu and the churuk" (the two most popular Hindu festivals) were thus held up to severe criticism:

"X X X X X The numerous festivals and exhibitions which the rich native supports, take the complexion of their character from the general taste of the people. Were this not the case, they would cease to excite the applause of the rabble, almost the sole purpose for which they are instituted. The popular taste in this country is altogether vitiated and depraved. Originating in the licentious histories of their sacred books, its depravity has only been increased by the centuries which have since passed away. It may therefore be easily seen, what must be the moral tendency of these various exhibitions ..... There is no country in the world, in which festivals abound to so great a degree as in this country, and in which there is so much of actual depravity connected with them X X X X X."

It is no wonder that the Dhurua Subba issued a prohibition against such papers.

"9th Meeting of the Dhurua Subba. X X X X X
It was then proposed by Baboo Seeb Chunder Pass and seconded by Ashotosh Deb that, it is highly improper to encourage to subscribe to any work, or any Newspaper in which the Hindu religion is treated with disrespect. Upon which Baboo Cokoolnath Mullick observed, that so far from paying for such works, they should not be accepted if offered gratuitously which was unanimously agreed to .........."

3. The Chundrika extracted in the John Bull, April 19, 1830.
The situation did not undergo any material change many years later when Rev. James Long investigated the issue for his Memorandum on the Native Press which is dated September 7, 1843. He could count in Calcutta at that time "native gentlemen, fully capable of appreciating an English paper" as more than thousand of them, however only 125 subscribed English papers as follows:

- Eastern Star (Weekly) - 11
- Friend of India (" ) - 47
- Calcutta Star (Daily) - 22
- Englishman (" ) - 25
- Bengal Harkaru (" ) - 20

It represented only 3 per cent of the total circulation of these papers and Rev. Long expressed his sorrow that this could be so bad "in the 25th year of native improvement" (his reckoning of the years being from "the great improvement in the cause of public instruction which was made under Lord Hastings").

According to the Bengal Herald the heavy charge of newspaper postage had a deterring effect on circulation and it was observed in an editorial — "we doubt whether, as long as so heavy a tax on the diffusion of knowledge as the postage upon

1. Extracted in Friend of India, April 10, 1851, p 228-230.
3. Ibid.
newspapers, amounting in many cases to a prohibition, continues in force, whether there will ever be many native newspaper readers in the interior."

The educated natives had no preference for English papers under native editorship either. Most of the native English papers had their existence cut short for want of support. The renowned English papers by the natives in our period were the Enquirer of Rev. K. K. Banerjee, the Reformer of Baboo Prosunno Coomar Tagore, the Cuminumasun (bilingual), run mainly by the Young Bengal group, the Bengal Spectator (bilingual) of Baboo Ban Copal Ghosh, the Bengal Recorder of Baboo Srinath Ghosh and Cish Chunder Ghosh, the Hindoo Intelligencer of Baboo Kasiram Ghosh and the Hindoo Patriot of Baboo Harish Chunder Mookerjee. Of these, as stated by the editor of the John Bull in his article, "The Calcutta Press", in October 1833, the Reformer had at one time 400 subscribers (of whom 100 were Europeans). But nonetheless it did not continue its independent existence beyond 1835 and merged with the Bengal Herald of Messrs. Samuel Smith & Co. since January 1836. The reason for this merger was not sufficiently accounted for. We have no certain information as to the support enjoyed by the Hindoo Intelligencer. In any case the ground for its cessation was not occasioned by lack of support or pecuniary difficulties. It was something else — the protest it lodged

against Act XV of 1837 which put restraints on the freedom of
the Press during the days of mutiny. All the rest went out
of publication for the sole reason of want of patronage. In
the notice for the closure of the Enquirer, the editor did not
mention this specifically. But the way in which it was closed
down leads us to this conclusion and its contemporary, the
Calcutta Courier, in the editorial notice for this closure
observed that it was given up "the Editor being disappointed
of the support he expected." The proprietors of the Bengal
Spectator had to incur "a loss of upwards of thousand Dapses" for carrying it on only for twenty months (April 1848 to
November 1849) as its circulation has not had an increase
commensurate with the expense." The "bold and strenuous"
planners of the Bengal Recorder inspite of their initial
determination to "establish a Weekly Newspaper on principles
of economy and general usefulness" had to quit the field
only after thirteen months and they attributed the failure
of the project to the "low price of subscription and the
limited support afforded by the native community." The late

4. The Bengal Spectator, November 20, 1849, p. 333.
5. Prospectus for the Bengal Recorder extracted in the
   Calcutta Christian Advocate, January 19, 1850, p. 20.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., January 4, 1851, p. 7.
of the Hindoo Patriot in the early years was no better. Its first proprietor, Baboo Modhu Soodun Roy, disposed it off being pressed with financial loss. After its purchase by Harish Chunder Mookerjee it could be carried on only with a monthly loss till the end of 1857. The Hindoo Patriot used to acknowledge receipt of subscription in her column regularly and from this we get her subscription lists for the three years of 1855 - 1857. In 1855 the list had twenty-nine names, in 1856 - thirty-one and in 1857, thirty-six.

The failure of the native English papers was subject matter of deliberation both for Englishmen and the natives. Thus the vernacular journal Purnachundrodoy remarks: "The newspapers have generally but few supporters. There may be two reasons for this: first the natives have little taste for newspapers and know not the advantages which may arise from them. Secondly the price of the papers is as high that all can not pay it; and the cause we may state to be this that in all the ranks of the society means of expending are small, and hence they can not pay for such an article." Rev. James Long in his Memorandum on the Native Press wrote thus on this point: "A newspaper is not reckoned among the wants of the people. It is the first expense a Native pays off when

1. Hindoo Patriot, June 7, 1855, p. 177.
2. Obituary notice for Harish Chunder Mookerjee in the Hindoo Patriot, June 19, 1861, p. 196.
3. Purnachundrodoy extracted in the Asiatic Journal, May 1858; Asiatic Intelligence, p. 5.
embarrassment arises." The Missionary paper, the Calcutta Christian Advocate, also gave its opinion on the "numerous failures" in this department of labour and arrived at the conclusion that "as yet the native mind is not prepared for such a measure." This point was further raised in the columns of the Calcutta Christian Advocate in connection with the closure of the Literary Chronicle:

"The Hindu Intelligencer of the last Saturday announces the discontinuance of the Literary Chronicle, a bi-monthly journal conducted by educated young natives. The real cause of failure we believe to have been indifference of the natives generally to such journals, and their indisposition to pay any price for literary publications. With all the education they have received they appear at present not to appreciate intelligent journalism. It is almost what we might expect in the present transition state of the native society. We expect not a few periodical start and fall before the right one is found, before the native mind will be capable of so appreciating such publications, as to render them remunerative support."

Commenting on the cessation of the Bengal Spectator, the Friend of India accounted for the failure of the native papers due to the want of "European thirst for knowledge, which increases with the supply." Lamenting the want of

1. Calcutta Christian Advocate, October 9, 1841, p. 186.
2. Calcutta Christian Advocate, February 15, 1851, p. 77.
support from the English educated natives it went on: "These youths whose minds have been imbued with the thoughts of Shakespeare and Milton and Addison and Johnson, and enriched with the study of mental and natural philosophy, seem to have dismissed all desire for improvement the moment they had gained the prize, and obtained a situation." ¹ The editor of the Friend of India overlooked the vital facts that the native guardians who sent their sons to the English schools did not like to get them steeped in western ideas (in fact they were apprehensive lest the boys would become thus influenced). All that they desired was, their wards should obtain some job in a Government office or a European mercantile House. The "desire for improvement" as spoken of by the Friend of India was yet of exotic growth and could hardly survive the inclement social atmosphere outside the Hindoo College, the General Assembly's Institution and the like. According to the Editor of the Englishman the newspapers in the native society were "like exotics on an uncongenial soil .... though made by the planter's skill to stand on their roots for one twenty-four hours, the returning sun invariably sees them drooping and fast withering away." ² Harish Chunder Mukerjee also pondered over this question in the editorial columns of the Hindoo Patriot.³ He would not accept the explanation offered by some Europeans that "we are not a reading nation." For, "there is

¹. Ibid.
². Englishman, June 9, 1849.
not a peddling shop-keeper who does not spend the hours between his mid-day meal and his resumption of business in the afternoon in reading something or other." He offered almost a philosophical explanation: "There must be something peculiar in the national character which obstructs the fuller and freer cultivation of newspaper literature in this country. Newspaper literature is essentially innovating in its tendency and conservatism is the characteristic feature of social life in India." In the circumstances perhaps the most acceptable explanation would be that the bend of mind which makes one psychologically concerned with various public questions of the day creating the urge for news (and consequently for newspapers and periodicals) had not yet developed sufficiently in the native mind.

The foundation however had been laid and it is perceptible mainly in the Correspondence columns. We notice in the many letters to the editor growing public participation through discussions concerning many questions of the day touching the community or individual life. Commenting on this the Bengal Harinay in an editorial in an issue of July 1889 writes: "... they have got the idea that somehow or other, their complaints made through that medium, have a chance of attracting the notice of authority (for which they were taking more and more recourse to this means) and that is a great advance." The point perhaps is established from a perusal of

1. Bengal Harinay, July 17, 1889.
the letters published in the Reforme during April to December 1883, the only period for which the files of the paper are available (cf. list of selected letters to the Editor of the Reforme, pp. 214-216 (Volume 1).

The vocation of an editor of native English paper was the most irksome and least agreeable of all, so far as money was concerned. First, there was the dearth of subscribers without whom no editor could flourish. Secondly, there was the problem of arrear subscription. The available subscription list of the contemporary papers contained names of many defaulters who nonetheless continued to receive the papers.

We may quote from the Calcutta Christian Advocate the exordium of the editor of the Sambadar Provakur (vernacular daily) to his defaulters.

"The Provakur complains that although he wrote separate letters to all his subscribers before the Durga Puja, requesting them to pay arrears, they have neither sent him any money nor had the civility to reply to his letters. He thinks they can not be aware of the great expense and trouble connected with a daily paper, or they never would treat him in such a manner. They seem to imagine that as water is to be had by going to the river, as air freely circulates in the open sky, as light naturally issues from the orb of day, so it is the nature of an editor to produce newspapers. Such conduct is altogether past endurance; he will bear it no longer. He will wait another week, and then cease to give the paper gratis to those who can afford to pay for it."

1. Calcutta Christian Advocate, November 15, 1851, pp. 541-42.
The problem of all native editors, of both vernacular and English papers, was identical in this respect.

Native proprietors and editors of English journals could hardly expect any return on their investment and labour at this period when it was doubtful if the most successful of the vernacular journals could secure a "decent subsistence" to their editors and proprietors. Theirs was mainly the part of philanthropists.

Nonetheless many educated natives took up the venture of an English paper. Possibly, as Rev. James Long thought, "a certain standing and influence in society" compensated for every inconvenience.

A bane of the English Press of the time was mutual recrimination of the Editors through their columns. The native Editors of the English papers were however comparatively free from this vice. This appears to be result of conscious efforts on their part. In this connection the following news item from the Friend of India may be considered relevant:

"We learn that a meeting of the Editors of the Native newspapers and other influential members of the Hindoo

1. Friend of India, April 10, 1851, p. 229
3. Friend of India, September 16, 1841, p. 580."
community, was held on Sunday last, to consider the best means of improving the tone and of raising the character of the Native press. One of the resolutions passed was, that the Editors should no longer indulge in personal invective and gross abuse, but cordially co-operate with each other in advocating the best interest of the country. It was a wise patriotic resolution...
Newspaper postage has a long history of its own in India.

Service of the Postal Department for transmission of newspapers to the respective subscribers was available to the newspaper proprietors since the appearance of Hicky's Bengal Gazette which had many subscribers "on the coast and at the subordinate settlement". Subsequently Hicky was however denied of this facility and he alleged that to ruin him Government had agreed to transmit the rival newspaper -- the India Gazette free of postage. We have no definite knowledge on this point. But we learn that on an arrangement, on payment of a lump sum at a time, the India Gazette was conveyed to the respective subscribers without any further postage charge. Incidentally we may mention here that James Silk Buckingham was also granted the same privilege since August 27, 1819, on a lump payment of Rs.40,000/-

1. "To the Public" in the Bengal Gazette, November 11, 1780.
2. This has been discussed in detail in Volume I, pp. 7.
3. Bengal Gazette, April 26, 1781.
was terminated due to the opposition of the Government of Madras consequent upon the remark of the Calcutta Journal on the extension of the office of Mr. Elliott as governor of Madras. Subsequently the Government granted the Gleanings in Science (the periodical out of which came out the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1832) the privilege of transmission through the post office free of charge as considerable portion of its space contained print of valuable official documents of scientific nature. On March 4, 1784, Francis Gladwin, an Officer of the East India Company, published the Calcutta Gazette. By a Notification dated March 7, 1785, Government exempted it from the charge of postage, the proprietor "having engaged to publish therein all advertisements and orders of this government gratis."

Subsequent to this we came across the following Notification withdrawing all exemptions from payment of Postage by the newspapers:

1. Reply to Question No. 613 of examination of Buckingham on July 1, 1884 and Question No. 614 of examination of Thomas Love Peacock on July 15, 1884, before the Select Committee on the Suppression of the Calcutta Journal; Parliamentary Paper, ibid., pp. 58 and 106-107 respectively.


"General Post Office: The Right Honourable the Governor General in Council having been pleased to direct that all newspapers shall pay Postage after the 81st instant; they will from that date be charged at the same rates which other letters and packets are subjected to."

Exceptions, however, still had to be made and the *Asian Mirror* and the *Calcutta Chronicle* were circulated postage free for long years inspite of the above Gazette Notification.

A table of rates of Postage was first published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of December 2, 1784. The charge for newspaper postage being then the same as "other letters and packets." The Table of rates in 1784 was as at 'A' on page 234.

With the gradual extension of Company's territories and with that the extension of the hawk system further lists were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* incorporating newer stations. Thus, for example, in the "Table of Rates of Postage" in 1795 as at '2' on page 236 we get 44 new stations.

4. General Post Office Notification dated October 4, 1787, in the *Calcutta Gazette*, October 11, 1787.
### Table of the Rates of Postage from Calcutta to the Following Stations

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Letters weighing exactly or under 2½ Sicca weight to weigh</th>
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<th>Letters weighing more than 3½ to 4½ Sicca weight</th>
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<td>Lucknow</td>
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<td>Bokassung and Cullinah</td>
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<td>Chiprah or Sircar Saran</td>
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<td>Deothpore, Sonny and Soorad</td>
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<td>Marimula</td>
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<td>Bombay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
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This rate of postage was not exorbitant in respect of a Weekly or Bi-weekly paper. Thus a subscriber for the General Mechanical Review (as the name then was — spelt), then a Weekly, would not mind such a quarterly payment of a sum of rupees two and four annas as postage at Dacca, rupees three and twelve annas at Patna, rupees four and eight annas at Tirhoo, rupees nine at Hyderabad and rupees eighteen and twelve annas at Bombay, provided each weekly packet did not weigh more than 2½ sicca rupees and double-those amounts if weighed between 2½ to 3½ sicca rupees.

The only complaint that the proprietors then had was the system of payment of the postage at the time of delivery of the paper to the Post Office (this would make the load of arrear heavier on the proprietors in cases of defaulting subscribers). This system was however abolished by the Government in 1818 as we learn from the following notice in the Calcutta Gazette:

"The Proprietors of the Calcutta Gazette take the earliest opportunity to inform their Friends and Subscribers at a distance from Calcutta, that the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council has been pleased to allow the Amount of Postage on Calcutta Newspapers, transmitted from the Presidency of Fort William, to be collected from the parties by whom they are received, instead of being paid in advance as heretofore, on delivery, at the General Post Office, in the manner usual in other parts of the Presidency."

1. Advertisement in the Calcutta Gazette, January 15, 1798.
2. Calcutta Gazette, March 5, 1818.
Office It is hoped, that this alteration will prevent the gradual and imperceptible increase of arrears at the same time that the postage on a single newspaper is so slight as to occasion no inconvenience.

The entire perspective underwent almost a revolutionary change with the appearance of the Dailies — the Calcutta Journal and the Bengal Hircarah (as a daily) in May 1819 and the Oriental Star in June 1820. Initially, in a week, the Calcutta Journal would have five limes at the monthly subscription of rupees eight, the Oriental Star six limes at Six rupees per month and the Bengal Hircarah seven limes at Six rupees per month.

The transmission charge through Post Offices of these daily papers to the various stations within Company's dominion (taking a few selected examples) would be as follows, each packet weighing exactly or under 2½ sicca weight:

1. Advertisements for the Calcutta Journal in the Government Gazette, April 15, 1819 and for the Bengal Hircarah in the Government Gazette, August 3, 1820.
3. Calcutta Journal, July 1, 1819.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stations:</th>
<th>Calcutta</th>
<th>Oriental</th>
<th>Benagal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Burdwan, Hooghly, and Bh屁股ore</td>
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<td>39 copies a month</td>
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<td>2 Anna</td>
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<td>per packet</td>
<td>Rs. 2.12.0</td>
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<td>Rs. 4.2.0</td>
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<td>Rs. 9.10.0</td>
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<td>Rs. 19.8.0</td>
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<td>per packet</td>
<td>Rs. 25.7.0</td>
<td>Rs. 30.1.0</td>
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<td>14 Anna</td>
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<td>per packet</td>
<td>Rs. 34.0.0</td>
<td>Rs. 41.10.0</td>
<td>Rs. 42.14.0</td>
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The enormity of the postage charge was so apparent that soon Government announced separate postage charges for Newspapers:

"The Most Noble the Governor General in Council having renewed the consideration of the Rates of Postage leviable on News Papers, despatched by Dawk under the existing system, has been pleased to resolve, that the following Rules shall be in force for the Regulation of the Weights and Postages of such Publications.

from and after the first day of March next,

First, — Newspapers published and dispatched weekly, shall be charged with postage as single letters, provided they do not exceed Three Sicca weight.

Secondly, — Newspapers published and dispatched twice or thrice in the week, shall be charged with postage equal to Two-thirds of the rate leviable on single letters, provided they do not exceed Two and a Half Sicca Weight.

Thirdly, — Newspapers published and dispatched other than three times within the week, shall be charged with postage equal to one half of the rate leviable on single letters, provided they do not exceed Two Sicca Weight.

Fourthly, — Any excess in the above weights will render the News Papers liable to a proportionate increase of Postage, agreeably to the general rules of the Post Office."

This concession went to a long way but could not satisfy the newspaper proprietors and distant subscribers and the issue of newspaper postage went on being discussed in the columns of the dailies. The following extracts would reveal the line of discussion.

1. The John Bull wrote:

"We have received within the last month no less than 5 doleful communications, on the subject of the very heavy charges, to which the

1. John Bull extracted in the Bengal Harbary, March 4, 1825."
subscribers, at the more distant stations, are subjected by the heavy rate of postage for newspapers. The minimum and maximum of charges at present are respectively one anna and nine annas. The principle which we would propose, would be the equalisation of charge—and if all parties would concede a little, we think a moderate and equitable rate might be fixed on, which would enable the most distant of our countrymen to participate equally cheaply with those at hand in the intelligence of the day. The great increase which would take place in the number of papers dispatched by dawk would we apprehend very soon render the receipt from the postage much greater than at present. Indeed we feel assured that all parties would be benefitted by the measure.

The Bengal Harbary wrote:

"There are some remarks on the postage of newspapers in the John Bull of yesterday... we... offer a few remarks of our own on the subject in the hope that something may be done to relieve the distant upcountry subscribers from the present scarcely bearable weight of postage... A little more than a year ago we even went so far as to consult some of the principal official authorities on the subject... but we do not think the plan of equalising the postage as suggested by the Bull... would answer the object which all must have in view. People are not disinterested enough to share an increased expense for the purpose of taking part..."

1. Bengal Harbary, March 4, 1825.
of the burden off the shoulders of their distant brethren. But we think if the Government would stamp the paper, on which news is printed, and charge so much per sheet the result would be beneficial to it and the Proprietors could easily make satisfactory arrangement with their subscribers. Of course, every stamped sheet would go free and Proprietors of Newspapers might purchase (as they do in London) daily or weekly as many sheets as they pleased. It would still be voluntary on the part of the Proprietors to purchase the stamps or to pay as usual for the postage.

In course of this discussion the Bengal Harfarni offered a suggestion — "We propose a meeting of the Proprietors and Editors be held and that proposal to Government shall then be agreed upon, or that the respective wishes and opinion being there made known, a Committee be appointed to draw up a letter of the kind required." The suggested meeting took place: "On Wednesday a meeting of Proprietors was held for the purpose of coming to some decisions regarding the postage but nothing was agreed to and nothing done." Nonetheless an application was made to Government through a joint memorial of the proprietors of the John Bull, the Bengal Harfarni and the Sootstman in the East for a partial reduction of postage:

"X X X X We beg to inform your Lordship in Council that the highest amount

1. Ibid., March 7, 1835.
2. Ibid., March 19, 1835.
3. Extracted in the Bengal Harfarni, August 29, 1835."
of postage now paid on Newspapers despatched daily by Dawk is not less than Ten Annas on each paper, which amounts almost to a prohibition; and we beg to propose that henceforth, the paper which now pay Three Annas and half and less daily shall still continue to do so; and that all other rates shall be reduced to that sum.

"This will of course occasion for the present, some reduction in the Post Office receipts, but which we fully anticipate will very shortly be repaid by the increased circulation in the Holfusil. We are not desirous that this reduction shall fall wholly on the Government. We propose that besides the above rates, half an anna shall be paid by the Proprietors for every paper despatched by Dawk. We then believe that the immediate reduction to Government will not exceed Rs. 600 per annum which would without doubt add to the number of subscribers, and which addition would be alike beneficial to the Post Office Revenue and to the Proprietors of the Newspapers ...."

This joint application was turned down by the Government on the ground of "the large reduction of Postage on Newspapers granted in the year 1821."

The agitation for reduction in newspaper postage continued through occasional editorials in the columns of the dailies and the Bengal Harinar wrote:

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., February 17, 1826.
"Our subscribers must not imagine that they are the only sufferers. We are the most to be pitied in as much as on some of our Newspapers we have to pay in advance (and are not always reimbursed) .... per month from 15 to 32 Rupees in Bengal or at distant Settlements as much as 75 Rupees! while the charge for our Paper is only Rs. 6 or including the literary Gazette 10 Rupees per annum! .... Wait in patient expectation that when the wealth of the Burman Empire and the Bhurtpore Ports have replenished the Hon'ble Company's Treasury, the contributions of the subscribers and of the Proprietors of the Calcutta Presses, and their long suffering, will be graciously considered and adequately rewarded by a spontaneous act of liberality on the part of the Government."

Finally in November 1829 Government announced "New Rules for Newspaper Postage" which came in force on November 1, 1829. The main provisions were:

"First. The Postage on Single Newspapers published in Calcutta, and circulated in the interior, is to be limited to two rates, viz., 4 annas and 2 annas.

Four annas to all Stations now paying that amount or more, and 2 annas to all Stations to which the Postage does not now amount to 4 annas ....

Second, Newspapers not exceeding 8 ounces weight to be considered as Single Newspapers, and to come under the above rules ....

---

Third. Newspapers, exceeding in weight 3 sica weight to be charged as follows:

To stations falling within the 2 annas scale:

above 3 sa, wt. and not exceeding 4 sa.
wt. 3 annas.
above 4 sa. wt. and not exceeding 6 sa.
wt. 4 annas.

To stations falling under the 4 anna scale:

above 3 sa. wt. and not exceeding 4 sa.
wt. 6 annas.
above 4 sa. wt. and not exceeding 6 sa.
wt. 8 annas.

Fifth. The above rates of postage to carry Newspapers all over the territories under the Presidency of Bengal, entitling them to follow the persons whom they are addressed without further charge provided they are not opened at any station at which they are delivered.

Sixth. If a Newspaper is opened, the Postage must be again paid, according to the above scales before the paper can be received for a second despatch from any Post Office.

Seventh. If a Newspaper is returned, being refused by the person to whom it is addressed, or is otherwise returned to the Newspaper office, or other sender, a Return Postage, equal to one half chargeable on its original despatch is to be paid by the person to whom it is returned.

The Proprietors of the Newspaper Presses will be admitted, as heretofore, to send their
Papers bearing Postage, upon lodging the same security.

P.S. From the 15th of June to the 30th of October, one quarter of a sa. wt. to be allowed upon each cover for damp.

Rules for Native Newspapers.

To stations falling under the 2 anna scale up to 3 secs. weight .... 1 anna.
Above 3 sa. wt., not exceeding 4 .... 1.6
Above 4 sa. wt., not exceeding 6 .... 2.0

To stations falling under the 4 anna scale, double the preceding rates.

X x x x

The same indulgence of one quarter seca. weight to be allowed as on English papers, from the 15th June to 30th October."

These New Rules for Newspaper Postage also provided for an arrangement which was not spelt out in the above Notification. We learn of it from the editorial articles of the contemporary papers commenting on the rules. Thus we get from the Bengal Gazette:

"We have much pleasure in informing our readers that our arrangements with the Post Master General, to which we alluded some days ago, are now completed and that from and after the 15th instant there will be only two rates of postage levied on Newspapers .... In fact almost all that we could have asked and much more that we expected has been granted to us .... Two

1. Bengal Gazette, November 11, 1829, extracted in the Bengal Herald, November 14, 1829, p. 400.
years have been fixed upon as a fair trial of the plan, and the above concessions have been made on condition that the Proprietors of Newspapers shall be answerable for the non-success of the arrangement.

"We have accordingly signed a Bond and given security to the above effect, the penalty of which is 50,000 Rs., but we have little, indeed to fear that we shall be injured by the experiment. The very great increase in the circulation of this paper since we first announced the proposal reduction of postage satisfied us, that at the expiration of the trial we shall not be found wanting, and shall, we hope, be then able to induce the Government to fix but one rate of postage on Newspapers and that the lowest of the two rates now adopted".

The John Bull also informs us of the same point:

"On the 15th instant the new Post Office Regulation, as it affects the postage of Newspapers, will be in operation in regard to the John Bull and Bengal Harlau and Chronicle. We have not heard whether the twice a week papers have come finally into the arrangement, and given the security demanded. It is less than we were led to expect, for it is no sacrifice at all on the part of Government — the Proprietors of Newspapers giving bond that all the loss accruing from the boon, that is now extended to the Servants of the Company residing in the mofussil, in the shape of a moderate, instead of a prohibitory tax on their intellectual recreations, shall be made good by the Newspapers to the public treasury. In an

1. John Bull, November 15, 1829, extracted in the Bengal Herald, November 14, 1829, p. 400."
additional weight allowed, and in some other particulars — newspapers are placed on a more advantageous footing than they were ..."

Commenting on the concessional rate for Postage on Newspapers by Natives, the Bengal Herald, then under management of the natives, wrote:

"..... a very great saving in newspaper postage will be effected, and that the total monthly expenses of the Bengal Herald sent to the most distant stations on this side of India including postage will not exceed three rupees, and that in most instances, it will be even less than this."

Initial jubilations over, the Press gradually became vocal in criticism of the "New Rules for Newspaper Postage" of 1829. It transpired that rates particularly the one for distance beyond 400 miles was yet too high. Further, the arrangement of 1829 did not introduce a single postage for the whole of Company's territories lying in the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. A Newspaper printed anywhere in Bengal Presidency would have to pay for a fresh postage on crossing the borders of Madras and Bombay at the rates prevailing in those Presidencies. Naturally demand was raised for further reform. An editorial in the India Gazette of the period is cited as an illustration on this point:

"The subject of newspaper postage ...

There appears to us two arrangements which, if

1. Bengal Herald, November 14, 1829, p. 337.
2. India Gazette, February 2, 1832."
continued, would be productive of great advantage to the community, and would amply secure to government the revenue at present derived from this source. At present there are two rates of newspaper postage to stations within the limit of the Bengal Presidency. The first and most obvious measure would be the reduction of the rate of four annas to two, so that a cover of the proper weight should be conveyed for the lowest rate to the most distant stations of this Presidency. The effect of this would be a greatly extended circulation, so as in all probability to prevent any diminution of revenue. It would certainly be a much less hazardous step than the arrangement by which the newspaper postage of the distant stations was reduced from six, eight, ten, twelve, and even fourteen annas per cover to four, and which we believe has been not only not attended with any loss to the revenue, but has been even followed with a positive improvement. The proprietors of the Harbarn Press state that, since the new arrangement, their circulation, including we presume that of all their periodical publications, has increased to the extent of more than 1,87,000 covers yielding an additional revenue of about 9,000 rupees to the government. Within the same period the circulation of the India Gazette alone, including both editions, has more than doubled, and the amount of the annual revenue is about the same as under the old arrangement. These facts sufficiently attest the safety with which a further diminution of newspaper postage would be attended to all whose interests are involved, and even the probable advantage government might derive.
from it. A second arrangement, the policy of which strongly recommends it to the notice of government, is the equalization of the rates of newspaper postage throughout the Madras and Bombay territories with those of Bengal. A daily newspaper, after being subjected to a postage of four annas (rather more than half the price of the paper) for which it is conveyed to the limits of the Bengal Presidency, is charged when carried within the Madras, and we believe also the Bombay territory, with a further postage nearly four times the price of the paper or eight times the Bengal postage. The Bengal Harkaru lately showed that the annual postage of that paper to Samulcottas in the Madras Presidency, exclusive of the Bengal postage was Rs.284.12; ... An arrangement might be made between the Post Office Departments of the three Presidencies under the sanction of the Supreme and subordinate governments, by which it might be agreed, that the Bengal postage should give circulation to a newspaper throughout the whole of the British possessions in India. In this case, it would be but just to the Bombay and the Madras papers to give them, in like manner, circulation throughout the Bengal Presidency at the same rate. No measure so direct, so obvious, of such easy accomplishment as this, can be mentioned, that would tend to effect the desirable object of making Englishmen throughout India better acquainted with their common interests and wishes, and of uniting them in a cordial feeling of attachment to the government to which they owe a common allegiance.

The native newspapers of the Presidency also took part...
in this demand for reduction in the rates for newspaper postage and thus the Enquirer of Krishna Mohan Bannerjee came forward with the remark:

"The subject of newspaper postage demands immediate attention from government. The heavy rate that is tolerated at present is an illiberal tax upon knowledge. Setting aside the encouragement a civilised government should afford to the circulation of newspapers, if our rulers trouble their heads only about their own revenues, we have still much claim upon their attention .... We have received letters from several places within the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, in which it is intimated that, but for the heavy postage levied on newspapers, the Enquirer would gain much circulation there .... Others from different parts of India request our sending several numbers under one cover to escape the jaws of the post office. If we have any inclination to circulate our paper freely in the mufussil as we do here in town among the indigent natives, we are obliged to give up the idea for the heavy tax levied upon the press. Now in a country like India, where the people have not so extensive means of satisfying their literary taste as in England, the government should afford all possible facilities to the circulation of Newspapers. But we see them otherwise. We hope all the discussions which took place lately in the daily papers respecting the intolerable rates of postage will not be in vain ...."

1. Enquirer extracted in the India Gazette, February 16, 1832,
But instead of conceding all these demands the Government of Lord William Bentinck took a step which cannot be considered anything but retrograde. The concession to the native press as granted in 1829 was withdrawn in 1834:

"By order of Government: Notice is hereby given that from and after the 1st of October next, the indulgence at present allowed to Newspapers and other printed papers in the Native languages of being transmitted by Dak at half the Postage charges leviable on similar papers published in English, will cease, and that Postage on all such papers will be charged for on the scale provided for Newspapers and other papers printed in the English language."

Undoubtedly the Bengal Harbarn came out with a sharp criticism of the measure:

"We adverted sometime ago to the withdrawal of indulgence which had been extended to the native press in respect of postage ... the government of Lord Amherst, not renowned as very enlightened or as very liberal to the press, encouraged their efforts by ... the privilege of reduced postage being continued to it. Who would have thought that, in Lord William Bentinck's administration, and under the new Charter, the favour of a mitigated postage would be withdrawn from the native

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1. General Post Office Notification dated August 6, 1834, published in the Calcutta Gazette, August 9, 1834.

press ! instead of aiding the benevolent efforts to force a taste for reading, and create a habit for thinking and writing among the people, the government withdraws even the negative aid and encouragement of a trifling reduction of postages.

A reduction in newspaper postage was once more granted during the administration of Lord Auckland, in 1837. It provided concession both in respect of weight and distance:

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<th>Distance</th>
<th>Not exceeding 20 miles</th>
<th>Not exceeding 400 miles</th>
<th>Above 400 miles</th>
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<td>Exceeding 3½ Tolahs and</td>
<td>Exceeding 6 Tolahs not</td>
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It was further provided that "the full postage shall be paid either on receipt or on delivery at the option of the sender, and that, if the thing conveyed be transferred from a Post Office in one Presidency to a Post Office in another Presidency, no additional charge shall be made on account of such transfer."  

The first rate in the table, i.e., the rate for the distance upto 20 miles was practically of no concern to any one as delivery within this limit and far beyond this, up to

1. Notification, Legislative Department dated July 24, 1837, published in the Calcutta Gazette, August 2, 1837.
2. Ibid.
from Calcutta

Chinsurah, about 35 miles in distance, was affected by the hurrah or delivery peons who were the paid employees of the proprietors.

Newspaper postage came up for discussion again in 1848. There was a remarkable alteration in the situation since 1837 when the last revision took place, affecting the circulation of the Indian Journals. It was thus detailed by the Friend of India:

"X X X X The stirring events which have occurred in this country from the time when Ranjeet Singh reviewed his army on the bank of the Sutledge, in the presence of Lord Auckland, to the time when that army, after a series of defeats was disbanded by the mandate of Sir Henry Hardinge at Lahore; — the Afghan war, the conquest of Scinde, — the humiliation of Cwalier, and the Sikh campaign, have kept the public mind in a state of perpetual excitement, and given an extraordinary impulse to the periodical press in India. The establishment of a rapid and periodical communication with Europe and England has imparted an additional interest to the newspapers to which the Indian public look for European intelligence; and the combination of these causes, may, without exaggeration be said to have more than doubled the circulation of Indian journals X X X X"

The daily papers could not participate in this expanding circulation due to the burden of postage and thus the

1. "Newspaper Stamps" — editorial article in the Friend of India, April 2, 1848, p. 212.
Bengal Harbarn wrote:

"How can it be otherwise as respects the daily press, when we consider that with seven issues a week the Englishman or the Harbarn, for example, costs every subscriber at a three anna station in postage only Rs.38-7; of four rupees seven annas above the annual subscription, making the total expense of it to him Rs.138-7; that at the two anna stations, the total charge for either paper is Rs.109-10 per annum including Rs.45-10 postage!

The disparity between the charge for subscription and that for postage was even more glaring for a cheap paper like the Calcutta Star. The annual subscription for it was Rs.45/-, while the postage for its 312 issues in a year for a three anna station amounted to Rs.58-11.

Friend of India undertook to calculate the daily circulation of the daily papers of Calcutta in 1887 and 1888 with the help of the Post Office Returns and came out with the startling assertion that during those 9 years "instead of increasing they have fallen off." According to this calculation, the total daily circulation of the three daily papers in Calcutta — the Bengal Harbarn, the Englishman and the Calcutta Courier — in 1887 was 892 but the entire weekly circulation of

1. Bengal Harbarn, April 4, 1889, extracted in the Friend of India, April 9, 1889, p. 280.
2. The subscription for the Bengal Harbarn and the Englishman was Rs.54.00 per annum, paid in advance.
the four dailies — the Bengal Harbans, the Englishman, the Calcutta Star and the Standard — on the last week of March, 1846, was only 618.

Two alternative suggestions came from the Press itself as a measure of relief. One was for the reduction of Newspaper Postage to a uniform one-anna rate for transmission all throughout the country irrespective of distance covered by the Post. It was suggested that this reduction in rate would so much enhance the circulation of all papers that Government would not suffer from any loss in postal revenue — may it would then earn more. The Calcutta Star was in favour of this one-anna postage while the Bengal Harbans advocated the imposition of newspaper stamp. According to this later arrangement every copy of a newspaper issued from the press whether for circulation in town (by delivery peons employed by the proprietors) or country (through the Post Office) would uniformly bear this imposition of one-anna stamp.

In a lengthy editorial in June 1847 the Friend of India elaborately dwelt upon the pros and cons of these propositions:

2. Calcutta Star, April 24, 1846.
3. Bengal Harbans, April 4, 1846, extracted in the Friend of India, April 9, 1846, p. 280.
5. Friend of India, June 17, 1847, p. 370.
"... This (newspaper stamp) would involve an entire change of newspaper economy, throw new burdens on the proprietors, and render it necessary to adopt a new system for transferring them to their constituents. The stamp must in the first instance be paid in advance by the press, and the press must therefore demand prepayment for the paper and the stamp .... At first sight this may appear disadvantageous to the interests of the journal, by rendering it necessary to consider all subscriptions extinct, on which the advance payment is not made .... but we are inclined to think it will be found in the end beneficial .... The equalisation of this charge in town and country may lead to the defection of some of the town subscribers, when they find themselves called upon for an additional payment of 20 Rupees a year, but the loss will be more than compensated by the accession of numbers from the interior of the country who are now deterred from taking in a daily paper, by the almost prohibitory charge for postage ...."

The native newspapers were generally opposed to the stamp. And in an editorial over the question the Sanglad Purnochandrodaya, the native daily, wrote on the issue opposing the stamp on two grounds — first, compulsory imposition of an Arna on the town subscribers who used to get their paper through messengers of the proprietors would be unjustifiable; secondly the annual advance payment on this account would be too heavy a burden on the proprietors' financial resources.

The newspaper discussion over the topic got an impetus

from the known sentiments of the then Governor General, Sir Henry Hardinge, in favour of reduction of newspaper postage. The indulgence granted by Sir Henry to the Press in this respect would be evident from the following extract from the Englishman:

"... A friend of ours at Simla took the liberty of peeping over Lord Hardinge's shoulder while he was engaged on this subject, and he assures us that his Lordship is in favour of one ama postage for all pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers, all over India. The postage to be prepaid by affixing a stamp to the cover, similar to those in use in England ...."

Nothing however came out and editorial discussions urging reduction in newspaper postage continued. In April 1050 Lord Dalhousie appointed three commissioners — W. Courtney, H. Forbes and Cecil Beaton — for Post Office Enquiry "to enquire into and report upon the system of Postal Communication as it exists in the several Presidencies .... especially .... to consider the several schemes which have been proposed, either for the introduction of an uniform low rate of postage such as has for sometime been established in England, or for the formation of some other system which shall approximate to the English system as closely as the different condition and


2. Englishman, November 24, 1046, extracted in the Friend of India, November 28, 1046, p. 755.
circumstances of the two countries allow." In respect of newspaper postage the Commissioners unanimously reported:

"We are unwilling on the one hand to recommend a higher uniform rate than two annas on the single newspaper, or on the other to propose any sacrifice of revenue for an object of doubtful advantage. We feel compelled to refrain from advising any change in the existing system beyond that of subjecting imported newspapers to the same rates as those published in India" (this rate was considerably lower).

The recommendation of the Commissioners for the Post Office Enquiry had a very bitter reception in the Press. As an illustration we may quote an editorial from the Friend of India:

"X X X X We all expected some relaxation of the heavy yoke of postage from the Commissioners when they undertook to consider the question of postal reform, but they have replied to us in the same spirit in which King Nebuchadnezzar replied to the Children of Israel, vide I. Kings, Chapter XII, Verse 14. It appears to us unaccountable how three wise men in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, could deliberately sit down and propose (continuance) of present rate of newspaper postage. We wait Lord Dalhousie's

1. Report of the Commissioners for Post Office Enquiry:
   Calcutta, 1851: para 2.

2. Ibid., para 116.

3. Friend of India, December 4, 1851, p. 770.
mode of dealing with the subject with much interest, yet without any feeling of apprehension. His Lordship will probably at once cancel the proposal of the Commissioners and recommend to the Court the substitution of an anna postage; but if our malignant star should happen to be in the ascendant, and he should not deem it advisable to reject the opinion so earnestly expressed in the Report against a reduction in the present rates he will feel no surprise if the Press should move heaven and earth to secure the desired consumption during the ensuing discussions — and upon precisely the same grounds on which the Court of Directors will strain every nerve to obtain another lease of the Government of India — self-interest. What but the most contemptible opinion could his Lordship form of the journals of this country, if he could suppose for a moment that they were prepared to submit to so fatal an exclusion without putting forth all their strength and influence? Against a unanimous Press, a Government is next to powerless.

The agitation for one anna postage for newspapers continued till Government made a concession through Act No. XVII of 1854: "An Act for the management of the Post Office, for the regulation of the duties of Postage, and for the punishment of offences against the Post Office". It provided:

"X X X X X

"VII. Wheresoever posts or post communications are or shall be established by the East India Company, postage of newspapers and pamphlets, and other printed and engraved

1. Published in the Calcutta Gazette, August 26, 1854.
papers transmitted by the letter post by sea or land, or partly by sea and partly by land, shall be charged by weight according to the following scale:

1. On every imported newspaper, pamphlet, or other printed or engraved paper —

If the same shall not exceed six tolahs in weight, two annas.

If the same shall exceed six but shall not exceed twelve tolahs in weight, four annas.

2. On every newspaper, pamphlet, or other printed or engraved paper not imported —

If the same shall not exceed three and a half tolahs in weight two annas.

If the same shall exceed three and a half tolahs, and not exceed six tolahs in weight, four annas.

"XX, ... Newspapers, pamphlets and other printed or engraved paper so posted, not prepaid by a postage stamp or stamps, shall be forwarded to their destination and the postage chargeable on them shall be levied on delivery....

"LXXXI. This Act shall commence and take effect from and after the first day of October 1854."

Those concessions made no impression on the Indian press. The newspaper postage of 2 annas was yet a too heavy burden with them. They had also their complaint against the obvious discrepancy of providing admissible weight at three
and half tolahs for an Indian paper but six tolahs for an imported one. "Here the Government has committed manifest injustice. A country newspaper weighing 3½ tolahs will be subjected to the same amount of postage as one imported from England or Europe weighing 6 tolahs! The Karimnagar insinuates that our rulers are afraid of the 'home press'. Some such feeling, we fear, is at the bottom of this most invidious distinction" — wrote the Hindu Intelligencer.

The Act XVII of 1854 was the prelude to the final concession — for one Anna Postage — and the finale was not long in coming. This came through a Notification dated October 16, 1854:

"The Most Noble the Governor General in Council is pleased, under the authority vested in him by Section XXV of Act No. XVII of 1854, to direct that the single Postage on Newspapers, Pamphlets and other printed and engraved papers shall be one Anna.

X X X X X

"The Postage on every Newspaper, Pamphlet or other printed or engraved paper not imported shall be one Anna, if the same shall not exceed three and a half tolahs in weight; two Annas, if the same shall exceed three and a half tolahs and not exceed six tolahs, and one additional Anna shall be charged for every three tolahs, or a portion thereof, in weight above six tolahs."

This was acclaimed with the highest applause in the

1. Hindu Intelligencer, August 21, 1854.
2. Published in the Calcutta Gazette, October 18, 1854.
native press and the Hindu Intelligence in an editorial review of the matter wrote:

"X X X X We do not know when to thank for the concession of this inestimable boon; but whoever he is, our best and grateful acknowledgement, are due to him."

The English Press under the European management, however, accepted the order in a more guarded manner because the lowest weight restriction on Indian papers still remained 6½ toleras, whereas that on imported papers was fixed at 6 toleras. Thus the Friend of India, wrote:

"The sixpenny Postage: After nearly four years of agitation, after the appointment of a Commission, a report, three despatches, and two severe defeats, the Indian Press and Lord Dalhousie have carried their point at last. The order reducing the postage on newspapers to a uniform one anna takes effect from 1st November, and in the matter of price there is nothing left to be desired. The rate is lower than the English penny stamp, and only higher than the American .... Two reforms, however, remain to be accomplished. The first which may require years of exertion, refers to the weight admitted by the low rates. To the daily Press this is simply a question of convenience. They are compelled to print on paper so firm as to be costly, and so thin as to be almost illegible to any but the strongest

1. Hindu Intelligence, October 23, 1854.
2. Friend of India, October 23, 1854, p. 375.
eyes. To the weekly journals it is a much more serious affair. We are cramped and lettered at every turn, not only by the impossibility of introducing matter we would gladly give, but by the difficulty of repaying the outlay by additions in our advertising sheet. The innovation was once refused on the ground of the physical impossibility of carrying a heavier load. Even while uttering the argument the Court demonstrated its futility, by conceding the additional weight to English newspapers. They wish to avoid weight, and therefore made concessions to the heaviest journals. This evil is the next which requires to be amended.

The final concession from Government for Newspaper Postage was however soon to follow. It was in respect of permissible lowest weight and was announced in May 1855:

"Notification — The Hon'ble the President in Council has been pleased under the authority vested in him by Section XXV of Act No. XVII of 1854, to direct that on every newspaper, pamphlet, or other printed or engraved paper, not exceeding four tolahs in weight, the postage shall be one anna."

Commenting on this the Friend of India wrote:

"We are happy to record an instance of the generous consideration of Government in regard to the weight allowed for a single

2. Friend of India, June 7, 1855.
Before 1837, an extra allowance was made of a quarter of a tolah weight during the four months of the rains. This indulgence was abolished in that year, in consequence of which many papers which it was impossible sufficiently to dry during the rains, were charged double at the time of their despatch, and were found to be within the single weight when they reached their destination. The matter was recently represented to the Director General, and a renewal of the former rule was solicited, when lo and behold, the President in Council has been pleased to grant us four tolae in weight all the year through. For this he deserves the thanks of the Indian community, who will reap the largest share of benefit. To the Proprietors and Editors of Newspapers, it will afford the gratification of being able to increase the amount of the intelligence given to their readers, which has heretofore been limited, and often to a very distressing extent, by the restriction of weight.

A long chapter in the history of the English Press in Bengal thus came to a satisfactory close.
During the period of our study, when the newspapers and periodicals had very limited circulation the advertisements provided substantial means of support to the proprietors. Such was the eagerness of the proprietors to court the favour of the advertisers that they would adjust the get up of their paper to suit the advertisers most and thus, to cite an instance, the Calcutta Gazette notified:

"The present form of the Gazette ...... in particular, being unfavourable for advertisements ...... we beg leave to apprise our subscribers, that from the commencement of the next Volume, the Gazette will be printed on a Large Folio ......"

It may also be mentioned in this background that many of the earliest papers had an alternative or additional title. Thus, for example, the full title of the Bengal Gazette (of Hicky) was the "Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser", of the India Gazette, the "India Gazette or Calcutta Public Advertiser", of the Calcutta Gazette, the "Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser", of the Asiatic Mirror, the "Asiatic Mirror and Commercial Advertiser", of the Calcutta Chronicle, the "Calcutta Chronicle and General Advertiser".

This state of affairs — limited circulation of papers and periodicals and for that the proprietors banking heavily for financial support on the advertisements — continued

1. Calcutta Gazette, February 1, 1787.
all throughout the period of our study and in an editorial article in 1846 the Calcutta Star wrote:

"It (limited circulation) is one that cannot be helped, and is to be mentioned rather than complained of. It is unquestionably the principle reason why, as matters at present stand, no daily paper in India could possibly pay its own expenses even, much less make a profit, unless it were for its advertisements."

We have no information as to the income of any of the proprietors from this source in the earliest days. Our first specific information on this point dates from the year 1822 and that is in respect of the Calcutta Journal of James Silk Buckingham. In June 1822, the total receipt for this paper amounted to Rs. 14,598/- out of which Rs. 9,419/- or roughly one-fourth, came from advertisements.

In 1833 the Bengal Harbaru had a daily circulation of 728 copies. Out of this, we presume 20 copies were distributed gratis or exchanged and 700 copies were paid for. The annual subscription of the Bengal Harbaru was then, if paid in advance, Rs. 64/-, and thus the total minimum annual

2. Calcutta Journal, August 24, 1822, p. 768.
4. Different rates of subscription for the Bengal Harbaru at this time, according to notice in the Bengal Harbaru dated July 3, 1833, were: Rs. 3/- per mensem Rs. 20/- per quarter Rs. 64/- per annum.
subscription would be Rs. 44,800/-. During the same period the annual total income from advertisement charge for it amounted to Rs. 18,000/-.

Proprietors of papers and periodicals could hardly derive any income out of Government advertisements. For, the proprietor of the Calcutta Gazette, on its establishment published these advertisements free of charge as would be evident from the following notice in the Calcutta Gazette:

"All Heads of Offices are hereby informed that the Honorable the Governor General in Council have been pleased to exempt the Gazette printed by Mr. Francis Gladwin from the charges of Postage, he having engaged to publish therein all advertisements and orders of this government gratis."

This concession for free postage was withdrawn after October 31, 1787. But the Calcutta Gazette would still publish the government advertisements and Notifications. These would make it an object of attraction from the view point of utility. This very fact used to attract a huge quantum of advertisements from private parties and Commercial Houses. This continued till June 1815 when Government set up its own Gazette — the

2. Calcutta Gazette, March 10, 1786.
Government Gazette, "published by Authority" which would henceforth publish all "Advertisements and other Papers connected with the Public Service." 1

Since this time, devoid of government advertisements and Notifications, the Calcutta Gazette could carry on a precarious existence till the end of September 1816 when it with a list of only 160 subscribers passed off into the hands of James Silk Buckingham who purchased its copyright. 2

Like subscription, payment for advertisements also fell in arrear and we get it in the Bengal Harbaru: 3

"***** On the part of the Press the India Gazette, the John Bull, the Columbian Press Gazette and ourselves have fully resolved on ***** supplying the paper ***** to those only who pay their subscription in advance. But there is another very important department of printing business in which the Proprietors have a still deeper interest in bringing about the change contemplated; we allude to the insertion of Advertisements *****. We trust therefore that Proprietors of all the papers named will unite with us in adopting a similar rule (that the charge for Advertisements are paid in advance) *****. We allude not merely to the vast amount of outstanding bills for advertisements — but to the immense labour and inconvenience which this system occasions *****. There is another

very strong argument ... that it very often happens that the Advertisers are leaving Calcutta and perhaps do not return for a long time or not at all by which the loss and hazard are increased."

According to the Bengal Harlan it was only the proprietors of the late Calcutta Journal who did not have to suffer for this because alike in respect of subscription for his paper Buckingham had a contract with a native who formed his bills at a certain discount for which he took the whole risk. But according to the Bengal Harlan "such is the difficulty of collection here, that we hear, the man has been ruined by it and certainly no native or European would undertake it."

# # #

Weight restrictions under the Rules for Newspaper Postage was a serious handicap for the proprietors in allotting unlimited space for advertisements. To meet the handicap James Silk Buckingham used to print copies of the Calcutta Journal for the Hofussil subscribers on China paper (both lighter and cheaper than English paper) so that the advertisement sheets (also printed on China paper) could be enclosed with these within the limit of the restricted weight. But

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
the country subscribers disliked this Mofussil edition on China paper. So Buckingham made different arrangements for the Town and Country subscribers. He would publish separate sheets with advertisements titled as the "New Daily Register and General Advertiser" for the town subscribers. We get the details of the new arrangement from an advertisement from Buckingham himself:

"... As the New Daily Register and General Advertiser now issued from our Press, will include at the lowest rate, all advertisements intended for Town Circulation only. The pages of the regular paper will be reserved for such only as are intended for Country Circulation, and these will be printed after the English method, in small type and running lines, so as to compress the greatest quantity of information into the smallest possible space. The charge for such advertisements will be at the same rate as formerly made in the Journal."

In the same way the Bengal Harinam also had a Daily Advertiser containing advertisements for Town circulation—"1000 copies gratuitously distributed throughout Calcutta.

1. Ibid.
3. In the period of our study papers to the Town subscribers up to Chandernagore and Chinsurah were distributed by the hurcurahs or delivery peons employed by the proprietors and hence there was no restriction on weight in respect of copies thus distributed. This has been discussed earlier in pp 63-66.
and its suburbs" (besides being transmitted to the town subscribers with the regular paper). Another example was the Scotsman in the East which would also publish advertisements separately from the regular paper — on the fourth or the Advertisement Sheet which could be gratuitously circulated in Calcutta and its environs (besides being transmitted to the town subscribers).

In the following notice in the Bengal Chronicle we get the instance of an interesting experiment for an English paper (under European management) to carry on without the income from advertisements:

"Our readers can not fail to have observed that we have for some months past almost entirely relinquished the space formerly occupied with Advertisement and have frequently issued extra sheets .... The loss of profit on Advertisements which we decline inserting, the expense of extra sheets .... all warrant our appealing to our subscribers .... We trust that our subscribers will not object to the monthly charge for subscription being increased from three to four Rupees per month from 1st January next ...."

The experiment did not possibly succeed and we again

1. Advertisement in the Bengal Harbou, July 20, 1824.
3. Bengal Chronicle, October 2, 1827.
get the Bengal Chronicle to announce rate of charges for advertisements in its columns in October 1829.

* * *

In the earliest days of our period the rates for advertisement charge was seldom notified for general information.icky's Bengal Gazette was so full of advertisements but the advertisement charges were never published in its columns. Such was also the case with the Calcutta Gazette. The charges, it appears, were settled up privately by negotiations between the printer and the parties seeking publication of advertisements. There were rare exceptions to this general practice and one such exceptional case was the Calcutta Evening Post which in 1792 gave out the charge for advertisement in its columns at six annas per line allowing a discount to "constant customers". 2

In the later years we first get regular notices of advertisement charges in the Calcutta Journal, the John Bull and then also in the Bengal Harbary and the India Gazette. Henceforth notice for advertisement charges became a regular practice for all. But concessional or underselling rates were allowed on personal negotiation. Possibly for this we get in the Calcutta Journal, in the notice for advertisement

1. Ibid., October 6, 1829.
2. Advertisement in the Calcutta Chronicle, April 24, 1922.
changes, the caution that "No deviation will be made for these established rates". We also get open allegations on this point as the extract below would show:

"... We know that the Bull inserts contract advertisements (at) two-thirds less than the usual rate per month established in Calcutta among Newspaper Proprietors; we see that he fills up his paper with them, when it ought in justice to his general readers, be allotted to other and more entertaining matter..."

Another problem for the proprietors of newspapers and periodicals at this time was the constant demand on them for gratuitous insertion of notices of domestic occurrences, advertisements from the religious or philanthropic organisations and result of Lottery drawings by the Lottery Committee (then a public organisation). This demand had its origin in the practice of the proprietors themselves to allow and even to encourage such insertions in the earlier years, to earn popularity for their paper. Thus, for example, we get:

(a) "Advertisements of a public nature in which neither the profit of individuals nor of corporate bodies are concerned, will be considered as articles of public intelligence, and if transmitted to the office for

2. Bengal Harbours, August 13, 1828.
the purpose will be inserted *free of charge*. 1

or

(b) "All advertisements connected with Charitable or Religious Institutions are inserted gratis, when so requested". 2

Such indulgence was allowed by the proprietors of other papers also.

With passage of time demand for gratuitous insertion of advertisements became a heavy burden on the proprietors, whose reaction would be evident from the following extract:

"The Harbarn murder adverts to the publication of the Lottery Drawings and invites the Press to unite in declining to insert them *in this we most cordially desire to co-operate*.... In future, however, a list of prizes only will be given and if the India Gazette also adheres to this rule, as the John Bull probably now will, the Managers of the Lottery will perhaps see the propriety or find the necessity, of paying other presses, besides the Government Gazette, for the publication of the Lottery Drawings...."

Ultimately, to secure their own interests the proprietors in a joint meeting took a decision (a) not to offer underselling rate for advertisements, (b) not to publish gratuitous

2. Bengal Harbarn, March 4, 1825; Advertisement.
3. Columbian Press Gazette extracted in the Bengal Harbarn, September 3, 1825."
advertisements, and (c) not to insert result of Lottery Drawings. We get the following notice of this in the India Gazette in 1888:

"At a meeting of the Proprietors and Managers of the Daily Press of Calcutta held at the Barkara office, on the 14th May 1888.

"Present: the Representatives of the Bengal Barkara, India Gazette, John Bull and Calcutta Courier newspapers.

"Considering, first, the expense and trouble incurred by the gratuitous insertion of numerous advertisements of various descriptions and by the correspondence to which they give occasion; secondly, that the Proprietors of newspapers are in this form expected and required to contribute to objects of public interest, and have the extent of their contributions defined, without that option which every other members of the community possesses; and thirdly, the difficulty of realising subscriptions, felt at all times and now greatly augmented, and the consequent necessity of securing a return for every outlay of labour and capital:

"It was resolved that from 1st July all advertisements, of whatever kind, without any exception shall be subject to charge at the usual rates.

"In order that the public may be aware of the number and nature of the notices that have been hitherto inserted gratuitously, and for which the usual charge will henceforth be made, the following classification is subjoined:

1. India Gazette, August 22, 1888."
"1. All notice of public meetings, of lectures and Sermons, Collections and Sales, whether on behalf of philanthropic Societies or of any other character.

"2. The authenticated resolutions of public meetings.

N.B. The proceedings of public meetings and of learned and benevolent Societies will continue to be reported as articles of news.

"3. All complimentary communications between Commanders of vessels and passengers, and all notices respecting the departure of ships not included in the ordinary advertisements.

"4. Concerts, and all public amusements, entertainments, and subscriptions of whatever nature.

N.B. Theatrical advertisements for several years past been paid for by an arrangement with the Managers of the Chowringhee Theatre, which continues in force.

"5. Schemes and Drawings of the Calcutta Government and other Public or Private Lotteries.

"6. Marriages, Births and Deaths.

N.B. These notices will be subject to a specific charge of one rupee for the simple announcement of the fact, and if extended beyond that, the usual rate per line will be charged.

"Rates of Advertising in the India Gazette (and also other papers settled in the meeting);
A section of the reading public disliked this decision of the Newspaper proprietors and many letters to the Editor appeared in the contemporary papers protesting against this. In reply to these editorials came out supporting the joint decision of the proprietors. We may extract an editorial from the Bengal Barahar as an example of this:

"From the India Gazette of yesterday we republish a letter and an editorial article on the subject of the resolutions of the daily papers, not to insert any longer, gratuitously, Lottery Drawings and Births, Deaths and Marriages. We invite the attention of all who are interested in this question to these articles, for in them the merits of the case are, it seems to us, fairly set forth, and we could add nothing to the force of the conclusive reasoning they contain in support of the resolutions in question. With regard to the lottery drawings, we are quite aware, that many of the subscribers to newspapers experience much disappointment from not receiving them with their papers; and the proprietors are most ready to do all that is just to remove it. All they ask of the Lottery Office Committee is to..."
supply them with a sufficient number of drawings and they are quite ready to circulate them with their paper gratuitously. With regard to the charge for Births, Deaths and Marriages, they are paid for we believe everywhere, else where a press exists, and the only objections to our adopting the system here, seem to be its novelty (though it has often been proposed and partially acted on even in Calcutta).

Possibly due to the hostile sentiment of the reading public the proprietors of newspapers introduced modifications in their joint decisions. Thus the *India Gazette* announced:

"Yesterday afternoon we received an intimation from the Secretary of the Lottery Committee, that an arrangement had been concluded with the Bengal Military Orphan Press for the printing of the Lottery Drawings, which will henceforth be furnished by that Press to the newspapers to the extent of their circulation. This point then is settled; and on the subject of the publication of Domestic Occurrences we may now also state the course we mean to pursue, which we have no doubt will be equally satisfactory to our subscribers. The importance which the readers of newspapers attach to them, has induced us to come to the determination of publishing them without any charge whatever, conceiving ourselves bound in such a matter to consult the wishes of those from whom we receive support."

The Calcutta Courier also came out with the following editorial:

1. *India Gazette*, September 28, 1883.
"..... the India Gazette announces its intention to abandon all charge for Domestic Occurrences, and to publish them as before the new Press Rules were adopted. This is a greater concession than has hitherto been proposed by our contemporaries; but it is enough that we see it made by one paper — we shall not hesitate to do the like, although we have defended the right of charging for such notices and had our share in establishing it ..... As we have resolved to insert all notices of Domestic Occurrence gratuitously for the future, we do not think it fair to charge the accounts of our subscribers for such as they have sent us during the last three months. Such entries as have been made therein of this nature, will accordingly be cancelled."

Without any public announcement to this effect the Bengal Harkaru and the John Bull (transformed into the Englishman) also appear to have followed suit.

The question of gratuitous insertion and underselling rates for advertisements again came up for discussion in the forties. We may put up the following extracts from the Calcutta Star and the Bengal Harkaru that occupied themselves over the question with long and repeated editorial articles.

1.

Thus the Bengal Harkaru wrote:

"..... we should cease to be called on to advertise gratuitously for any purpose whatever, seeing that every advertisement not paid

1. Bengal Harkaru, extracted in the Calcutta Star, March 31, 1846.
for, is so much money taken out of our pockets, even exclusive of the wages of compositors etc., which were always a fair argument against the practice. It has been urged that Proprietors should make an exception in favour of appeals to public charity etc.; but we should like to know upon what principle of justice this reasoning rests. It is a fact beyond dispute, that the Proprietors of journals in this country subscribe as liberally according to their means, to philanthropic objects, as any other members of society and why then should they be called on for heavy additional subscriptions, in the shape of gratuitous advertisements, and thus be compelled to contribute, perhaps ten time more than they have already given? Those who argue that they ought, seem to forget that the money spent in advertising is not wasted, but advertisements are the chief means by which the Contributions, that constitute that fund are raised and that the return on expenditure for such a purpose, is often a hundred, perhaps even a thousand-fold. We venture to affirm for example, that the Irish relief fund, which now amounts to nearly 80,000 would never have come up to a tenth part of that sum but for advertising, and after all, what has been the cost of the publicity, which has produced so much good? A few hundred, perhaps a thousand rupees! ..... It is not merely however, to charitable advertisements, that the local press is called on to give gratuitous insertion. We have all been inserting for some years past the Post Office Notifications as to the Steamers etc. for nothing, and we have now one before us of "Tenders for Conveyance of "Mail between Raoghly and Renacs" occupying nearly three pages of manuscript, or nearly half a column, in type, which we are modestly expected to give space free of charge. We think
this is rather too bad, and have decided for our own part, not to publish, in future, an advertisement of any kind that is not paid for ••••••••

Commenting on the above article of the *Bengal Harbarn*, the Calcutta Star wrote:

... It is under these circumstances we have thought it right to speak plainly of a system which is fraught with mischief, and to remonstrate against an application of the screw on the part of the Government officers for which there is neither necessity nor excuse. Considering the tax that postage is upon Newspaper proprietors is it not illiberal in the extreme to expect then to give gratuitous insertion to Post Office Notifications? Then again we are expected to take off at least 75 per cent if we are to have an advertisement from the Marine Department! and are told, so-and-so publish it for this sum and therefore you can not have more. What would be thought of an editor if he were to argue that these very officers ought to have their salaries reduced three quarters, because plenty of persons could be found to undertake their duties for one quarter of their allowances. It would be manifestly unjust, and pushing the good principle of economy a great deal too far. We have one instance how this may work, as showing there is sometimes the reverse of economy in it. An advertisement of steamers to a certain station does not appear in the Calcutta Star, because it is supposed to require too high a price for publishing it, and it goes into a paper that accepts the sum offered, but which does not despatch a single...

copy to the station in question! Surely the
Government of India can as well afford to pay
the full rate for advertisements as Insolvent
Estates, or the Estate of deceased parties,
which probably yield but a miserable pittance
to their families ....

*

Gradually the conception of limiting the space under
advertisements to a fixed proportion of the total space in
the paper was gaining ground. The attitude is well reflected
in the Friend of India:

"... The utmost limit we can afford
for advertisements is three pages out of
sixteen; and when the pages are full, our
receipts from this source ...... does not
amount to, more than a twelfth part of our
receipts from subscription ......"

*

The native English papers were however not much concern-
ed in all these disputes and discussions. For, these papers
were not yet vitally dependent on income from advertisements.
The Bengal Herald (here we are concerned with it as long as it
was under the native management and proprietorship) had its

1. Friend of India, October 1, 1843, p. 625.
rates for advertisement announced in the issue dated July 30, 1829 and from that date also came out the advertisement sheet — the Bengal Herald Advertiser — forming the last part of an issue. But the Reformer, the Enquirer and the Bengal Spectator did not announce any advertisement rates nor did these insert any advertisement. Some of the papers subsequent to these had their respective advertisement rates and also derived an income from this source. Such were the Oriental Magazine, the Literary Chronicle, the Oriental Observer, the Four Anna Magazine, the Hindu Intelligencer, and the Hindu Patriot. Regarding many others we are not certain because of there being no copy extant or accessible.

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The Missionary periodicals — not all, but at least some — were also contender for advertisers' indulgence. The Calcutta Christian Advocate in a long article dwelt on this topic:

"...... in Europe and to the secular press of India advertisements are a great source of profit, which have never yet flowed to the religious periodicals of this country and in some cases this is strange enough. It is not uncommon to see the advertisements of religious meetings and the like in the advertising sheets of the secular press, even those with the most limited circulation; while in the most

1. "Religious Periodicals", in the Calcutta Christian Advocate, November 6, 1841, p. 220."
respectedly conducted and widely circulated religious journals they never appear, or if they do it is as news and without remuneration; the reasons assigned for this are certainly most extraordinary, viz., the comparatively limited circulation of the religious periodicals, which is not always true. And again it is said that as they are devoted to the interests of religion they ought to insert such things gratuitously, a singular proposition especially when we consider that the profits of all the religious periodicals in India, if profits there be, are appropriated to benevolent objects.

The Calcutta Christian Advocate again took up the theme some years later and wrote:

"They (Missionary periodicals) can not admit the general run of advertisements inserted by the secular papers, nor have they received from the religious community that measure of support in this, the most profitable department of newspaper management, which they ought reasonably to have expected. Circulation is, we are aware, the object with advertisers, but it is too bad for the Christian public to make no effort to increase the circulation of our religious journals, and then refuse them the support they merit in the way of advertisements on this ground.

The paper had already opened up its pages for advertisements and we get the following notice:

2. Ibid, September 20, 1845, p. 446.
"Notice to Advertisers: We have often been solicited to open our columns to payable advertisements; we have determined, in compliance with their request, to receive such as are not opposed to our views on religions and morals. Those who are disposed to aid us in this way will oblige by forwarding their notice either to the Publishers or Printer..."

Of the Missionary periodicals which accepted advertisements, the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer, the Calcutta Christian Observer and the Oriental Baptist used to keep their columns confined to the advertisements of the nature as indicated by the Calcutta Christian Advocate. But the range of admission for the Calcutta Christian Advocate itself was quite extensive and we get in its pages advertisements for Soda Water and Lemonade, Coach Builders and Repairers, Shoe and Harness Makers and so on.

**

During our period papers were also set up solely or mainly with the object of publishing advertisements. Such papers were the Calcutta Exchange Gazette and Daily Advertiser (1818), the Calcutta Gazette and Commercial Advertiser (1823), the Commercial and Shipping Gazette (1830), the Calcutta Exchange

1. Ibid., April 12, 1845, p. 168.
2. Ibid., February 2, 1850, p. 49.
3. Ibid., December 1, 1849, p. 561.
Gazette (1849). We may furnish an extract from the Friend of India as to the nature of contents of the most reputed of these — a daily advertiser, the Calcutta Exchange Gazette. The occasion was a movement at Madras for setting up such an advertising paper. The Friend of India wrote:

"There is a stir at Madras. The tradesmen of that Presidency . . . . convened a meeting to take into consideration the propriety of setting up a paper devoted to advertisements alone . . . . It is remarkable that at this present time this description of journal should exist only in Bengal . . . . The Calcutta Exchange Gazette . . . . To those who understand the Asiatic Metropolis, it is the most suggestive of journals . . . . all Calcutta is daguerreotypes in those blurred columns. The trade of a great and flourishing capital is well expressed in column after column of shipping advertisements, recording the departure of vessels for every port in the world . . . . Columns of 'notifications' from the Administrator General tell of the fleeting character of Indian society, and of the large proportion of men who die alone and almost friendless . . . . But the main feature of the Calcutta advertising sheets is, without question, luxury. Officialities, deaths, estates, and every commerce do not fill half the space occupied by articles of luxury. Everything pleasant to the eye, the taste, and the fancy finds there a place, and Sydney Smith's celebrated list

Of taxable articles would scarcely include all which are in demand in Calcutta. In the number now before us, there are thirteen separate notices of liquor, from Mumm's celebrated champagne, sparkling and still, patronized by members of Council, and the 'celebrated Crown Sherry' which has been 'celebrated' ever since the Gazette started, to the humbler 'superior wines' which 'merit attention', but which does not perhaps equally merit drinking. Hamilton and Co. are again on the stage with — 'Cashmere shawls', 'Emerald, pearl, and ruby jewellery' all selected by a 'gentleman in the Punjab' and likely to find an easier sale than the Darya-i-Noor, the price of which ought to purchase a German Principality. Another half dozen sections are filled with the milliner's advertisements, over which ladies linger far longer than their husbands feel to be safe, and the absence of which at Madras is said to be one reason why military officers of that Presidency become full Colonels before they are sixty .... We hope the Madras tradesmen will perceive that they can not rival our Calcutta Exchange Gazette".
The problem of arrear subscription hung like an incubus on the proprietors of the papers and periodicals of this period. This was so almost since the time of appearance of newspaper in India. In 1792, we get the proprietor of the Calcutta Chronicle to bewail thus:

"The Proprietors of the Calcutta Chronicle, in consequence of the large amount of the Bills now due to them, (many of them, of several years standing), request those gentlemen indebted to the office, will have the goodness to direct the payment of their Bills, when presented either to themselves or to the Agents. The aggregate amount of the Bills now outstanding, is near 60,000 Rupees; the bare interest of so large a sum, amounts to a considerable sum monthly, and ... the Proprietors have suffered much inconvenience and great loss, from so large an amount being outstanding ...."

This huge arrear could grow up only in a period of six years. For, the Calcutta Chronicle came into appearance in January 1786. And possibly under the pressure of this load of arrear subscription the proprietors disposed of the paper to new hands in the first week of November 1793.

1. Calcutta Chronicle, November 27 to December 25, 1792.
With the passage of time the dimension of this problem grew up and in the twenties of the next century we got all the leading Calcutta papers taking precautionary actions against this evil. In January 1824 the John Bull published the notice:

"The Proprietors of the John Bull are under the indispensable necessity, owing to an immense accumulation of debts to the Concern, of requesting an early adjustment of all long standing dues, and they respectfully solicit all parties so indebted to pay the amount of their respective Bill, which will be presented to them in course of the present month ... from the Bills getting in arrear, and from subscribers quitting Calcutta and their places of residence in the Mofussil without notice, that in future Bills will be presented within 15th and 20th of every month."

In the above notice the proprietors also expressed their resolution to cease to supply their paper to the defaulting subscribers after waiting for payment for a reasonable time.

It may be mentioned that this "immense accumulation of debt to the Concern" could get up only within a period of about two and half years (as the John Bull came into publication only in July, 1821).

The situation did not improve. In fact it further worsened. According to the **Columbian Press Gazette** one "Printing Establishment of this place had actually at one time, nearly a lakh of rupees outstanding in this way; many of the Bills for two and three years' subscription."¹ In the **Bengal Harkaru** Establishment the things were no better — "the bills for subscription etc. average Sicca Rupees 14,000 and its expenses Sicca Rupees 10,000 which the amount of collection barely covers — the Profit the Proprietors have reaped in four years lies all in uncollected Bills."²

The move to solve the riddle came from the **John Bull**. In August 1825, it came out with the following notice:

"...... An evil of the most serious nature to all Proprietors of Newspapers in Calcutta has arisen out of the practice of not, as in England, exacting payment in advance from their Subscribers ...... By a departure from it serious loss falls upon the Newspapers, and often much trouble and inconvenience on Subscribers, when bills are allowed to accumulate to a huge amount. It is, therefore, proposed to adopt the English plan; but in order to give time to our friends and Subscribers, to make arrangements to meet it, it is not intended to

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1. **Columbian Press Gazette** extracted in the **Bengal Harkaru**, September 3, 1825.
2. **Bengal Harkaru**, September 10, 1825.
commence, except where a subscriber may desire it, before January next. With new subscribers its operation will be immediate; and in this case, notice to become a subscriber hereafter will be accompanied with such subscription in advance, as corresponds to the time the Paper is intended to be taken, nothing less than one month's subscription being received. In cases where the subscription is for a quarter, half year, or year, and where in the interim the paper is given up, or the subscriber dies, or leaves the country, the Proprietors become bound to repay the sum for which the Paper may not have been supplied, with interest at the rate of 6 per cent. (and) with the December Bills, presented for payment, there will also be presented the Bill for January, if monthly subscription is preferred, or for the quarter, half year, or year, where these more lengthened terms are chosen and where payment of the Bill is not made when presented, the Proprietors will, of course, consider the subscribers as having withdrawn. A deduction of Sixteen per cent will be made on subscriptions paid one year in advance.

The Bengal Harkaru published the above notice conjointly with the following editorial preface:

"The ... article which also appears in to-day's John Bull, was sent to us yesterday by the Editor of that paper, in order that if we approved of its substance, we might simultaneously give insertion of it in the Bengal..."
Barham, which we have accordingly done, as we fully concur in every line of it, and the Proprietors intend entirely adopting it, the more especially, as they and we consider its object is alike in accordance with inclination of the generality of our Subscribers, and the universal practice in every other part of the world where newspapers are published."

Proprietors of other newspapers and periodicals avidly took up this "English Plan" of the John Bull and we get it in the Columbian Press Gazette:

"We have copied an article from the John Bull, with the remarks of the Harbarn entirely approving of it, in which it proposed to put a stop to the present practice of supplying Papers on credit, which has entailed such heavy losses on every printing Establishment here, and to adopt the salutary rule, which prevails at home, of requiring Subscription in advance ..... We give notice therefore, that from and after the 1st January next, this Paper will be supplied only to those who pay their Subscription in advance ....."

The India Gazette also took up the plan with the editorial comment:

2. India Gazette extracted in the John Bull, January 8, 1826.
it could hardly be hoped that the thing would be quite to the liking of everyone (of the Subscribers), although as a matter of necessity and justice, it might be conceded by a majority. As to bills being presented for payment, we can only say that our Mofussil subscribers have been written to three, four, five and eight times in many months without the least success, or even the civility of a reply, so that the postage of itself forms no trifling item of loss.

According to contemporary evidence it was only the Calcutta Journal which did not suffer from any loss on this account — "the late Calcutta Journal was so because the Proprietor made a contract with a Native who farmed his bills at a certain discount for which he took the whole risk." ¹

To ensure punctuality of payment the John Bull declared a rebate of 16 per cent on one year's payment in advance. Thus in place of Rs.96.00 for the whole year @Rs.8/- per mensem any one could meet up his liability at Rs.90 Annas 10 only through advance payment. Proprietors of other papers followed suit e.g. the Proprietors of Bengal Harkaru Establishment offered the following concessional rate ²:

1. Bengal Harkaru, December 15, 1825.
2. John Bull, extracted in the Bengal Harkaru, August 31, 1825.
3. Ibid, January 1, 1826.
4. Bengal Harkaru, January 2, 1826.
(a) Bengal Harkaru — monthly rate Rs.8/- annual rate Rs.80/- in advance.

(b) Calcutta Literary Gazette (Weekly paper) — monthly rate Rs.2/- annual rate Rs.20/- in advance.

Subsequently the rates were further reduced for advance payment.

(a) Bengal Harkaru and Chronicle — monthly rate Rs.6/- Quarterly Rs.20/- and annually Rs.64/-.

(b) Calcutta Literary Gazette (Weekly paper) — monthly rate Rs.2/-, quarterly Rs.5/-, annually Rs.16/-.

(c) Bengal Chronicle (ter-weekly paper) — monthly rate Rs.4/-, quarterly Rs.10/-, annually Rs.32/-.

It so appears that the newspaper proprietors could not always strictly enforce their resolution for stoppage of supply except on advance payment. For, we get it in respect of the John Bull that in 1838 when J.H. Stocqueler purchased it the subscription list contained about 260 names of which at least half was hopelessly in arrear.

The new proprietor of the John Bull which was retitled as the Englishman since October 1, 1833, took early precaution against the evil and offered concessional rate on advance payment.

1. Ibid. May 7, 1839.
payment for all the papers and periodicals out of his Establishment:

(a) The Englishman — monthly rate Rs.8/-, quarterly Rs.20/-, annual Rs.64/-.
(b) Oriental Observer (weekly paper) — monthly rate Rs.2/-, quarterly Rs.5/-, annual Rs.17/-.
(c) Bengal Sporting Magazine (monthly paper) — monthly rate Rs.2/-, and annual Rs.20/-.
(d) East India United Service Journal — monthly rate Rs.2/-, half-yearly Rs.10/-, and annual rate Rs.17/-.

It was at the same time notified:

"Every subscriber who is two quarters in arrears, shall receive a formal notice soliciting payment which if not attended to before the expiration of the ensuing quarter will be considered sufficient authority for the discontinuation of subscription."

In any case, the problem of arrear subscription could not be effectively solved and continued to baffle the proprietors all throughout our period though it might become comparatively smaller in dimension with the passage of time. To illustrate this we may cite the following notice out of the pages of the East India United Service Journal and the Citizen:

2. Ibid.
(A) "To Our Readers: In the Post Script of the present volume, it will be seen that we have come to the resolution of discontinuing the publication of the Journal. The subscription list of the Journal still furnishes names enough to remunerate our labours (if all the owners of these names would but remember to remit) . Some three or four thousand rupees are still due to us."

(B) "Such of our old subscribers as do not pay their bills on presentation or allow their bills to fall into arrears of a month will be charged from the 1st December at four rupees a month. We are obliged to take this step as we regret to find several of our constituents fancy we have no expenses to disburse and withhold payment of their small accounts much to our annoyance."

It so appears that the habit of defaulting to remit subscription for papers and periodicals was common to all, irrespective of the social position and the standard of culture of the subscribers. The India Review and the Journal of Foreign Science and the Arts could be subscribed for by the learned and the classes of the European Society in India because of the nature of its contents. But even the Proprietor of it had to suffer for arrears as would be evident from the following notice:

"To Subscribers: We have again to call the attention of our Subscribers to the subject mooted in our last — namely the arrears of subscription and earnestly request that we may be favoured with remittances as early as circumstances will admit."

The situation did not improve and the Proprietor decided to give up the India Review with the following notice:

2. Concessional rate was Rs.42/- per annum.
3. Citizen, December 1, 1835 and consecutive issues for December.
4. India Review, July 1843, back-cover.
5. Ibid., September 1843, "To our Subscribers", unnumbered page.
"... We have at various times earnestly appealed to our subscribers on the subject of arrears, and although upon each occasion we have been favoured with remittances in liquidation of a few subscriptions, they have borne a very small proportion to the number of those who ought long ago to have appeared on the credit side of our books ....... On a fair examination of the state of affairs as connected with the Review, it was for sometime our intention that our labours and anxieties should cease with the present number ....... This design on several grounds, has been relinquished, and it is now our determination to redeem the pledge we gave on commencing the present series of the journal. Let our subscribers in arrear follow the example. At what sacrifice this must be accomplished the following statement will enable our readers pretty clearly to comprehend ......."

The statement gave out items of expenditure and receipt as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Printing &amp; Paper for nine Numbers of Review from January to September</td>
<td>Rs. 1249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper &amp; Printing thirty-eight plates</td>
<td>Rs. 387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate paper for Nine Portraits</td>
<td>Rs. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine Portraits according to the charges made to other editors</td>
<td>Rs. 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draughtsman's salary for nine months</td>
<td>Rs. 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paon's</td>
<td>Rs. 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Rs. 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage &amp; other petty charges</td>
<td>Rs. 2405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Ibid.
Add estimated expense for three remaining Numbers

Rs. 2405
Rs. 560
Rs. 2845

Deduct subscriptions realised to this time

Rs. 836
Rs. 2129

Deduct probable realisation

Rs. 460

There remains to Profit and Loss:

Rs. 1340

Commenting on this the Friend of India wrote:

"Part of this deficiency arises doubtless from the paucity of subscribers, but no small portion of it might be remedied, if there was more punctuality and more honesty in the existing subscribers."

The learned subscribers of the celebrated Calcutta Review were no better in remitting their subscription. And we may quote the following "Notice" appearing with the issue of September 1858:

"The Proprietor must request such of his subscribers as have not paid to favour him with a remittance. Some forty per cent of the Subscriptions due have not been received."

The Missionary periodicals also did not enjoy immunity

1. Friend of India, September 19, 1844, p. 596.
2. "Notice" with the Calcutta Review, September 1858, unnumbered page.
from this problem of arrear subscription. The Asiatic Observer (Quarterly periodical managed jointly by the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Bengal and the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries during 1828-24) was given up almost under the burden of the arrear subscription:

"To Subscribers and Correspondents:
In presenting the 8th number of the Asiatic Observer to the public, its managers close their labours .... They are assured that the Friends of the Asiatic Observer will sincerely lament the necessity of its discontinuance, when they are informed that it does not arise from a want of the material for such a work, but from the difficulty, especially in the case of residents at a distance, in realising the small amount of their subscriptions .... the work has already involved the Proprietors in considerable expense ...."

The Calcutta Christian Observer (monthly periodical projected by the Calcutta Missionary Conference and under the joint editorial management of three Missionaries — one from each of the London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society and Baptist Missionary Society) one of the most widely circulated Missionary periodicals in India became burdened with a bad debt of about Rs.8000/- on account of arrear subscription.

1. Asiatic Observer, October 1824, unnumbered page.
2. Calcutta Christian Advocate, November 6, 1841, p. 220.
Accumulation of arrear in subscription and realisation of the same was also a problem with the native proprietors.

Thus we get the proprietor of the Reformer to offer the following concessional rate for advance payment:

"Price 2 Rupees per Month, 5 Rupees per Quarter or 20 Rupees per Year; payable in Advance."

The Oriental Observer, the native monthly periodical during 1846-47 with a monthly subscription of four annas per mensem, had to come out with the following notice only after four months of existence (September 1846 to January 1847):

"We beg leave to wait here on our Readers with these few following lines ... We shall only request our subscribers to be little punctual in their payment ..."

The rate of subscription for most of the native periodicals was already too small to allow any further concession on advance payment. Hence to meet this problem some would insist on advance as condition precedent for enrolment as subscribers. Thus the proprietor of the Literary Chronicle laid down the terms — "eight annas a month paid two months in advance", for Calcutta subscribers and "one year's subscription in advance".

1. Reformer, March 10, 1839.
3. Literary Chronicle, December 1849, 3rd cover.
4. Ibid, April 1860.
For an idea of the dimension of this problem in respect of the native papers (both English and vernacular) we may quote from the Calcutta Christian Advocate the exordium of the Editor of the Sambad Provalar (vernacular Daily) to his defaulters:

"The Provalar complains that although he wrote separate letters to all his subscribers before the Durga Puja, requesting them to pay arrears, they have neither sent him any money nor had the civility to reply to his letters. He thinks they can not be aware of the great expense and trouble connected with a daily paper or they never would treat him in such a manner. They seem to imagine that as water is to be had by going to the river, as air freely circulated in the open sky, as light naturally issues from the orb of day, so it is the nature of an Editor to produce newspaper. Such conduct is altogether past endurance; he will bear it no longer ... He will wait another week, and then cease to give the paper gratis to those who can afford to pay for it,"

1. Calcutta Christian Advocate, November 15, 1851, pp. 541-42.