

CHAPTER VIIEMERGENCE OF THE NEW MEDIUM OF MASS COMMUNICATION IN THE
19TH CENTURYIntroduction

In the last four chapters we analysed the changes in the political, economic and educational systems that were brought about in the Gujarati society in 19th century as a result of the British Rule. In this chapter we will analyse the change that was brought about in the means of communication, which was both a necessity for and also an indicator of the newly emerging society based on the changes in the political, economic and educational system. This new medium was the printed word. The printed word as we have observed did not exist in the pre-British Gujarat.¹

The emergence and growth of the instrument of printed word viz. the press is indicator of the range of new social relationships. The content of the printed word reflects the substantive changes in the administration, economy and ideology.

Here we may make one point clear. We have defined the word 'Press' as the instrument of pouring printed words.² Thus by press we mean qualitatively new technique of mass communication which through printed word affects society. Thus press includes not only daily newspapers, weeklies, monthly and other periodicals (popularly known as journalism) but also the publication of books, records, reports, legislative enactments, and orders of Government as well as publications of other voluntary associations. It further includes in the third place, the publication of creative literature. In short press includes all that is recorded in printed word.

We will therefore indicate in this chapter

- (I) The forces and factors which generated the need of printed material in Gujarati society during 19th century;
- (II) The growth of printed works as revealed in the three major forms viz. Journalism, other serious publications and literature;
- (III) Limitations of and problems generated by the rise of this mass communication medium.
- (IV) Evaluation of the change introduced by the new technique.

Before we indicate the forces responsible for generating the need for printed material in Gujarat we will briefly indicate the functions of 'Press' as a communicating medium in the modern complex society.

1. It firstly functions as the spreader of information. As observed in chapter I, in former times this information could be spread by "Dandio" - Drum beaters or criers 'Pokarchis' or through hand-written communications. With the growth of the complex modern society, press increasingly takes on this functions and also becomes a vehicle of information regarding trade, commerce, governmental and associational activities.

2. The second function of the press is to become an instrument of gathering information and to preserve it for posterity. Various types of records of government, economic, social and cultural organizations, are better preserved in printed forms. Similarly printed books become more efficient repositories of information and knowledge.

3. The press, not only functions as a spreader, storer and gather of information, but also functions as a preserver and transmitter of knowledge on a wider scale. The knowledge about material, social and cultural world could be spread on an extensive scale if printed.

4. Press also functions as a provider for bigger and large-scale amphi-theatre for carrying on tournament of ideas, opinions and values as well as a powerful instrument of propaganda to mould public opinion in modern large-scale society.

I

We will indicate in this section the political, economic, educational and other forces and factors which generated the need for printed material in Gujarati society during 19th century.

(a) Political forces

As observed in Chapter III, the British Rulers introduced a new political administrative machinery in India and Gujarat which elaborated itself into a complex bureaucracy from Patel-Talati and Havaladar at the village level upto King and Parliament. British Rulers introduced a system of rule of law, a system of judiciary, a system of police and a system of various departments like health, education, etc. All these political and administrative innovations necessitated and stimulated wide variety of written records, written pronouncements, written orders, written communications, chains of informational services, a wide spread, standardized, uniform and precise body of legal, executive, police and other codes, decisions and records. The oral personal communication or the meagre hand-written techniques could not cope with the new requirements of new politico-administrative organization. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Borrodale in 1828 while collecting the information of caste practices in Surat District emphatically requests the Government to provide him with printing facilities. He states, "The multiplication of so many copies as this would require, of sets of papers in some cases voluminous, would be impossible without a press, and the rules being in

the first instance intended for the general guidance of the courts without however giving them a direct legislative sanction. I do not see how they can be made known but through this means."³ Further he states in the letter, "I conceive it necessary in the first instance to make a correct translation of every set of rules, leaving the compilation of a general view to a future period, and that in the meantime, I would furnish copies of every translation to all the courts, when since the answer of each caste to every question corresponds in number, a reference or comparison may be made in one minute and thus render the present want of a summary of less moment and that a press is wanted to provide number of copies required."⁴ This according to Mr. Barrodale, "is the principal use of a press, but several objects of minor utility might be accomplished at the same time. Preparing from a clear example of some widely spread cast a set of rules by distributing a few of which the plea of ignorance and inability to understand the matter would be greatly abbreviated as I have found by practising the plan with the.....⁵ By striking of a few copies, too, of one or two of the best sets of rules and distributing them among the members it would give these rules a force and value in their eyes, which as the creator of Government, they yet, scarcely look upon with pleasure, of course it would not be possible even if desirable to do so this with all, but it would probably be a temptation to many after a time to write out the rules carefully and get them nicely printed in black and white to the confusion of ^{We have given an elaborate state-}continadeus members."⁵ /ment

*The word is unclear in the original unpublished MSS in the Maharashtra Record Office.

of Mr. Barrodale to point out the growing need of published material for the new type of Government itself.

Further the Government had also started various enquiries and commissions to collect information on various subjects. The Census taking started from 1871, the appointment of various commissions and a large number of other ones, requires the recording in printed words. The studies organized to understand the position, condition and peculiarities of Indian people as embodied in Gazetteers, and others also could be better recorded and preserved only in a printed form.

All these developments in the politico-administrative set up in 19th century Gujarat generated a functional need for printed works and the growth of press. They thus stimulated the emergence and growth of press,* printed records, publications containing the abovementioned material. The Government, itself organized printing presses and publications as well as record offices to meet the growing need of printed material.⁶

(b) Economic forces stimulating the growth of press

As observed in the chapters IV and V, British Rulers were making changes in the mode, motif and type of production and economic organizations. The introduction of Railways and other means of transport, the production for profit and market, introduction of money economy and the consequent rise of economic organizations like Banks, Insurance Companies, Joint-Stock

*Government had ordered 6 litho presses to be sent to Bombay from England for printing circulars and orders for the various departments of the government in 1824. (Refer to Forbes Gujarati Quarterly, 1949, April to September - article on Gujarati Press by A.K. Priyolkar).

Companies and others demanded calculations, valuations, price fixation, recording and assessing of demand and supply of commodities, as well as techniques like advertising, popularizing and pushing the commodities for creating and competing in the market.⁷ Growth of gins, factories and mills demanded durable, precise records - technically called job-printing (of books, of trade, forms, vouchers, ledgers, registers etc.)

All these activities and organizational innovations in the economic life, demanded a mass communication medium like Press and printed records and communications. All these activities could not be effectively carried out by means of older medias of communications through hand-written messages through Kasads and Khepias or Angadias or through oral announcements for instance with regard to arrival and departures of ships.⁸ These new needs and forces also stimulated printing presses and written media of mass communication.

(c) New educational system as a force stimulating press and publications

The third factor responsible for the emergence and growth of press and publications was the new system of education introduced in Gujarat during the 19th century by the British rulers. The growth of the new type of education having its ramifications from primary, secondary and collegiate level, and the various auxiliaries attendant upon this growth, created a growing need for records, for text-books, for other written material and also for reading material of various kinds for increasing number of students, teachers and other categories of scholars. The old method of "oral education", as well as the archaic method supplying students with "handwritten pothis" were becoming dysfunctional as a means of transmitting modern knowledge to the growing body of students. That the need

for such a medium was felt from the very inception of the new educational system is revealed from the observations made by the Committee of the Native School Book and School Society in 1824 that "the first and principal evil consists in the deplorable deficiency of Books for Education and Mental Improvement"⁹ and further, at the request made by Capt. George Jervis, the secretary of the society addressed a petition to the Government to help procuring Gujarati and Marathi type and Lithographic Press,^{*10} to meet this demand. Further the emergence of associations like Gyan Prasarak Mandal with distinct aims to publish cheap literature for growing literate populace also indicated¹¹ how new educational system needed for its functioning the new medium of communication. The increase in literacy created greater and greater need for books - particularly text-books. This factor also had its impact on the printing activity. Further with the growing realization of storing the knowledge in the form of libraries^{**} and reaching out to the mass of people through this means, a stimulation was given to the growth of press and printed works.¹²

*As a result of this during 1825-26, nearly 6400 copies of Gujarati school books on different subjects were in circulations. (~~A.K. Friyolker, Printing Press in India, p.95~~) (Selections from the Educational Records Vol. II pp.81, 95-98)

**In 1849 under the auspices of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Himabhai Library had been started. When Himabhai had given a princely donation for the establishment of library, poet Dalpatram remarked, "this work is more philanthropic than building a rest-house (dharmashala). Thousands of people will be able to make use of such library." (H. Parekh, Gujarat Vernacular Society no Itihasa, Part I, p.26). It has been claimed that in Surat in 1824 there was a library known as Station Library which was converted into Andrews' Library in 1850. (I. Desai, Surat Sonani Murat, p.139; also refer to Narmadashankar, Narma Gadya, p.65). By the end of the 19th century there were nearly 49 libraries and reading rooms in Gujarat.

(d) Growth of new educated strata as a factor stimulating growth of press

As a result of the political, economic and educational changes that took place in 19th century, a transformation in social system was also taking place. New social strata composed of officials, wealthy classes arising on the basis of new economic shifts, and professional and educated groups was emerging. These strata, linked up with new polity, economy and education, started developing varieties of associations,* as well as organized efforts to remove some of the evils that prevailed in the traditional social institutions and which were becoming an obstacle in their new setting. Further the growth of a new intelligentsia, imbibing Western culture based on liberal, rational, equalitarian principles, started developing critical and rational approach to customs, values and superstitious practices prevailing in Gujarati society.** This intelligentsia not merely became critical of some of the aspects of traditional society, but also developed, with the passage of time, a critical attitude towards economic, political, educational, racial and other policies of the British. The needs of these sections of the educated stratum as well as the requirements of the new associations to convey, exchange and propagate news and views as well as carry on debates and controversies created the need for a means of mass communication - a need for a powerful organ like press and printed word. This need stimulated the growth of newspapers,

*Pustak Prasarak Mandali and the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, Buddhivardhak Subha and Gran Prasarak Mandali of Bombay, Sharada Pujak Mandali of Surat and such others.

**Leading Gujarati personalities of this time were Durgaram Mehtaji, Narmad, Karsandas, Mahipatram, Mangaldas Nathubhai, Janshetji Jijibhoy, Dadabhai Naoroji and many others. (Trivedi Navalram, Samaj Sudhara nu Rekha darshan).

magazines, pamphlets, leaflets, books and a host of other publication devices. The fact that both the leaders of social, educational, cultural, political and economic reform movements as well as the leaders opposing these movements, the orthodox section or the Revivalists took to press as a weapon for voicing their views and counteracting* opposition reveal how press was performing a significant function in the newly emerging society. With the increase of this stratum as well as with the increase in the controversies among various sections among this stratum the stimulus was given to the press to grow quantitatively and qualitatively also. Further, a small section of the creative sensitive individuals who imbibed and enjoyed western literary creations and further during the latter half of the 19th century took to university education, and assimilated the beautiful creative production of both West and East started new trends in creative literature which took the form of the modern Gujarati literature. This new creative activity also required printed word as a vehicle of expression.

To sum up, the emergence of new political, economic, educational, social and cultural currents required press as a mass media of communication. All these currents stimulated the rise of press and printed words, which in turn accelerated and assisted the political, economic, educational, social and cultural currents in Gujarati society during 19th century.**

*Karsandas using his 'Satya Prakash' for criticising Vaishnavite Maharajas and the latter using "Swadharma Rakshak and Sanshaya Chedak" or Ramanbhai Nilkanth writing in 'Gnan Sudha' and Manilal Nabhubhai replying in his 'Sudarshan' are instances at point.

**As revealed in the Maharaj Libel Case, Surat Riot Case or at the time of publication of translation of "God Save the King" by the editor of Rastgoftar.

After indicating the forces and factors which for their new functional needs were responsible for the rise of Press and printed words, we will now briefly review the growth of press in its three major forms viz., Journalism, Serious Publications and Creative Literature in the next sections respectively. We have chosen to describe these three forms of printed works because they had significant impact on the various aspects of Gujarati life.

II

A. GROWTH OF JOURNALISM IN GUJARAT

a. The printing of the First Calendar in 1780 by one Mr. Rustom Carspajee can be considered the first landmark* in the history of press in Western India.¹³ In English language the first newspaper in the Western India known as 'Bombay Herald' was started in 1789, and 'Bombay Courier' and 'Bombay Gazette' in 1790 and 1791 respectively.

As observed in the chapter on Economic Changes in Urban Centres, "the most of the trade of Bombay was in the hands of the Gujarati speaking people from Western India," and "Gujarati had consequently become the language par excellence, The language of the Bazars."¹⁴ The above-mentioned newspapers, mainly gave information about the announcements about arrivals and departures of ships from British and other ports, containing merchandise in which the native businessmen were dealing. They further contained notification issued by the local administration from time ^{to} time. The Courier mostly acted as a vehicle for communicating

*Here it would not be out of place to refer to the effort in 1670 to start the 1st Indian Press by Mr. Bhimji Parekh, a Kapole Bania of Gujarat. He attempted to get an able printer from England for publishing books in Devanagari script. However this effort came to no results. (A.K. Priyolkar, Printing Press in India, Bombay, 1958, pp.30f.)

notification and advertisements issued by the company administration in Bombay.¹⁵ Under these circumstances, need for Gujarati communication was becoming very urgent.

A Parsi gentleman named Jijibhai Beramji Chhapgar was employed by 'Courier Printing Press' as a printer.* He cut the Gujarati types for printing purposes in 1797, the Gujarati script so cast was known as 'Mahajan' script. In the same year, a Gujarati notification issued by company administration appeared in that journal reiterating a previous order issued orally prohibiting unrestricted movement of stray cattle in the fort area of the Bombay city.¹⁶ The announcements of auctions, sales of commodities and premises, announcements of loss or misplacements of articles, announcements about programmes of ships passing through the Bombay harbour and regulations of company meetings were all published in Gujarati in the same paper.¹⁷ Later on Gujarati hand bills were published in the Courier press but there was no vernacular printing press in Bombay till 1812.¹⁸ Here also the lead was taken by one Parsee gentleman named Fardunji Marzbanji** in 1812 who started a printing press named as "Shree Samachar Press".¹⁸ In this printing press Mr. Marzban was printing Hindu calendar, religious books for the Parsis and in 1822 he brought out Gujarati version of Murray's English Grammar.¹⁹

*The employment of a Parsee gentleman as a printer is significant. The ink which was used for printing was believed to contain animal fat and upper caste Hindus were not expected to touch such fat, because of religious taboo, thus they did not take the lead in the invention of printing press. (Quoted in Kulkarni, P.B., Nanashankersheth yancha Charitra, 1960, p.41).

**Mr. Marzban was a friend of the printer Chhapgar and seeing the friend working in an English press, he decided to start one press in Gujarati (Marshal,R., Gujarati Patrakaritva no Itihasa, p.32)

Mr. Marzban took the sense of all his friends, his patron Dastur Mulla Pheroze, his agents and Courier in different centres and then requested the Government of Bombay on 26.2.1822, to grant him permission to start the proposed newspaper, to be called "Shree Mumbai na Samachar". Mount Stuart Elphinstone while granting the permission stated, "I look on the art (of printing and publishing newspapers) as too great a blessing to be withheld without the clearest and most incontrovertible reasons, and I see no such reasons in the case of India. That the press may in the long succession of ages cause the natives to throw off your yoke is possible and even probable; but it will in the first place destroy the superstitions and prejudices of the natives and remove the pressing dangers created by the entire marked separation between them and their conquerors and this effect is certain while the other is problematical."²⁰

It is gratifying to note that the 1st Gujarati newspaper has been contributing and performing its function of spreading news and views for last 142 years. It is not our purpose to describe in detail the further development and growth of this newspaper. However, we can indicate briefly the zigzag of this press. In the initial stages it was a weekly newspaper. In 1832 it was made daily, but due to difficulties in getting news at speedier rate in the days of limited transport system, it was made bi-weekly and from 1855 it once again transformed into a daily.²¹

This first newspaper along with news with regard to trade and commerce and administration, also introduced a feature called the letters of the readers (Charcha Patra). This feature subsequently became a very popular section of all newspapers. This phenomenon was significant because it not only created public opinion but also sustained the interest of the readers. At the end of the 1st year of publication in the list of

subscribers for this newspaper we find persons not only from Bombay, but also from Daman, Navsari, Surat, Broach, Kheda, Nadiad, Ahmedabad, Div and Ghogha.²²

In Bombay, after the publication of Bombay Samachar, another paper was also started by a Parsee gentleman named Navroji Chanddaru as a weekly and entitled 'Mumbaina Vartaman' in 1830.²³ From 1833 it was turned into bi-weekly and renamed as 'Mumbaina Chabook'.

In Bombay, along with the abovementioned newspapers Jame Jamshed (1832) a paper to represent the problems and issues of the Parsi society had also started coming.²⁴

It would not be out of place to mention that the number of printing presses was gradually increasing.* The need for more printing presses was felt as early as in 1824-25, when the Bombay Native School Book and School society, was unable to cope up with the publication programme²⁵ and hoped that this obstacle will be removed to some extent by Government having "presented to the society four lithographic presses and by two... foots of types...By these means the Committee are persuaded that the printing department of the society will be conducted with cheapness and expedition."²⁶ With the growth of education and literacy, the need for printing books, pamphlets and periodicals, not merely for spreading news the/but also for propagating views was felt urgent.

*In 1812 1st printing press was established. In 1832, there were 10 printing presses, 9 at Bombay, one at Surat (known as Mission Press in 1817). The famous social reformer Durgaram Mehtaji of Surat along with Dadoba Pandurang and others had established an association called 'Pustak Prasarak Mandali' and it was the avowed aim of this association to publish books. In order to fulfil this aim they requested the government to grant them permission to get a litho press from Bombay in 1842, but somehow or the other, such permission was not granted by the Magistrate of Surat. Durgaram and his friends rented a building in the outskirts of Surat and got the printing press.(Mahipatram, & Durgaram Charitra, pp.11-12). In Ahmedabad in 1845 two important presses one by Bajibhai Amichand and the other by an association to increase the publication of books(Pustak Vruddhi Karnar Mandali) were started.(Derasai,D., Sathi nu Sahitya, pp.291-297).

In Gujarat, the first newspaper was published by The Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad called 'Vartaman' in 1849. The spirit behind this paper was A.K. Forbes.²⁷ It was published on Wednesday (Budhvar). It was nicknamed Budhavariyu, a name which was later on applied to all newspapers. Due to certain differences with regard to its working* The Gujarat Vernacular Society abandoned its right over it and was probably taken up by Bajibhai Amichand.²⁸

The Buddhi Prakash Mandali^{**} of Ahmedabad conducted 'Buddhi Prakash' in 1850. The avowed aim of this fortnightly was "to cultivate a 'taste for reading' among our people and to change their views."²⁹ After experiencing changes in ownership from Buddhi Prakash Mandali to Vidyabhyasak Mandali, it ultimately came in the hands of Gujarat Vernacular Society and poet Dalpatram was entrusted with its charge.³⁰ The most significant announcement came in 1857 when it was declared that "this magazine aspires to disseminate knowledge among the people, it aspires to banish superstitions, to bring about reformism. It is not interested hence in wasting space after publishing news any more."³¹ Along with this, many periodicals were being started which were more interested in propagating views. The 'Buddhivardhak' (started by The Buddhivardhak Mandali in Bombay) was also started with the same purpose.³² The publication of 'Rastgoftar' in 1851 by Dadabhai Naeroji in Bombay was a significant event because it came out as a paper with specific

*For further information see Gujarati Patrakavitva no Itihasa by R.Marshall, pp.92-93.

**Incidentally this was the association which had brought the litho press in Gujarat.

purpose of spreading reformist views in the Parsi community more particularly.* In 1855 Karsandas Mulji a social reformer started a weekly called Satya Prakash (Light of Truth). This paper was used for social reform purposes. Karsandas wrote against 'Kudharswallas' - custodians of the evil traditional practices.³³

Before we analyse the significance of abovementioned newspapers we will make a brief reference to publications of periodicals in Gujarat.

In Kheda, 'Kheda Vartman' was started in 1851,³⁴ in Ahmedabad 'Hitechu', Samsher Bahadur (1854), Ahmedabad Samachar Prajabandhu (1898) were started. In Broach 'Broach Vartaman' (1861), a weekly newspaper started functioning. In Surat, 'Surat Samachar' (1858), 'Gujarat Mitra' (1864) and 'Swatantrata' (1878), 'Deshi Mitra' (1873) were being published.³⁵

In 1900, in Bombay there were 4 dailies, with total circulation of 10,700 copies per issue, 5 weeklies, with total circulation of 9,950, one fortnightly with 425 as circulation, and three monthlies (one woman's periodical also) with circulation of 1260. A significant thing to note is that there were no dailies in any place in Gujarat.

*It may be mentioned here that Rastgoftar subsequently incorporated the material containing ideas for reforming Hindu community also (as revealed at the time of the Maharaj Libel Case). In 1855 when Dadabhai Naoroji went to England, he entrusted the paper to a syndicate in which Karsandas was a member. In 1861 'Satyaprakash', a journal started by Karsandas Mulji and 'Rastgoftar' were joined together. (Marshall, R., Gujarati Patrakaritva no Itihasa, pp.102, 118). It has been remarked that social reform was such a powerful motivation for the Rastgoftar that if we analyse its contents in 1860, for instance, it was found that out of 368 total pages only 68 pages were for news and rest of the material was filled in by the reformist contents. (Press and Society by Dr. R.D. Parikh, (unpublished thesis), p.72).

In Surat there were 6 weeklies (4200 copies), one fortnightly (800 copies) and no monthly.

In Baroda there were 3 weeklies (5,055 copies). In Broach 2 weeklies (225), in Nadiad one monthly (800 copies), Navsari one weekly (880 copies), Kaira (75 copies), Ahmedabad 8 weeklies (3775 copies), one fortnightly (135 copies) and 7 monthlies (of which only figures ~~800~~ ^{for} Buddhi Prakash's copies are available, they were 800 in 1900), in Rajkot there were 2 weeklies with 852 copies and in Mahudha there was one weekly with 250 copies. Thus at the end of 1900, in Gujarat (including Bombay) there were 4 dailies, 29 weeklies, 3 fortnightlies and 11 monthlies. If monthlies are excluded, there were in all 37242 copies per issue in 36 dailies, weeklies and fortnightlies.³⁶

Thus from 1822 when the first Gujarati weekly was started with 150 subscribers and 50 copies purchased by the government, the Gujarati press, by the end of 19th century grew to the extent of having 36 periodicals with 37242 copies. Here we may mention that if periodicals irregularly published or periodicals of various castes be included perhaps the number of copies might be much more.³⁷ The number of printing presses upto 1900 was 55.³⁸

We have examined the numerical growth of newspapers and journals during 19th century; now we will indicate how different purposes were being added in journalism with the passage of time.

(b) News Papers becoming Views Papers

(1) Views on social matters: The significant aspect of the growth of press is that the periodicals which had started as News-papers were slowly becoming views-papers. In the initial stages, discussion of views on social matters was predominant while in the latter stages political views were also added and slowly gained importance.

As referred to earlier in this chapter, with the coming of Buddhiprakash, Rastgoftar, Satyaprakash, the new trend of utilizing paper for expressing views was becoming significant. During the famous 'Maharaj Libel Case'* when the social reformer Karsandas attacked the Vaishnava high priest, the latter filed a suit against the former for libelling him and all these matters had gone to the court. Vaishnava Maharaja also realizing the need to fight Karsands through press had started a periodical called "Swadharma Wardhak and Sanshaya Chhedaka". In this case Karsandas turned out to be victorious and Sir Joseph Arnold, the presiding judge, declared, "To expose and denounce evil, and barbarous practices, to attack usages and customs inconsistent with moral purity and social progress is one of its (of the press) highest, its most imperative duties. When those evils and errors are consecrated by time, fenced round by custom, countenanced and supported by the highest and most influential class in society, when they are wholly beyond the control and supervision of any other tribunal, then it is the function and duty of the press to intervene, honestly, endeavouring by all the powers of argument, denunciation and ridicule to change and purify the public opinion which is the real basis on which these evils are built and the real power by which they are perpetuated."³⁹

By 1861-62, while Rastgoftar, the Satyaprakash and Buddhiprakash were journals mainly devoting to social reform, the others such as Mumbai Samachar, Samachar Darpan and Jame Jamshed were though predominantly communicating varieties of news were also supporting social reforms activities.⁴⁰ Along with these already existing periodicals

*Refer to Chapter III of the thesis.

new periodicals such as Satya Deepak, Gnan Prasarak, Gnan Sagar, Gnan Deepak and others were also added. Along with the exposure of religious priests, during this period, topics such as widow remarriage, dowry, child marriage, position of woman and such other problems were also discussed. Further 'Streebodh' run by Kekhushu Kabraji, a woman's magazine was started in early fifties and later such periodicals as 'Priyam Vada' and 'Sundari Subodh' were added.⁴¹ The periodical dealing with the specific problems of child marriage was also started. It was called 'Bal lagna Nishedhak Patrika' (Anti-Child Marriage periodical).

Here it would not be out of place to mention the fact that along with the journals for expressing views on reforming the society, journals for retaining certain social customs or for defence of ancient religion such as Arya Dharma Prakash, Jaina Dharma Prakash, 'Sudarshan' of Manilal Nabhoobhai and such others were published.⁴² Thus press was slowly being used as expressing views on social matters both by reformers and conservatives.

(ii) Views on political matters: In the second half of the nineteenth century, as we have observed, in the III Chapter, there emerged a great deal of dissatisfaction with regard to various measures of the rulers in the mind of the intelligentsia. The periodicals which were in the initial stages confining themselves to news or views on social matters only, began to take interest in wider political matters.

In fact, in the section on Reader's views (Charcha Patra) after 1860, suggestions were coming up, with regard to the task of the editors to make the journals as vehicles of ventilating people's grievances.⁴³

The existing periodicals started making reference to local matters, such as working of municipalities, newly started railways, postal arrangements and such other items. The taxation policy of the municipalities,⁴⁴

the rush and congestion in the third class compartments,⁴⁵ "the delays and the charges⁴⁶ of the postal system" were some of the targets of criticisms. The complaint against the municipalities were a continuous feature in the journals. The wrong use of the funds at the command of the Municipal Commissioner was severely criticised. The introduction of unwanted drainage system at Ahmedabad by Ranchodlal Chotalal, the President of Ahmedabad Municipality was very drastically commented upon and further when the said president resigned, almost all the newspapers expressed their jubilation over the event.⁴⁷

Next to the municipal affair, the behaviour of the Europeans officers⁴⁸, taxation policy of the government⁴⁹, and such other issues were gaining popularity.

Here a special mention to a fortnightly called 'Dandiyo' (drum beater's) started by poet Narmad in 1864 is necessary. The Dandiyo was the result of weekly discussions carried on by Narmad and his friends who had organized themselves into an association called 'Sakshar Mandal' (literateur's association).⁵⁰ The specific purpose of the paper was to expose all varieties of ill-practices and therefore, it exposed the social practices⁵¹. It was the only paper which continuously raised red signal against the growing Share Mania,⁵² and more particularly criticised political events such as tax on salt, necessity of studying Hindi, high-handed attitudes of British Officers and such other matters.⁵³ Writing against the 'Jhulum' of the Magistrate of Broach, Dandiyo declared "A great chaos is prevailing in that district. It is the duty of those

*Narmad himself had visualized this paper as a periodical in the line of editor's 'Spectator'.

who are conducting the press to keep the Government and the people aware of that. It has become essential for the press to keep itself well informed about the affairs of the different districts."⁵⁴

In short the periodicals expressing the growing political and civic wishes and views of the people were coming up. It is revealed by the names adopted by such periodicals as 'Prajabhilash' (the aspiration of the people), 'Praja Bandhu' (the comrade of people), 'Lok Mitra' (friend of the people), 'Gujarat Mitra' (friend of Gujarat), 'Swadesh Vatsal' (the lover of the nation), 'Datardu' (sickle) and 'Swatantra' (liberty).^{*} The last named periodical had written various articles on topical problems and more particularly criticising Lord Lytton's Press Act exposing the Imperial policies of the government.⁵⁵ This paper was also involved actively in the days of 'Surat Riot Case'^{**} and Mancharam Ghelabhai who was one of the accused of the case was the owner of the printing press where this weekly was published. Iccharam Suryaram Desai was also asked to present himself in the court as a writer of various articles in this paper. It was this incident which brought the Gujarati press in closer connection with the Indian press. The acquittal of the accused in the Surat Riot Case was hailed by all the journals as a victory of the press. This victory generated a new sense of political awakening in the press which was revealed in the greater and greater use of press for publishing political matters.

^{*}This paper was started by the members of 'Sharda Pujak Mandal', a specific political organisation of Surat of which Iccharan Suryaram Desai was the main spirit. Its declared purpose was to publish and write articles on political, social, literary, commercial and industrial topics. (Refer to Gujarati Patra Karitva no Itihasa, p.124).

^{**}For detailed discussion refer to Chapter III. *by R. Marshall*

The culminating point of this trend was reached when Shri Icbharam Suryaram Desai started a journal called 'Gujarati' from Bombay in 1880.* The publication of this periodical is significant from a number of angles. It was a paper specially dedicated to discuss political views.⁵⁶ Further it accepted the ideology of Indian National Congress which came into existence 5 years after the paper was born.⁵⁷ The third feature of this weekly was that it started a new trend of chaste Gujarati language in the periodicals in place of Parsi Gujarati which was prevalent in those days.^{58**} Last feature of this periodical was that it not only continued discussion on literary issues (which was done by other papers also) but it also started the trend of giving 'gift book' from 1891 and even started publication of serials in the weekly. The controversial novel by the editor known as 'Hind and Brittainia' was published as a serial in the journal.

As our object is not to give detailed history of press in Gujarat in 19th century but to indicate its major phases of development as well as its significant features as medium of mass communication, we will not go into the detailed enumeration of the political views expressed in the journals. Here it may be mentioned that after 1880 not merely the local issues but topics such as representation in the legislative assemblies, the proceedings of the Indian National Congress, the

*The paper was financed by Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai, a business man of Bombay and christened by poet Narmad. (Desai, Manilal Icbharam, Icbharam Desai na Saksher Jeeran ni Roop rekha, 1928, pp.9-13).

**It may be mentioned here that when 'Gujarati' was first launched all the papers in Bombay were in the hands of the Parsis. (Gujarati Patrakaritra no Itihasa, p.143).

introduction of the famous controversial Ilbert Bill came for discussion. The attitude of the Government to please the Lancashire interest at the cost of Indian interest at the introduction of cotton duties bill, famine in Gujarat, plague in Bombay, exorbitant expenditure for wars, financial condition of Indian Government and such other topics affecting in varieties of ways the life of people⁵⁹ were discussed. As mentioned in the Imperial Gazetteers in the latter half of the 19th century, "the majority of the newspapers owned by natives, now devote themselves to current topics and political discussion."⁶⁰

Here we may mention one significant development. After the revolt of 1857, the Government was becoming more and more alert to the writings of the press. Therefore in 1867 an act for the Regulation of Printing Presses and Newspapers (Act XXV of 1867) was passed. In 1868 the post of a 'reporter on Native Press and Registrar of Native Publications' was created in the Bombay Presidency. It was the task of this official to prepare weekly abstracts of the vernacular journals and to keep the Government informed of their nature.⁶¹ To supplement this arrangement it was decided by the Government since 1870 to include in the Reports of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency, an assessment of the contents and trends of the Vernacular (Gujarati and Marathi) Press.*

*In one of the reports it was mentioned, "The general tone of the native press is fault-finding; it carries no weight yet, it should be held to be useful in occasionally pointing out local grievances." (Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for the years 1878-79 and 1880.)

The climax of the attitude of the Government towards vernacular press was reached when the 'Vernacular Press Act' was passed in 1878, popularly known as "Gagging Act".^{62*} This reveals the significant change in the attitude of the government. Lord Elphinstone hailed the publication of the first vernacular newspaper as a great blessing.⁶³ Justice Arnold eulogised the press for crusading against the social evils⁶⁴ while Lord Lytton found that the press was spreading dissatisfaction among the populace.⁶⁵

After reviewing the nature of development of journalism in Gujarat we will briefly indicate the significant features of the journalistic activity in Gujarat in the 19th century.

(c) Salient features of the Journalism in Gujarat

i) As mentioned before journalism was a novel medium of communication introduced in Gujarati society during the 19th century. Press increased the scope of written communication to a very great extent. As we have mentioned before, the number of periodicals and the number of copies published had increased considerably by the end of the 19th century.

ii) Another feature of this medium was that it ~~was~~ it not only grew in quantity but also started including larger and larger variety of

*The clause which created the most loud resentment was that it empowered any magistrate of a district or a commissioner of police in a presidency town, to call upon the printer and publisher of a newspaper to enter into a bond—undertaking not to publish certain kind of material, to demand security and so on. It was further provided in the Act that no printer or publisher against whom such action is taken could have recourse to law. (Quoted from The Gazette of India, March 16, 1878, pp.165-169 in Gujarati Patrakaritva no Itihasa, p.291). Of course the said Act was subsequently repealed in the days of Lord Ripon.

topics. There were newspapers like Bombay Samachar, Jame Janshed, Broach Vartman or Kheda Vartman, dealing with general interest while 'Rastgoftar' or 'Satyaprakash' were devoting to social reform. 'Buddhiprakash', 'Vignan Vilas' were journals devoted to intellectual topics. Further certain caste journals such as "Shreemali Shubhechak", 'Audichya Hitechhu' or 'Nagar Udaya' also emerged during this period. Similarly, communal journals dealing with the problems of religious communities like Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, and Jains also started coming out. "Arya Dharma Prakash", "Nure Islam", "Parsi Punch", "Rahenumaya Jarthosti" or "Jain Dharma Prakash" were journals of this category. 'Shala Patra' for discussing educational problems, 'Sudarshan' and "Gnan Sudha" ^{and} 'Vasant' devoting to literary topics also started being published. As mentioned before, special journals for women were also coming up. All these indicate how journalism was developing in variety.

Thus the second feature of this new medium was that it was specialising in themes, thus catering to special needs of the people.

iii) Another aspect of the press lay in the fact that by the end of the century, the periodicals started introducing such features as literary discussions, serial publications, views of the people along with the other features like news, and advertisement. Thus journalism was transforming itself slowly from newspaper to views-paper as well as vehicle for artistic creations.

iv) As mentioned before in this chapter, majority of these journals were published from Bombay and a few from Surat, Ahmedabad, Nadiad, Broach and such other important urban centres. The press was thus essentially an urban phenomenon, and in the context of Gujarat we can say, it was more concentrated in Bombay during the 19th century.⁶⁶

In conclusion we can observe that the emergence and growth of journalism in Gujarati society during 19th century, inaugurated a new medium of mass communication, and further it affected by its growth the scale and quality of social relationships in Gujarati society.

~~III~~ B

After surveying the growth of journalism we will take note of another category of written publications which emerged during the British rule.

The necessity of new type of political machinery, with its new type of administrative, judicial, police, and revenue system created a need for a large body of recorded material connected with various aspects of political rule. It generated a body of literature in the nature of various categories of records. Further the Government, with a view to providing material to Central Government and also with a view to keeping informed, the Home Government and Parliament in the Great Britain - brought out a massive printed material in Gujarat. The files and volumes in the record offices, as well as similar recorded material in every revenue, police, judicial and other departments of the Government from Taluka headquarters to Provincial, Central and Imperial headquarters reveal how a massive written material was being built up during this period of which some portion was published.

Another category of literature comprizing of a large body of published work, grew as a result of the need of the British rulers to study the conditions, social life and culture of an alien country which they were to rule. Under the impact of liberal cultural influence the rulers also undertook to publish various scholarly explorations in

different fields of social and cultural life of Indian people. The census of India every decade from 1871, provided for the first time in the history of India, a comprehensive (however defective it be) picture of the conditions of India. Studies of various categories of people were methodically worked out in the Gazetteers of various Talukas, Districts and Provinces. Campbell's Gazetteers of Gujarat are monumental records providing detailed descriptions of almost every aspect of life in Gujarat. Poet Narmadashanker was assigned the task of preparing an abridged version of this massive publication. It was published as "Gujarat Sarva Sanghra". Similar literature was being published by the Government directly or through various agencies. Borrodale's study of the social customs and behaviour of various castes in South Gujarat on the basis of a detailed questionnaire and published in two volumes in English (and consequently translated into Gujarati) is another important publication of this type. Along with these publications, number of Governors, Collectors, Commissioners and Army Commandants also made observations on Indian and Gujarati life. They also tried to study the past of the Indian society. A body of literature portraying the historical development of Indian and Gujarati society also emerged. Todd's Annals of Rajasthan, Forbes' Ras Malla and numerous works of travellers, administrators, missionaries and others about the life of people in various cities and towns and districts of Gujarat, and similar works are typical of this category of publication. Maine's History of Ancient Communities, and Baden Powell's studies of Land Problems of India and Village Community in India can be also indicated as other monumental studies of this type. Studies of

Orientalists, Archaeologists, Linguists, Epigraphers, Geographers and others were also slowly being published, providing a store of information and views for understanding India's past. Works of Archaeological Departments, particularly under the leadership of Burgess who examined, surveyed and measured almost every important piece of Architecture and Sculpture of Gujarat, and methodically measuring, documenting, embodying it in the volumes of archaeological surveys provided new vision and new historical awakening about India and Gujarat.

As our purpose is not to elaborate a historical survey of all such studies but to indicate how a new category of printed material was emerging in Gujarat during 19th century, we will restrict our study only by indicating the types of published material that were emerging in Gujarat under the aegis of the British Government.

Another category of publication which emerged in Gujarat arose out of the needs of the newly developing, hierarchically graded system of primary, secondary and higher education. With the rise of literacy and the necessity of supplying reading material for various standards in schools and colleges, the need for publication of books and other type of material increased. Text-books, readers, books connected with various subjects like literature, grammar, mathematics, history, geography, science and others began to be published.⁶⁷ Further with the growth of various kinds of associations, published works containing their constitutions, records, surveys, propaganda and informative material as well as reports emerge. Certain associations were started from with deliberate object of translating books/other languages and

bringing out original works in special fields.* All these published material also constituted another stream of publications which was feeding the growing river of published works.

In short, along with journalism, a massive body of printed works on various subjects was also emerging in Gujarat during 19th century.

We will now survey the third stream of published works, viz., the emergence of creative literature which also grew in 19th century Gujarat as a result of the sensitive reactions of some of the educated intellectuals, and which expressed itself through creative literary works.

At the outset, we may point out that in this section we are not dealing in details with growth and expansion of Gujarati literature, but it will be our task to point out how on the one hand, the emergence of Press assisted the growth of literature in size and on the other to point out briefly the vital changes which have been introduced in Gujarati literature during 19th century.

Growth of literature

One of the significant consequences of the development of new means of mass communication was the impetus given to production of literary works. Nineteenth century witnessed a voluminous growth of literary output.

Mr. Dayabhai Derasari mentions that due to lack of printing facilities, there was dearth of literary creations in pre-19th century periods.⁶⁸ The literateurs had to rely on vocal communication or on the

*The Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad undertook these activities in a very great earnest spirit. By 1900 it had published

aid of scribes. But both these methods were very restrictive in scope.⁶⁹

One of the profoundest effects of the growth of printing press on the literary forms in the 19th century is the development of journalism as a form of literature.⁷⁰ As we have observed in the I Chapter, that in the absence of printing facilities, oral communications which could be easily memorised were very useful. Poetry is a form which assists to a great extent in these functions and therefore poetry occupied the predominant place in pre-19th century literary forms. Thus the introduction of printing press inaugurated new forms in literature.

There is another aspect of influence of the new medium of mass communication. As we have observed in the section on growth of newspapers in the latter half of 19th century, most of the periodicals introduced the publication of serials in their papers. This new development also assisted the growth of ^{as a} novel / form of literature in Gujarat. Ramanbhai Nilkanth's 'Bhadram bhadra', in 'Gnan Sudha', Manilal Nabhubhai's 'Gulabsing' in 'Priyamvada', Ichharan Desai's "Hind and Britannia" in 'Gujarati' are some instances of serials which were published in the periodicals.

Due to the facilities provided by the printing press, literary creations were able to reach wider public. The phenomenon of certain creations like the works of Dalpatram, Narmadashankar or Govardhanram going in for two or three editions in the 19th century was possible only because of the existence of the printing facility.

Another factor which assisted the growth of literature was that associations like Pustak Prasarak Mandali of Surat, Gujerat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, Gnan Prasarak Mandali of Bombay, had initiated a

programme of publishing books on various subjects and accepted it as one of their chief aims and for that purpose they set up printing presses.⁷¹ These associations further organized essay competitions on various topics such as 'caste system', 'importance of banks', 'foreign travel', 'child marriage' and others. This activity contributed in developing essay as a form of literature in the 19th century and the various organizations accelerated the volume of publication.

Further with the help of printing facilities, not only new literary productions were published but this facility was availed of in the production of old literature which were buried in the houses of individuals and often not known to people at large or kept in some Bhandar where ordinary persons had no access to it.* Not only that such great works like Ramayana, Mahabharat and Puranas came to light in this period, but also literary creations of old literateurs like Narsinh, Premchand Akho, Shamsul and many others were printed and thus preserved for posterity.⁷² In fact one of the chief functions of associations like The Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay or Prachin Kavya Office (Ancient Poetry publication office) of Baroda, were to unearth the old Gujarati manuscripts and preserve them for posterity by publishing them.⁷³

*Here a brief reference to poet Narmad's plight in getting at some rare work will be useful. Poet Narmad was eager to study laws of prosody but the works in which such principles were stated was not available anywhere. Accidentally he came in contact with one mason named Gordhan and Narmad found that he possessed one important work called "Ratnavalli". The mason refused to part with it, so Narmad had to go to the mason's place daily and copy out the contents of the book. Later on, the mason parted with some painting but on condition that daily Narmad should return the old pages and take the new ones. This was the experience of a renowned poet in 1851. (Mari Hakikat by Poet Narmad, pp.48-49).

As a result of all these forces, literature in the 19th century grew in size. References to the growing volume of literature are made at various places. Most thinkers like Navalram, Manilal Nabhoobhai and Dayabhai Derasari feel that the literary works have grown to such an extent that they require a special review magazine to evaluate the quality of these works.⁷⁴

It was also felt that books of various qualities were coming out in the first flush of enthusiasm that a list of 100 good books ought to be published as a sort of guide for the readers.⁷⁵ The craze for publishing whatever one wrote, without even looking it a second time, and requesting the reader "to pardon the author for any errors", irritated even a quiet and unassuming critic like Navalram and he wrote an article in the form of a reader's letter wherein he describes this craze for publishing as a "disease of being an author". (Authario Hadakwa)⁷⁵

In short the introduction of printing press had to a very great extent accelerated the growth of literature. We will now briefly refer to the trends in modern literature which were the outgrowths of the 19th century.

New Features of modern Gujarati literature

Modern literature begins with the death of poet Dayaram - the last of the old guards in 1882.⁷⁶ The two most outstanding pioneers of modern literature were poet Dalpatram and Narmadashankar. Hence many historians of the literary history describe the first phase of modern literature as the Age of 'Narmad-Dalpat',⁷⁷ which lasted upto 1886. The second phase known as the scholar era (Sakshar yuga or Pandit yuga) was dominated by literateurs nurtured in university education where they not only became familiar with the treasures of Western literature but also the

best Sanskrit and Persian literature.^{78*} All these factors affected both the form and content of the 19th century literature.

(a) Change in the form of literature.

The predominant form of literature in the pre-nineteenth century was poetry.^{**} During the 19th century poetry as a form is not eliminated but instead of old forms of poetry new forms such as lyric, sonnet, elegy, epic as well as gazal (due to the import of Persian literature) find place in Gujarati literature. Narmad, Narsinhrao Divetia, Kalapi Manishankar, Ratnaji Bhatt were renowned as experimentalists in the western forms of poetry while Balashankar Kantharia, Manilal Nabhoobhai and Kalapi were well-known experimentalists in writing Gazals.

Along with this change we also observe the emergence of prose as a new form of literature. There is a difference of opinion as to who should be considered the first prose writer. Ranchodlal Zaveri had written text books for newly established schools, Dalpatram was writing in 'Buddhiprakash', Durgaram was writing notes of Manav Dharma Subha and Narmad were prominent writers using the prose form. But it is mostly agreed that Narmad's essay on 'The advantages of associational life' (Mandali Malvathi thata Labh) was a landmark both in form and content.⁷⁹ The prose writings developed during this period because as mentioned before, various organizations were holding essay competitions which gave a fillip to develop this form.^{***}

*Narsinhrao Divatia remarks about the influence of Sanskrit and English ~~about-the-influence-of~~ literature as follows: "The Sanskrit literature furnishes the soil and English literature the manure which have brought forth the plant of Modern Gujarati Literature" (Gujarati Language and Its Literature by Narsinhrao Divatia, p.6).

**The popularity of this form is revealed when we notice that Dalpatram in one of his poems gives instructions as to how an essay should be written. (Dalpat Kavya, Pt.II(1924), Dalpatram, p.44).

In prose, novel becomes a very popular form of expression. The first historical novel was written by Nandashankar Mehta in 1868 on the last independent king of Gujarat (Karan Ghelo) while the first social novel was written by Mahipatram in 1866 'Sasu Vahuni ladai' (Quarrel between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law). Of course, novel as a form acquired prominence only after the publication of Govardhanram's epoch making novel 'Saraswati Chandra' in 4 parts (The 1st part was published in 1887).

Along with these two forms of literature, drama also found its place. The popular form of drama 'Bhavai' of middle ages was slowly dying out, and dramas based on Greek principles rather than Sanskrit tradition were being written.⁸⁰ In 1851 Dalpatram had written a drama called 'Laxmi Natak' and later on other dramatists like Ranchodbhai Udayram, Narmad, Navalram, and others began to experiment on this form.

Criticism as a form of literature, guided by scientific principles also found expression during this period. The newly started journals gave reviews of books and this gave great stimulus to criticism. Navalram, Manilal Nabhubhai, Ramanbhai Nilkanth, Narsinhrao Divatia were all well known critics.

Diaries of Navalram or Govardhanram, biographies of Mahipatram, Karsandas, Durgaram or Forbes, autobiography of Narmad, travel accounts of Karsandas, or letters among the literateurs written by Kalapi to Kant, dictionary of Narmad, prosody of Dalpatram are only few instances of the varieties of form in prose writing. The only form of literature which was neglected in the 19th century is short story. It reveals its existence only in sub-plots of a novel, or in a solitary piece of writing by Dalpatram called "Shree Sambhashana" for A.K. Forbes who wanted to know exactly how ordinary women were talking amongst themselves.⁸¹

b) Changes in content of literature

Another noticeable feature of the 19th century Gujarati literary development is the change in the content of literature. As we observed in the I Chapter, in the pre-nineteenth century, there was a predominance of religious themes. Themes such as descriptions of nature of love, were all coloured with the all pervading atmosphere of life in the other world.⁸²

The new literatuers first of all considered literature as a weapon for changing the social life - it was a vehicle of social reform.⁸³ An outstanding feature which draws our attention while reviewing Gujarati literature is the blending of literateur and reformer in Gujarat. Therefore the best writings of Narmad, Dalpat, Navalram, Mahipatram or Govardhanram are works, depicting either social evils, or social conflicts. 'Sarswaticandra', the epoch making novel of Govardhanram Tripathi, deals with the conflicts of joint family life, problems of individual's psychological turbulations. love made bone fire at the pyre of social prestige, intricacies of life in the native states and such other items.* Later in the 19th century political themes were also introduced by Ichharam Desai, H.H. Dhru and others, in novels, or dramas, /essays.

Another change in content is the gradual importance given to individual - His aspirations, his rights, his love, his conflicts occupy important place in literature. Narmad, Kalapi, Narsinhrao Divatia, are instances of this trend.⁸⁴ Individual is not nearly

*Bhadram Bhadra (by R.Nilkanth) was a satire on too much orthodoxy, Sanskritization and unreality exhibited by the conservative group in the later 19th century.

a cog in the wheel of social existence, but a focus round which the different forces are rotating. Therefore we find that during 19th century artists are expressing their subjective moods, their own reactions to nature's beauty or love or even feeling for one's own country.*

Here we may mention that one significant theme was the description of nature, and one's reactions to it. In the pre-nineteenth century, this item finds its place in literature but it is more of a catalogue of trees or flowers rather than an emotional reaction to the beauties of nature. In this field poet Wordsworth's influence has been very outstanding.²⁵

Another significant introduction in theme is the consciousness of patriotism, of nationalism, or nationality, ^{revealed} ~~presented~~ in literature.

'Gujarati' consciousness, sentiment as Indians, feelings for independence of one's nation find expression in this age. Here also Narmad, Dalpat, Hari Harshad Dhruv, Malbari, Ichharan Desai, and others are names worth remembering.**

Another aspect of theme in this phase was that religion is not banished from literary creations but finds newer expression. As mentioned before in this section, the social reform and exposure of social evils, were the hallmarks of this era, therefore in religion also, the important theme was the exposure of harmful religious practices through poetry, essay or drama.

*It is significant to note that Narmad was the first person to use the word for emotion in Gujarati; he used the word 'Lagani'. He was also the first poet to confess his love for his beloved.

**Translation of the famous poem "Breath^{he} there the man with soul so dead" by Walter Scott was rendered by three different poets. Further the commonly accepted national song of Gujarat State "Hail! Hail! Glorious Gujarat. The rosy dawn shines again" (Jaya Jaya ~~Gauri~~ ^{Gauri} Gujarat)" was written by Narmad in this phase.

Positive feeling for the all creator and all pervading God was also visible. Vedantik expression also found its place and devotional songs - the prayers - were also sung in the praise of God. But emphasis was more on the individual's reactions to the creator rather than mythological colouring of the forms of God. In this field Manilal Nabhoobhai, Bholanath/^{Sarabhai} ~~Sarabhai~~, Manishankar Bhatt excelled to a very great extent.

In short, 19th century, exhibited change in the themes of literature as expressed in the selection of social, political, natural, nationalist and nationality themes w as expressions of one's own emotions.

Concluding Remarks

Having referred to the growth of literature in the 19th century being accelerated by the forces generated, we will now conclude this section by making a few observations.

i) The significant aspect of change in the 19th century was the growing variety in form and themes of literature, indicating growing complexity of the 19th century life. Due to growth in social intercourse, diverse mæds and situations, the themes of literature also acquire variety.

ii) New values in the form of romantic love, respect for individual, improvement of this life rather than of other world, new approach to traditional social institutions, love for one's country, are novel features of 19th century literature. These values do not find place in pre-nineteenth century literature.

iii) All the above mentioned trends in the literature of 19th century further point to the growing scale of society. Wider society requires wider mass communication. The person's world is not confined to a village or a town but extends to nation and the international precincts. Further as we have pointed out previously in this section that new

literateurs were not nourished merely by local atmosphere, but western, Sanskrit and Persian breezes were affecting their creations.

iv) Our general observation that in the 19th century the upper castes were dominating the social world, is true in the case of literature also as the chart in the appendix will point out.* Most of the literateurs spring from the Brahmin caste. There are a few from the Baniya, and rarely one or two from the Patidar castes.~~also~~. Here also the overwhelming importance of these castes is noticeable. Further it is very likely that the themes which these writers discuss and portray as social problems may be problems of the upper castes and not of the lower castes.**

III

Limitations of Press in the 19th Century

Having examined the forces and factors responsible for the rise of press and printed word and the extent of its growth, we will now indicate a few limitations of this development.

(a) Growth limited: In spite of the fact that unlike pre-British period, press emerged and grew in Gujarat in the 19th century as a new phenomenon, one can say that the growth of this medium was extremely limited. As observed in the chapter on Growth of Education, during the entire 19th

*To illustrate poet Dalpatram, Narmad, Govardhanram, Manilal Nabhoobhai, Navalram, came from the Brahmin caste. Horgovindas Kantawalla, Ran-chodlal Zaveri were from Baniya castes, Pranlal Mathuradas, Ambalal Sakarlal and Narayan Hemachandram were representatives of Brahma Kshatriya caste.

**Problems like widow-remarriage, romantic love, conflicts of joint family, intricacies of native states were all problems affecting the upper caste literateurs.

century, hardly 5 per cent of the population of Gujarat could take to education. Even out of that only a small section took to secondary and higher education. The printed word therefore remained accessible to only a fraction of the Gujarati population.* The limited growth of press in all its forms, was both an index of educational backwardness of the Gujarati society as well as a pointer as to how Herculean a task lay ahead for spreading the ideas through this medium of mass communication. The gravity of this problem can be seen from the fact that even during the entire period of British rule in twentieth century as well as during nearly two decades after Independence, universal literacy - a basis for utilising printed word on a mammoth scale has not been achieved.

(b) Predominance of Publications in English Language: The second limitation of the press lay in the fact that, relatively larger amount of whatever was published in Gujarat, was published in English language.

The vast bulk of publications undertaken under Government auspices barring a few translations were in English. Even for educational purposes, the introduction of English as a medium of instruction dovetailed the major portion of publications for students in English. The political reformers like Dadabhai Naoroji, Zaverilal Yagnik and others with a view to appeal to the British Rulers and wider Indian audience brought out

*As mentioned in Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency, for the year 1899-1900, there were 9 Gujarati periodicals which would claim membership of more than 1000 subscribers. (Quoted in Administrative Report, 1899-1900, p.341). It is to be noted that, critics begin to compare the reading public of Gujarat with other States like Maharashtra, and find that the former are very reluctant purchasers. (Navalram Naval Granthavali, p.304; also refer to Gujarat Vernacular Society no Itihasa, Part I by Hiralal Parekh, p.208).

pamphlets, research works and books in English.* Thus even from the written publications that emerged during the 19th century, a sizeable section is to be found in English, which was read in Gujarat by a very tiny fraction of Gujarati population. Due to the limited funds available, the development of printed works in Gujarati therefore was also very limited. The scarcity of adequate number of Gujarati books which was found even as early as 1828, by the Native Education and School Book Society was almost continuously felt throughout 19th century in spite of growth of vernacular publications. Further shift from vernacular to English as a medium of instruction, under the "Downward Infiltration Theory" retarded the growth of vernacular publications for want of a market in the form of school books. (The limited Gujarati educated section who had a direct access to English publications, distributed its limited purchasing power to purchase publications both from English and Gujarati). It is sad to observe that barring a few commercial newspapers, and a few primary textbooks, most of the publications in Gujarati including journals and magazines hardly could run profitably.** The story of their financial difficulties is too well-known to be repeated.

*For a very long period, many newspapers were coming in both the languages Gujarati and English, known as Anglo-vernacular periodicals. 'Mumbai na Halkaru, ane Vartaman, 'Rastgoftar', 'Gujarati' English sections. & Such others had Gujarati as well as English sections.

**In the creative publications, it was always necessary to find out a rich benefactor to finance the publication. Narmad's plight at the postponement ~~of refusal~~ of the payment for a particular publication reveals the difficulty experienced by the authors of those days. (Mari Hakikat by Narmadashankar, pp.52, 57) Poet Dalpatram also due to a very strong support of the Government, Gujarat Vernacular Society and some of the native states could publish his works. (Sathi nu Sahitya by D.Derasari, pp.37-39).

Even the practice of paying the contributions at the rate of 4 annas per page started by Buddhivardhak and Buddhiprakash journals was rare. (Mari Hakikat by Narmad, pp.52-53).

It was only because of the convention adopted by the Government to practise purchase definite number of copies of published journals, that some of them could survive. When Bombay Samachar started coming out, government promised to pay 1200 rupees per year for 50 copies of each issue of that paper. (Sathi nu Sahitya, Dayabhai Derasari, p.211.)

(c) The third major limitation on press was imposed by the laws and approaches adopted by the British Rulers. We have indicated in the chapter on Political Change as well as on Education, how British Rulers knew the potential long term dangers consequent on the spread of western secular, democratic culture among the people. They therefore permitted and regulated the growth of publications to suit their requirements. The ^{refusal of} ~~non~~-permission to start a press to Durgaram Mehtaji, the frequent press acts and censors like vernacular Press Act, of Lytton, the banning of critical works against British Rule, tuning the curriculum of the education to western thought and development elimination of study of Gujarati language for higher students, and host of other measures adopted directly or indirectly to curb and regulate both the quantity and content of printed works, was another major handicap which prevented the development of printed works and also which limited the content of the publications. A large slice of the published work was oriented to the requirement of administrative, economic and educational needs of British Rulers. Another slice of published work developed by Gujaratis was oriented to their own trade, economic, and educational needs within the framework of policy laid down by British Rulers. Here also translations from English works occupied prominent place. It was only a section of the published work that was oriented to a free critical enquiry into the economic, political, educational and socio-cultural conditions of Gujarati society. Thus the content of the press was predominantly pro-British. Only a small section of the intelligentsia could generate a meagre literature which was objective, critical and trying to assess the developments in a realistic manner.

This limitation generated a number of problems with regard to ~~the~~ the nature, content and extent of printed words in 20th century.

(d) The fourth limitation of the press and printed material arose out of the fact that it was produced by the upper-caste, upper class sections of the Gujarati population. As observed earlier, in the chapters on political, economic and educational changes in Gujarat in 19th century, sections of the upper castes predominantly from Brahmins, Baniyas, Kayathas and Brahma-khatris, along with a section of Parsis emerged as the new upper-caste upper-class status group. This stratum was thus having the benefit of the status and prestige of the older traditional status system as well as the acquired status and prestige arising out of the new political-economic and educational set up. The educated strata and their rich commercial supporters, took up those topics which basically touched their life problems. They produced literature on social-religious reform which basically affected them. E.g. the problem of widow remarriage or Sati or going to foreign country were the problems pertaining to upper caste groups. Similarly the problems of racial discrimination or white-man's snobbery hurt the sensitivity of the upper castes, who had the superiority complex of the traditional ritual high caste status. Similarly the search for glorious traditions in the past also was mostly tried to be located in the epochs of some powerful local kings or periods when Brahmins or trading class had prosperous phases of existence or expansion. The problems of the uprooting of the tribal population, or the problems of the peasantry who were coming increasingly into the grip of moneylenders or was being thrown out of land, the problem of landless labourers, or ruined artisans did not concern the writers of

the new works with that intensity. This fact is further indicated by another limitation of the press viz. that it was essentially an urban phenomena and was restricted to urban reading public.*

In short the fact that an educated strata came from upper castes and urban areas restricted the themes, the topics, the characters and problems that were dealt in their printed works.

These were the basic limitations of the press and the printed literature in Gujarat. These limitations posed problems to the people of Gujarat, which became the issues round which battles have been fought in twentieth century.

As our object is only to indicate the changes that were brought about in medium of mass communication in 19th century, we will halt at pointing out these major limitations.

IV

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROWTH OF PRESS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

In spite of the limitations pointed out in the earlier section, we can conclude that the emergence and growth of press and printed material brought about significant changes in the Gujarati society and also revealed how Gujarati society was experiencing a vital transformation in its economic, political, social, institutional and cultural life. We will only indicate a few of these significant features and conclude our study on printed material.

*As revealed in the place of publication most of the periodicals came from Bombay, Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat, Nadiad and such other towns. The chart of Literateurs also point out that they were predominantly the products of the urban area.

1. The very emergence of press and printed work was a novel system of communication in Gujarati society unheard of in the entire earlier history of Gujarat. In pre-British period we do not find printing techniques, newspapers, journals and publication of books. This itself is a qualitative change experienced by Gujarati society.

2. The quantitative increase, howsoever, limited in the number of presses, journals, books, and others, indicate a widening of literate population. The growing circulation of printed matter also indicated that there was widening of circulation of ideas, information and emotional and artistic experiences. In the context of the growth of modern means of transport, it further indicated the widening of connections and intercommunication among larger and larger groups of persons in Gujarat.*

Further the differentiation and specialization in the themes of published material revealed that communication was growing not merely quantitatively but also qualitatively and in intensity. From material pertaining to news to views connected with various socio-religious and other aspects to agitation and rise of literature dealing with politics of protest, the themes reveal how a new, deepened sensitiveness and consciousness was emerging among sections of Gujarati society. This emergence and development of new consciousness itself was a novel feature which emerged for the first time in Gujarat only during 19th century.

*As mentioned before, in all the activities of news-paper and periodical publication, Parsis and Hindus (Gujaratis) worked hand in hand. In Gujarati community also, the persons of upper castes came in frequent contact with each other for such ventures.

3. The third significance of the emergence of press, and particularly vernacular press lay in the fact that it gave momentum to the standardization and uniformization of Gujarati language, and slowly assisted to construct out of various dialects a distinct language for the entire Gujarati population.^{86*} Press, by standardizing the language, working out a common framework for diction as well as by providing a means of recording and preserving the creations in Gujarati language laid the basis for a cumulative heritage of Gujarati writings. This provided the emerging modern Gujarati society, with a vehicle for common sentiment, common aspiration and common ideas and expressions. Press, by standardising Gujarati language and spreading it on a uniform way, assisted the process of generating the nationality sentiment among Gujaratis. From the time of poet Narmad till today Gujarati language has been a vehicle for generating a community feeling among the Gujarati-speaking population. This process was started and considerably consolidated during 19th century.

4. The growth of press and printed material also indicated that Gujarati society was widening in scale and was entering into wider and wider net-work of social relationship which could not function without this new medium of communication. The widening political relationships, the increasing economic set of interactions and the growing educational and other systems of relations demanded a new mode of printed communication, and the growth of press and printed words during this very

*When Navalram went to Ahmedabad in 1870, on one day he was comparing dialects spoken by people of Ahmedabad, Surat, Saurashtra and others. At some stage he remarked, "We will be able to compare the dialects for few years only. Education is uniting all and the bridge of Narmada brought Ahmedabad and Surat together." (Quoted in Shukra Tarak by Vijayrai Vaidya, p.41.)

period revealed that society has changed into a complex net work of relationships.

5. The growth of press, reflecting the growth of scale of society also reveals the growth of social heritage as well as a new sense of consciousness for social heritage. This deepens, as Wilsons have pointed out, the sense of dependence on past and history.⁸⁷ This leads to a sense of chronology, history and explorations with past traditions. The slow liberation from myths and search for past history both of Indian and Gujarati society itself was a new development emerging in Gujarat as a result of the literary heritage made available by the press.* Thus the scale of relationship deepened in terms of time.

In fine one can conclude that the emergence of Press and printed works as a medium of mass communication was itself a novel phenomena which indicated that the Gujarati society had entered a new complex phase of social relationships. In terms of indices we have adopted for analysing changes, we can firmly state that Gujarati society was experiencing quantitative and qualitative changes in its social relations, social communication and social heritage during the 19th century resulting in its slow transformation from traditional to modern society.

*Studies of Forbes, Todd, Borrodale, the archaeological investigations of Bhagvanlal Indrajit, the history of world by poet Narmad, the historical novels of Nandashankar and Mahipatram, the reinterpretation of mythological instances as revealed in Kalapi's poems are instances at point.

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