



Anglo-Indian Press and Indian Nationalism-A Critical Note

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The press in England or English press can be defined as the Anglo-Indian press, as it comes across as a very important instrument to converge on national awakening from 'without' .i.e. from outside. Any kind of a movement to be successful in needs a strategy of combat from both 'within' and 'without'. In understanding the nuances of Indian National Movement, the press has been influential in infusing the energy into the masses. However to expand the focus along with the Indian press or vernacular press, it is also important to look into another element of press, i.e. English press. This paper is an attempt to understand various questions regarding English press: What do you mean by English press? Whether press was used to create public opinion in England? Was it successful in creating that opinion? Did it have any impact on Indian national awakening? Was this impact working in favor of the nationalists or against them? To comprehend the binary nature of English press both in India and England, the English press has been identified to be of two kinds: a) English press in India and b) English press in England. To do justice to both the elements of English press, the paper has been divided into two parts. The first paper will consist of English press in India and the second paper will focus on English press in Britain or the British Press. The attention of the both the papers are going to be on the development of national awakening in India in the nineteenth century and the issues related to it.

This part of the paper will focus on the trying to understand the role played by the English newspapers in the process of national awakening and more pointedly whether they can be called as forerunner of formulating that opinion? Was this critique of colonial was initiated through a thorough study of colonial India's economy, which later on came to be known as the theory of Economic nationalism. The argument that the paper puts forward is that the English press in India till 1880's along with the vernacular press played a substantial role in propelling the intelligentsia to formulate their line of thinking, which formulates a key component based on which the nationalists in the twentieth century made all the efforts to bring changes in governing the country from within.

Postcolonial theorists and subaltern historiographers, desiring to make the subaltern "speak," often disparage the politics of upper/middle-class Indians. Their role is discounted as merely a "derivative discourse" of Western Enlightenment or as choking subaltern voices. One area that has received much attention from postcolonial theorists is anti-colonial resistance. In the Indian context anti-colonial resistance is linked with the rise of nationalism and the struggle for freedom. In subaltern studies a distinction is made between the elite and the subaltern agency or autonomy is denied to the Indian middle-class anti-colonial discourse. Partha Chatterjee in his *Nation and Its Fragments* argues that the elite, by their efforts to eradicate "colonial difference" through political demands before a liberal government, were actually surrendering to the West.¹ By allowing themselves to be absorbed into the progressive western colonial project of building the modern nation state, Indian nationalists fulfilled colonial ideology. The historian Sumit Sarkar wonders at the distorted logic of this thesis and counters it.² The responses in the press of that time, clearly brings the argument in favor of Sumit Sarkar, wherein the English press in India which is more elite than subaltern at the onset and is a creation of colonialism conscious or unconscious. The English press a colonial construct at the beginning faces repression and suppression at the hands of colonial power. This contradicts the basic subaltern concept of Indian nationalism surrendering to the west, as the very cause becomes the consequence. However there is a flip side to the English press which in the late nineteenth century works in a reverse, which further ignites the nationalist sentiments amongst the masses. The paper has been divided into three sections. The first section deals with the history of the English newspapers in India and the colonial persecution meted out to them. The second section focuses on the beginnings of national awakening through the English newspapers. The third section establishes a critique of the nationalists in English press.

Section I-The History of English Newspapers in India

This section discuss briefly the history of English newspapers in India and states that they became the pioneer in formulating a critique of the British rule. This section will also focus on the ways through which the East India's Company's government attempted to put restrictions on the press, especially at the onset of the nineteenth century. There were three categories of journals in the nineteenth century India. The British newspapers, linking and serving the Anglo-Indian community, were one of the three large categories of journals. Second was the Indian-run English language ones, a struggling few, mostly in Calcutta, speaking the language and addressing the concerns of the slowly-emerging western educated elite of India, who were laying the foundations for the nationalist movement through such papers as the *Indian Mirror*, the *Hindoo Patriot*, and the *Bengalee*.³ *The Indian Mirror*, *A Calcutta Daily* were edited by Narendranath Sen in 1875, expressed the reformist views associated with the Brahma Samaj. *The Hindoo Patriot*, edited by

¹ Chatterjee Parth, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (1986), London: Zed Books.

² Sarkar Sumit, *Writing Social History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002): 96.

³ *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India; collected from Bombay government records* Govt. Central Press, (Bombay, 1957), i. 384

Kristodas Pal, voiced the more moderate views of the British Indian Association. *The Bengalee* was the mouthpiece of Surendranath Banerjea, the most popular nationalist leader of the day.⁴ The third category, by far the largest, was the Indian-language or vernacular press. Most of these papers were small, and ephemeral, often the mouthpiece of some political or religious movement, or an individual. Many were essentially the product of one person. These variegated components made up that large abstraction "The Press" of India. However each of these was important to some sphere, since each of them formed an information network linking writers and readers.

The powerful English press was dominated by Europeans and Anglo-Indians which gradually was taken over by Indians who either were loyalists or served in the colonial bureaucratic order. The beginnings however were made by the Portugese who printed books at Goa in the sixteenth century. There was a printing press established in Bombay in 1674; at Madras in 1772 and at Calcutta in 1779. The first newspaper was *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General's Advertiser*.⁵ Its editor Mr. James Augustus Hicky faced persecution on number of occasions at the hands of the then Governor General Lord Wellesely. In 1791 William Duane, an Irish-American was arrested by the Bengal government and was ordered to be sent to Europe in consequence of writing an offensive paragraph in the *Bengal Journal*.⁶ The *Bengal Harkaru* came out as a weekly journal in 1795. In 1796 proceedings were taken against the editors of the *Telegraph* and the *Calcutta Gazette* for articles considered objectionable by the government. During these years the attitude of the Government of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies towards the editors of papers was the same as that of the Government of Bengal; several editors were warned, and the Press generally was officially supervised. Thus, previously to 1799 there were no uniform and consistent rules established at the three Presidencies to guide the editors of newspapers, or to restrain and punish their excesses. However the frequent abuses in the Calcutta and other Presses before 1799 seem to have satisfied the Government that checks were required.

In 1799 Lord Wellesley gave instructions to issue following regulations for the Public Press-The Bengal Government, under his instructions, issued the following regulations for the public Press—they bore date May 13, 1799, Firstly, every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper; Secondly every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Government; Thirdly, no paper to be published on Sunday. Fourth, No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorized by him for that purpose; Fifthly, the penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation to Europe. These regulations were communicated to

⁴ See Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publications Division, 1967) 451-3; and Swainath Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962); and Nadig Krishna Murthy, *Indian Journalism* (Mysore: Prasaranga, 1966)

⁵ Mitra S.M, *The Anglo Indian Studies*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1913, London, p-162 quotes from Colonel Busted, 'The Life and Death of the First Indian Newspaper, 1780-1782' in "Echoes from Old Calcutta"

⁶ Mitra, p-164

seven English papers then published, and were extended to others as they started. This system obtained, with some additions to the rules, until the censorship was abolished in 1818.⁷

Lord Hastings though abolished the censorship of press, at the same time he passed certain regulations, dated August 19, 1818, for the conduct of the editors of the newspapers, superseding the censorship, as follows: " The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads—viz: (1) Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks leveled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; (2) discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances; (3) the republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India; (4) private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissension in society."⁸ Shortly even this ruling proved futile as the press went ahead with criticism of the British in India on various occasions. Soon the officials felt the need to curtail the concessions given and a Regulation III of 1823 was passed "for preventing the establishment of printing-presses without license, and for restraining under certain circumstances, the circulation of certain printed books and papers". It enacted that no person should print any newspaper or book containing public news, or information, or book containing public news, or information, or strictures on the proceedings of Government, without a licence, which was liable to be revoked; and that, if any newspaper or work should be printed either without a license or after its recall, any two Justices of the Peace might inflict a penalty of £40 for each offence.⁹

In 1830, a few Derozians started the weekly *Parthenon* that closed after two issues. In 1831, Prosunna Coomer Tagore published *Reformer*, a weekly that continued until 1833. In 1842, Derozian Tarachand Chakraborty published *The Quill*, following in the footsteps of the *Bengal Spectator*. The appearance of all of these short lived periodicals in rapid succession testifies to the desire of educated Indians to be heard not only by their countrymen but also by the British.¹⁰ Nevertheless politics was not their central issue, and there was no national newspaper then. In comparison, the European press appeared to be very strong in the matter of influencing the government opinion. By 1839, there were at least 26 periodicals published by the Europeans, of

⁷ See M. Barns, *The Indian Press*, London 1940, pp-52-53

⁸ Leicester Stanhope, *Sketch Of The History And Influence Of The Press Containing Remarks On The Effects Of A Free Press On Subsidiary Alliance; On The Delays Of Office; On Superstition; On The Administration Of Justice; On Flogging; And On Agriculture Also, On The Dangers Of A Free Press And The Licentiousness Of A Censorship*, 1823, pp-12-34

⁹ Mishra, pp-181-182

¹⁰ Paul Debapriya, "Hindoo Patriot" and Harish Chunder Mookherjee: A Study in Colonial Resistance in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 37, No.2, Summer 2004, pp.161-175

which six were dailies, the most prominent among them being *Friend of India*, *The Englishman*, and *Bengal Hurkaru*.¹¹ Lord Macaulay though realized the dangers of having free-press in terms of the 'ability of the natives to throw off our yoke', but did not attempt to curtail the power of the press.¹² Sir C. Metcalfe was declared as the liberator of Indian Press. In the meanwhile number of newspapers surfaced like *The Calcutta Review*¹³ which was established in May 1844, by Sir John Kaye, who was attached to the Corps of Bengal Artillery and was also the editor of the notable Calcutta daily *Bengal Hurkaru*. In May 1844, Sir John Kaye sent forth the first number to the world in the modest belief "that the publication of even a few numbers containing truthful expositions of some of the principal questions affecting the interests of the people of British India, would not be utterly thrown away." The target audience clearly was the emerging English-educated Bengali middle class.¹⁴ It is strange that though the government was hostile towards the English press, it gave encouragement to vernacular press. However the scenario changed with the uprising of 1857 and due to the resultant changes in the governance.

Section-2: English newspapers and the initial critique of the British Rule by the Englishmen

Post the Uprising of 1857, the Act XV issued on June 13 1857, brought back the old restrictions on press, especially regarding the seditions. This was the time when the journalists began to accuse the British government of plundering the Indian economy, to call for a representative legislature in India. Soon the *Friend of India* defied the act followed by many newspapers. It however, repeated, in offensive and defiant terms, the substance of the original article. The license was about to be withdrawn. The Press has developed since that time, through greater enterprise and facilities. More especially have the vernacular papers increased in number and circulation. Between 1858 and 1878 the power and influence of the Presses, both English and Vernacular, whether for good or bad, was fully established. In 1875 there were 155 English newspapers, besides the 254 Vernacular presses, and mixed English and Vernacular papers published in different parts of India. This proved to be threatening for India, as reflected in the writing of Sir Henry Maine, wrote on March 16 1868, " We are beginning more and more to be conscious of the reflex action of Indian opinion, which is mainly formed by the newspapers, which penetrates to England in a variety of ways, and thus leavens or creates English opinion about India, and so becomes a real power with which we have to count. Even more serious is the direct influence of the European Press in India on the now enormous native Press. Where the native newspapers do not perceive that native interest points the other way (which they constantly fail to do), they merely echo European cries, which, in the vast majority of cases, are bitter calumnies on, or misrepresentations of, the policy of the Government."¹⁵

¹¹ Debapriya Paul, p-162

¹² See George Otto Trevelyan's, *Selections from Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, the Macmillan Company, 1914, p-XIV

¹³ Krishna Sen and Paul Debapriya, Archival Press Project: "The Calcutta Review", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2, The Nineteenth-Century Press in India(Summer, 2004), pp. 233-247

¹⁴ Sen Krishna, p-234

¹⁵ Grant Duff, *Sir Henry Maine A Brief Memoir of His Life*, Henry Holt & Co, (London, 1892), p-369

Several of the English newspapers in India were commenced during the twenty years, 1858-1878, such as the *Pioneer*¹⁶, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Madras Mail* and the others. The Press has developed since that time, through greater enterprise and facilities. More especially have the vernacular papers increased in number and circulation. Between 1858 and 1878 the power and influence of the Presses, both English and Vernacular, whether for good or bad, was fully established. One newspaper named *Hindoo Patriot* made the beginnings in speaking for the 'nation's' cause, though the objective of its editor Mukherjee was not so, as he belonged the intellectual group who still believed in the British rule and the benefits accruing from it. Debapriya Paul in her article records the beginnings of such awareness through *Hindoo Patriout*. However it was during the Uprising of 1857 that he wrote openly against the colonial policies. The British officials took keen interest in such news. There was a demand for *Hindoo Patriot*, especially among the British officials since that was the only medium in English to know what the Indians were thinking. Sanyal writes that on every Thursday morning Lord Canning eagerly awaited his copy of *Hindoo Patriot* to arrive. If there were a delay, he would send his envoy to bring it directly from the press. During the Indigo Rebellion (1859-61), the circulation of *Hindoo Patriot* increased rapidly. There was a demand for *Hindoo Patriot* even in the rural areas. The European Indigo Planters tried their best to obtain a list of *Hindoo Patriot* subscribers to persecute them, but failed. Mookherjea's most powerful achievement as a journalist during the Indigo Rebellion was the direct reporting by the correspondents spread all over Bengal, several of whom became important journalists later: Sisirkumar Ghosh (1840-1912) became the editor of the famous daily *Amrita Bazar Patrika*; Manomohan Ghosh was an editor of *Indian Mirror*, Girish Chandra Basu was an ex-pupil of Hindu

¹⁶ <http://www.itopc.org/travel-requisite/newspapers/pioneer.html> The Pioneer was established in the year 1865 by an Englishman George Allen. From 1865 to 1869 the newspaper was published three times a week. Meanwhile, in 1866, a weekly supplement called the the Pioneer Mail, comprising of 48 quarto-size pages (mostly of advertisements) was added to the paper. In the year 1874, the Pioneer Mail became the Pioneer Mail and India Weekly News and started to carry short stories and travel write-ups.

During the British Raj the newspaper basically targeted the Whites in India. The paper during that point of time was known for its strong imperialistic ideas. In 1872 Alfred Sennett became the editor of the newspaper. The renowned writer Rudyard Kipling is said to have written for this paper during his stay in India. In his early 20s, from November 1887 to March 1889 Rudyard Kipling worked as an assistant editor at the newspaper office in Allahabad.

In 1933, the paper was sold to a syndicate and moved from Allahabad to Lucknow. The publication of the Pioneer Mail and India Weekly News was also stopped at that time. In fact The Pioneer had deep its roots in Uttar Pradesh. During 1930's Pioneer had great influence on the educated class of Uttar Pradesh. Jawaharlal Nehru seeing the growing impact of the newspaper decided to launch a newspaper to counter the impact but failed to create the same magic as The Pioneer. In early 1990s it was bought by the Thapar Group and Mr. L.M. Thapar held the position of chairman of the newspaper.

College and the "darogah" (police inspector) of Krishnagaur. Mookherjea's journalism had provided detail reports of warfare during the 1857-58

The Indian Mirror, a daily, started in 1861 by Man Mohan Ghosh and Devendranath Tagore father of the poet, Rabindranath, and a follower of Rammohan Roy). Missionary societies also published periodicals in English. Dasgupta argues that the 1870s were a period in which the press contributed to the rise of public opinion focused on social and political reforms. The British government supported social reforms but did not condone political criticism in the press, while Indians often combined these two areas of public debate, as the press became increasingly involved in political commentary.

In August 1869, an economic and statistical monthly was launched by a person called Robert Knight called *Indian Economist*. The focus of this journal was on government budgeting and fiscal planning, as well as private investments. Friend of India also criticized the government on two issues in 1875, one on its handling of a famine in Bihar, the other one on the Baroda trial, which he said showed how half the men assigned as residents manners, want of judgement, or want of tact".¹⁷ The *Statesman* was bought by Knight in 1875 and it also wrote against the colonial rule. It was sharply critical of British imperial expansion, usually at the expense of crushing some smaller and weaker country.¹⁸ From time to time the *Statesman* called for self-government and representative assemblies for India. The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 and for the second convening of the Congress in Calcutta in 1886, it received a strong endorsement from the *Statesman*.¹⁹

John Bright's statement about the threat the Anglo-Indian press posed to the British rule. He says John Bright speaking of the Indian Press of the time once made the following trenchant observation : "There are two sets of newspapers, those first, which are published by Englishmen, and these being the papers of the services, cannot, of course, be in favour of economy. They assail me every time I mention India in a speech, if it is even only in a paragraph, and no doubt they will do the same for what I am saying now. Then there are the native papers ; and although there are a great many published in the native languages, still they have not much of what we call political influence. The Government officials look into them to see if they are saying anything unpleasant to the Government anything that indicates sedition or discontent, but never for the purpose of being influenced by the judgment of the writers and editors. The actual press of the country which touches the Government is the press of the English; and that press, generally has been in favour of annexation (of more territory, more places, more salaries and ultimately more pensions."²⁰

Section 3: The Making of Nationalism

¹⁷ Edwin Hirschmann, The Hiddent Roots of a Great Newspaper:Calcutta's "Statesman", Victorian Periodicals Review, Vol. 37, No. 2, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in India*(Summer, 2004), pp. 141-160 p-149

¹⁸Edwin Hirschmann, p-152

¹⁹ Edwin Hirschmann p-154

²⁰Mazumdar Amvika Charan, *Indian National Evolution A Brief Survey of the Origin and Progress of the Indian National Congres*, Natesan and Chetty, Madras, 1915, pp25-26

The making of the nation emerges as lesson of a well defined goal and more of a process if we analyze the variations and confusions within nationalism and in their reaction to imperialist policies. The policies and patterns of colonial behavior outlined above had a wide-ranging impact on Indian mentality and consciousness at all levels - national, regional or local Nationalist protest. Against these policies was at times extremely sharp and critical, and at times ambiguous and confused in perception and articulation. This section will focus on the emergence of India as a 'nation' to at least a band of intellectuals who were able to identify the problems that India faced due to the presence of colonial and later imperial rule in the country. The development of the English press was tied to the educational systems in India, including local and British schools and universities serving. However ever more stark and adversarial post Uprising political changes and the political divisions and awakening national consciousness following the formation of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885 generated new topics and positions for the Indian press (mostly weeklies rather than dailies at the end of the century), including open hostility to the government and to Viceroy Curzon. Some of the early nationalists were the contemporaries of the renowned personalities like Dadabhai Naoroji and others. It was not merely the exploitative nature of British rule that came under the lash of their bitter attack but also the traditional religious and social traditions which was primarily responsible for alien political domination and consequent economic ruination of the country. Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar (1812-46), for instance in 1832 Jambhekar started the first Anglo-Marathi newspaper *The Bombay Durpun* expressly with a view to opening "a field of inquiry for public discussion on points connected with the prosperity of the country and the happiness of its inhabitants."²¹ BhaskarTarkhadkar, Bhau Mahajan and Ramkrishna Vishwanath were the chief spokesmen of this radical group. Until 1841, they had no forum to make their anti-British views public. Such an opportunity came from the most unexpected quarter. On July 1, 1841, the short lived pro-Indian editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, English daily, invited his enlightened readers, who were interested in the welfare of the country, to come forth with their grievances against British rule.²² Another person Keshav Chandra Sen took over *Indian Mirror* in 1865 which was made into a daily in 1871. The Indian Mirror itself contains, from the late 1870s onwards, numerous articles condemning the sharp rise in unemployment among educated natives and the open racial discrimination by the British against Indians occupying 'high positions' in the administration. The hardening of racial attitudes and increasingly open parade of racial arrogance which preponderated amongst British officials and members of the Anglo-Indian community from the late 1870s was demonstrated through highly-publicized incidents such as the contempt case against Surendranath Bannerjee (which resulted from the publication in the *Bengalee* - which Bannerjee edited - of an attack on a High Court Judge), and found full expression during the Ilbert Bill controversy, which began the month after Keshab's speech was delivered.²³ The youth of the nation were beginning to influence through their writing even the journals in England. In 1875 the Secretary of State (Lord Salisbury) informed the Government of India that his attention had been drawn by writings in the '*Pall Mall Gazette*' and another paper to various articles in the native

²¹ *Memoirs and Writings of Acharya Bal Shastri Jambhekar*, Vols I-III, G G Jambhekar (ed), Pune, 1950

²² Letter IV of 'A Hindoo', *Bombay Gazette*, August 20, 1841, Vol LIII, (NS), pp 174-75

²³ Stevens John A., *Colonial Subjectivity: Keshav Chandra Sen in London and Calcutta, 1870-1884*, Unpublished thesis, London, August 2011, Pp 222-223

press ' which are not only calculated to bring the Government into contempt, but which palliate, if they do not absolutely justify as a duty, the assassination of British officers.'²⁴

In 1878 it appeared to the Government of India, when Lord Lytton was Viceroy and Governor-General, that a section of the Vernacular Press had of late years assumed an attitude of fixed hostility to the Government; that it did not confine itself to criticizing particular measures, or the acts of individual officers on their merits, but attacked the very existence of British rule in India. The description of the various activities directed at securing political and economic reform in the period 1870-1905 as "nationalist" is frequently qualified; usually, this is designated as the period of "moderate nationalism." withdrawn. On December 7th, 1881, under Lord Ripon's Government a Bill was introduced to repeal Act IX of 1878 together with its amending Act XVI of the same year. The introducer, Mr. Gibbs, gave as the reason for repealing the legislation that since its passing it had never been fully put into operation against any vernacular publication in British India, and that there was not at that time existing a state of circumstances sufficiently serious to justify the law being ' placed in full operation.' So far as vernacular publications in British India were concerned the Government proposed to rely on the sections of the Penal Code dealing with the subject; and with regard to the introduction of seditious matter from abroad, their reliance would be placed on the Customs Act and the Post Office Act, which gave power to prevent the entry of objectionable publications issued in foreign countries. The Bill was passed into law with very few comments on January 19, 1882.²⁵ The British government eventually realized that one serious drawback of too much censorship would be their own inability to stay abreast of Indian opinions, a source of information the British badly needed, especially after the 1857 Rebellion. The press became a popular venue for many members of the rising, entrepreneurial middle classes in India and a site for the critique of British rule - tendencies that were further stimulated by the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act. Hostility toward the INC and Indian nationalism dominated much of the Anglo-Indian press that promulgated a growing racism and distrust of educated Indians.

This represents another side to the English press that created hostility amongst the locals. It appeared to the early nationalists that the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 should be made against the British-run press, whose overt racism and hostility to Indian opinion was a major support for conservative regimes. *The Bombay Gazette* and *the Poona Herald*, both organs of the private British community, were especially notorious in Maharashtra for frequent allegations that the Poona Brahmins were inherently hostile to British rule. The *Bombay Gazette* reacted to the May 2 meeting by charging M. G. Ranade and the other leaders of the Sabha with irresponsible and disloyal criticisms of government policy.²⁶ There are also cases where in the vernacular newspapers have published the hostility of the Anglo-Indian Newspapers in not so many words. For Instance *Shahna-i-Hind* in 1897 reported that...An ..Anglo Indian newspapers have always been jealous of the liberty which vernacular press has equally enjoyed with them, it is no wonder that the former should

²⁴ Lady Betty Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian administration, 1876 to 1880: compiled from Letters and Official Papers*, Longmans, Green and Co. London, 1899, p-504

²⁵ Balfour Lady Betty, p-521

²⁶ Tucker Richard P., *The Proper Limits of Agitation: The Crisis of 1879-1880 in Bombay Presidency*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.28, No.2 (Feb, 1969), p-342

avail themselves of the present excitement among Englishmen, and induce the government to gag the latter. ... put should the government revive the vernacular press act, it would be perpetrating a serious blunder and exposing extreme weakness on its part and making itself a laughing stock., not only of India, but of other countries as well. Lord Lytton passed a similar Act, but it had soon to be repealed. Instead of passing a Press Act, the government had better introduce reforms in its administration...²⁷ and also in *Hindustan* in 1897 ..hardly a day passes without some anonymous letters appearing in the Anglo Indian newspapers, in which most severe attacks are made on Indians with perfect impunity....

This account represents a tide of Anglo-Indian newspapers that worked towards representation of free press to their colonial masters. The wave of the movement was picked up by the English editors and newspapermen, which later on was adopted by the Anglo-Indians and was caught on by the newly emerged middle-class which though was English in taste and manners but vernacular in their minds. This class worked towards the achievement of bringing a nation together and launching in full scale what later came to be known as the National Movement.

²⁷ https://www.sarcajc.com/Anglo-Indian_Newspapers.html