Chapter 2

Press in India

In the middle of the 16th century when the Portuguese arrived in India, a few number of Jesuits landed in Goa. Their intention to come in India was to spread and convert the locals to their religion. So in order to propagate their belief they brought along with them the printing presses. A book of Catechism was published after the introduction of the printing press for the first time in India. Later this holy book was translated and printed with the character of Malayalam – Tamil fonts. Evidence shows that from the initial period of operation in India, the East India Company held power over the press. In 1674 the Court of Directors engaged Henry Miller to go to what was then Bombay with the printing press, types and paper. Then in 1772 another press was installed in what was then Madras and the official printing press in the then Calcutta in the year 1779. During 1800, a printing press was established by Dr. William Carey (1761-1834) and his colleagues at Serampore near Calcutta. This printing press created history in the annals of the Christian Missionaries in India. The press later on translated the Bible into various Indian languages.

During this time, newspapers in India were brought in from England to serve the European community living in the county. However, due to the time that travel took from Europe to India in those days, most of the newspapers, upon reaching India, were months old. This led to the dissatisfaction of the Europeans living in India and subsequently led to the establishment of newspapers based in India itself. After achieving the full control over India, the East India Company started to misuse its authority. This led to the displeasure of many Englishmen who were living in India but who were not involved in the administration which led their criticism of the
Government. This difference in opinion within the English community was the foundation upon which was laid the rise of the press in India.

William Bolt, a Dutchman by birth and the ex-employee of The East India Company attempted to publish newspapers which focused on the grievances against the Company in 1766. Bolt pasted many notice to the doors of Council House in Calcutta and other public places which made the company realise the intention of his activities. He was immediately directed to quit Bengal and proceed to Madras and thence to take a passage to the Europe. So, in September, 1767 William Bolt sailed to Europe which ended the first effort to bring out a newspaper which could greatly hamper the interests of the Company in India. After that nobody attempted to publish a newspaper from the country for the next 12 years. This was until 1778, when James Augustus Hickey set up a printing press in Calcutta. His capital for the investment in the printing press was only two thousand rupees. On 29th January 1780, from this press Hickey brought out the first newspaper in India ‘Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser’. Hickey was regarded as the pioneer of the Press in India. The newspaper was published from Calcutta under the supervision of two well known personalities, Peter Reed, a salt merchant and B. Messink, a theatrical producer. The paper consisted of two sheets of contents which were twelve inches long, eight inches wide and had two columns of printed matter on both sides. In the first issue of the paper Hickey introduced himself as ‘the late printer to the Honourable Company’. Hickey’s Gazette attacked the private affairs of servants of the Company including the Governor General, Warren Hastings, Simeon Droz, Colonel Thomas Dean Pearse and a Swedish Missionary, John Zachariah Kiernander. The paper consisted contents which were extracted from English newspapers, news from the local correspondence with quite a bit of space devoted to the advertisements. The paper carried along with it a heading - ‘A weekly political and commercial paper
open to all parties, but influenced by none’. It highlighted the contemporary life and opinion of the European community of Calcutta but soon garnered an ill repute because of Hickey’s meddling in the personal life of eminent personalities of the Company. Warren Hastings’s Government was not in the favour of the paper from the very inception. Despite its altercations with the Company, Hickey continued publishing and circulating his paper with two hundred copies.

Then came the time when the Bengal Gazette was debarred from circulating its issues through the postal services. This was also the time of the emergence of the rival paper ‘Indian Gazette’ which was established with the support of the Government. Hickey complained about Kiernander and charged him of selling the types to the rival newspaper. However, Kiernander manage to secure a letter from the Governor General regarding his innocence in the matter. On the contrary, Hickey was sued for a libel case where he was imprisoned for four months besides having to pay a fine of rupees five hundred. He had to stay in prison until the fine was paid in full. Imprisonment did not stop him from slanderous writing which attacked the Governor General and the Chief Justice, Sir, Ellijah Impey. Under the instruction of the Governor General and an order from the Chief Justice, 400 armed soldiers were sent to raid the Hickey’s press. He was also ordered to appear before the Supreme Court and was imprisoned and detained for not being able to pay a fine levied against him amounting to Rs. 80,000. Nevertheless, he continued his venture of editing the paper from the prison cell itself without any change in its approach. Later he was sentence for imprisonment for a year and a fine of Rs. 200 in one charge and Rs. 5000 was levied against him by the Chief Justice which was to be paid to the Governor General for the damage he had done. However, later the Governor General withdrew all charges. In spite of all this, Hickey stood firm on his course of action of writing against the Company which ultimately reduced him to poverty and distress.
Adding to his troubles, Hickey had printed 16,888 sheets on a commission from Sir Eyre Coote. He claimed Rs. 35,092 plus interest for the work done but at the end he was offered to settlement of Rs. 6,711 only and that too with the provision that he accepted it as a full and final payment. This did little to improve Hickley’s relations with the Company and it was surmised that the Company was being ruthless in dealing with those who created problems for it. Finding no other way out, Hickey accepted the settlement provided that the payment would be done within 24 hours. To his surprise, it took a few years for the release of the money and that too he received only one fifth of the sum he demanded for the work he had accomplished. Hickey tried every approach to save his paper from the Government’s ire but he failed in his attempt. Finally Bengal Gazette had to stop publication in the year 1782.

The ‘India Gazette’ took full advantage of what the ‘Bengal Gazette’ was going through. The publication was run by the Messers, B. Messink and Peter Reed. The ‘India Gazette’ managed to receive the consent of the Governor General for the use of postal services for circulation. The paper had assured the Company in writing that they will abide by any kind of regulation imposed by the Company and that it would return the favour that the Company had done them by making it the appointed printer to the Company. Despite these assurances, the new editor of the newspaper followed the trail which Hickey had set and, time and again, printed material which was detrimental to the interests of the Company.

In the year 1784, the ‘Calcutta Gazette’ hit the stands with the aid of Government. The ‘Bengal Journal’ emerged in the successive year which offered to publish all Government advertisements free of charge. This was followed by ‘Oriental Magazine of Calcutta Amusement’ which was a monthly magazine and the ‘Calcutta Chronicle’ which was first published in the year 1786. Within six years after the ‘Bengal Gazette’ there were four weekly newspapers and one monthly magazine
which came into the limelight after the rigorous efforts of Hickey in spite of
tremendous opposition.

Meanwhile, the 'Madras Courier' which was the first Madras newspaper came into
existence in 1785. This newspaper was the official newspaper of the Government and
was founded by Richard Johnson. Since the paper was under the authority of the
Government, any advertisements that were to be published needed the signature of
either the Secretaries of Government or any officer duly authorised. This is done in
order to convey that the advertisement were 'officially and sufficient notification of
the Board's orders and regulations in the same manner as if they were particularly
specified to any servant of the Company etc'. In 1791, the 'Hurkaru', another
newspaper of Madras appeared which ran only for a year. The founder of the paper,
Hugh Boyd who was the editor of 'Madras Courier' resigned from his previous post
and started the publication. Though the paper he had brought out was a great
contribution to journalism in Madras, it closed down after his death. In 1795, the
'Madras Gazette' appeared on the scene which was established by R. Williams. A
few months later another new newspaper, the 'India Herald' appeared. This paper
was published illegally by Humphrey. The owner was arrested for publishing the
paper without any permission but he managed to escape the scene through his instant
expulsion to England.

Censorship in India started for the first time in Madras in the year 1795. Before the
publication of the newspaper, the 'Madras Gazette' had to send the entire general
orders of the Government for scrutiny to the Military Secretary. Besides the
censorship, the free postal facilities were also withdrawn. Though, later they have
imposed the levy at the delivery end which was done only after newspapers
protested.
When we glance at the Bombay newspaper scenario, the first newspaper that appeared on the scene was the ‘Bombay Herald’ in 1789. Then in 1790, ‘Courier’ came in which published advertisements in Gujarati. The subsequent year the ‘Bombay Gazette’ hit the stands which in the following year merged with the ‘Bombay Herald’. This was done in order to publish the official notifications and advertisements of the Government. This trend was followed by the newspaper ‘Madras Courier’ which made it convenient for the Government to reach to the masses.

The Hugh Boyd, the editor of the ‘Madras Courier’ resigned from its editorial board as he was not happy with the path that the newspaper was taking. Even his unintentional comment twice on the functioning of the Government did not please the Company. Humphrey’s unauthorized newspaper had a bad rapport with the Government; besides this, he also made ghastly libel on the Government and Prince Wales.

Unlike the newspapers of Madras, the newspapers in Bombay did not have many issues with the Government. In fact, they were more into earning the benefits and recognition of the Government. The founder of the ‘Bombay Herald’, Richard Johnson managed to get new presses, types and printing material by being in good terms with the Government. However, the editor of the ‘Bombay Gazette’ made some comment on the service of the police which ultimately displeased the Government. Initially, the editor had stood by the orders and regulations. When he realised the loss of his capital because he had gone against the Company, he willingly accepted to submit the papers to the Secretary for assessment before publication.

The journey of criticizing and raising a voice against the Government never ended in spite of repeated punishments by those in authority. In 1791, William Duane the
editor of the 'Bengal Journal' was about to be deported when he published the false report regarding the death of Lord Cornwallis while campaigning in the Maratha War. Col. de Canaple who was the Commandant of the Affairs of the French nation in India, wrote on the matter to the Bengal Government. If there is someone to nag there is always somebody willing to lend a helping hand. The French agent, M. Fumeron intervened in time and informed the Government about the death of the Colonel and requested not to take any further action against the editor, as he had been punished enough. Though Duane was saved from deportation, he never got his position as an editor of the 'Bengal Journal' back. In 1794, Duane brought out his own newspaper, the 'Indian World' which progressed successfully in the next three years. Duane’s house was raided twice in 1794, once to make sure that his presence in the Court of Requests for the town in Calcutta then his house was broken down and searched, apparently under the order of the Supreme Court. On complaint to the Government on this matter, he was told by the authority that the Government wished him to proceed to Europe. On 27th December, 1794 Duane was called to the Government House by Captain Collins, the private secretary of the Governor General, Sir John Shore. He was arrested on arrival by soldiers and was later sent to Fort William and kept under security for three days. He was later deported back to England along with three orphan children whom he had adopted. In England he was set free without any explanation. Duane did not even receive any compensation for the property which he had left behind in India which was worth Rs. 30,000. Concerned over the frequency of issue, the Governor General, Sir John Shore wrote a letter to the Honourable Henry Dundas that newspapers which were published in Calcutta had supposedly were 'licentiousness and too dangerous to be permitted in this country'. The Governor also mentioned that he had ordered William Duane to leave India and proceed to Europe. Newspapers that had appeared from 1791 to 1798
were interrupted on various offences by the military. Even the editor of the leading
newspaper had to apologise in order to avoid the severe punishment.

Lord Wellesley intended to expand the territory of the British colony and establish an
empire in India. To fulfil his dream he even entered into a war with Tipu Sultan of
Mysore. During this period of time, Dr. Charles Maclean the founder of the ‘Bengal
Harkaru’ had many issues with the administration of the Government. He had
objected against the Post Master General for detaining certain letters which were
addressed to him. His next concern was with the conduct of the Magistrate of
Ghazepore for signing a letter to the Telegraph. The editor apologised on the matter
but Dr. Maclean refused to do so. This led to his arrest and deportation back to
England. There he started a campaigning against Lord Wellesley which ultimately
resulted in his resignation in 1805. Wellesley introduced certain rules and regulations
in 1799 through which he could control the ‘tribe of editors’ by applying censorship
for the first time in Calcutta. They are as follows-

1. Every printer of a newspaper had to print his name at the bottom of
   the paper.

2. Every editor and proprietor of a paper had to deliver in his name and
   place of stay to the Secretary to the Government.

3. No paper could be published on Sunday.

4. No newspaper could be published at all until it was previously
   inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person
   authorised by him for that purpose.

5. The penalty for offence against any of the above regulations was to be
   followed by immediate deportation to Europe.

When Baptist Missionaries wanted to start their press in Calcutta, they were denied
the permission to do so by Lord Wellesley on the grounds that he himself on behalf
of Government intended to publish a newspaper which was later turned down by the Court of Law. During the first two decades of nineteenth century, there was no change of conduct of the Government towards the newspapers and no change in its rigid control of this sector. However, Lord Hastings and Lord William Bentinck gave some relaxations in their policies. It has been mentioned time and again that whenever any newspaper gave any remark on the functioning of the Government, the people running these papers were always targeted for deportation back to Europe. As during this period most of the editors were all Europeans residing in India, they were under the constant threat of being deported back to Europe by the Government. So to avoid this they either submitted to the unjust orders of the Government or avoided the situation altogether. The Governor of Madras Mr. Elliot summed up the attitude of the Government towards the press by saying, 'The principle objects of those who desire the freedom of the press are to disseminate the worst political doctrines of the times, to bring the constitutional authorities in Europe and Asia into contempt and to provide profits for the lawyers from prosecutions of libels in courts of Justice' (Moitra, 1993).

The Government also banned public meetings. To hold any kind of meeting people first had to discuss the issue to be discussed with the Government. If the Government agreed with the topic of discussion the public meeting would be sanctioned. The consequence of these parameters resulted in the printing of pamphlets which had no tag of author's name or the printer's name.

The 'Asiatic Mirror' came into existence in the year 1814, under the editorship of Dr. James Bryce who was the first Presbyterian Minister in India. Dr. James did not like the conduct of Mr. Adam, Chief Secretary and the censor. According to Dr. Bryce, the officer had overstepped his powers as a censor. Dr. Bryce tried to prevent the censor by approaching the Governor General, Lord Hastings but his efforts were
not given any attention by Lord Hastings. Dr, Bryce constant effort to remove the censor had made Lord Hasting to follow somewhat liberal policy towards the press. Lord hasting abolished the post of censor but formulated regulations prohibiting editors from publishing certain matters.

Ganga Kishore Bhattacharjee started the first Bengali weekly newspaper ‘Vangal Gazette’ even as there is a controversy regarding the exact date of publication of this first Bengali weekly magazine. According to ‘Raja Rammohan Ray and Progressive Movements in India’ by J. K. Mazumdar, the paper continued till 1820. The ‘Friend of India’ (which was the first mouthpiece of Serampore Missionaries) claimed that ‘Samachar Darpan’ a weekly newspaper published by the Missionaries to be the first Bengali weekly newspaper. Whereas Bhowani Charan Bonerji, editor of ‘Sangbad Chandrika’, Iswar Chandra Gupta and the editor of ‘Sangbad Pravakar’ claims that ‘Vangal Gazette’ was the first Bengali Newspaper. ‘Dig Darshan’ a monthly journal in Bengali was published for the first time in 1818 by the Serampore Missionaries. This was also the first monthly magazine in the Bengali language. In the same year 1818, John Burton and James Mackenzie brought out ‘Guardian’ which was published only on Sunday. The Government assurance was given after only if the paper would be completed by Saturday night and moral matters would be given chief priority. William Butterworth Bayley, the acting Chief Secretary came into conflict with Heatly, the proprietor and editor of ‘Morning post’ whose father was British and whose mother was an Indian. Bayley wanted to remove some of the sentences from an article which was submitted to him for pre-censorship. But Heatly refused to make any changes in the article. Baylay became powerless since he was a native of India so no action could be taken against him. Lord Hastings therefore abolished the censorship and left it on the editors to exclude matters that were likely to affect the Government or anything in that manner which may be injurious to public interest.
During this time the two great personalities appeared into the scene of newspapers who had greatly contributed in the journalism phase of India namely James Silk Buckingham and Raja Rammohun Roy who both had to fight for the freedom of the Press and attack the illegal functions of the Company. James Silk Buckingham started the ‘Calcutta Journal’ and was considered to be a man of principle by people including the Governor General and the Bishop. Buckingham’s eight pages of contents spoke his heart where he fearlessly edited the paper till 1823. At one time he wrote an article which attacked the Bishop of Calcutta where he complained about the religious services not being held in Calcutta during the Christmas season as the Chaplains were instead busy in some private matrimonial requisitions. In the consequence Buckingham was warned of continuing his policy of not adhering to orders and in spite of this warning Buckingham stuck to his principles which resulted in popularization of the publication. The paper which had started as a bi-weekly, within three year, grew into the first daily newspaper of Calcutta. His opponents from the Council, John Adam, John Fendell and William Butterworth Bayley had tried to suppress Buckingham but Lord Hastings always saved him from being deported. With the end of the tenure of Lord Hastings, John Adam succeeded him as the Governor General. It was at this time that Buckingham’s approach of highlighting grievances against the Government finally led to his deportation back to England. In order to address his accusation he started another paper the ‘Oriental Herald’ in England and through this paper Buckingham had pursued a mission to expose the functions of the Government in India.

Rammohun Roy was a social and religious reformer who took journalism to serve people residing in the land of India. He instigated the struggle for the establishment of law and democracy as well as the freedom of the Press in India. He is considered to be the founder and the father of Indian language journalism. Beside he was also a
fighter for the rights of women and the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. To carry out his mission of reform Rammohun Roy was also assisted with financial and moral support by two of his close friends, Dwarkanath Tagore and James Silk Buckingham. Rammohun Roy had contributed three publications where he sincerely acknowledges the purpose of their manifestation. They are the ‘Brahmanical Magazine’ a bilingual monthly magazine in 1821 which was published in English, in same year another paper was also published which was called ‘Sambad Kaumudi’ in Bengali and in 1822 ‘Mirat-ut-Akhbar’ a Persian weekly. There is controversy over the actual date of ‘Sambad Kaumudi’. According to Rev. J. Long the editor of the publication was Bhowani Charan Bonerjee and it was published in 1819 and Margarita Barns says that the weekly appeared in December 1920 while Government records shows that ‘Sambad Kaumudi’ was published on 4th December 1821. The editor of ‘Sambad Kaumudi’, Bhowani Charan Bonerjee was against the views and principles of Rammohun Roy. He left ‘Sambad Kaumudi’ after 13 issues and started ‘Samachar Chandrika’ a weekly in order to oppose Rammohun Roy’s activities of social reform. The weekly defended the practise of ‘Sati’ and opposed the social reform which resulted in the closure of ‘Sambad Kaumudi’. Later the publication was revived by Rammohun and Rev J. Long documented in words as ‘Lasted to see the abolition of Sati by Lord Bentick, the actual carrying out of which was in no small degree owing to the Kaumudi and similar papers preparing the native mind for the abolition’. Under his supervision there was the birth of two more Persian newspapers, the ‘Jam-i-Jahan-Numa’ which was published by Hurree Hur Dutt with Lalla Sooke and ‘Shams-ul-Akhbar’. Before these publication came into being there were a few other Persian newspapers which were brought out during the end of eighteenth century but there were no available records of their existence. The influence of Rammohun Roy’s publication and the critical writings of many
newspapers had upset the Government authorities. In October 10\textsuperscript{th}, 1822, William Butterworth Bailey who was the Chief Secretary to the Government made a list of newspapers of which the content of ‘objectionable passage’ was included and gave his details where he deliberately made an attempt to attack ‘Meerut-ul-Akhbar’.

(Natarajan, 1995)

The Governor General John Adam brought into force a set of regulations which were collectively known as Adam’s Gag. The ordinance laid down stated, ‘Henceforth, no one should publish a newspaper or a periodical without having obtained a licence from the Governor General in – council, signed by the Chief Secretary. The application for licence should give the name or names of printer and publisher, or the proprietors, their place of residence, the location of the press and the title of the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet or other printed books or paper’.

(Ghosh, 1998)

If there was any violation against the regulation then a fine and imprisonment would ensue. Rammohun Roy realised that the effect of these regulations may hamper the growth and freedom of the Press. He along with five other leaders, Sundar Kumar Tagore, Harachandra Ghosh, Dwarakanath Tagore, Gaur Charan Banerji and Prasanna Kumar Tagore appealed to the Government not to implement these regulations as this would prevent free and honest communication which would also create injustice and malfunctioning of the executive officers. The petition was however rejected by Sir Francis Macnaghten who was holding the position of a judge. The rejection did not stop Rammohun Roy in his fight for the freedom of the press. His next appeal was to the King-in-Council against the press regulations which was again rejected. Rammohun stopped the ‘Meerut-ul-Akhbar’ in protest against the injustice. Thereafter Adam’s Regulations thus became a forerunner of the Vernacular Press of 1878. Among the English owned English newspapers, the ‘Calcutta
Journal’ and the ‘Calcutta Chronicle’ were the only ones which were deprived of licences. The ‘Calcutta Journal’ was deprived of the licence as John Adam had a hand in it and the ‘Calcutta Chronicle’ lost out as it was associated with William Adam who was a friend of Rammohun Roy and whose writing were forceful but by no means object able when we take into consideration the publications run by English editors which were very vociferous against the authority at that time.

The consequence of the bureaucracy’s repressive attitude over the Indian journals to function freely led to the booming of newspapers from the other provinces of India. In 1812 the first Gujarati press in Bombay was established by Fardoonjee Marzban. After ten years of its establishment Marzban started a commercial newspaper called the ‘Mumbai-Na-Samachar’, which was a weekly Gujarati paper. The publication had modified its name to the ‘Bomaby Samachar’ and was also known as the ‘Mumbai Samachar’. The publication is still running till today. There were two other English newspapers which started from Bombay, the ‘Daily Gazette’ and the ‘Courier’.

In 1822 the first printing press was set up in Cawnpore where the Cawnpore Advertiser was published. To defend the British authority in India ‘John Bull in the East’ was founded under the editorship of Dr. Bryce in 1821. Later the publication was converted into the ‘Englishman’ which was financially supported by Prince Dwarkanath Tagore. Two other Bengali weeklies ‘Sangbad Timir Nasak’ appeared in October, 1823 and in May 10th 1829, ‘Banga-Doot’ which became the mouthpieces of the progressive middle class people with the support of Martin, Dwarakanath Tagore, Prosunno Coomar Tagore and Raja Rammohun Roy. Joogul Kishore Sookal had brought out the first Hindi newspaper ‘Oodunt Martund’ which contributed immensely to the field of journalism in February 1826. ‘Shamesul-Akhbar’ a Parsi and ‘Hindoostanee’ newspaper was published on 6th May, 1823 with Munniramm
Thacoor as its printer. Besides, there were also English journals which came in between the period of 1824 to 1830 namely the 'Scotsman in the East', the 'Weekly Gleaner', the 'The Columbian Press Gazette', the 'Quarterly Oriental Magazine', 'Kaleidoscope', the 'Calcutta Chronicle', the 'Calcutta Gazette' and the 'Commercial Advertisment'.

When Lord William Bentinck joined as the Governor General, one of his first reactions to the orthodox Hindu rituals was to abolish the practise of 'Sati'. Being in a position of bureaucracy he held the schemes of the British authority while at the same time he gave certain weight to the social reform in India. He realised that for efficient administration, relaxing the restrictions imposed upon press would help in the discussion on the social controversies freely among the vernacular press. With this in mind, he enquired about the circulation and the influence of newspapers. In September 1828, Mr. G. Stockwell presented the report where the description of the total circulation of all the English dailies, bi-weeklies taken together did not exceed 1125 copies. The content of the newspapers were of the recent socio-religious issues which increased the interest among the readers. During these times many newspapers in the Indian language were born out of Lord Bentinck's liberal attitude towards the press. In 1830, there were 16 newspapers and periodicals which appeared in Bengali. There were three dailies which were, 'Prabhakar', 'Chandrodaya', 'Mahajan-Darpan'; one tri-weekly 'Bhaskar'; two bi-weeklies 'Chandrika' 'Rasaraj'; seven weeklies 'Jnan-Darpan', 'Banga Doot', 'Sudhuranjan', 'Jnan-Sancharini', 'Rangpur', 'Bartabaha', 'Rasa-Mudgar' and 'Rasa-Sagar'; two fortnightlies 'Nitya-Dharmaranjika', and 'Durpan-Daman-Maha-Naban' and one monthly 'Tattwa-Bodhini Patrika'. The number of publications increased as the year passed by with a good numbers of English and Bengali ones.
On 28th May 1831, Iswar Chandra Gupta published ‘Sangbad Provakar’ a weekly Bengali newspaper which had a notable place in Bengali literature. On 24th June, 1839 the paper was converted into a daily because of its popularity and later it was changed again into a monthly in 1853.

During this time there was also the emergence of Bombay newspapers. ‘Mumbai Samachar’ as it was mentioned earlier became a daily in the year 1832. Naoroji Dorabji Chandaru started ‘Mumbai Vartaman’ in September 1880 whereas the following year ‘Jam-e-Jamshed’ was established by Pestonji Manejji Motwala. Dastu Mullah Firoz asserted that the Bombay calendar was incorrect. As a result there was clash between Shahanshaites who followed the old calendar and those following the new calendar. These controversies followed with the participation of the newspapers which could not survive for long. Among these newspapers, Kadmis who established ‘Ebtal-E-Kabiseh’ and ‘Akhbar-E-Kabiseh’ was brought out by their opponents. ‘Iris’ also took part in the controversy which was published in English by J.H. Stocqueler. After closing down the paper Stocqueler acquired ‘Bombay Courier’ from Warden and Bell. ‘Bombay Courier’ did not give him enough benefits in spite of getting Government revenue. He left Bombay and tried his fortunes in Calcutta where he purchased ‘John Bull’ in 1830. Unfortunately this publication also run at a loss as the circulation was very low and there were heavy arrears from its subscribers. Dwarkanath Tagore helped Stocqueler financially and converted the paper into the ‘Englishman’ besides helping him with the articles secured from famous English writers. Dwarkanath Tagore who belonged to the royal family had played his role in the development and growth of newspapers which can be traced in the history of journalism. As cited earlier he had not just assisted Stocqueler and Rammohun Roy but also had taken active part by providing financial help to ‘Indian Gazette’ and ‘Bengal Harkaru’ and other activities in India. During this time the
Government grant to publish newspapers in both the South and North West provinces of India came about. ‘Bombay Darpan’ was established in the year 1832 under the editorship of Bal Shastri Jambhekar. He along with his associates Rugoonath Hurryochunderjee and Junardun Wessoodewjee approached the Government as well the countrymen and European to contribute participation in terms of monetary aid and by way of contents.

When the renewal of charter of the East India Company approaching, the team of Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and Prosunno Coomak Tagore and others had appealed to the British Parliament to renew its charter for the next twenty years. They supported the work of indigo-planter and the granting of the privilege of ‘colonisation’ and free trade scheme. They therefore had a meeting on this issue on the 15th of December 1829 following which it was also reported in ‘Banga-Doot’.

Some sections of Zamindars opposed the colonisation scheme in India as the plantation of indigo destroys rice plants. In 1833, the charter was renewed with the scheme of colonization and free trade. It was further declared that no person by reason of the birth, creed or colour should be disqualified from holding any office in the Company’s service. However, this declaration was never passed which is why many Indians agitated against the law.

The British never gave their consent on the matter of a free press. They would rather have liked to continue their rule over and exploitation of the natives as long as they could. The British bureaucracy knew very well that once the press achieved its freedom to write, it would criticize the administration which would encourage the people to struggle for the freedom of the country. In February 1835 when the Indian and the European journalists of Calcutta presented a joint petition to the Government for the removing of the restriction of the press, Bentinck refused to do so, even though he was liberal towards the press. When Bentinck falls ill, Sir Charles Metcalf
took the charge of Governor General on a temporary basis. Metcalf was a man who had a special attachment with India from the time that he was just nineteen years old and also known the country and her people. He wanted to relieve the press of restrictions despite the fact that his actions would not sit well with his colleagues. Without bothering about the opposition, Metcalf along with the support of Macaulay who was the law member of the council proposed a uniform law for the journalists of Indian and European newspapers. His proposal was opposed by H.T. Prinsep and Lt. Col. Morrison who were the Governors of Bombay and Madras as well as members of the Council. Nevertheless, in 1835 Metcalf liberated the press by withdrawing all the restrictions which were imposed on it. He abrogated the Adam’s regulation of 1823, the Bombay press of 1825 and 1827 and also the censorship of Madras which was enforced over all the territories of the East India Company. However the newspapers or periodicals had to provide for a declaration of the place of publication. In the case of change of address of the publication, this had to be informed to the Government. There was also regulation to bear the name of the printer and publisher as well as the name of the printing press and its address on any journal or book being printed. A penalty of Rs. 500 and imprisonment may be imposed if the press did not provide such a declaration.

The British court of Directors was furious when the news of the removal of all restrictions over the press reached to their ears. In that year itself, Lord Auckland was appointed as the Governor General and proposed that Metcalf continues as the Governor of the North Western Province. Lord Auckland, after he took his charge as the Governor General was also in favour of the policy of liberation of the Indian press. He in fact had a cordial relationship with the press. There was also a dispatch from the Court of Directors on the removal of restrictions which not only condemned
Metcalf but also gave an implication of what he did as ‘an unwise desire for temporary praise’. (Ghosh, 1998)

In due course, Metcalf embarked back to England on 15th February 1838. His perseverance for the freedom of the press had taken away his own good standing with the British bureaucracy. Nevertheless, what he had done for the press in India will be remembered throughout the history of journalism.

The resolution boosted the growth of many newspapers. On the other side the Christian Missionary brought along with them the printing press in order to facilitate the spread of their religion in India. This helped in starting the printing press in Indian languages in different parts of the country. The period of 28 years, since the time of Lord William Bentinck is considered to be the ‘golden era’ as the press was more or less free from restrictions. During this time, many movements developed as a process of national awakening. The Bengali newspapers rose to 19 in number and the circulation of the papers rose to 8000 copies. There was also the division of newspapers in terms of those who support religious reform and those who supported the orthodox causes. Pandit Iswar Chndra Vidyasagar submitted a petition to the Government for the legislation of widow remarriage. The progressive newspapers supported Vidyasagar in his effort to implement the law by giving exposure to the thought. There was also protest against the act from Hindu orthodox of Bengal, Madras, Calcutta, Bihar, and Orissa. At the end the bill on widow remarriage was passed as a law in 1856. Then the issue of property inheritance of those Hindus who had converted into Christianity came into the limelight. Under the guidance of Rev. Krishna Mohon Banerjee, the editor of ‘Inquirer’ the Christians of India organized the agitation, on which a necessary legislation was formulated. ‘Sangbad Chandrika’ and its publication of the criticisms of missionaries and against the introduction of English education became the issue of their protest. ‘Banga-Doot’ which was edited
by Neetlurutton Haider supported the reform that was brought into the native land. Taking this tread even the ‘Gyananeshan’ and ‘Bengal Spectator’ also stood against the orthodox ways. ‘Bengal Spectator’ a monthly journal was established by a group ‘Young Bengalis’ in April 1842 under the editorship of Pyarichand Misra. The journal was converted into a fortnightly and from March 1843 it was published as a bi-lingual weekly. Gaurisankar Bhattacharya started ‘Sangbad Bhaskar’ a tri-weekly paper in March 1839 with a circulation of 700 copies. The publication also had its subscribers in Punjab and England. Gaurisankar was considered to be a staunch fighter against superstition, ignorance and a person who had strong belief in social reform which would benefit the people. Besides this, there were many agitations and movements in which the newspapers actively participated, either supporting the causes or opposing them. ‘Samachar Darpan’ which was the first Bengali newspaper served its readers consistently for the 22 years before it closed down in 1840. In 1849, Girish Chandra Ghose published ‘Bengal Recorder’ which, later in 1853, changed its name to ‘Hindoo Patriot’ under the editorship of Hurish Chunder Mukherjee. ‘Patriot’ as the name suggest was renowned as a fearless and active participator in many popular struggles in India. For its vigorous activity the publication acquired a national status which created history in Indian journalism.

The advancements of technology brought with them a new phase in the history of the press in India. The development of postal and telegraph facilities brought a considerable change in the methods of collection of news and information and as well as in the transmission and distribution of news in India. All the developments took place under the regime of Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General in 1849. Yet, Dalhousie’s actions of dethroning many rulers, the policy of doctrine of lapse created an unpleasant situation among the Indians. He even ignored the comments in newspapers that had attacked him. It was at this time that Indian owned newspapers
published the detail stories of crimes that had occurred in England whereas the European owned newspapers took delight in publishing the news of racial supremacy in India.

A monthly journal 'Masik Patrika' was published by Radhanath Sickdhar and Pyarichand Mitra in 1854. They belong to the 'Young Bengal’ group who had faith in the Bengali language which would uplift the masses, particularly women. Tek Chand Thakur also regularly contributed his piece ‘Alaler Gharer Dulal in the 'Masik Patrika'. In other provinces of India, the growth of newspapers was very slow in comparison to Calcutta and Bombay. The contents of journals in Delhi and North West India lacked in taking an initiative in voicing the grievances of the public which ultimately failed to create interest in newspapers. In order to save them from loss, the Government took initiatives by taking subscription from the publications. In Delhi and the North West, Urdu newspapers emerged as a result of this. The newspapers that were established from Delhi and Agra were ‘Sayyed-Ul-Akhabar’, ‘Oordu Akhbar’, ‘Mozhur-Ul-Akhabar’, ‘Sudder-Ul-Akhabar’, ‘Akhbar-Ul-Haquya’, ‘Zoobdut-Ul-Akhabar’, ‘Siraj-Ul-Akhabar’. In 1850, the North West provinces newspapers had 28 publications with a combined circulation of 1497 copies. In 1858, the number of publications declined to 12 newspapers but with the circulation rose to 3223 copies. Among the 12 newspapers, only one publication was edited by a Muslim.

In 1822, Gujarati newspapers were started by the Parsis in Bombay. During the period of 1830 to 1858 ‘Mumbaina Samachar’ and seven other newspapers were established but many of the publications did not survive long. ‘Mumbaina Cabuk’ which hit the stands in 1832 and continued till 1850; ‘Doorbin’ survived from 1840 to 1856, ‘RastGaftar’ which was initiated by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1846 ceased publication in 1921. Karsondas Mulji started ‘Satya Prakash’ in 1852 which
survived till 1861. In 1849, the first Gujarati newspaper ‘Vartaman’ was published in Gujarat under the editorship of Amareswar Kubardas. ‘Shamsher Bahadu’ was established in 1854 and also ceased publication after some time. A bi-weekly newspaper called ‘Surat Samachar’ existed only for a few years. All the Gujarati newspapers which were published from Bombay blindly supported the British rule; however they opposed the racial discrimination of the Anglo-Indian press. In 1832, Marathi journalism was initiated by Bal Shastri Jambhekar who was an ex-professor of Elphinstone College. Under his guidance and training, many journalists had brought out proficient results in the field. ‘Bombay Darpan’ was started by him as an Anglo-Marathi fortnightly, later it was converted into a weekly newspaper. Jambhekar also started a Marathi monthly magazine ‘Dig-Darpan’ in 1840 and extended his help to start the weekly, ‘Prabhakar’ in 1841 which also earned a reputation for independent and fearless coverage under the editorship of Bhaub Mahajan (Govind Vithal Kunte). Pandit Morabhat Dandekhar, a disciple of Jambhekar started ‘Upadesha Chandrika’ a Marathi monthly journal in 1844 to write against practices of the Christian Missionaries. Besides these, other newspapers which achieved considerable reputations were ‘Duyan Prakash’ which was published in 1849, edited by K.T.Ranade, the Anglo-Marathi journal ‘Indu Prakash’ which was established by the leader of Parthana Samity, Mahadev Govind Ranade. According to Rev. J. Long, the first newspaper published in Madras which was in Tamil and Telegu was seen in 1833. Then in 1855, the second Tamil newspaper that broke into the scene was the ‘Rajavrithi Bodhini’. The other weekly paper was the ‘Dinavartaman’ which was published in 1855 and edited by Rev. P. Percival. During this time, Tamil papers generally were run by the Missionaries under the subsidies of the Government and therefore no contents of social controversies, political issues found space in them. The English newspapers which were also published from this
place avoided offending the Government. No newspapers were found during the pre-rebellion period in the Kanada speaking area, Punjab, Malayalam, Oriya and areas speaking Assamese languages. Rev. J. Long marked this issue as the ‘political awakening and progressive urge for socio-religious reforms did not develop simultaneously all over India and equal degree in all the provinces’. (Ghosh, 1998)

There were conflicts with the European owned newspapers because of their indulgence in racial discrimination and also from the Government’s allegations on the Indian owned newspapers of their involvement in revolt which were not supported by facts. These resulted in a breach between the Indian and European newspapers which continued till the movement for freedom arose.

The exploitation of foreign rulers in the native country had created discomfort among Indians. This resulted in revolt against the British authority which led to revolts like the Wahbi rising, the rise of Titumir and Farazis. In this situation, the press also played its role by warning the authority about threats. But once the Great Rebellion of 1857 started which was the first effort to drive out the British from India, Hurish Chunder Mukherjee, the father of Indian journalism maintained a balanced and fearless statement in ‘Hindoo patriot’ in criticizing the assaults of the Government.

While the English newspapers included provocative comments in the columns of Anglo-Indian publications. The British suppressed the revolt with utmost cruelty, in which the Indian newspapers published the discontent and grievances of the people.

Yet, Lord Canning blamed the Indian press for inciting the people to rise in revolt against the British. Canning therefore enacted a hasty legislation which is known as the ‘Gagging Act’ of 1857 in order to control the press. The Act reintroduced the main features of the Adam’s regulation of 1823. ‘Bengal Hurkaru’ fell into the trap of the Act and was suspended of publication from 19th September to 24th September that year. The paper had to file for a fresh licence because its editor Sydney Laman
Blanchard had committed an offence under the Act and for which he also had to resign from the post. Many editors were put to trial for their articles which created rebellious sentiments against the Government. ‘Friend of India’ was also warned that its licence would be withdrawn for a provocative article that was published in it. In reply to the warning, the editor had given the satirical statement where he mentioned that the publication was the first experiment of the Gagging Act of the Lord Canning. A similar notification was also encountered by the editor of ‘Bombay Times’ for raising the cry ‘blood for blood’. The editor and proprietor of ‘Bengal Gazette’ John Conon approached the Court of Directors for the removal of the new press Act which was however disregarded by the Government. On 1st November 1858, following the suppression of the rebellion, the Crown took over the Government of India from the East India Company. A new Act was proclaimed which brought in great relief to the people and press in India. The Gagging act of 1857 was withdrawn in 1858, but the Government would restrain the freedom of the press. After the death of Hurish Chandra Mukherjee, ‘Hindoopatriot’ was crossed over from Kali Prasanna Sinha before it reached Kristo Das in November 1861. Kristo Das opposed the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 and urged for the admission of Indians in increasing numbers to Government appointments. The period that followed after 1857 saw the development of nation consciousness in the country. The peasants of Bengal raised their voice against the indigo planters of Europeans while at the same time the Wahabi and Farrazi movements also established its stand in Bengal. The movement saw cooperation from the press and the middle class people. The Government had established a strict censorship through their district officers and this led to the publication of general news which was taken out from the different parts of India. After the revolt was quelled, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasaga and Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan started the ‘Som Prakash’ which was a political paper. ‘Hindoopatriot’
and 'Som Prakash' took active participation during the indigo plantation of 1860. The Nel Darpan case (drama of oppression of European planters) caused a sensation in newspaper circulation both in the Indian and Anglo Indian press. Nel Darpan was written by Dinabandhu Mitra and Michael Madhusudan Dutt and was translated to English. Rev. Long printed and distributed it among the number of European officers, for which he was later prosecuted along with the printer - Manual. In 1861, Manmohan Ghosh started 'Indian Mirror' - English fortnightly with financial aid from Devendra Nath Tagore. The founder of 'Tattvabodhini Sabha' and 'Tattvabondhini Patrika' (1839-1902) was Devendra Nath Tagore. Keshab Chandra Sen got associated with the publication and became its editor. The difference between them grew but Keshab retained the publication. After he returned from England, he started 'Sulav Samachar' which became a great success. He converted the 'Indian Mirror' to a daily and also started another weekly the 'Sunday Mirror'. Keshab Chandra Sen was the man behind the legislation of Civil Marriage Act of 1872 which legalised inter-caste marriage, disallowed bigamy and approved the remarriage of widows under certain conditions. Girish Chandra Ghosh, the founder of 'Hindoo Patriot' started another publication in 1868 which was known as 'Bengalee'.

In 1886 Sisir Kumar Ghosh published 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' and his brother published 'Halishahar Patrika' in 1870 from Halishahar which was run by young college students. 'Gram Varta Prakashika' was published in 1863 from Nadia which was conducted by Kangal Harinath Majumdar. These publications had changed the taste of their news content from the social reform to the political matters in a serious manner. The Ghosh brothers took every step to support the peasants in their fight against the indigo planters. The elder of the Ghosh family, Basat Kumar started 'Amrita Prabahini' a fortnightly journal which however did not survive long.
1869, 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' became bilingual with a few columns of English content. The publication was also under libel case for publishing an article which was written by the head clerk of the Joint Magistrate, Raj Kumar Mitra. After the publication was shifted to Calcutta, the paper got an opportunity to participate in the struggle for independence. The Judge of the High court, Dwarka Nath Mitra said that the writing of the publication would create discontent in the country to which Sisir Kumar replied that the mission of the publication is to awaken the people and to stimulate the love for freedom. In Bombay four newspapers, 'Bombay Times', 'Courier', the 'Standard' and 'Telegraph' merged in 1861 into one single newspaper namely the 'Times of India'. The Anglo-Indian newspapers also came into being which are 'Pioneer' in Allahabad, the 'The Civil and Military Gazette' of Lahore and the 'Statesman' of Calcutta. 'Madras Mail' was the first evening newspaper that was established in India and soon after the 'Hindu' came into the scene of newspapers.

During 1835 to 1870, the press more or less enjoyed freedom. In 1875, scarcity of food prevailed in Bihar. At this time, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir George Campbell prohibited the export of grain which was supported by Robert Knight, the editor of the official news journal 'Agricultural Gazette of India'. The Governor General Lord Northbrook and his Finance Minister Sir Richard Temple disagreed with the view, on which Knight attacked them through his writings. He also had a publication called 'India Economist' which was established in 1872 and it was run on subsidies from the Government which were ultimately withdrawn. On 8th July, 1875 a notification was passed by the Home Department as the decision relied on the Government on the association of officers with the press was consistent with the discharge of the duty. Robert Knight resigned in 1874 and founded 'Statesman' on January 1875 which was supported by merchants. The same year Knight purchased the 'Friend of India' for Rs. 30,000 which later moved to Calcutta. 'Statesman'
which was running as a daily and ‘Friend of India’ as weekly and both the publication were running separately till 1877. Lord Lytton when he became the Viceroy of India in 1876 and had the report of Sir George Campbell’s findings of Indian owned newspapers. He sought opinions on improving the relationship between the press and the Government. Robert Knight gave detailed information of the anguish of the press against the Government’s indifferent attitude towards them. Knight also suggested that there should be a special Press bureau in the Government which would not only acquaint itself with the writing of journals but maintain the friendly relationship.

‘The Civil and Military Gazette’ was first published in 1876 and had purchased another publication the ‘Lahore Indian Public Opinion’ in 1877. Both the publications were merged together later. Rudyard Kipling joined ‘The Civil and Military Gazette’ as an apprentice. Then in 1887 he left the Gazette and became the assistant editor of ‘Pioneer’. After two years he was sent for a tour around the world and to publish his impressions in the publication.

The Vernacular Bill was introduced by Sir Arbuthnot, Sir Ashley Eden which was passed as Act IX of 1878. In brief, its objects were to control the Indian language press and furnish the Government with more effectively with details and to omit the writing which would promote dissatisfaction among the masses against the Government. At this time the influence of ‘Amrita Bazar Patrika’ was very strong in the state. So Sir Ashley conceived the idea of winning over Sisir Kumar Ghosh partly by kindness and also by threats. He was also offered a share in the Government if he followed the path to which Sisir Kumar remarked that there has to be at least an honest journalist in the land. Sir Ashley, infuriated by this comment, warned Ghosh of the consequences which resulted in the origin of the Vernacular Press Act. Before the Act was implemented, the Ghosh brothers changed the paper into the English
language. As such, the paper was saved as English papers were not under the jurisdiction of Sir Ashley and Lord Lytton’s Vernacular Act. Although ‘Som Prakash’ was forced to cease its publication under the Act, ‘Navabi Bhakar’ was published in its place. Later permission was granted to revive the ‘Som Prakash’ in 1879. The Act also empowered any Magistrate of a district or Commissioner of police in a presidency town to take action against the publication which went against the Act. Besides this, Mr. Roper Lethbridge was appointed as a Press Commissioner. The Commissioner’s function was to provide the press with the early and accurate information in regard to public measures and also to act a channel of communication between the Government and the Indian language press. The Press Commissionership was abolished in 1881 by Lord Ripon. As the cost of expenditure was out of proportion to the service provided, protest against the Vernacular Act reached Great Britain which finally repealed the Act by the introduction of a bill on 7th December 1881. The bill was passed on the grounds that in the opinion of the Government, the ground circumstances did not justify the existence of the Act. There was also an invitation from Lord Ripon for the corporation of qualified Indians to work in the administration which encouraged political enthusiasm. There was also a case where Surendra Nath Banerji was imprisoned while commenting in ‘Bengali’ against Justice Noris of Calcutta. Noris insulted a Hindu idol by commanding it to be produced before the court during a hearing of a case which hurt the sentiment of the Hindus. Surendra Nath was charged with contempt of court and imprisoned for two months. However he considered the incident as a matter which gave stimulus to the press.

The passion for news awakened during this time. Babu Jogendranath Bose started ‘Bangabasi’ which still holds an important place among Bengali newspapers. Lord Ripon’s effort for educated Indians in the administrative did not work adequately. A
year after his retirement in 1885, a new organisation was established which was called the Indian National Congress. The founder of the organisation was Allen Octavian Hume, the son of Joseph Hume. The younger Hume had served in the Civil Services of India. After his retirement he served the movement with Robert Knight, Sir William Wedderburn, Wilfred Blunt and a number of Indian leaders. In March 1883 Hume had approach the graduate students of Calcutta University and their representatives to support the organisation. The response was positively addressed.

'Amrita Bazar Patrika' had published certain facts about the administration of Bhopal and commented on the conduct of Sir Lepal, the agent of the Governor General for Central India. Sir Lepal appealed to the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin for legal action against the publication. Lord Dufferin had a friendly relation with the press, who refused the appeal of Lepal. In 1889, 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' again published a confidential foreign document where the idea of annexing of Kashmir, the Gilgit region was included by the political agents of the British Indian Government. The news created a sensation in the country. The issue was discussed in Parliament with Charles Bradlaugh, known as a friend of India and William Digby. In order to prevent the disclosure of official documents and information, the Government implemented the Official Secrets Act on 9th October 1889. The Indian Act which was modelled on The British Act provided a penalty of imprisonment for a year or two or fine. The Act was also amended by Act V of 1904 and later was replaced by the Official Secrets Act of 1923. There were a few other bills that had been introduced which created a reason for the progress of public opinion. These are the Ilbert Bill which had its connection with the racial discrimination of the Indian Judges who could not be relied upon to maintain judicial standards and the Age of Consent Bill which was to prohibit the consummation of marriage until the wife is twelve years old which was opposed by orthodox Hindus. While the editor, manager and printer of
'Bangabashi' was prosecuted for the agitation against the bill, the bill had changed the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' to a daily from 19th February 1891 as the Hindu opinion required to be published. During this time, the 'Indian Social Reformer' started in 1980 with the objective of social reform in the country. In the Indian Council Act of 1892 which was undertaken by the Government newspapers expressed disappointment with the inadequacy of the measures taken. In Bombay when there was the outbreak of the bubonic plague, the Government took a measure in trying to keep the suspected patients away. The British troops were used to execute to search houses. To this Act Tilak in the column of 'Kesari' accused the military of offending the religious sentiments of the people. The consequence of the statement was the murdering of a military officer and an Indian civilian at Poona. The accused was executed and Tilak was imprisoned for eighteen months. There were also factors which influenced the Press during the time of the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and Indian Council Act of 1892. The movement of Indians to choose their own representatives through the Constitution became focus for the press. This set the trend of the press to take on a political disposition.

At the end of the 19th century, the weekly newspaper as well the technical journalism had taken its position. 'The Times of India' on 3rd January 1980 published weekly summaries by compiling daily leading and special reports. The paper started publishing illustrations along with the articles after twenty years in 'The times of India Illustrated Weekly'. Shirley Tremearne, a journalist and a lawyer had founded 'Capital' in 1880. The journal was established in Calcutta which reported on the news, views and financial character. The same year another publication by Pat Doyle, a Civil engineer called 'Indian Engineering' was founded which was followed by 'Eastern Engineer'. There were newspapers from other fields like sports journalism such as the 'The Asian and Indian Planters' Gazette'. The paper
circulation was restricted to non-Indians. Later, sports events were covered in other Indian newspapers. *The Hindustan Review* which was started in 1899 by Sachchidananda Sinha, was a monthly periodical which consisted of articles and reviews on the topic of history, literacy and political interest. At this time, political activity took its space with rapid advancement and most of the agitations disappeared. However, it was at this time that there was a rise in terrorist movement. Indian politics and the development of press had taken a new stature in the twentieth century. *Indian Review* was started in 1900 by G. A. Natesan and was founded for the cause of the welfare of the country. The publication also had a distinguished number of contributors. The death of Mahadev Govind Ranade in 1901 had created an ideological difference between Tilak and Gokhale and these differences had created far reaching consequences in the Indian Politics. 1905 saw the beginning of the period of the Swadeshi Movement which was the first phase of India’s struggle for independence. With the help of Journals like *Jugantar* and *Bande Mataram* the movement exerted its activities. *Bande Mataram* believed that the only ways to remove the British Government from India was to engage in grim battle with rulers and through the shedding the martyrs’ blood rather than pleading and petition. Lord Minto expanded many Act and laws which would curtail the freedom of the press. The Official Secret Act of 1889 was amended where the civil matter was place on a level with naval and military matters. It also made it so that whoever goes to a Government officer with or without authority would be in offence against the Act. The anti-partition agitation spread all over the country, strengthening the ties among the leaders from different parts of the country. The arrest of Tilak had agitated the youth of Bengal. This time trouble had hovered over the British, as the agitation took the form of bloodshed. Disturbances occurred in various parts of India, riot broke in Lohore and Rawalpindi and there was trouble in Punjab. Many public lectures were
held where Bepin Chandra Pal’s speech was reported on from Madras. Tilak continued his campaign though his columns of ‘Kesari’ and ‘Desha Sewak’. Surendra Nath Banerjee showcased public opinion in his publication ‘Bengalee’ and he also campaigned against the partition of Bengal. The ‘Hindu’ articulated the Indian point of view whereas the ‘Madras Mail’ which was supported by Europeans expressed their point of view. ‘The Indian Spectator’ which was under the editorship of Byranji Malabari gave the weekly update of Indian affairs. The Government found another means to control the press which was the Incitement to Offence Act. This Act empowered the concerned authorities to take judicial action against an editor for publishing any matter that was likely to incite rebellion among the people of India. S. M. Paranji, the editor of ‘Kal’ was a victim of the Act for his seditious writing in his publication. He was a renowned writer whose writing was incomparable and unequalled in Marathi literature and in journalism in general till today. When Tilak went to Bombay to assist Paranji, he was imprisoned for six years for the statements in two different articles. Besides these, other editors who were prosecuted in Bengal were Aurobindo Ghose of ‘Bande Mataram’, Brahma Bandhabh Upadhyay, editor of ‘Sandhya’ and Bhupendra Nath Datta, the editor of ‘Jugantar’ and Barindra Kumar Ghosh. Aurobindo Ghose in his seven series of articles published between 9th to 23rd April 1907 set out for the principle of passive resistance as an instrument of political action. He opined that the principle had to be peaceful as long as the official action was confined to the rule of fight. Aurobindo Ghose and Barindra Kumar Ghosh were arrested for the famous Alipore Bomb case of 1908 which lasted for a year. C. R. Das could however secure the release of Aurobindo Ghose because of his able advocacy. But Birendra Kumar Ghosh and Ullaskar Dutt could not escape life imprisonment sentences. During the trial Aurobindo Ghose was also held in detention for a period and in his absence the movement which he undertook became
inactive. He restarted the publication ‘Bande Mataram’ which was closed down during his trial besides starting two other weekly papers, ‘Karmayogin’ in English and ‘Dharma’ in Bengali.

A decision had been formulated in 1905 whereby half of the elected members in all the Councils should be Indian and three Indians to be appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State. A demand for adopting the system of the British Government was made in the Calcutta session of Congress whose president was Dadabhai Naoroji. This led to a rift among the Indian leaders which led to the formation of two schools of thoughts, the Moderates and Extremists. In 1909, a law was passed where the Legislative Council and the number of elected members who were given the powers to move resolutions on matter of general public interest, to discuss on the matter of annual budgets which could also be accompanied by the questions from the members. Besides this, an Indian was also to be appointed to the Viceroy’s Council and separate electorates were set up. The Moderates consented with the legislation whereas many other parties were disappointed with it. The press was in a problem as it had to adopt a policy which would not offend any of the group of Moderates or Extremists. Moderates like Sir Phiroz Shah Mehta, Sir Dinsha Wacha and Gokhale needed an organ to publicise their views. This need was met by a publication called ‘Leader’ established at Allahabad in October 1909 by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Over the partition of Bengal, a few publications had made a statement which was not in conformity with the Government regulation. The bureaucracy remarked that the press had exceeded the criticism of the Government, as the situation cannot be tackle by the ordinary law. Therefore, the introduction of a legislation which was embodied in Act No. 1 of 1910 was passed in order to have better control over the press. The legislation was disproved by the Indian members of the Council and Gokhale but later they supported the measure after a police officer
was shot dead by an anarchist. Lord Minto declared the following day that the
preaching of a revolutionary press would not be tolerated and the Government was
determined to bridle the literary licence. The Press Act could be taken to the extreme
at the discretion of the authority. By 1919 over 350 presses were penalised; 300
newspapers had to pay 40,000 pounds for security reasons and 500 publications were
banned. There were 200 presses and 130 newspapers could not start their publication
owing to the inability to come up with the security fee.

On 12th December 1911, King George V at Delhi announced the formation of the
Presidency Government for a re-united Bengal, a separate Lieutenant Governorship
for Bihar and Orissa and the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. By this
time, Bombay did not have even one daily newspaper that could serve the people of
the province. 'Times of Indian', 'The Bombay Gazette' and 'The Advocate' were the
three newspapers that were owned by Europeans in Bombay. The Indian opinion was
expressed in the columns of 'Kaisari-i-Hind', a weekly Anglo-Gujarati paper, the
political activities of Sir Pherozshah were supported by 'The Oriental Review' and
Anglo-Marathi paper, 'Indu Prakash'. On 3rd March, 1913 'The Bombay Chronicle'
hit the market for the first time. The publication was under the chairmanship of Sir
Pherozshah Mehta and editor, Benjamin Guy Horniman. Horniman had also served
the 'The Manchester Guardian' and later 'The Stateman' of Calcutta, whose writing
was powerful and impartial. Horniman had even participated in a protest against the
partition of Bengal and walked wearing Indian dress barefooted through the streets.
He was also acknowledged by Sir C Y Chintamani, who had rendered the service to
the oppressed Indians of South Africa during the campaign of 1913.

During the outbreak of World War I, the support from the press in India differed. A
Home Rule Movement was born in between the diverse outlooks of the supporters.
The movement was supported by Tilak and was inspired by Annie Besant and with
its establishment a number of Home Rule Leagues were instituted. In 1916 a session of the Congress was held in Lucknow where the Congress and Muslim League came to an accord over a draft constitution for securing self Government. ‘The Madras Standard’ came under the control of Annie Besant and she changed its name to ‘New India’. The paper which was the voice of Home Rule for India attacked the Governorship of Lord Pentland. Annie Besant was against the Newspaper (incitement to offences) Act of 1908 as well as the Indian Press Act of 1910. She was also a critic of Gandhi’s writings in ‘Young India’ and his non-coorporation policies. After ‘New India’ started in 1915, the Justice (non-Brahmin) party came into existence with a publication called ‘Justice’. When the Justice party’s power faded, the publication also lost popularity and ultimate ceased publication. Along with the publication its successor ‘The Liberty’ which was edited by Dr. K. Mudaliar was closed down in 1953. In Bengal, ‘Basumati’ appeared in 1914 which was the first newspaper to roll out of a power-operated rotary press and which used Reuter’s news for publication. In 1923, C.R. Das started ‘Forward’ as the organ of the Swaraj Party. The motive to publish the publication was to wreck the Constitution from within the legislature. After the death of Das, the publication also closed down owing to a fine to one lakh of rupees. Later the publication started under the name of ‘Liberty’ and again reappeared with the previous name ‘Forward’. The same year another publication ‘Advance’ by J. M. Sen Gupta appeared which continued after independence also. ‘Ananda Bazar Patrika’ began its journey in 1922 founded by Shyamsunder Chakravarty and its still running strong today. The other papers which made their mark in Bengali journalism were the ‘Atma Shakti’ ‘Forward’ which was the Bengali edition, daily ‘Banglar Katha’, ‘Bangabani’ and ‘Nabashakti’. In 1899, Rabindranath Tagore started ‘Sadhana’ which was edited by his nephew Surendra Nath Tagore. ‘Kayeshtha Samachar’ English weekly was published from Allahabad
by Sachidaband Sinha under the editorship of Ramananda Chatterjee. The publication was later converted into 'Hindustan Review' and was shifted to Calcutta in 1925 with K. C. Mahindra as the editor and again it was shifted to Patna and Dr. Sachidanand resumed as its editor. Ramananda Chatterjee also founded 'Prabasi' and 'The Modern Review' which was also shifted to Calcutta from Allahabad. 'The Modern Review' had the reputation of being a complete record of important events and comments which was skilfully penned down by the editor. It was considered to be a great privileged to get one's article printed in the publication. In London, Bipen Chandra Pal founded the monthly 'Swarajya' and in 1918 Aurobindo Ghosh started 'Arya' which was an English monthly printed from Pondicherry. Mohammed Ali started 'Comrade' in Calcutta in 1911 and in the following year it was shifted to Delhi. At Poona, the Servant of India Society started the 'Servant of India' and the 'Young India' was established by Home Rule Leaguers of Bombay under the editorship of Jamnada Dwarakadas. However, in 1919, Gandhi took over the editorship of 'Young India' and 'Navjivan' which was a Gujarati monthly converted to weekly. When Gandhi was imprisonment from 1922 to 1924, its editorship was taken charge of by C. Rajagopalachari, Jairamadas Daulatram and George Joseph. When the Swaraj Party was in power 'Young India' was closed down but Gandhi soon stared another publication 'Harijab' under the editorship of Mahadev Desai. Gandhi's publication was defined by its simplicity directness and freedom from all flourishes. It did not carry any advertisement and enjoyed a wide circulation.

There was also the emergence of important political oriented newspapers. They were the 'Abhyudaya' a weekly Hindi founded and edited by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1900, the daily 'Pratap of Cawnpore' in 1913 edited by Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. 'Biswaimitra' a daily by Mahendra Chandra Agarwal in 1916. Among the Urdu papers there were 'AlHilal' founded by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad from
Calcutta, 'Hamdam' by Abdul Bari Saheb with the support of the Raja of Mahnudabad and ‘Haquiqat’ in 1919 by Anis Ahmed Abbast. In Punjab, the Urdu daily publication ‘Pratap’ was founded at Lahore in 1919 by Mahashe Krisheb. After the partition in 1947 it was shifted to Delhi. In 1923, Swami Shraddhananda founded the Urdu daily ‘Tej’ under the editorship of Deshabandhu Gupta. ‘Milap’ another Urdu daily was established in 1923 by Mahashe Khushal Chand at Lahore which was also shifted to Delhi.

A. B. Kolhatkar founded ‘Swadesh’ which was first started from Nagpur and then from Bombay which set the foundation of daily Marathi journalism. Through the publication he carried the political discussions among the public. G. A. Ogale was another renowned Marathi journalist who was associated with ‘DeshSevak’ and then started ‘Maharashtra’ from Nagpur. In 1910 Madhavrao Madhya started ‘Hitavada’ a Marathi weekly, which was later taken over by Servants of India Society in 1913. The publication was converted into a weekly English journal under the editorship of N. A. Dravid, and then in 1939 it became a daily. The two publications, ‘Hitavada’ and ‘Maharashtra’ gained their popularity by making the electorate politically conscious in the early years of the Montford Reforms. The Hindi newspaper ‘NavBharat’ started as a weekly which later converted to a daily. The publication editor R. G. Maheshwari is regarded as the pioneer of Hindi daily journalism in Madhya Pradesh. Another Hindi publication ‘Lokmat’ which was initiated by a Calcutta businessman also contributed to Hindi journalism. Besides these journals like ‘Subhachintak’, ‘Swarajya’, ‘Sarathi’, ‘Karmaveera’ and ‘Matribhumi’ had their own share of contributions in the periodical journalism of Madhya Pradesh.

Towards the end of World War I in 1918, there was again an approach for the repeal of the Press Act of 1910 but this was denied again. King George V issued a royal proclamation where he surveyed the constitutional progress since 1779 and sent his
son, the Prince of Whales to inaugurate the new constitution and the Chamber of Princes. The press had a mixed reaction to this proclamation. The Anglo-Indian press supported the policy whereas the Nationalists were dissatisfied and the Moderates were willing to cooperate. At this time, the Nationalists also started another agitation against another subject of national language recognition. Many leaders were also of the view that Hindi should be the medium of instruction in school. Shivaprasad Gupta founded the Hindi paper ‘Aj’ on 5th September 1920 with the desire to have a paper as influential as the ‘Times of London’. The publication gave considerable amount of space which was devoted to the educational matters and the cost price of the paper was reduced in order to reach the masses. ‘Satyagraha’ an unregistered weekly was published every Monday, where an article by Gandhi was also published in its first issue. Through his article Gandhi instructed the Satyagrahis to adopt the methods of fighting against the press law. The Jalianwala Bagh massacre and violence under the martial law regime led to a censor of the press in Punjab. Yet, the news was leaked out with all sordid details. The consequence of this was that the press was purged again, where ‘The Bombay Chronicle’ was the first one to fall victim. The editor, B.G. Horniman was deported back and the paper had to deposit a security of Rs.5000 to resume its publication. The ‘Punjabeey’ was closed down, the ‘Hindu’ and ‘Swadesamitan’ also had to deposit a security of Rs. 2000 respectively. ‘Hindu’ and ‘The Independent of Lucknow’ was banned in Punjab and Burma. ‘Pratap’ of Lahore was under prosecution and the editor was imprisoned and had to pay a fine of Rs. 500. With the effort of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council in Charge of Law, based on his recommendation, the Central Legislature in 1922 repealed the Press Act of 1910, the Newspaper (incitement to Offences) Act of 1908 and as well as twenty three other Acts and regulations along with the ordinary
criminal law and Rowlatt Act. There was the introduction of the Princes Protection Bill which also created discontent among the Indian press.

The following year saw an important development for the press. The Government inaugurated the wireless system of communication and the rates for both wireless and cable transmissions were made uniform. This development led to the formation of the Indian Broadcasting Company. The British Government wanted to supplement the existing sources of news with a regular official service. The information was compiled by the British Foreign Office and this was relayed from Rugby. Reuter was in charge of distribution of the material with a minimal charge from India. The Nationalist Indians and the Industrialists like Anne Besant, M.R.Jayakar, Puroshottamdas Thakurdas, G.D.Birla, Phiroj Sethna, Walchand Hirachand and others felt the necessity to have a national news distribution organisation for the dissemination their views. The Associate Press came into being which was associated with Reuter. There was also the setting up of a nationalist news agency known as the Free Press of India with S. Sadanand as the Managing Director. The first case of the agency was the Government’s Currency Bill and it provided wide publicity of the views on the issue. At the same time, there was a protest on the publication of a book called ‘Mother India’ by Miss Katherine Mayo, an American author. The book was condemned by Gandhi as well as newspapers throughout the country because it dealt with unsavoury aspects of certain Indian customs. On the other hand the Muslim press and writers also criticised the customs and traditions of Hindus which created bitterness among the two communities. In response to this, Rajpal published a book ‘Rangila Rasul’ where Prophet Mohammed was attacked adversely and this allegedly was repeated in another book from Amritsar. The Government amended the law under Section 153 A of the Penal Code to remove the despicable. Gandhi started the Salt Satyagraha on 12th March, 1930. When he was
imprisoned and sent to Yawadwa jail, disturbances ensued in Bombay, Calcutta and there was rioting at Sholapur. The Nationalist press supported the campaign while the Anglo Indian and Liberal press condemned the activities of the Congress. In Bengal, terrorists looted the armoury at Chittagong and the Government took action against the attack by introducing the Bengal Ordinance. Six other Ordinances were also issued to deal with the situation. Even the Indian Press Ordinance 1930 was introduced to control the press. There were disturbances all over the country with the movement of civil disordinance as well as for the implementation of ordinance. It was during this time that the press played an important role in the national campaign. The Government took action against the press whenever it went against the ordinance. The publications on which action was taken included the 'Bombay Chronicle' where its editor S. A. Brelvi was arrested while security was demanded from 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', 'Liberty' and 'Free Press Journal'. The Reuter gave its ample service to the Round Table Conference that was held in London during 1930. The Anglo-Indian press, Liberal press and as well the 'Free Press of India' gave special coverage of the conference. The leading newspapers also found representation in the conference and in addition, two eminent journalists namely C. Y. Chintamoni, the editor-in-chief of the 'Leader' and B. Shiva Rao who was associated with 'Young India' were the delegates. F.W. Wilson, the editor of 'Pioneer' supported the event by giving his Indian liberal viewpoint. Later the working committee of the Government authorised Gandhi to interview Lord Irwin. As a result there was the settlement of the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience, repeal of the Ordinance and special measures and also the participation of Congress in the Round Table Conference. This settlement however did not last long; the Civil Disobedience resumed and the Government came back with four ordinances to take control of the situation. By the middle of the year there
was an understandable decline of movements. The Government felt that further modification of the policy would revive the movement to an extent. A consolidate ordinance called the Special Powers Ordinance of 1933 was implemented which included the four ordinance and as well as the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 applicable to books, documents and newspapers.

The struggle for independence had created many contours between 1932 and 1946. While the ‘Free Press of India’ also extended with new English daily in Madras ‘The Indian Express’ and ‘Free Press Journal’ in Bombay and Gujarati and Marathi newspapers. They planned to cover the large cities of the country which was therefore not welcoming in the city of Calcutta. However, the nationalist newspapers in Bengal had been the supporters of the Free Press of India and it was understood that if they withdrew their hold the rival agency would regain its monopoly. So in order to save the publication from the situation B. Sen Gupta the Calcutta Editor of Free Press severed his connection from it and started an independent organisation called ‘United Press of India’ (UTI).

As war broke out between Britain and Germany, the British Government promulgated the Defence of India Act which provided pre-censorship of materials for publication relating to certain matters. Besides this, the Official Secret Act and Emergency Powers Act were also amended. Gandhi launched his ‘individual Satyagraha’ and issued a notification to the Government on 26th October 1940. Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Minister of the Government of India invited representatives of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society for an informal discussion in Delhi. Maxwell clarified the reason for the amendment of the restrictions imposed on the press which was intended to prevent anti-war propaganda and further promised to give consideration to the points and suggestions made in the discussion. However, no such promise was fulfilled by the Home Minister in this
regard. There was a conference of editors or representatives of newspapers which was held on November 10\textsuperscript{th}, 1940 in Delhi to address the issue of restrictions on the press. The President of the conference K. Srinivasan, editor of the 'Hindu' remarked that the entire press of India helped the Government in the propagation of war. The Government also exploited the newspapers to help them to control the political movement in the name of an effort to win the war. In the conference, the press refused further support to war propagation. Within twenty-four hours, the Government withdrew the Defence of India regulation on 11\textsuperscript{th} December 1940 and suggestions which were pointed out in the meeting were therefore regulated. This agreement between the Government and the press is known as the Delhi Agreement. The conference editors converted into the All India Newspaper Editors Conference (AINEC). Press Advisers was set up in all the provinces with the Chief Press Adviser at the Centre. This brought in rigorous control over the press. News published in one region was banned in another, authenticated news was heavily censored, headlines were dictated and detailed account was issued on the news items. Besides this the proceedings of legislature was censored and full reports of Civil Disobedience cases in the law courts was not permitted. Government and the officers' comments or criticism were also restricted. All the power assumed by the Government was exercised. Newspapers like the 'National Herald', 'Sainik', 'Hindustan Times of India' and 'Istiqlal' were punished for breaching this Government instruction. The Press Advisory Committee avoided the clash between the Government and the press in a large number of cases. AINEC supported the movement of Gandhi and also asked the Government not to ban Gandhi’s statement. They also reiterated that the press in India would support the freedom of the country without any fear or favour. The difference between the Government and the AINEC grew over the Satyagraha movement and for the publication of Gandhi’s statements. In spite of the Civil
Disobedience and imprisonment of influential leader the press always continued to keep up a friendly attitude towards the war. Yet the Government remained silent on the issues raised by the editors.

At this time Subhas Bose’s Indian National Army was heading towards India which was supported by the Japanese. The sixth meeting of the standing committee of the AINEC was held in Calcutta on 18th December 1941. Addressing the meeting Sir Akhbar Hydari, the first Indian member of the Information and Broadcasting with the Government of India appealed to the press to cooperate in bringing back the people of India from the danger of war. Despite all the arguments between the Government and the AINEC, the difference with the Government persisted over the issue of restrictions of press. Under the guidance of Gandhi on 9th August 1942 the Congress passed the famous ‘Quit India’ resolution which followed up its call for a mass struggle on non-violent lines. A fresh notification was issued under the Defence of India Rules to suppress all news of Congress activities. On 5th October 1942 in the second session of AINEC held at Bombay B.G. Horniman the chairman of the Reception Committee warned the Government about the editors’ measures towards retaliation. The conference expressed its opposition to any scheme of pre-censorship and related issues where the press had been suppressed. The Government agreed to the policy which is known as the Bombay Agreement. AINEC later came into conflict with the Government when they exclude the publication of a fact relating to the agitation of Prof. Bhansali’s fast. The conference suspended publication for a day and also excluded Government circulars from the papers. On 6th January 1943 many newspapers observed Hartal strictly. Even the Press Association protested against the restrictions in Delhi and held an emergency meeting under the presidency of Usha Nath Sen. A memorandum submitted to the Government urged for a review of the numerous restrictive rules and regulations imposed since the commencement of the
war. In Calcutta when there was a shortage of food supply, the press could not give much by way of reports because of these restrictions. The ‘Statesman’ a British owned newspaper drew the attention to the famine situation by publishing descriptions and pictures. ‘Amrita Bazar Patrika’ also came out with an ironic editorial criticizing the authority for publishing false statements. Several other newspapers were also restricted on various issues. On 21st August 1943, ‘Hitavada’ published news of the resignation of J.R. Blair Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. The editor A.D. Mani was asked to reveal the name and address of the informer by the Government under the Defence of India Rules. The Standing committee objected against this move to force the editor to disclose the source name and also requested the Government to withdraw the order. In another incident the Standing committee urged the Government to withdraw the order of demanding security from ‘Sind Observer’ and other publications. There were many other instances where the AINEC stood up and protested against the arbitrary action taken by the Government against the press. The relation between the press and the Government improved considerably when Linlithgow was the Governor General. By 1944, the situation remained calm in India, AINEC president Syed Abdullah Brelvi in the third annual session in Madras made a demand for abolishing of press restrictions. The American Society for Newspaper editors held a peace conference on the matter of the freedom of the press throughout the world. The AINEC welcomed the US editors into the peace treaties and in the conference adopted a resolution calling attention for the defective functions and revision of the press laws. In the fifth session of the AINEC which was held in Allahabad on 16th – 17th February 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru who inaugurated the conference dwelt on news suppression and freedom of news and others issues. Tushar Kanti Ghose, Editor of ‘Amrita Bazar Patrika’ referred on action taken by the Government on the newspapers and also put
forward eight demands including withdrawal of Defence of India Rules, repeal of
war-time ordinances along with the press act and all other laws which the
Government put forward to control the press. The Government agreed to self
regulation by the organizations of newspapers themselves which removed the
bitterness among them. The problems of scarcity of newsprint were also tackled.
During the development of communal problems in India, Ballabhai Patel, the
minister for Home and Information appealed to the press to observe due caution in
reports and comments on communal disturbances. Patel also formulated certain
guidelines for the press in respect of news and comments on communal disturbances
through the Central Press Advisory Committee. He also attended the emergency
meeting of the AINEC on December 1946 where Patel explained the circumstances
under which an adhoc committee came into being. When the Standing Committee
met in Delhi in February 1947 there were complaints over the inflammatory writing
and the action from the Government especially on Bengal and Punjab. The meeting
concluded with the resolution of self restraint on the part of the press and justice on
the Government side. During the partition of the country under Mountbatten, the
comments from the communal journalists had added fuel to the fire. The Government
found it necessary to promulgate the Defence of India Rules again to control the
press. On the other hand AINEC also developed to relax the restrictions to some
extent but at the same time tightening them when the safety of the state was in
question.

The Independence on 15th August 1947 was also freedom for the press in India as
most editors and proprietor of newspapers were directly or indirectly associated with
the freedom struggle. This also led to the withdrawal of British journalism from
India. This was the time when the press prepared to cooperate with the state to
maintain peace. On October 1947, AINEC also framed seven point codes for the
press for the maintenance of a peaceful condition in the country. Devdas Gandhi in a circular addressed all the members requesting the editors to follow the new code and also expect the Provincial Press Advisory Committee and Provincial Government to treat them on the basis of their dealings with the press so far as the emergency was concerned. On Gandhi’s death, the entire press in India mourned in deep grief and the 'Hindustan Standard' of Calcutta left its editorial blank to show its sorrow of losing the great persona. The UN conference on freedom of information was held in Geneva in March- April 1948 which was considered to be an important event for the press. The conference was in pursuance of the previous resolution passed in 1946 by the General Assembly of the UN. The motive of the conference was to disseminate its aim and activities that the freedom of information was a fundamental human right and also that understanding among nations was impossible without an alert and sound world opinion which was wholly dependent on freedom of information. The conference also passed 43 resolutions and three conventions along with the discussion on shortage of newsprint, news agencies etc. The same year there was another conference on inter-dominion which was held in May 1948 at Calcutta. This conference was held in order to discuss certain outstanding issues affecting Pakistan and the Indian Union and both the Governments recognised that the press is essential for creating a better atmosphere and pointed out three principles for controlling crisis between the countries. This conference was reviewed again in New Delhi the same year where an additional agreement on the other medium was promulgated. The Government of India had also set up an Enquiry Committee in 1947 to report on the press laws in force in the country. There were many instances when the question of freedom of press was raised as a fundamental right. The Constitution of India has defined the ‘freedom of speech and expression’ as a fundamental right under Article 19(i)(a). Later in 1951, an amendment to it provided that the freedom of speech and
expression could be curbed by ‘reasonable restriction’ as the legislature deem necessary to impose in the interest of the security of the state, friendly relation with foreign states etc. In the Bombay session of 1951 the AINEC objected to the restriction provided on the freedom of expression and in their protest the publication was suspended on July 12th, 1951. The same year the Press (Objectable Matters) Act became a law after some amendments suggested by the editors had been incorporated after impediment that had occurred in the country in relation to the enactment of the law and regulation to control the press. Soon the Government of India started the Press Commission on 11th October 1952 under the chairmanship of Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha. Under the Press Commission, the majority sought to rely on the press council and also expressed the desire that the Government should drop the Special Act after two years if the Press Council succeeded in checking the publication of objectable matters. The first Press Commission made a comprehensive study of the Indian press and submitted its report in 1954. Besides this, the Commission gave recommendations for the press in relation to its role and functions in the society and the country as a whole and also recommended for journalistic training etc. The Government tried other means to control the press indirectly which was by enacting the Newspaper (Price and Page) Act of 1956. A Press Council was set up in 1966 under the Press Council Act 1965 to carry out the Press Commission recommendations. The main objective of it was to preserve the freedom of the press while improving the standard of newspapers.

In 1971, Indira Gandhi’s Government made charges against the press. The charges included allegations that the press reflected only monopoly business which does not represent the public opinion, always opposed Government policy and failed to reflect the electoral trends in the country. In April 1972, a fact finding committee was set up with Dr. Bhabotosh Datta as its Chairman to look into newspaper economy. In its
report which was submitted in January 1975 this committee made a number of recommendations and presented facts on the circulation of newspapers along with reports of production, capital equipment, advertisement ratio, norms of expenditure, monopoly etc. In its remark the Committee asserted, 'If it is undesirable to have a Government-controlled press, it is undesirable also to have a large element of subsidy to the press from the Government, unless it is given to weaker sections and unless the purpose is to maintain competition rather than restrict it. If newspaper Finance Corporation becomes a necessity, it should not be an agency for discriminatory assistance'. (Ghosh, 1998)

In an Allahabad High Court judgement in June 1975 the Prime Minister was held guilty of malpractices in the 1971 election to the Lok Sabha in which the press reported the matter and as such came under pressure. Internal Emergency was proclaimed under the supervision of Indira Gandhi on June 1975. Censorship was ordered under the Defence and Internal Security of India Rules. Vidyā Charan Shukla was appointed as the Minister of Information and Broadcasting after the declaration of Emergency. Shukla instituted strict control of the various media units. Under the instruction of Indira Gandhi, Shukla abolished the Press Council, merged four news agencies into one, review the advertisement policy, withdrew the housing facilities which was given to journalists and deported foreign correspondents. Under the censorship the entire media fraternity consisting of both press and films which do not fall under the Government were affected. There was even an oral ban was imposed on quotations from Rabindranath, Gandhi, Nehru and others. Other laws and regulations which were imposed at this time were the Prevention of Publication of Objectable Matter Act, the Parliamentary Proceedings Act of 1956 which was popularly known as Feroze Gandhi Act and Press Gagging. However at the end of all the chaos and hardships during this emergency, Indira Gandhi’s Government was out
of power in 1977 election. The new Government nevertheless abolished some Acts and some other Acts were re-enacted and expanded. At this time, a one man committee was set up under the Chairmanship of K. K. Das to enquire into the abuse of Mass Media and also to present a white paper on the matter to Parliament. The four news agencies were restored to their old position and also started their separate operations in April 1978. UNI used VARTA to its Hindi news service and PTI used BHASA for its news service. The Janata party was the constitution of the second Press Commission, with Justice P. K. Goswami a retired judge of the Supreme Court as its Commissioner. Later in 1980, Goswami tendered his resignation with the change of the Government through the reign of Indira Gandhi back at the centre. Under the new Commission, Justice K. K. Mathews retired judge of the Supreme Court held the new responsibility which was associated with press freedom. Among the responsibilities were the citizen’s right to privacy, growth of small and medium newspapers, flow of news to and from India and a proposal for new information order. Besides this there were other issues like the roll of the press, training, research etc which were recommended, however these recommendations were never implemented. On the other side, there were differences of opinion regarding the Government regulation of newspaper ownership and management.

In 1982, the State Government of Bihar also introduced a Bill (popularly known as the Bihar Press Bill) in State Assembly to prevent ‘scurrilous writing’ in the newspapers. But the newspapermen strongly opposed this all over the country. Similarly pre-censorship was introduced in Punjab and Assam but it was also unsuccessful in its attempt. In 1988, even Rajiv Gandhi introduced in Parliament the Defamation Bill. The Bill was introduced to put the responsibility of providing the truthful statements and also the statements which were made for the good of the public or else a person could be accused of being a defamatory statement. The
newspaper employers, employees, publishers, the representatives of All India Newspaper Employees Federation, The India Federation of Working Journalist, National Union of Journalist and as well the Editors Guild opposed this all over the country and took out a rally in this regard. Ultimately the Bill was dropped from the Rajya Sabha. In December 1988 Rajiv Gandhi introduced another Bill in Parliament seeking to amend the Press and Regulation of Books but this Bill was also discarded. The same year in Karnataka, two Bills were also introduced for well-intentioned measures which had direct bearings on the printing press. These were the Karnataka Freedom of the Press Bill 1988 and Karnataka Legislature (Power, Privileges & Immunities) Bill 1988. While in Jammu & Kashmir in 1989, there was strong protest against the introduction of a Bill called Special Power (Press) which was later withdrawn.

During the rule of Narashima Rao, the press played an immense role in exposing the malpractices and corruption of the Government. Some of the cases which came into the forefront of the press were the Airlines deal of 1991, the Asian Brown Boveri (ABB) loco deal of 1993, the Security Scam of 1992, the Sugar Scam of 1994, the Jain ‘hawla’ racket of 1995, JMM pay-off case, Urea Scam and many others. The press had always operated as a watchdog of our society, reporting injustice to streamline the system. It continued to perform its primary duty to inform, educate and entertain the people.

The introduction of electronic media like TV channels and internet, Indian newspapers faced challenges from electronic media in a big way. This came as threats when the government allowed private channels to operate in the country under the new policy of privatisation and globalisation announced in 1991-92. However, in spite of the hurdle, the newspaper publishers have utilised the medium and changed their management strategies to survive and progress. (Thakur, 2009)