INTRODUCTION.

EVERY SOCIETY EMPLOYS DIFFERENT MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION.

Such media range from the pre-verbal ones such as gestures to the audio-visual ones such as the motion picture and the television. They include as intermediate ones other communication media such as speech, writing, printing and the radio. The emergence of these media depends upon the conditions obtaining in a society. Their employment and consequent growth also vary according to the requirements of the different groups of that society. For instance, among the pre-literate people we find, besides gestures and speech, the use of multitude of things for communication purposes. These include, as C.H. Cooley has enumerated, the red arrow (suggesting war), the pipe (for peace), signal fires, notched sticks, knotted cords, totems and so on. They emerged because the pre-literate man was much occupied with tribal feuds. As his tenor changed and as new groups emerged in his society, the existing media were supplemented by other ones such as drum-beatings, symbolic cries and so on.

That interplay of communication needs and their fulfillment brought in its train at a certain stage writing as a

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medium of communication. Now this novel medium, that is writing, proved to be a turning point in the process of communication. Writing gave permanance to ideas. The same ideas can be referred to again and again and can be transmitted from generation to generation precisely and accurately, written as they are. Besides giving permanence to ideas, writing gave them spatial expansion. Written things can travel in a vaster ambit than can gestures, symbols or spoken words.

The history of writing runs through centuries and has several facets with which we are concerned, but slightly. Hence the saga of writing should be ushered in to depict a further change that was brought about by printing. The history of printing dates back to the year 868 A.D. when 'block-printing' was employed in China. That was changed further by about 1041 A.D. when movable types were used for printing purposes in that country. In Europe printing is believed to have emerged independently of China in 1440 A.D. In Britain in particular, it is reported to have been made use of by William Caxton in 1476 A.D.

* The matter to be printed was engraved on a wooden block and multiple impressions were taken out from that.

3 Ibid.,
4 Ibid.,
In China as also in Europe, printing was employed for publishing books. That was the beginning of the use of printing as a means of mass-communication. It took a further turn when newspapers were published during the first two decades of the 17th century in Europe.\textsuperscript{5} That was the early beginning of the press as a medium of mass-communication. In course of time other media such as radio and the television emerged for mass-communication purposes. These are being employed today along with the press to that effect.

Among all the media of mass-communication, however, the press is a distinct one. That is so because the press employs the printed word. That can be referred to repeatedly at any time unlike in the case of the radio or the television which preclude such repeated references. Again, the press can provide at cheaper costs ideas, information and entertainment to the people than can the radio or the television which call for larger investments. Larger investments prohibit the employment of the radio or the television as a communication medium by those who want to use it as a relay point. The press on the other hand would not prevent a group or even a single individual from using it as such, the costs being comparatively lesser. The distinct features of the press among all the media of mass-communication can be enumerated still more. But, the point worth noting for us is that among these media of mass-communication, the press is the oldest and the most popular one.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.,
Several attempts have been made to study the press. The political scientists have studied it as an index of freedom of expression which they have termed as a fundamental right. They have studied it as a vehicle of public opinion and have called it the 'fourth estate'. Their study of the press has stressed the relations between the former and the government and has given us the concept of the freedom of the press as an adjunct to democracy. The writings of political scientists have verged, also, on the ethical side of the working of the press as they expect it to adhere to certain norms and so on. The social psychologists have in no way lagged behind in studying the press. Much of the research of the social psychologists in that regard has struck upon the two ends of the press — (i) its being the communicator and, (ii) its having the communicant or the recipient (of the communication i.e. the reader). As regards the former, that is the communicator, they have studied psychologically the motives or intentions of the communicator in transmitting one matter or the other. As regards the recipient they have examined his predispositions and perceptions in selecting one matter or the other. Social psychologists have also examined mass-persuasion and propaganda by analysing the psychological processes such as attention, suggestion, comprehension and the like, involved in the larger process of mass-communication.

One additional and perhaps a more comprehensive approach to such studies has been suggested by Harold D. Lasswell. Lasswell's formulation is to analyse:
"Who says, what, in which channel, to whom and with what effect."  

Who in this formulation stands for the communicator; what for the message, that is, the theme or symbol communicated; channel for the medium viz., books, press, radio, motion picture or television; whom for the recipient of the message, that is, the audience or the public, and lastly, effect stands for the end product of the communication done.

We cannot review all the contemporary trends in communication research in general or in the study of the press in particular. It is not possible for us to do so because we cannot get for perusal the whole of the existing material on these subjects. We suggest, however, one more approach to the study of the press. We propose to give it a sociological orientation.


7 According to a recent research paper on the subject, the precise nature and effects of mass-communication are little understood, despite burgeoning of research approaches and the multiplication of empirical findings. The traditional view does not take fully into account ongoing processes of interaction of which the single communicative act is merely one component. Riley John W. (Jr.) and Riley Matilda W., in 'Mass-communication and the Social System' in Merton R.K. et al. (eds.), Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects, p.537. Basic Books Inc. N.Y. 1960.
For that purpose we have taken the Gujarati press* as an instance.** But, we were handicapped in the beginning as we had no model to proceed with for a sociological study of the press. We had before us an overemphasised and equally accepted dictum that the press is a part of the society, and, that it exists because of and in relation to other social factors obtaining in the larger social system. But, which social factors should we take for consideration in particular and with what aspects of the press should we correlate them, posed a further problem. We could not take for granted any ad hoc factors in that regard. Hence we decided to make a preliminary exploration of the Gujarati press to start with.

* The term 'press' in the present context would include any printed journal with whatever periodicity (daily, tri-weekly, bi-weekly, fortnightly, monthly, bi-monthly, quarterly, half-yearly or yearly) sold or distributed gratis at large, containing news, comments, literary, political, religious or any other matter which is meant for regular communication from one end to the other. In the pages that follow the words journal, magazine, periodical, newspaper and paper have been used interchangeably because it was not possible to give a precise connotation to any of these terms, the nature of the Gujarati press being such.

** We decided to study the Gujarati press because our mother tongue being Gujarati there would be greater facility in studying it, though we are equally at ease in Marathi and Hindi, languages which are current in Western India.
During that preliminary exploration we found that the Gujarati press can be correlated with the following social factors viz.,

I- **Technological**:

1. Technique of printing (which means the technique of obtaining multiple impressions on paper by lithography and by type-setting and operating the latter with hand-propelled or power-driven machines).
2. Employment of methods as well as means of getting and transmitting news and other matter used for publication purposes.
3. Emergence and employment of auxiliary media of communication such as the post, telegraph, telephone and teleprinter.
4. Employment of means of transport, railways e.g.

II- **Educational**:

5. Spread of literacy and increase in formal — higher — education.
6. The establishment of libraries and reading rooms.
7. Emergence of ideas and ideologies.

III- **Commercial**:

8. Trade and Commerce.

IV- **Governmental**:

9. The form of Government, the rules made by such a
One more, the 10th factor that we have taken for consideration is,

10. Emergence of certain groups with divergent life-patterns, divergent aspirations and divergent interests (e.g. commercial interest, political interest, literary interest and so on).

For demonstrating the operation of these social factors on the Gujarati press, we have decided to correlate them with the Nature and Growth of the latter. The term Nature in this case can be explained as follows:

The press has several dimensions, e.g. the communication of information about happenings is one, communication of information about trade and commerce or about purchase and sale of commodities is another, communication of views pertaining to social and political reform is the third. Again, as regards other dimensions of the press we can say that it entertains, instructs and changes the views of the people on several matters. From time to time one of these dimensions becomes more predominant and more frequent than the rest. The one that becomes more predominant (in terms of space occupied in the papers) and which becomes more frequent than the others is taken as indicative of the nature of the Gujarati press. For instance,
it was found that during the initial stages (from 1822 to 1852 approximately), the Gujarati press was communicating information, predominantly and more frequently, pertaining to trade and commerce while, later (say from 1852 to 1864) it was communicating predominantly reformist views. The other matter though contained in the Gujarati press was given a secondary place and was not so frequently appearing as compared with the matter mentioned above during these periods. In the present context, therefore, commercial matter and reformist views can be taken as indicative of the Nature of the Gujarati press during these periods and so on.

By the term Growth of the Gujarati press we mean here the increase in the quantum of matter contained in the journals, in the varieties of matter included in these journals, in the frequency of the publication of journals, in the size of the journals, increase again, in the number of journals, in the number of places of publication of the journals, in the circulation of the journals, increase also, in the number of places of circulation as well as in the readership of the Gujarati journals.

We have observed in this dissertation that both the nature and growth of the Gujarati press are interrelated through the operation of the social factors mentioned above. We have shown that in the initial stages the size and the number of Gujarati journals was small and several dimensions were contained together in the few existing Gujarati journals. That
is, the same and again the few Gujarati journals served the varied interests. (It may be noted here that this characteristic continues to be at all times though any one of them may predominate at one time or the other). Now, since the press responds to the needs of the society and as the divergent interest groups in the society grow in strength, there is also a corresponding specialisation in the press by way of separate journals for specific interests or by way of predominance given to such a specific interest (along with the inclusion of the other interests) in one journal or the other, and, there is corresponding increase in all other aspects of the Gujarati press ensuring thereby its growth.

The argument that we have developed in this study is that:

1. The Gujarati press originated to fulfil the needs of a particular interest group of the society. New dimensions were being added to it in response to the other interest groups which were emerging in Western India.

As we have shown in chapter two, the emergence of the Gujarati press was related to trade and commerce and to the existence of commercial interest groups comprising of Parsis, Hindus (Banias, Bhatias etc.) and Mohammedans (Kuchhi Memons, Khojas and Bohras). Information pertaining to trade and commerce was published predominantly in the Gujarati press at that time. Later began to appear reformist views as shown in chapter three.
That was after the emergence of a group of persons, including Dadabhai Naoroji, Mangaldas Nathubhai, Karsandas Mulji, Mahipatram Roopram, Narmadashankar Kavi and others, who propounded such views. Still later, the Gujarati press became a vehicle for expressing the needs and grievances of the people regarding local municipalities, the railway facilities and the postal arrangements. It became so after certain sections which were dissatisfied with these things emerged in Western India, as shown in chapter four. And again, the Gujarati press became a carrier of political views. That happened after the emergence of a group of persons in Western India (The Bombay Association for instance) with political aspirations and similar views, as demonstrated in chapter five and onwards.

2. The emergence of the different interest groups (mentioned above) and their association with the Gujarati press latter, with varied and wider clientele in the different parts of Western India and that led to the growth of the Gujarati press.

That is, (a) the number of different Gujarati journals increased from one in 1822 to hundreds at present; (b) their size increased lengthwise and breadthwise and also as regards the number of pages in them; (c) their circulation was augmented from barely 250 copies a week to thousands of copies a day as mentioned in chapter four and onwards, and (d) their varieties increased
The emergence of such interest groups, their association with the Gujarati press and the growth of the latter were due to, (a) the introduction and spread of formal education; (b) the increase in literacy, and, due to (c) the growth of rival ideas and ideologies in social and political reorganisation and in political power. The rival ideas and ideologies in the former case were put forth by (i) traditionalists who were supporting certain beliefs and practices regarding widow remarriage and so on, and (ii) the moderners who were exhorting people to bring about reform ('Sudharo' as it was called). While, the rival ideologies in the latter case were represented by (i) the foreigners who ruled the country, and (ii) the Indians who wanted to shoulder that responsibility.

The growth of the Gujarati press was facilitated, also, by (a) technological developments in printing, (b) the introduction of mechanised means of transport, and (c) the introduction of means of communication such as post, telegraph, telephone and teleprinter.

We have shown that the early Gujarati newspapers were lithographed or were printed with manually set types on a hand-press which could print just few small sheets per day while, the present day giant rotary machines can turn out bigger size journals by thousands per hour.

We have shown, again, that the introduction of mechanised
means of transport such as the railways or motor-cars helps the speedy distribution of thousands of newspapers at distances far flung in Western India. We have also demonstrated that the postal facilities helped the Gujarati press similarly, and, that the modern means of communication such as telegraph, telephone and the teleprinter have facilitated the transmission of hundreds of messages in a matter of moments to feed the larger-size journals.

It may be submitted here that the present study in which the Gujarati press has been taken as an instance, is an attempt to detect and analyse the operation of the social factors on the press and to show their distribution and significance. Though no claims are advanced to ‘measure’* the effect of these factors on the press, the fact that the nature as well as the growth of the Gujarati press had been affected mainly after the emergence of these factors from time to time in Western India is tendered as proof of the close connection between

* In such a case it is not possible because the sales of certain newspapers fluctuated seasonally. Besides, one journal may exist under one name for some period and would merge with another and the third at times. Therefore, the exact number of copies of one journal or the other cannot be ascertained. Again, as regards the readership of the press it must be remembered that the copy of a newspaper which is seen by only one reader is likely to be an exception rather than a rule. The different journals invariably change hands in homes, clubs, hotels, trains and buses. During working hours, journals are circulating restlessly from one hand to another. To add to that are the libraries and reading rooms and the street corner newspaper stands. It is not possible to determine therefore, the number of persons who read one and the same journal in schools, colleges and other institutions.
the press and these social factors. Again, the fact that the growth of the present day Gujarati press is brought about by the developments of some of these factors and that the limitations that the Gujarati press faces are due to the lacuna in some of them, substantiates our contention regarding the connection between the press and the social factors. We would like to mention here that it is rather difficult to observe the press as a whole—more so when the time factor is added to the already multiplying periodical press. This is not mentioned to indicate the difficulties we had to face in preparing this dissertation but to suggest that any omission in this study is due to non-availability of some material rather than due to any deliberate choice any way.**

Now about the data:

The data for the study have been collected from:

(1) Original Gujarati journals—dailies, tri-weeklies, bi-weeklies, weeklies, fortnightlies, monthlies—bi-monthlies, quarterlies, half-yearlies—published since 1822 and which

**When we moved from one press establishment to the other or from one library to the other, the persons in charge readily helped us in getting the material. But mostly it was lying in some neglected corner in a moth-eaten, dust-laden condition. It was so brittle that it crumbled on mere touching it. That prevented us from pursuing through some of the journals.
have been preserved in the respective press establishments, by government, in different libraries and by some individuals, at different places in Western India and, obtained in some instances, from paper-scrap dealers in Bombay, Surat, Broach, Baroda, Nadiad and Ahmedabad;

(ii) (In cases where the journals said above were not available, from) Special or Jubilee Numbers of those journals available from the above sources;

(iii) Life accounts, memoirs and diaries of individuals who conducted some of those journals or who worked with them;

(iv) Governmental Records, Reports and Secret documents on the Press and on the different political movements and on other happenings in Western India;

(v) The Gazetteers, Annual Registers, Press Year Books and other Directories;

(vi) Life-accounts, diaries and felicitation volumes of personalities which lived during the period under reference (in Gujarati, Marathi and English);

(vii) Travelogues of Western and other travellers who moved in Western India and;

(viii) Through informal interviews with persons who worked with the journals during the period under
reference and who are still associated with the Gujarati press directly or indirectly or who were associated with the different happenings in Western India during the period under reference. (Their names have been mentioned in the Appendix).

Finally it may be submitted that in addition to the demonstration of the close relation between the press and other social factors, the originality of the study lies in the fact that the information obtained from the above sources has been put in relation to the social factors obtaining in Western India during the period under reference, and, in the fact that the study reconstructs the history of the Gujarati press in relation to the changing scale of the Gujarati society from the year 1822 to 1947.

The study is, therefore, a very humble attempt providing a new angle to view the press which is attaining a significant place among the media of mass-communication at present.