

Impact of Vernacular Press for the cause of Nationalism in India

Dr. P. C. Venkatasubbaiah,
Associate Professor
History, Archaeology and Culture

Dravidian University
Kuppam-517426, Andhra Pradesh Dept. of
Email ID: pevenkatasubbaiah@gmail.com

Abstract :

Communication was an important factor that integrate the structure of awareness about the social, economic, religious and cultural features of a nation and its people and the same has been experienced by the Indians during 19th and 20th centuries, with the nuisance of restrictions on the press initially during 1823 followed by an enactment of it strictly in 1878 through an act of Vernacular Press, which ultimately made them to realize, react and follow the concept of national integration and transformation of ideas of nationalism that indirectly paved the way for uprising their voices with the in-filter seeds of nationalism to obtain independence. It was a real catalyst for the consciousness at regional as well as national level perspectives, hence the fellowmen built-in themselves the search of interest among the leaders as well as the common man to put forward their views against the works of British Raj. The present paper is an attempt to visualize the impact of Vernacular press for the cause of nationalism in India even though several restrictions were imposed by the government, as many people called it 'Gagging Act', hence people tried to strangle the voice of press and large scale protests were campaigned against this act as it literally made the Indians anti-British which could be viewed in several activities which ultimately lead to the prospects of India's independence with integrity in diversity. The paper also attempts to analyses the impact of Vernacular press in different angles i.e., socio-economic, cultural, religious and political point of view through the basic character of Indian society and its reaction towards national importance at that point of time.

Introduction:

India, being part of Indian sub-continent before attaining independence, has been considered a geographical entity with varied boundaries in different periods of time through internal rifts and external invasions. Its historical episodes witnessed traditional as well as modern developments due to foreign influences from time to time but its social system, norms and philosophy of life have been the relics of Indus civilization and rich village life. The coming of Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, French), especially British, earmark the great impact of modern western science, philosophy and revolutionary ideas, upon the Indian society made it to

witness ubiquitous changes during the rule of the latter an important historical pattern that have been discussed by different historians with the explanation of socio-economic, political and religious factors. It was C.H. Philip (1961) who has made valuable observation based on the historical sources by different authors to determine the outlook of historical process and their explanatory factors, especially economic, in constructing the history of India during British Raj and its political system which beheld the British Empire united and their general perception being that, they are 'ideally qualified to rule' who had a 'racial superiority' (James 1994). It is also known through the following writing and observation of Vincent Smith (2001) that during the rule of British the life of India underwent a change due to conflicting values of east and west which 'We can find the significance of British [rule in] India..... the British provided bridge for India to pass from the medieval world of the Mughals to the new age of science and humanism'. It was a general concern that British officials believed the Indians were resistant when reforms were not in accord to the social tendency of the latter and moreover some of British administrators viewed that they would give peace and security and justice and mercy, but interfere in the affairs of local society, especially socio-religious and economic matters. This method of attitude and kind of thought had brought an inbuilt conflict between Indians which was unknown to British and other Europeans too. The present paper would examine how circumstances lead to the rise of indifference between Bruisers and Indian mass as well as intellectual community indirectly paved the way for making the people of India realizing the importance of nationalism through the press, i.e., publication of Vernacular press even though the latter could get benefit through selfish measurements and efforts made by the former which are easily and slowly received in order to enact through the concrete and firm effort through a hard stick hither to known as Nationalism irrespective of caste, creed and other, many barriers, which have had adverse impinge on the Indians.

Paradox of Rule and the Essence of Nationalism

The uniqueness of British Raj and its administration was its unfold pattern intact rules and regulations which hampered India in several ways, i.e., economic, socio-cultural, religious and political symptoms that render their realization of nationalism and consciousness about their past and perception, and immediate solution with their participation in the upcoming struggle for independence. British came to subcontinent as traders but with their ability of managing the affairs of the company brought them in contact with the state functionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries through which they continued to flourish in gaining control all over of the subcontinent. They brought a revolutionary change in their social life due to the advancement in all fields of their life and experimented in their colonies to bring their cultural pattern at the benchmark of their own civilization through the discipline as company's servants who had a moral content as well as an

effective legal sanction. Even though India underwent a change but it was still not being absorbed due to divisiveness of the society and conflicting values of the east and the west. The paradox of British rule reached to an unbearable stage of Indians, i.e., Economic drain, Repressive policies and Racial arrogance, Enactment of Laws, Racial discrimination, De-industrialization, Commercialization of Agriculture, Lopsided industrial development and Rise of bourgeoisie, etc., even though certain development measures were undertaken in the case of transportation, communication, education, etc., had been done for the Indian's but for their own benefits.

Inception, Processes and Actions in view of Vernacular Press:

William Bolts was the first man to conceive a plan for starting a newspaper press in India in 1767 with an attempt to start a newspaper but was nipped as the Government deported the author of enterprise. However, J.A. Hacky published Bengal Gazette (Fig. 1) from Calcutta in 1780 (www.indiondians.com, 27-05-2010) personal interest lead the way for the Indian press and media, henceforth Indian press took impetus in publishing both local as well official (Government) news in the form of daily newspapers, weeklies, periodicals, journals, etc. However, J.S. Backingham was another European to start Calcutta Journal in 1818 in which the articles spoke about the policies of British officials who later asked to leave the country for his publications. Mansik in 1780 started India Gazette and in 1784 a weekly known as Bengal Gazette was also initiated publishing articles. Subsequently, in 1785 Bengal Journal, in 1785 Oriental Magazine, in 1789 Bombay Herald and in 1790 Bombay Courier were started and in wide circulation in North India. The Urdu Press also flourished in the form of Urdu journals in North India were edited by Hindus. In view of this, Adam passed 'Gagging Act' in 1823 and subsequently Canning extended it till 1857 to direct more restrictions against the newspapers published in Indian language which were edited by natives of India against English language and English-owned newspapers. Meanwhile, Lord Lytton who governed India (between 1876–80) in 1878, in order to curtail and control the Indian publications' and the freedom of the Indian (i.e., on-English) press, intended to prevent the vernacular press from expressing criticism of British policies—notably, the opposition that had grown with the outset of the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–80). It excluded English-language publications, elicited strong and sustained protests from a wide spectrum of the Indian populace (Philips, et.al., 1965). Over this Act of 1878 one of vernacular newspaper, the Aligarh Institute Gazette gave its remarks in these words:

“the abuse of the liberty of the press by Hindoostanees has at last forced government to place restrictions. Indeed the liberty of the press had, in the hands of the vernacular journalists, degenerated into unbridled license. Not only the government but also the native chiefs, native officers and gentlemen were displeased with the attitude of the vernacular press towards them. With a view to maintain peace and order, and protecting Her Majesty's subjects libelous attacks, an Act was passed on the 14th March which made all those offences which used to be committed under the cloak of liberty, cognizable offences” (IOR., Vernacular Newspapers Report, 1878, p.228).

It also empowered any Magistrate of a district, or a Commissioner or Police in a Presidency to enforce printer and publisher of a newspaper to agree not to publish certain kinds of material, to demand security, deeming it forfeited at their discretion, and to confiscate any printed matter it deemed to be objectionable in accordance with this Act (Karkhanis, 1981:49-50). Moreover, it had been repealed by another Act III of 1882 retaining power to the Post Office authorities to search for and seize any vernacular publications of a seditious nature and importation of which had been prohibited under the Sea Customs Act, 1878 (Ahuja, 1996:27). With the exception of the Calcutta Journal, no English newspaper was deprived of license in 1823 and by late 1860's, 11 Urdu and six Hindi papers. Indian Press throughout the half century that elapsed since the first freedom struggle in 1857 took a distinctive political and nationalistic turn without losing sight of the main object of supplying information and useful knowledge. One can find criticism and abuses of British administration and reactionary measures of the Government in view of vernacular press of that period. Prior to the rumblings of 1857 mutiny, the Press was fiercely involved in rallying the masses; hence inevitably the British government increasingly became apprehensive about the Press' freedom. Through the newspapers, a nationalistic rebellion was slowly being piercing together through words and symbols. The 'Gagging Act' was withdrawn in 1858, the production of books, pamphlets and newspapers by Indian writers both in English and Indian languages resumed its growth. By 1870 there were 644 papers in British India of which 400 were in vernaculars. Vernacular journals outnumbered the British journals in number as well as in influence (Agrawal, 1970:41-47).

The early 19th century witnessed the awareness of Indian intellectuals, who through English education, influenced by the press and started publishing newspapers and journals in Vernacular languages as well. It was the beginning of press and the widely circulated newspapers were Samachar Darpan, Bangadarshan, Jnanodya, Sudhovanivichar Lahiri, the Bombay Herald, the Madras Courier, etc. The main purpose of that time was to propagate the importance of education, especially English, which enable to understand the offensive attitude of British, in order to express their opinion, training and political, social, religious issues, etc. Another important development happened in the history of the press was the publication of the first issue of Bengal monthly 'Digdarshn' under the editorialship of J.C.Mashman and from 1818 to 1839, Calcutta had 26 European newspapers and 9 Indian newspapers; in Bombay 10 European and 4 Indian journals; in Madras about 9 European journals were in circulation and publication of newspapers and journals was an essential part of Indians of that time ([www. Indiandians .com](http://www.Indiandians.com), 27-05-2010) which was objective of Vernacular press in a view to criticize British policies. It was also essential to disseminate the useful information and knowledge on problems that Indians were surpassing with a view to educate and instruct them. The first vernacular newspaper published by an Indian was in Bengali and Persian. One of the newspapers the Aligarh Institute Gazette in 1870 remarked the

slothfulness and apathetic attitude of Indians in a biased manner that 'Indians ought to bless the government from the bottom of their hearts go to Europe and see the progress of knowledge and what a civilized nation is when in possession of the jewel of knowledge (Vernacular Newspapers Reports 1870, pp.27-28 and 40-41), in way to understand and realisation of Indians to get benefit from whatever circumstances are available to get self conscious for future of their countrymen. Other important newspapers of that period were the Aylmer Institute Gazette, Arya Warta, Nasim-i-Jaunpore (social issue press), Akhbar-i-Alam (Northwest Provinces), Arunodaya, Audh Akhbar, Almora Akhbar, Dabir-i-Hind, Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab, Koh-i-Noor, Punjab Akhbar, etc (Javaid Akhtar et.al 2010:71-83).

However, all this had happen after the Revolt 1857, as the Indian National Movement was started by the prominent Indian leaders and made the public aware by their writings in newspapers. The Vernacular press faced restrictions on its freedom of the country from time to time through several acts and press legislations passed by British Government like Censor Act of 1799, Licensing Regulation Act of 1823, Press Act of 1835, the Licensing Act of 1857, Registration Act of 1867, Vernacular Act of 1878, Newspaper Act of 1908, Indian Press Act of 1910 & 1931 and the Officials Secrets Act. Various important newspapers emerged during the 19th and 20th centuries in Vernacular languages which were the production of fearless national Journalists namely Hindu and Swadesamitran 1880 (in Tamil) started by G.Subramaniya; Aizar, the voice of India by Dadabhai Naoroji; Amrita Bazar Patrika in 1858 by Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, Kesari in 1880 (in Marathi) and Maharatta (in English) by Balagangadhar Tilak; the Bengalee by Surendranath Banerji, Indian Mission by N.N.Sen; Sudharak in 1888 by G.K.Gokhale and Hindustan by M.M.Malavya. There were newspapers published from other parts of India were Indu Prakash, Gujarati Kal and Dhyam Prakash from Bombay and Bangnivasi, Som Prakash and Sadharani from Bengal and Tribune and Akbhar-i-am from Punjab. The other newspapers and journals or weeklies of Vernacular press comprised Navjeevan in 1919 (Gujarathi), Neel Derpan in 1860 (Bengali), Hindustan in 1924-1946 (Hindi), Mathrubhumi (Telugu), Crescent (Tamil) and Malayalam Manorama in 1938 (Nazakat Hussain 2017: 231-233).

In the history of Indian journalism, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the tallest personalities and a social reformer who used his journals to criticize traditional customs and practices which were holding back Indian society and was felt the need for modernization by following rational and egalitarian customs and practices as he was himself a victim of traditional customs and practices (Iyengar, 2001: xviii). In his journals he endeavoured to counter the criticism of the missionaries on the one hand, and to educate Indian public opinion on the need for social reform. The beginning of Vernacular papers by Roy brought to the attention of Indians the controversial social and political topics of the time. In this way, he was able to bring about public awakening about national issues (Ahuja, 1996:9). A significant development happened in the history before of the implementation of Vernacular Press, was when the first Bengal monthly 'Digdarshan' was started under the editorship of J.C. Mashman. From 1818 to 1839 Calcutta had 26 European newspapers and 9 Indian newspapers; Bombay had 10 European and 4 Indian

journals; Madras had 9 European journals and it has become the essential part of the Indians' life (www.indiondians.com,27-05-2010). It was recorded in one of the Vernacular newspapers that up to 1873, published newspapers were 224 in number, varied in language and place of origin. They were published on daily, weekly, bi-weekly, monthly and bi-monthly basis (Indian Office Record, pp.98-105), some of the extracts had been given to analyze the perceptions of the press in regard to the rule of British in India.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy also brought out periodicals in English, Bengali and Persian. Some of Roy's papers were Sambad Kaumidi, Brahmical Magazine, Mirat-ul-Akhbar, and Bangadoota and Bengal Herald. Sambad Kaumidi and Mirat-ul-Akhbar tried to meet a wide variety of reader interest. There were items of local news including births, marriages and deaths, as well as reports of events in India and the world; articles on themes of religious and social reform, especially the need to end the inhuman custom of Sati as well as travelogues; and shipping and commercial news. Mirat-ul-Akhbar, the weekly in Persian, devoted much space to international affairs. The first issue carried an article on China and an analysis of the causes of tension between Russia and the Turkish ruler at Constantinople (Raghavan, 1994:9). The awakening generated by Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal soon spread to other parts of India. Newspapers published in Indian languages strengthened national consciousness. Indian-owned newspapers sprang up in various parts of the country. Many of them advocated political and social reform. This awakening also resulted in the formation of citizens' associations comprising lawyers, teachers and other sections of the English educated intelligentsia and emergence of nationalist newspapers (Raghavan, 1994:16-19).

The Vernacular newspapers played a very notable role and so restrictions were imposed on their freedom. It includes the Hindi Patriot, established in 1853 by the author and play writer, Girish Chandra Ghosh. It became popular under the editorship of Harish Chandra Mukherjee. In 1861, the paper published a play, "Neel Darpan" and launched a movement against the British, urging the people to stop cultivating the crop for the white traders. This resulted in the formation of a Neel Commission. Later, the paper was taken over by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar which strongly opposed the Government's excesses and demanded that the Indians be appointed to top government posts. The Indian Mirror was the other contemporary of this paper, as mentioned above, which was very popular among the reading public. Yet another weekly, Amrita Bazar Patrika (Fig.5) started publication edited by Sisir Kumar Ghosh was to ventilate grievances of the people and to educate the public and was critical of the government. On January 1, 1874 Sisir Kumar Ghosh wrote that the only instrument with which the people could fight the Government was the newspaper. The result of this was that the proprietors of this newspaper faced trial and conviction (Agrawal, 1970:48).

The press played a vital role in the building of Indian nationalism. The national movement emerged from the fact that leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Keshab Chandra Sen, Gokhale, Tilak, Pherozshah Mehta, Subash Chandra Bose, C.R. Das, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, C.Y. Chintamani, Moti Lal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya, M.K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru used it as a medium for arousing and mobilizing nationalist public opinion.

They criticized government's policies and educated the public in the understanding of political problems through the press. It was a weapon in the hands of the nationalist leaders to popularize among the people, their political programs and methods of struggle. This accounts for the remarkable growth of the press in India in both daily and periodical at that time (Desai, 1984:236-237). The support of the vernacular press for the national movement was strong and enduring, as calls, first for home rule, and then for full independence, gathered in strength in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The dawn of a new century resulted in increased number of newspapers, particularly vernacular newspapers which supported the growing national consciousness. The Anglo-Indian papers always supported Government measures and policies. This strengthened the distinction between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian press with the former favouring Indian nationalism and the latter favouring the government. The Government was also showing favouritism to the Anglo-Indian papers and opposing the Indian papers (Agrawal 1970:64). Lord Curzon in 1899 immediately began to make improvements which he thought were necessary without considering public opinion (Karkhanis 1981:57). The Official Secrets Act of 1903 was passed. It was nothing but an additional fetter to curb the liberty of the press. It was a grave peril to the independence of journalism. The Anglo-Indian press joined the Indian press in condemning this measure. Another measure of him was taken by Curzon, without considering public opinion, on the pretext of improving the administration of a large province, Bengal was its partition in 1905, hence a massive agitation took place against its partition because it was considered to be a measure designed to weaken the national. Minto, who came after Curzon, inherited a turbulent situation and tried to meet the scope of the Press Act by issuing a number of ordinances and circulars abridging the right of free speech and free criticism. Lord Minto passed the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act of June 1908, which empowered the authorities to take judicial action against the editor of any newspaper which published matter which, in the view of the Government, amounted to incitement to rebellion. Simultaneously, the Governor of Bombay made a declaration in the Legislative Council at Poona, that the Government was determined to put down seditious agitation in the province (Ahuja, 1996:176-177).

Partition of Bengal, violence in different parts of the country, and the British assassinations caused a threatening situation. To cope with this situation, new legislation, the Indian Press Act of 1910, was passed and the provision of the bill increased Government control over the printing presses and publishers. It empowered district magistrates to levy and to forfeit security deposits from the publishers of newspapers and the keepers of presses; to authorize searches and to declare printing presses and newspaper copies forfeited to the Government; and for prohibition of the transmission by post of copies of newspapers deemed to contain objectionable matter (Raghavan, 1994:36). All proprietors who made a declaration under the 1867 press Act for the first time were required to deposit security of 500 to 2000 rupees unless it was waived with by the local magistrate. Owners of existing presses were required to make the deposits only if the printed "objectionable matters" as such that incited to murder, caused religious or racial

animosity, tampered with the loyalty of the army or expressed Government hatred. If objectionable matters were printed, the local Government was authorized to declare the security forfeited. In that case the press would either cease to function or the owner would be required to put up a larger deposit. If the printer published objectionable matters again, both the security and the press would be seized. Customs and postal authorities were authorised to detain and search suspicious mail. Newspapers of those publishers who had failed to deposit securities could also be seized. The measure also authorized the local Government to confiscate any newspaper, book or printed document which continued to print prohibited materials. Local police were authorized to search and seize the objectionable materials. The legislation barred recourse to judicial review except through appeal to a special bench of high court judges, who could decide whether or not the matter objected to be the kind defined in the Act. This measure was vigorously enforced. Between 1910 and 1914 the Government initiated 355 cases (warnings, security demands and prosecution) against the printing presses. In 1922, the Central Legislative Assembly on the recommendation of the committee appointed to investigate press legislation repealed the Newspaper (incitement to offences) Act of Press Act of 1910 (Karkhanis, 1981:62- 67).

However, six-year of administration of Lord Irwin (1925-1931) was a turbulent period and the Indian leaders were dissatisfied with him because of his proclamation to give dominion status to India and declared at the Lahore Session that the goal of the Indian National Congress was to get complete national independence. Soon after that, in April 1930, Gandhi began his Civil Disobedience Movement with the march to Dandi to break the salt law. The movement spread throughout the country, creating turmoil. Thus, this period is marked by a greater government control and restrictions on the press. The 1930 Indian Press Ordinance, one of the six Ordinances aimed to better control of the press similar to the 1910 Press Act, was passed by the British Government. On March 6, 1931, the Government withdrew the Indian Press Ordinance of 1930 along with other ordinances passed that year because Irwin met with Gandhi and signed the Irwin Gandhi Pact in which Gandhi agreed to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement (Karkhanis, 1981:67-71). Later on, Willington was unsympathetic to Nationalist Movement in 1931 who declared the Indian Nationalist Congress illegal and took measures to suppress the Civil Disobedience Movement. The first of the repressive measures was the passage of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931. Similar to the 1908, 1910 and 1930 legislation, this act empowered local magistrates at their discretion to require publishers and printers to deposit security of up to 1000 rupees. The local Government was empowered to take action against any publisher or printer suspected of printing or publishing material which may be constructed as incitement to commit crime. The local Governments were empowered to declare securities for forfeit and demand additional security, and to direct a Magistrate to issue a warrant to search property where copies of newspapers and books declared forfeit were suspected of being stored for distribution. This was an act which gave wide ranging powers to local Governments, the effect of which was to prohibit the printing of names or portraits of well-known leaders of the Nationalist

Movement as well as notices and advertisements of meetings of the Congress Party or any political events (Karkhanis, 1981:71-72).

With the beginning of World War II, the Government found it necessary to pass Defence of India Act, bolstering the authority of the Central Government to deal with seditious material. Censorship machinery with a Chief Censor, a Director of Public Information, and other censors and advisory committees in each province, began to operate. Printed material came under the scrutiny of the Government. On October 25, 1940, the Government of India issued an order which prohibited “the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of any matter calculated, directly or indirectly, to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion, or of any matter relating to the holding of meetings or the making of speeches for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of fomenting such opposition as aforesaid: provided that nothing in this order shall be deemed to apply to any matter communicated by the Central Government or a provincial government to the press for publication (Raghavan, 1994:100-101). Fresh restrictions were imposed on the press following the Quit India resolution of August 1942. The newspaper’s offices were raided by the police a few days later, some papers were seized and the premises placed under lock. It was only towards the close of 1945, following the release of members of the Congress Working Committee, that the premises were restored. With the war drawing to an end and a clear indication that India was soon to be freed, continuation of censorship and repression was meaningless. Gradually, as the war ended, hence most of the controls on the press with it (Karkhanis, 1981:76).



Fig.1



Fig.2

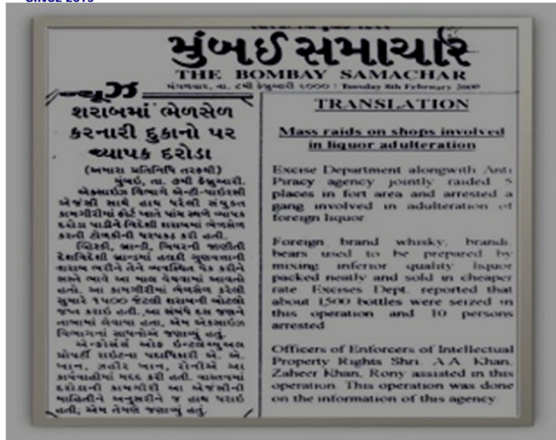


Fig.3



Fig.4

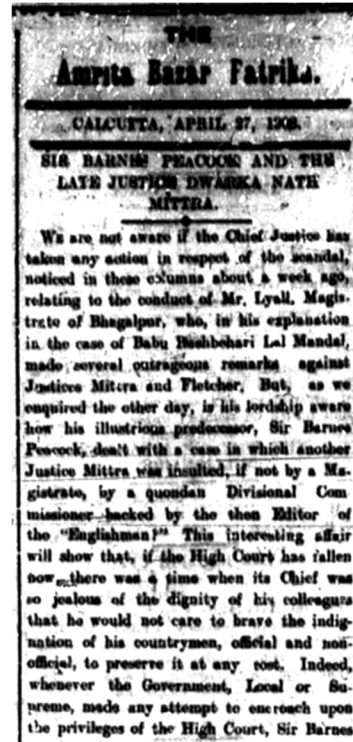


Fig.5

The initiation and progress made by Vernacular press and its impact had prolonged activities through publication of newspapers, journals, periodicals, pamphlets and weeklies had been a progressive character regarding the socio-religious feelings which reflected in several reform movements which sought to remove social evils that divided Indian society. The ultimate result of the press was to the effect of bringing different sections of the Indian society come together for a common cause of realising nationalism and since many reform movements drew their inspiration from India's rich cultural heritage which promoted pan-Indian feelings and spirit

of nationalism for obtaining and freeing India from the foreign clutches and its impact has been viewed in various way as follows.

Social Impact:

Circulation of News papers surpassed boundaries of class and creed of the Indians and they connected merchants, farmers, policy makers, officials, sailors, women, marginal workers, and all other members of the society. In early 19th century India, scholars and statesmen used newspapers as an excellent weapon to reform our downtrodden society. Social evils like Sati, Caste system, idol worship and animal sacrifices, etc. were strongly opposed by Raja Rammohun Roy and his newspapers approved the intellectual thoughts against all odds. In the context of Manipur, a communication bottle neck, mere population inhabited by valley and hilly people of varied small communities speaking different dialects/ languages, in last decade of 19th century, Hijam Irabot pioneered in social reforms fighting against political subjugation, economic exploitation and religious oppression of Indian mass by the British imperialists and the Brahmasabha patronized by the king. Several movements led by Neta Irabot provoked the already victimized people in the demand for self rule of Manipur against the British Government. He published 'Meitei Chanu' probably in 1922 as the pioneer in the field of journalism. There were serious debates on religious, social and economic issues. Different people had different opinions regarding the colonial society. People and social reformers offered a variety of new interpretations of the beliefs of different religions. Printed tracts and newspapers not only spread the new ideas, but they also shaped the nature of the debate and a wider section of public could now participate in these public discussions, and express their views.

New ideas emerged through these clashes of opinions. Early 19th century also witnessed social reforms with intense controversies between several reformers and the Hindu orthodoxy over the social evils like widow immolation, child marriage, sati system, pardah system, etc. It was in Bengal, discussions and debates developed, tracts and newspapers proliferated circulating a variety of arguments. For example, Raja Ram Mohan Roy published the Sambad Kaumudi from 1821, and wrote about the social evils at that time. The Hindu orthodoxy commissioned the 'Samachar Chandrika' to oppose his opinions. At that time, two Persian newspapers jam-i-Jahan Nama and 'Shamsul Akhbar', a Gujarati newspaper, the 'Bombay Samachar' (Fig.3) were also published. The Hindu orthodoxy commissioned the Samachar Chandrika to oppose Roy's opinions which helped in creating pan Indian identity. Despite repressive measures taken by the government national newspapers grew in numbers in all parts of India. They reported on colonial misrule and encouraged nationalist activities which indirectly paved not only the consciousness of nationalism and a base for freedom struggle. In North India, the Ulama used cheap lithographic presses to print religious newspapers and published Persian and Urdu translations of holyscriptures but Muslims feared that colonial rule would change their personal laws, hence, Urdu print started to battle

against

this.

Almost from the beginning of 19th century, the politically conscious Indians have been attracted towards the press and they started publishing newspapers, journals and magazines not just in English but in vernacular languages and some of the important vernacular newspapers and magazines were Samachar Darpan, Sudhovani, Bangadarshan, Jnanodya, Vichar Lahiri, The Madras Courier (Fig. 2), The Bombay Herald, etc.

A silent revolution occurred in the Indian society. There started conflict between the conservatives and reactionaries and the progressive Indians. The conservatives were in favour of the old traditional way of life and shouted against the encroachment of the Western culture. On the other hand the progressive groups of the Indian society focused the attention of the people on the major social evils like the untouchability, un-equality, backwardness of the women, child marriage, Pardha system, illiteracy, polygamy and Devadasi system etc. and influenced the people to accept good things of the West and there aroused the social consciousness and helped the growth of middle classes. They were liberally conferred on the aristocracy and princely order. By these methods the conservative aristocracy rallied round the British. With their effort many social evils could disappear quickly. A new life and conduct was introduced in Indian society by the west. The younger generation has accepted the individualistic view point that has tended to loosen our social bonds. The institution of joint family and the caste system have received very rude shock. Indians thought that the West had influenced by uprooting our social evils even though inspiration for social reforms had been derived from the latter as even liberation of womanhood from the bonds of social tyranny became a possible due to impact of western way of social life.

Political impact:

In the sphere of politics the Western thought and administration have taught the concept of political unity and constitutional law even in the case of Indians too in view of the consciousness of nationalism along with liberty and equality. It was, in fact possible due to the introduction of English education but the same thing had fostered India for the growth of the spirit of deep nationalism, political consciousness and aggressive nationalism in course of time due to intellectuals being put forward their views through the inspiration for the intense nationalism from Washington, Cromwell, Mazzini, Garibaldi and Napoleon etc. Political awakening and growing nationalism unified heterogeneous elements of India people and its society. The uniform British administration, political unity, universal peace, constitutional development and spread of western political ideas led to the increasing emphasis of democracy and institution of Local-self government in India. The emphasis of institutional democracy brought new temper in the minds of Indians that generated the idea of discontentment in the soil of India. Consequently the middle class people became restless aggressive, self assertive to vent their grievances against political subjugation in the light of Western political ideologies of socialism, individualism and

humanitarianism. This threatened the political edifice of British imperialism. An important factor in the growth of national sentiments in India was the tone of racial superiority adopted by many Englishmen in their dealings with Indians. The reactionary policies of the British government were also responsible for the growth of political associations. The viceroy Lord Lytton strongly denounced newspapers published in the vernacular languages as ‘mischievous scribblers preaching open sedition’, who remarked that the avowed purpose of most of the vernacular newspapers was an end to the British raj. The papers that made the government worried were Somprakash, Sulabh Samachar, Halisahar Patrika, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Bharat Mihir, Dacca Prakash, Sadharani and Bharat Sanskarak. All these papers were said to have been leading the seditious movement against the government. The Act provided for submitting to police all the proof sheets of contents of papers before publication. What was seditious news was to be determined by the police, and not by the judiciary. Under this Act many of the papers were fined, their editors jailed. Obviously this repressive measure came under severe criticism. All the native associations irrespective of religion, caste and creed denounced the measure and kept their denunciations and protestations alive. All the prominent leaders of Bengal and of India condemned the Act as unwarranted and unjustified, and demanded for its immediate withdrawal. The newspapers themselves kept on criticizing the measure without an end. The latter half of the 19th century saw a remarkable growth in the Vernacular Press of the country and newspapers played a role of catalyst in the new socio-political consciousness. Earlier, the newspapers were being published in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad only but later the newspapers started getting published from smaller places also. Since, most of the newspapers published from smaller places, they all were in vernacular languages. In 1878, when this act was passed, the number of English Newspapers was 20 and Vernacular newspapers were 200. These vernacular newspapers made the people aware of the political affairs and now the people slowly started asking questions for their rights through the initiation of national movements and resorted to mass agitation in the early part of 20th century with the arrival of Gandhi and the main political task still was that of politicization, political propaganda and education and formation and propagation of nationalist ideology for which the press was the chief instrument for carrying out this task for arousing, training, mobilizing and consolidating nationalist public opinion. Even the work of National Congress was accomplished during these years largely through the Vernacular press by proposing resolution-proceedings to propagate through newspapers influencing and extended far beyond its literate subscribers nor was confined to cities and large towns.

Religious Impact:

Various social and religious reform movements took place in India during the British rule were nothing but expression of national consciousness of its people. The new educated class who imbibed the liberal western culture, recognized the need of reforming social institutions and religious outlooks as these were regarded as obstacles to a nation like India composed of a complex

social system. A number of organisations like Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Rama Krishna Mission, Theosophical society, etc. helped in bringing movements of reformation and renaissance in India. These movements aimed to eliminate privilege from the social and religious fields, to democratize social and religious institutions of the country and to promote individual liberty and social equality. They sought to establish equal rights of all individuals irrespective of their caste or sex. In this way, the national democratic awakening found expression in all fields of national life through the writings appeared in the newspapers and books published with the peoples opinions. It gave birth to the movement of administrative reform, self-government, Home Rule and finally independence. The national movement was possible due to the facility of political education and propaganda provided by the press. With its help, the Indian nationalist groups were able to popularize among the people the ideas of representative government. The press also brought the news of the international world which made the people conscious of their own position in India. The Nationalists in India were very much eager to protect the independence of the press. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first fighter who filed a petition in the Supreme Court of Calcutta along with some enlightened nationalist Indians such as Dwarkanath Tagore, Harchandra Ghosh, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore etc. for this purpose. The struggle for the freedom of the press has been an integral part of the national movement in India. The Kaumudi's attempt to reforms like 'abolition of sati' were severally opposed by Samachar Chandrika, an orthodox journal. The first Journal from Bombay was the 'Bombay Herald', started in 1789. It was followed by 'Courier' which published advertisements in Gujarathi in 1790, and the 'Bombay gazette' (1791). However during the 19th century the news papers were developing in all aspects and their horizon was widened. They touched up on each issue relating to the Indian society and by the third quarter of the 19th century, they acquired a nationalistic tone and by that time most of the English journals were run by Indians themselves.

In fact, it was Christian missionaries whose interest in popularising the Gospel of religion, were the pioneers in bringing out news papers in local languages. The first of its kind to appear in Madras Presidency was the 'Kannada Samachar' started by German Missionaries in 1812 at Bellary (later shifted to Mangalore) to propagate the Gospel. Another Missionary paper, 'Satyadoota' (Messenger of Truth) in Telugu language was started by the Bellary Tract Society in 1835. The enlightened Indians took interest in the publication of newspapers in Vernacular languages by the influence of Christian Missionaries. In 1838, a Telugu newspaper, 'Vrittantini', was started at Madras under the editorship of Mandigala Venkataraya Sastri hailed from Cuddapah. Another Telugu paper, 'Vartamanatarangini', was started by Syed Rahmtullah of Madras which was patriotic in its tone which was in circulation in Rayalaseema during 1850's (It may be of interest to note that a noted votary of Telugu literature, C.P. Brown, felt that the writings in Vartamanatarangini reflected "the prejudices of the Hindus and their murmurs against wise (British) Government (in India). It published Telugu translations of excerpts from the English newspapers, Spectator (Madras) and Calcutta Citizen (Calcutta), criticised the policies and

practices of the Government and also highlight the inconsistent judicial decisions in the Courts of Law which were dominated by the British Judges. The newspapers published the views of prominent leaders like Annie Besant, Mahatma Gandhi and Malaviya on the inhuman practice of untouchability. Andhra Patrika, KrishnaPatrika and others also provided wide publicity and prominence to the conferences of the depressed classes in their columns. The Telugu press also took note of the steps taken by the other parts of the country in removing untouchability. Annie Besant's criticism on the humiliating position of the press in Kerala was published by the Krishna Patrika and an appeal was made to all Hindus remove the blot of untouchability from Hindu society. Satyagrahi appreciated the declaration of the Brahmin, Vysya and other temple trustees of the Bombay Province that if there is any place where there is no difference between god and man, it is only the temple. Andhra Patrika appreciated the progress achieved the Bombay Presidency on the question of the temple entry of Harijans and appealed to of all temples trustees to remove obstacles to the temple entry of Harijans and declared that the Hindu sastras did not support the prohibition of entry of the panchamas into the temples. The struggle of Kelappam to achieve the right of entry for Harijans into the famous Guruvayur temple in Kerala also received the attention of the Telugu press. The battle for the uplift of the Harijans was waged by all sections of the press irrespective of the caste party and ideological differences. The press made the issue as a national problem and full publicity was given for the eradication of untouchability. In the light of new Western knowledge and liberal values the early journals initiated a discussion on Hindu society, its religious practices, age old traditions and the evils inherent in them. Some of the journals further advocated the reform of the old traditional values. These new ideas invited immediate protest from orthodox sections in society and they began to counter the reform efforts initiated by the emerging middle classes who were imbued with Western liberal values. However, the vigorous reform campaign attracted more attention from the press. Secondly, the uncontrolled missionary activities and their criticism of Hindu traditional observances deeply hurt the feelings of indigenous people. On their part they unleashed a long process of severe antagonism to Christian missionary efforts in the realm of religion. This religious controversy and theological tussle between these two groups often found an expression in the columns of press during the nineteenth century these two broad strands influenced the growth of press in Madras Presidency also. The development of press in Madras Presidency is significant in some aspects. The beginning of English press owned by Indians was witnessed as early as 1844. The journal published a series of articles criticizing the missionaries. Necessitated by unhindered missionary criticism of Hindu religious practices in the journals published by Christian missionaries. Further it sowed the early seeds of protest and tried to build up public opinion against the colonial rule and generate anti-British feeling by resorting to a criticism of missionary activities. The three earliest English journals in the Presidency viz., The Native Circulator (1844), Crescent (1844) and The Rising Sun (1857) were owned by Telugus in the Presidential capital of Madras the details of which are discussed in the following pages. Apart from the English press, the vernacular press made its beginnings around the same time. When compared to the Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati press, the development of Telugu press was

rather slow. The differential and late impact of colonial rule in the Presidency was mainly responsible for this. It is further viewed that the highly complex Telugu script was also a major. As early as 1818 Vernacular journalism emerged in Bengal with the establishment of journals like Bengal Gazette Diqdarsan and Samachar Darpan.

Economic impact:

West has changed the Indian standard of living based on the deep sense of contentment and spiritualism. Hereditary occupations could no longer guarantee the individual subsistence or comfort. New types of employment and castes came into existence. The economic and industrial policy of the British destroyed the ancient village based indigenous industries of India. Her traditional economic structure in agriculture and industries fell to pieces. But on account of the increased population and absence of new large scale industries, agriculture could not be the sound means of livelihood for the people. Close contact with the western countries could make the Indians understand about the modern industrial way of life and the availability of minerals and raw materials in plenty to industrialize their country for the growth of their economy. Thus the economic life of the country was bound to be modernized. The new western ideology has changed our economic outlook, introduced a desire for liberty, a passion for social justice in the field of economy. A new demand for modernization for all avenues of progress in the field of industries and a different type of national sentiment based the economic growth thus came in the way of Indian life to regenerate the hope of economic prosperity in the modern time. The legacy of difficulties in the economic field reminds the exploitative character of Western culture. Here the vernacular press in a way explained how British have changed their lives as mere workers for their industries for the British welfare rather than their won.

People came to realize that colonial rule was the major cause of India's economic backwardness and that the interests of the Indians involved the interests of all sections and classes. The very condition of British rule helped the growth of national sentiment among the Indian people. The destruction of the rural and local self-sufficient economy and the introduction of modern trade and industries on an all- India scale had increasingly made India's economic life a single whole and interlinked the economic fate of people living in different parts of the country. Furthermore, the introduction of the railways, telegraph and unified postal systems had brought the different parts of the country together and promoted mutual contact among the people, especially among the leaders. Nationalist sentiments grew easily among the people because India was unified and welded into a nation during the 19th and 20th centuries. The introduction of a uniform and modern system of government by the British throughout the country unified it administratively. The destruction of the rural and local self-sufficient economy and the introduction of modern trade and industries on an all- India scale had increasingly made India's economic life a single whole and interlinked the economic fate of people living in different parts

of the country. Furthermore, the introduction of the railways, telegraph and unified postal systems had brought the different parts of the country together and promoted mutual contact among the people, especially among the leaders.

Education and Literature impact:

The impact of the west and English education was keenly felt on the vernacular literature of India. Through the English language the western literature were thrown open to Indians and a flood of ideas were let loose, hence there spread a great mental expansion similar to that which the European nations experienced when English language was introduced and taught. The Western literature offered several brilliant specimens in different branches of literature and Indian writers copied them. The best of the writers of the Indian vernacular literatures have been western in spirit in outlook, in literary devices, in the choice and treatment of the subjects though they retained close connection with ancient Indian life style. They represented the spirit of the west in a half oriental mind setup. The Indian prose literature began with the translation of English prose works. Our prose writers wrote essays in the light of western ideology. They imitated western style and translated them in their writing. Even Rabindranath Tagore was no exception to that influence. The Indian drama was considerably influenced by the Western drama. The details about the stage craft and the projection of individual characters and the social problems in modern Indian drama are the outcome of the study of Western drama. Ibsen Galsworthy and Bernard Shaw have been imitated by the Indian writers. The growth of One Act Play in Indian literature is the result of the Western literary influence. Indian stories and novels too were influenced by the western literature. Poetry was also considerably influenced. English sonnet, Ode, and Blank verse were imitated. Madhusudan Duttad in Bengali, Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya in Hindi has achieved marvelous success in Blank Verse duly influenced by the Western culture. Western scholars played significant role in composing dictionaries and grammars in Indian vernaculars. Christian missionaries set up Indian vernacular press to spread divine message of the Bible. Later on the Western scholars wrote the history of Indian people mobilizing the mind set-up for their rapid evolution and expansion.

Realising the fact by the Indians that their ancient language Sanskrit was restored through English as Colebrook, Wilson, James Prince, Max Muller and other scholars who began to study Sanskrit, edited and published famous works of Sanskrit which made the former to focus their attention towards the rich heritage of Sanskrit literature. In this regard the newspapers and periodicals of Indian languages brought close contact with numerous countries of the world and provided opportunities to study the literatures to strive in order to eradicate social, political and religious evils and the result was that Indians could able to make a comparative assessment and

rejuvenate our ideas in the world perspective. The vernacular press went with the political agenda of spreading national consciousness and supported whole heartedly the struggle for India's independence. However, the colonial state left no stone unturned to suppress vernacular press and deny freedom to the print media. The British ruler used all sorts of physical force to suppress right to free speech and expression as well as freedom of the press. There was an extraordinarily close association between the struggle for social and political emancipation and the origin and development of the Indian Press. Therefore, the missionary print media of the colonial India left a glorious legacy to the print media of the free India. Modern representative democracy is a Western system of rule which evolved in a particular historical context. However, the origin of the parliamentary democracy in India could be traced in the Council of India Act, 1861 which came into being after the transfer of the Indian empire from the British East India Company to the British Crown. The Council of India Act, 1892 brought the non-elected native component in the legislative process which over the period of time introduced the limited elected native components in the process of legislation.

The concept of self-rule as a fundamental necessity of democratic governance and a long cherished demand of the freedom struggle was introduced in a limited sense in the provinces of the British India under the Government of India Act, 1919. However, the constitutional developments though with all limitations were the result of the British Colonial ruler's unwilling response in reaction to the mounting pressures of the mass freedom struggle. Therefore, the introduction of the parliamentary democracy and its institutions during the colonial India was the historical product of the India's political struggle for national freedom. The relationship of the mass media and democracy is always a complex relationship though it always seems as if a simple straight forward relationship. Democracy in general terms is understood to be the form of government which is subject to popular sovereignty. It is essentially a rule by the people which is in contrast to monarchies or aristocracies. One of the crowning glories of the democratic system is the freedom of expression and the space that it provided to views from different section of the society. A democratic system can run to its utmost potential where there is wide participation on the part of the general mass which is not possible without people getting informed about various issues. Reliable information resources are an important constituent of any democratic society. The national movement, on its political side, was possible because of the facility of political education and propaganda provided by the Press. It was a weapon, in the hands of the nationalist groups, to popularize among the people their respective political programmes, policies, and methods of struggle, and to form organizations with a broad popular basis. With the Press, all India conferences of nationalist organizations could not have been prepared and held and big political movements organized and directed. Since the Press was a powerful weapon of the nationalist struggles, the Indian nationalists staunchly fought for its freedom throughout the Indian nationalist movement. The Press alone made possible exchanged of views among different social groups of different parts of the country. The establishment and extension of the Press in India brought about

a closer and intellectual contact between the Indian people. It also made possible the daily and extensive discussions of programmes of inter-provincial and national collaboration in sphere of social, political and cultural. National committees were appointed to implement the programmes adopted at these conferences throughout the country. This led to the building of an increasingly rich, complex, social and cultural, national existence. The Press also helped the growth of provincial literatures and cultures, which were provincial in form and national in content. The Press was an effective weapons in the hands of social reform groups to expose social evils such as caste fetters, child marriage, ban on remarriage of widows, social, legal and other inequalities from which women suffered and others. It also helped them to organize propaganda against such inhuman institutions as untouchability. It became a weapon in their hands to proclaim to the masses, principles, programmes, and methods of democratic reconstruction of the Indian society. Further, the Press also brought to the Indian people, knowledge of the happenings in the international world. It became a weapon to constrict solidarity ties between the progressive forces of different countries. Such was the role of the Press in the building up of an increasingly strong national sentiment and consciousness among the Indian people, in the development and consolidation of their growing nationalist movement, in the creation of national and provincial literatures and cultures, and in the forging of bonds of fraternity with other progressive peoples and classes in the outer worlds.

It established a network of schools and colleges in India which turned out a number of educated Indians well versed in modern knowledge. The introduction of modern education in India was primarily motivated by the political, administrative and economic needs of Britain in India. Even though, the British government assigned various key posts of the administrative machinery to the English and filled the subordinate posts with educated Indians but some progressive Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, etc. the pioneers of western education took advantage of it g. The old system of education was only perpetuating superstition and orthodoxy. English education was treated as the treasures of scientific and democratic thought of the west. English educated Indians like Raja Ram Mohan, Vivekananda, Gokhale, Dadabhai Naroji, Feroz Shah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjee, etc. who led the social, religious and political movements in India were all English educated. English language became the medium of communication among the educated Indians by which they could develop close contacts with one another. They also came in contact with western ideas, culture and institutions through the medium of English language. It helped to build up a democratic and rationalist outlook. Ideas of nationalism, democracy, liberty, equality, socialism etc. could be infiltrated to India. The philosophical ideas of Milton, J.S. Mill, Thomas Paine, John Locke, Rousseau, Mazzini, Garibaldi etc., helped the growth of national consciousness. Such consciousness found expression in the formation of various organisations where people could meet and discuss various problems of their motherland. Exchange of views on different subjects of social, political and economic interest could be possible on a national scale. These educated Indians were instrumental in the political

awakening and organisation of political movements in India. As a result of the spread of modern western education and thought during the 19th century, a large number of Indians imbibed a modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist political outlook. The spread and popularity of the English language helped nationalist leaders of different linguistic regions to communicate with each other. Modern education also created a certain uniformity and community of outlook and interests among the educated Indians. This English-educated intelligentsia formed the nucleus for the newly-arising political unrest, and it was this section of the society which provided leadership to the Indian political associations.

Conclusion:

Social history of India underwent a substantially and radical change as a result of its interaction with European culture and politics, even though the people of the former experienced hardship of several painful and unbearable insults. No doubt, but for it assumed political, cultural and economic significance under the aegis of colonial administration and European knowledge system. Each one of the European community's, which include, the missionaries, East India Company, European intelligentsia, and the British government contributed in their own way to the proliferation and the promotion of caste feeling and community consciousness, through cultural assertion and historical memory. The Company Raj and the Crown compelled by their political expediency, patronised and promoted caste sensibilities. The Oriental school of knowledge gave legitimate prevalence of clamorous castes. In a way the caste cataloguing, classifying communities and enumerating other identity issues were undertaken by the officials under their administrative purposes. However, all their efforts were made at the cost of inhuman cultural behaviour, racial discrimination, divide and rule policy which in fact a demand for a change needed by the Indians was achieved through communication and media for which the abolition of press in view of transforming their feeling and opinions on the activities of government had to be brought out in the form of several vernacular languages even though many restrictions were passed in the form of acts by the British. It was because of vernacular press a large volume of literature dealing with the atrocities of British, hence created political consciousness among Indians irrespective of caste, creed and religion, hence no progress be achieved under their rule. A firm belief had been developed among Indians that all the policies framed by British was for the systematic exploitation of Indian economy, therefore Indians felt the only way to save their country to combat colonial rule both by revolution as well as through literary tradition. As a result, a large account of literatures came under publication exposing the atrocities of British rule. The revolutionary writers of the early 20th century evoked the people through their writings regarding the goal of their life what has been written in the Gita and other religious texts. By citing relevant text from the religious texts, the press had been preparing people for a greater sacrifice. It has further awoke the Indians to devote their life for the cause of motherland in the past and the duty they had for the welfare of the country. By doing so the press had provoked people to sacrifice life for the well being of their

countrymen and free, Mother India from the yoke of British rule. Out of fear from the vernacular press and their revolutionary writings, the British Government came with a number of legislation restricting the freedom of press but the ideology of Indian masses reached to a zenith to fight for their nationality through instant demand of realising the Nationalism. The main aim of Vernacular newspapers was not to make profit but to serve the public and in fact, since they achieved wide reach and in a way stimulated the popular library movement which was not limited to cities and towns, hence reached remote villages, where each news item and editorial would be read and discussed thoroughly in local libraries, hence enabled not only to contributed political education but also political participation of educated Indians. In a way Vernacular press or newspapers acted as catalysts, scrutinized the then Government policies which hamper the Indian society and culture, acted as an institution of opposition to the Government even though the latter enacted many strident laws to curb the former.

In India nationalism emerged in die context of colonialism. It can be traced to the political and administrative unification followed by the economic unification by the British. Politically speaking there was no India at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for at least a century before that neither did India poses a knowledge of its own past and its ancient history as opined by historians. The introduction of English education, European science and philosophy, as well as the pride in India as a nation and her past culture, emerged at this historical taming point. The first expression of this consciousness was in the form of social and religious reform movements which were initiated and propogated through newspapers, hence the attitude of Indians as members of a nation have realized and strived for their national identity, and (2) the actions and activities by participating as members of a nation took shape when seeking to achieve (or sustain) some form of political sovereignty, which is often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties, and while an individual's membership in a nation is often regarded as involuntary, it is sometimes regarded as voluntary. In its general form, the concept of nationalism concerns the relationship between the ethno-cultural domain (featuring ethno-cultural groups) and the domain of political organization. Some theorists believe that nationalism became pronounced in the nineteenth century for the simple reason that language became more important as unifier due to increased literacy. So, the prime task of Indians was to increase literacy so that people reading newspapers, books, pamphlets and so on. In this manner with the emergence of modern press, both English and Vernacular, in the latter half of 19th century saw an unprecedented growth of Indian-owned English and Vernacular newspapers. Thus, Indian Press played a notable role in mobilising public opinion, organising political movements, fighting out public opinions and promoting nationalism.

References :-

1. Agrawal, S 1970. Press, Public Opinion and Government of India. Jaipur: Asha Publishing House, p.19-20.
2. Ahuja, B.N. 1996. Story of Press, Press Laws and Communications. New Delhi: Surjeet Publications.
3. Akhtar, M. Javaid, et.al. 2010. The Role of Vernacular Press in Subcontinent During the British Rule: A Study of Perceptions, Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences, 30:71-84
4. Desai, A.R. 1984. Vernacular Press, In Democracy, Civil Society and Governance (Ed. Ghanshyam Shah), Sage Publications.
5. Iyengar, S. 2001. Role of Press and Indian Freedom Struggle (all through the Gandhian Era) New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation.
6. Karkhanis, Sherad. 1981. Indian Politics and the Role of Press. New Delhi: Vikar Publishing House Private Limited, p.18-45.
7. Nazakat Hussain 2017. Role of Vernacular Press during British Rule in India. JERI Vol.3, issue 5, p.231-233.
8. Philips, C.H., H.L. Singh and B.N. Pandey. 1965. The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858 to 1947. U.K.: Oxford University Press, pp.110-113.
9. Raghavan, G.N.S. 1994. The Press in India: A New Stud. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.