

REVISITING THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN PRESS **UNDER COLONIAL AUTHORITY**

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Abstract:

One of the most significant subjects on colonialism in modern history could be that of Great Britain's colonization of India. Started as a trading company, however, the attention slowly drifted to the control of its political and administrative system by taking due advantages of the weakness of Indians.\

Within 200 years of colonial rule the entire traditional political and administrative systems of Indians got heavily revamped, if not wholly abolished. Moreover, it is a well known fact that the country was looted of its resources to feed the industrial demands of Britain. While the negative impact of colonialism far outweighs the positive aspects, it will be unjust to undermine the contribution of colonial government in India's past. This paper intends to through light on the role of colonial government and their contribution on the growth of press in the country.

Keyword: Journalism, Communication, Education, Printing Press, Press Laws

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INTRODUCTION

A well structured and systematic communication network has been recognized as the artery of human civilization. With constant interaction, ideas, culture and technology got transferred and adopted from one group to the other society. In this context communication becomes the basic and most important ingredient of human progress. The whole system of transfer of knowledge and ideas that human undergo would have been an impossibility without communication. In this regard the term communication needs to be redefined once again for a better understanding.

Communication can be defined as process of transmitting information, thoughts, opinions, messages, facts, ideas or emotions and understanding from one person, place or things to a targeted audience¹. These peculiar characters of humans differentiate it from other living counterparts. Though animals in a certain way communicate, it does not exhibit such level of complexity as we find in human society. The most common medium of communication among the living ecosystem is the verbal language. Non-linguistic symbols such as lights, symbols, smokes, fires, bells, etc are also used to convey messages meaningfully. Since few centuries back telegraphy has been widely employed for speedy transmission of messages from one place to another. During the last few decades, the inventions of Internet and ITC further revolutionalized communication beyond thought. While accessing information lies on one's tip of finger, it became more of a reality on the relevance of the agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

COMMUNICATION THROUGH AGES

The importance of communication has been acknowledged far and wide since ancient times. Kings and emperors of great empires pay great attention to connectivity for a number of reasons. For the purpose of moving large volume of soldiers to battle fields and better governance of its far flung areas of the empire, roads were constructed; some running thousands of miles. This also eases the business of transporting goods and exploits of war.

King Darius of Persia in its height of its empire is said to have build a 2700 kilometer royal road connecting his capital Susa with Sardis on the Aegean Sea (Headrick, 2010). Using this road, couriers were posted at interval location throughout the long stretch to deliver fresh information to the whole empire. In the same manner, the Incas² too developed a highly skilled system of

roads covering 40,000 kilometers to deliver information throughout the kingdom (Headrick, 2010). Likewise, same network of connectivity is also located in ancient Roman, Chinese and Mongol empire; either for civil, military, official, economy or security purposes. Such was the extend of the recognition given by ancient civilization on communication and its most important element- roads.

The relay courier system instituted by Cyrus the Great (580-529 BC) of the Persian Empire was adopted far and wide by other Kings of the contemporary era. In the Indian context King Chandragupta in 322 BC maintained a well structured communication system in line with the relay postal system of Cyrus the Great. The first Sultan of Delhi, Qutub-ud-din Aibek (1206-1210 AD), created a messenger post system which later was expanded into a 'horse and foot runner' service by Alauddin Khilji in 1296 AD. Further, Sher Shah Suri in 1541 improved the system with the use of horse through the 4,800 kilometers Grand Trunk Road³ from Bengal to Peshawar for the use of postal services. He built 1700 relay posts where carrier horses got replaced continuously. In the same manner, King Akbar employed postal runners and set up relay stations to ensure efficiency of manpower and horses used for carrying news items during his reign in 1556 AD.

The middle of the 15th century saw the revolutionary phase of human communication which is considered as one of the most important invention of mankind. The invention of printing press and its subsequent introduction to the whole world tremendously transformed the whole world into another level of civilization. Though communication was considered important and its role got recognized in certain empires, communication of news and ideas were largely limited to few elite classes in the past. The elite class who enjoys power and position were able to afford information through different means thus throwing opportunity to a particular group. However, the introduction of printing transformed the communication system in such a way that receiving news and sharing ideas no longer is the monopoly of the powerful class. With the development of printing, mass production of printed materials becomes possible and the cost in getting news comes down considerable thereby creating a platform for the underprivileged public to be accountable to the whole society.

PRESS IN COLONIAL INDIA

Though Europe witnessed its rise in newspaper publication in the 16 century, printing and its allied profession arrive late in the Indian subcontinent. The 'Relation'⁴ of Germany published in 1605 was recognized as the first newspaper of Europe whereas the Indian subcontinent experience its first newspaper in late 18th century; when James Augustus Hicky, the disgruntled employee of the English East India Company launch the Bengal Gazette from Calcutta (now Kolkata), the then capital of India in 1780.

In the initial days of journalism, editors and publishers find the continuity and survival of printed publication slim. Moreover, the consuming population of the Indians doesn't reach the level of its survivability owing largely to high illiteracy and its lack of awareness. Publishers have to largely depend on small printing press where they have to keep relying on almost all requirements on the government. Even on getting adequate newsprint, transporting of printed matter and getting of adequate information to be published as news items, editors and publishers largely rely on the government in one way or the other. As journalism in pre-independent India largely acted as the mouthpiece of the oppressed, editors and publishers often come under attract by the authority. Under such circumstances fair, balanced and independent news seldom has its place.

Whether Indians really benefitted from the onslaught of colonialism or Europeans ascendancy in the country has been a debate of scholars since then. With the main objective of trading and making profits from India, the East India Company have successfully managed to capture the entire economy of the country with a short span of time. Sensing the control of the economy could not be fully achieved without the political and administrative control of the people, the Company begins annexing one kingdom after another through alliances and sometimes with the use of force.

The decline of the Mughal Empire in the first half of the eighteenth century provided the British with the opportunity to establish a firm foothold in Indian politics. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, during which the East India Company's Indian army under Robert Clive defeated Siraj ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, the Company established itself as a major player in Indian affairs,

and soon afterwards gained administrative rights over the regions of Bengal, Bihar and Midnapur part of Orissa, following the Battle of Buxar in 1764. After the defeat of Tipu Sultan, most of South India came either under the Company's direct rule, or under its indirect political control as a princely state in a subsidiary alliance⁵ or acquired thorough doctrine of lapse⁶. The Company subsequently gained control of regions ruled by the Maratha Empire, after defeating them in a series of wars from 1775 till 1818.

By the close of the 18th century, major part of the country becomes the political and administrative unit of the Company. The subsequent annexation of Indian territories one after another either by use or force and diplomacy have left the whole of the Indian subcontinent under their suzerainty, thus paving the way for their easy access to other colonies rapidly strengthening their economic enterprise ever. It is estimated that the profit that is derived from the exploit of Indian market surpassed all other British colonies combined altogether. Headrick (2010) thus remarked, “India was by far the most important colony of Great Britain, arguably more important than all other colonies of all the European powers put together”. With the resources under their control, it helped Britain in maintaining their strength and influence for more than two hundred years; without which the position it occupies in the contemporary arena could be insignificant.

However, it could be blunder to judge colonialism from our ‘drain of wealth’⁷ perspectives alone. While it is not deniable that colonialism and occupation of one’s territory amount to denial of freedom which the western society is believed to profess and philosophize, one cannot totally undermine the contribution of colonial government in shaping India’s destiny in several ways. There has always been an academic engagement on whether colonialism did more harm or good for the society since then. This paper will stress critically the role of colonial government and the Europeans, in general, in the growth of Indians journalism. It intends bring into light the initiatives taken up which directly or indirectly have contributed to the development of press in the country.

Western Education and the Ideas of Freedom

Until the beginning of the 19th century, educating Indians was not a subject nor was taken seriously by the East India Company. However, since the third decade of the century, the East India Company became aware of the need of western education in the country. Initially, the sole and general intention of educating Indians was to “form a class of people who may be interpreters between us [the British] and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect”.⁸

The first instance of English education was first initiated by the Governor General William Bentinck. He initiated English as the official language of administration or language of court in India (Sharp & Richey, 1920). When Thomas Macaulay was nominated as the first law member in the Governor General’s Council, he profoundly promoted the English language, as the medium of instruction, for educating the people on Western thought and ideals in schools and colleges (Meena, 2015). The Wood’s Despatch of 1854 become the first ever document on the framework of western education in India. It lays out the basic structure of the education policies of the period.

Though western education initiated by colonial authority was with the motives of better hold of the country, in the later days it proved beneficial for both, more so to the Indian population. Prior to colonial rule, mass education was a distant dream- more so with the lower caste Indians. The priestly and ruling elites get education through ‘Gurukuls’, the traditional system of learning. Yet, Gurukuls does have its limitations as it largely aims at the attainment of ‘Moksha’⁹. The entry of the Europeans set another horizon in the development in the field of education. Further fuelled with the arrival of Christian missionaries in the middle of the 16th century, education got a new dimension with the introduction of several literary works on Indian language by the setting up schools to educate the illiterate masses. In the initial stages there have been two schools of thought on the teaching-learning of Indians: the ‘orientalists’ prefer the indigenous mode of learning, whereas the ‘Anglicists’ viewed the oriental way of learning to be inappropriate to teach western ideas and philosophies (Gowda, 1958).

However, in the later days English was accepted as a medium of learning. The educational policies of the government and its subsequent introduction of it resulted in the widespread education of the Indians possible. By 1882, there were four universities and 67 colleges spread over the entire country. By 1890, around 60,000 Indians passes matriculation. To the colonial government, education in Indians was intended to draw cheap human resource as it could not afford to bring staffs far away from England. In the process, literacy rate increased from 3.2% in 1881 to 7.2% in 1931. When India got independent it already has a well instituted twenty one universities besides 496 colleges all over India, with a literacy rate of 12.2%, a good number for the period.

The introduction of modern education and the gradual increase in literacy rate of the Indians increased the reading habit of Indians considerably. Young Indians in great numbers learn and adopt western philosophies, art, governance, medicine, to mention in the process. The idea of freedom, equality and fraternity which was the main slogan of the French Revolution aspires many youths to take up the cause of Indian masses. Few who recognizes the importance of mass media and eventually launch their own papers to propagate ideas of Indian consciousness. Indian intellectuals like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Bipin Chandra were deeply impressed of the writings of John Locke, John Milton, John Stuart Mill and others on the role press should play in the society. The contention of Edmund Burke that of Press as the ‘fourth pillar of democracy’ has brought upon them the courage to stand against the misdeeds of those in power; for the press itself is legitimized as an important part in the administration of a country.

The increase in literacy rate considerably fuelled circulation of printed publications thus resulting in the growth and survival of Indian newspapers. In this way, colonial government played the role of the development of print journalism through the introduction of western education, partly in collaboration with European missionaries working their respective areas.

Advent of Telegraphy

Governor General Lord Dalhousie is credited with the introduction of telegraphy in India. It was under his leadership that Indians enjoys instant communication in the middle of the 19th century

with its colonial government. Construction of the first telegraphic lines begins in 1851 (Gopika, 2014). However, the lines were first opened for public use on 1 February 1855, by which time newspapers were already publishing telegraphic news. By 1865, telegraph has a network of 28000 kilometers; 84000 kilometers in 1900 and 185000 kilometers when India got independent in 1947 (Headrick, 2010). The extend of urgency in laying telegraph lines connecting India could be attributed to the importance Britain placed above all colonies. Though India is a colony, it was one of the most widely connected-country in the close of the 19th century. By 1870 India was connected to 34 countries around the globe bringing her to the most advantage position for Britain and its people. With the new lies in function, time and space has been considerably reduced.

Within a decade in 1866, the average transmission time for a message from Britain to India on the Turkish line was 6 days, 8 hours, and 44 minutes, while 5 years later, the average transmission time was 6 hours and 7 minutes on the newly opened Indo-European line. By the end of the century, communication between Britain and India had become almost instantaneous (Bonea, 2014).

Prior to the launching of telegraphy lines in India, most Indians rely on carriers to deliver news and information. However the introduction of telegraphy lines now minimizes the resources spent on drawing news. The lessening of time, space and resource in acquiring information provide great impetus for Indian people, especially editors and publishers to print latest news for its readers. With the regular functioning of telegraph lines news agency 'Reuters' established its office in Bombay in 1866. With the ease of collecting news through the use of telegraph it opened its offices as well as in Kolkata, Karachi and Madras. Thus, news from around the world collected by news agencies is transmitted in a matter of some hours thereby ensuring the gradual growth of newspaper industry which always has its validity. To Indian editors and publishers, telegraphy thus enhances professionalism and timeliness without which the profession will continue to be lackluster in nature.

Railways as an artery of Transformation

The most dramatic modernization project was the construction of railroads from 1850 to 1947 (Bogart, 2012). Though the railroad project was initially opposed by few sections of Indians, its contribution on the life of Indians was quite tangible in different forms. Although British enterprise built the railroads for British purposes, such as transporting freight, soldiers, and officials, rail travel soon proved popular among ordinary Indians as well, even the poor (Headrick, 2010).

The first railway lines was opened in 1853 between Bombay (Mumbai) and Thane covering a distance of 20 miles. The ports of Calcutta and Madras were connected in 1854. By the early 19th century India had the fourth largest rail network in the world, even surpassing that of Great Britain in length in 1895 (Headrick, 2010). Lord Dalhousie the man behind the project was a radical modernizer, impatient to bring India into a modern world. In 1852, he wrote to the court of directors of East India Company in London: “Everything, all the world over, moves faster now-a-days than it used to do, except the transacting of Indian business” (William,1853), protesting the radical change needed for the company in India.

In the initial state it was a project initiated by private firms, approved by the government. However, the first phase of nationalization of railways begins between 1880 and 1908 as the government of India assumed a majority ownership. During the period between 1924 and 1947, railway becomes the sole asset of the government of India. The introduction of rail transport enhances the movement of goods and individuals at a faster rate. Within half a century from its introduction, rail connectivity has been made to almost all parts of the country and its provincial centres. The introduction of rail transport in turn becomes a blessing to the Indian publishers in a number of ways. Transportation of newsprint, printing machines and finished products from one place to another is made possible as faster and with least expenses. The fast and reliable delivery of printed materials ensures timeliness of news publication which attracts more readers. Thus, rail transport also helps the growth of Indian press directly and indirectly.

Arrival of the Printing Press

Though printing begins as early as 15th century in Europe, it rather arrives late when it comes to the Indian subcontinent. Printing press begins to surface only around the middle of the 16th century in India. The art of printing first entered India through Goa. It was in 1556, a Portuguese ship, destined for Abyssinia, with its crew and printing machine was put to Goa for victualling. However, on learning that the ship brought with them printing press, the Clergy of Goa wrote to the Governor – General to make the printing press available to them. In the process, the ship, its crew and the printing press are made to settle in Goa. The press was taken over and sent with Bustaments to the College of St. Paul, a seminary that still exists in Goa. It was a circumstance that prevented the printing press from leaving India, and consequently, printing was initiated in the country. However printing works remained confined to publication of few literary works on Christian faiths. For the next 100 years there are no records of printing press. The first printing press of the East India Company was set up in 1674 whereas the first printing press for Madras and Hoogly came into being only in 1712 and 1778 respectively.

Though printing press started to surface in different part of the country in the close of the 17th century, the widespread use of printing for information and communication begins with the arrival of the East India Company and the subsequent takeover of it by the British crown. Moreover, the contribution of the Christian missionaries is significant too. With the rise of privately owned press, the Indian intelligentsia begins to take the challenging task of setting up publication centres. It is reported that by the middle of the 19th century, newspaper titles in the country exceeds 200¹⁰. In 1918, a total of 1521 newspapers were published in the country of which 254 titles are based in Madras, 140 in Bombay, 353 in Bengal, 359 in United provinces, 264 in Punjab, 59 in Bihar and Orissa, 29 in Central provinces and Berar and 28 in Delhi (Chatterjee, 1929).

Pioneering Journalism

The contribution of the colonial administration and perhaps European missionaries has been immense for they were the first who pioneered the growth and development of printing and journalism in India. The mode of communication which was largely verbal and traditional in nature got systematized with the introduction of common language. Literary works were

produced as a measure of better understanding of Indian language, culture and believe systems. While the first printing press was set up by the Jesuit priest in 1556, large scale import of printing equipments would have been a distant dream had not the government take a lot of initiatives in doing so. The large scale presence of public and private printing equipments is possible because of the connection the government has its own counterparts in Europe. Moreover, the earliest newspapers which were published in India, either vernacular or English, were mostly launched and started by the Europeans.

The 29th of January 1780 marked the beginning of journalism in India with the launching of the 'Bengal Gazette' or the 'Calcutta General Advertiser' by the East India Company's disgruntled employee James Augustus Hickey. However, Hicky's newspaper has to be shut within two years from its publication for its sensational publication intended and offensive of the colonial authority. In 1784, another paper titled 'Calcutta Gazette' was started by another Englishman Francis Gladwin, an officer of the East India Company. The following year marked the launch of two papers from two provincial towns: 'Madras Courier' and the 'Bengal Journal'. The Madras Courier was edited by Hugh Boyd and was printed under the ownership of Richard Johnston whereas the Bengal Journal was jointly launched by Thomas Jones and William Duane. However, the Bengal journal was sued over the false report of the death of Lord Cornwallis in the Anglo-Maratha war, leading to the ultimate end of the paper.

In 1786 the Oriental Magazine was started by John Hay under the patronage of the Society of Gentleman. In the meantime, another Bombay based weekly the Bombay Herald was also launched in 1789 by James Mackenzie Maclean and his associates. The later part of the 18th century saw the rapid rise of Indian newspapers of different interests. The Indian World (1794) by William Duane; Madras Gazette (1795) and Calcutta Journal (1818) by James Silk Buckingham are other notable publication of the period. Though Hicky is widely acknowledged as the father of Indian press, Buckingham is generally accepted as one of the finest architect of Indian journalism. Unlike other Anglo-Indian publications(English newspapers of European ownership) whose primary content is about the policy, administration and various profit-making business, the Calcutta Journal have special attention on the social issues of the Indians with the strong support of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. However, Buckingham face the wrath of the acting

Governor General John Adam for publishing news related to the mismanagement of the East India Company. The publication was censored and Buckingham got deported in 1823.¹¹

With the close of the 19th century, several Indian newspapers and publications begins to emerge specifically catering the reading needs of the Indian masses. It has been on record that, the Europeans pioneered the growth of journalism in India. Whatever the intention was and how beneficial was it to the people will be hard to ascertain, yet the role of printers, publishers and editors thus have a lasting impact on the Indian press and its people.

Press laws, regulations and ordinances

While it is worth acknowledging the contribution of colonial government on the growth of journalism in India, the press does not always enjoy full independence on its functioning. It often comes under certain pressures through regulations imposed upon them from time to time. The first regulation of the press was introduced by the Governor-General Lord Wellesley in 1799 (Ahuja, 2011). Though it does not harshly effect the functioning of the press owing to its small presence, it marks the beginning of the authority control over the press India. In 1823, the acting Governor-General John Adam issued fresh regulation against the press. The terms include making prior registration and compulsory licensing. However, when Sir Charles Metcalf¹² took over the office of the Governor –General in 1835, the regulation was abolished marking the liberation of the Indian press.

In 1867, another regulation the Press and Registration of Books Act was passed by John Lawrence, the Viceroy of British India. The main purpose of the regulation was to regulate the printing press and newspapers and also to preserve copies of all available publication in British India. The present office of the Registrar for Newspaper of India is the byproduct of the said regulation. It was the with the recommendation of the First Press Commission (1952-54) that the PRB Act of 1967 got amended and streamlined to suit the new identity.

One of the regulations that were considered to be most controversial was the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. Introduced by Lord Lytton, the act insists Indian publishers and editors to enter into a bond with the authority not to publish anything deemed seditious and libelous. Journalist and writers equivocally protested the act. The provision of the act also empowers magistrates to

enter, search and confiscate any press without any orders issued by a competent court. The act was, however, repealed by Lord Ripon in 1882.

Other regulation like the Licensing Act, 1857; the Dramatic Performance Act, 1876; the Telegraphic Act, 1885; the Indian Council Act, 1892; the Newspapers (Incitement of Offense) Act, 1908; the Indian Press Act, 1910; the Official Secrets Act, 1923 are some of the notable acts that were passed to regulated the functioning of the press from time to time. Though the act passed prior to independence largely gag freedom of the press in India, it is undeniable fact that those regulations becomes the basic framework of the press in independent India.

CONCLUSION

Colonialism is a threat to humanity (Gilley, 2017) for the act of colonizing undermines the rights of individuals against their wishes. Yet the history of human civilization is perhaps the byproduct of colonialism. Empires in ancient times acquired supplies form colonies to feed the growing demands of its citizens. Assuming colonies occupies a particular hierarchy as producers; other tiers strive to discover the underlying facts of man and its surroundings, thus ensuring the well organized society. European imperialism on Asian and African nations beginning from the 16th century and lasted till the middle of the 20th century is no exception. The colonies become the primary supplier of raw materials for economic and industrial revolution of the west, at the expense of the colonized. With the cheap and abundant supply of raw materials, the colonial government run mange and feed its machinery.

However, it will be of total brutality to acknowledged human civilization as a result of colonization. Instead it uprooted the colonized people of their cultures and values, as was experienced in almost all colonies of the west. Colonization not only undermines the rights of the colonized but also brings it conflict of interest within and outside the society. With the gradual control of the certain important commercial centers by the English East Indian Company and the subsequent takeover of the crown, India thus becomes a colony of Great Britain. Under a foreign authority, the entire political and administration got revamped with the western system, which is seen by Indians as a threat to their power, prestige and authority. As the entire political, economy and judicial system comes under the control of the colonial government.

While it is undeniable of the negative impact the colonial government left to the Indian masses, it will unfair to singly judge the colonial government from its 'drain of wealth' concept alone. Indeed, the colonial government has done enough good, if not wonders, in laying the very foundation of India as a nation. Though the initiatives taken up by the government was largely meant to serve the interest of Britain, it percolates down to the Indian masses in all different way. Take the case of the introduction of English and western education. In the initial stage the colonial authority was with the notion that imparting Indians of western ideas will immensely ease the control of India. Against the expectations, however, the educated Indians largely become conscious of British policies towards Indians. Gowda (1958) thus said: "Modern India is undoubtedly the product of western education. Its literature, science, politics, economic and other branches of learning were introduced to India. It is unfair to ignore and look with disrespect on western education and the enormous good that it has done to this country. Modern India would not have been whatever she is today without the powerful and beneficial influence of western education". Not just is it limited to education but also in the sphere of infrastructure development and governance, whatever initiated becomes either becomes a relic if not a lesson. Thus, in every field of Indian progress, colonialism has its footprints over it which every Indian cannot deny. Journalism, as discussed above, is no exception.

NOTES

¹ Reading Material. Training Programme on Effective Communication. National Institute of Agriculture Extension and Management, Hyderabad, India

² The Inca Civilisation is believed to have flourished between c1400 and 1533 CE in the western stretch of the present South America.

³ It was one of the oldest road connecting South Asia with Central passing through West Bengal, Delhi and Amritsar of present day India. It was build around 333 BC.

⁴ Generally regarded as the worlds' first newspaper by World Association of Newspaper, the full title was 'Relation aller Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien' Historien (Account of all distinguished and commmorable news). It was published by Johann Carolus from Strasbourg, Germany in 1605 AD.

⁵ Introduced by Governor General Lord Wellesley from 1798 till 1805, princely rulers were not allowed to have an independent armed force. They were to be protected by the East India Company but had to pay for the subsidiary forces that the company was to maintain for protection.

⁶ Under this doctrine if any of the partner kings died without a son/heir to inherit the kingdom, the Company has to eventually take control of it.

⁷ It was a theory propounded by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1867 to protest against the British policy where the main contention was that of resources of India being extracted to the maximum to feed the demands of Industrial revolution of the West.

⁸ Macaulay's Minute on education in 1835 (square brackets not in original). This minute was drafted during the Anglicist-Classicalist debates on the appropriate medium of instruction in Indian schools— English or the Indian classical languages (Sanskrit and Arabic).

⁹ It is a Hindu teaching for the attainment of Salvation, fulfillment or liberation.

¹⁰ 'Early Indian Newspapers' as per records in the British Library, available at : <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/einews/index.html>

¹¹ James Silk Buckingham was known for its true professionalism. Many argue journalism in a real sense begins with Buckingham. He was deported to England by John Adam who was notoriously known for his Press Ordinance Act, 1823.

¹² Metcalfe was a proponent of free press. He regarded as the liberator of Indian press for abolishing censorship laws imposed by his predecessors in 1835.

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