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return
re to
bout
Memorandum.

I have been desired by His Excellency
the Governor to put down such notes as
may occur to me regarding the present
state of the Native Press of the Presidency and
I fear that I have little to say as
compared with the importance of the
subject. I will however collect a few facts
and co-ordinate a few ideas as far as the
records are concerned the facts are certainly
scattered, and the subject by no means
lies under the hand. I will give some ex-
extracts and new translations from
papers, which will have at any
merit of being an exact picture
original. And I will submit about the
-ments of my own on the
2. For technic
the newspapers which

...ie vernacular languages are regarded
... something distinct from newspapers,
...owned and edited by natives and cir-
...culated principally among natives, but
...published in English. This distinction was
...maintained in the legislative action of
1878, and it may be that practically
the language basis was the only one
which could be taken on that occasion
and for such an object. Still the dis-
...tinction means nothing from the point of
view of what natives think of Europeans,
and as that is the main consideration
which I have in my own mind at the
...esent moment. I will here define the
...e press according to its ownership,
...ship, and circulation, and not
... to the language of appear-

3. There are altogether
...ve newspapers in the Presi-
...ing a number of petty

sheets, religious tracts, and similar, strictly
...lications not of an influential nature return-
The numbers are approximately as follows, to
according to the language of appearance:- Eng-
English 6, Tamil 13, Telugoo 5, Canarese 4: equal
Malayalam 5, Hindoostany 6. The following seven
are the papers which have most political (b)
influence :- the Hindoo (English), the Swadesamitram (Tamil), the People's Friend (Eng-
...lish), the Kerala Patrica (Malayalam), the Kar-
...nataca Pracanshica (Canarese), the Andhra Pracanshica (Telugoo), the Shumshul-ul-
...akbar (Hindostany), the Jareeda e Rozgar (Hindostany).

4. The affairs of the vernac-
...ular press have so very lately been taken
up in a serious manner by the Govern-
...ment that there is but little statis-
...tical information available about the
papers just named. The Hindoo is a
Madras paper published in English,
owned by two Brahmins named "Kasturi" Be-

ragharacharry B.A. and G. Soobra-
-many Iyer B.A. The latter is also the
editor. It was originally a weekly and
has become a bi-weekly. Its circulation
is larger than that of any other paper in
the Presidency except the Madras Mail
The Madras Times which need to be
above it in circulation has fallen below
it. It may be said that the Hindoo
and the Madras Mail between them
command the market; the former being
the native organ, and the latter the Eur-
-opean organ. The Hindoo circulates to
all the native reading-rooms, and is
the favorite paper of the Vakeels and
native officials throughout the Presi-
-dency. Of its principles I will speak
later on. The newspaper third in im-
-portance in the Presidency, and second
in importance among what I have defined
as native newspapers, is the Swadesha-
-mitran published at Madras

in Tamil at the same press and under strictly
same editorship as the Hindoo. It was start-
-ed on the 20th November, 1881. Its pro-
-prietor and editor is G. Soobramany Iyer
above mentioned. The circulation is the third
in the Presidency; and in estimating the
circulation of a paper published in the ver-
-nacular it is necessary to take into account
the wide prevalence of reading-rooms and
the habit of clubbing which is common
among natives for taking in such papers.
The Hindoo in English and the Swadesha-
-mitran in Tamil, both under the same
management and editorship, form together
a most powerful organ. I will mention
the progress of the Swadeshamitran and its
present tone later on. The People's Friend
published weekly at Madras in English
is the next in importance among native
newspapers. It was the immediate fore-
-runner of the Hindoo. It is owned and
edited by a Brahmin called Sadasiva Ra-

ne
ry cheap sheet, it circulates much among
students. As far as I know it has never
exceeded the bounds of moderation in the tone
of its utterances, and I will make no further
reference to it. On the West Coast there is
the Kerala Patrica, a Malayalam paper pub-
lished at Calicut with a large circulation;
it is strictly a paper of news, suited to the
conservative population of that coast, and
has very little concern with politics. It was
started in 1883. The inland Canarese country
has been served for about twelve years by
the Mysore Vrittanta Badhiny and the
Karnataca Praeanshica, the latter being in
diglott and managed in rather superior style.
These Canarese papers are expiring and will
probably next year not be in existence.
One reason for their decadence is probably
the rapid spread of the Tamil Press. The
Telugoo country is served by 5 newspapers,
of which however only two, the Andhra

Praeanshica published at Madras an strictly
Viraica Vardhany published at Rajahmundry return
have any circulation. These are both weeklies to be
The Andhra Praeanshica is owned by N. Lakshmi
Narasinga Row. B.A., a landed proprietor, & edited
and edited by A.C. Partasaurathy Naidoo science
an ex-Government servant. It shows a tend- (b) The
-ency to follow in the steps of the Hindoo and
and Swadeshamitran, and will be mentioned should
more particularly later on. The Viraica Vardhany both
is scarcely political, and occupies itself very much
considerably with the Hindoo re-marriage question
question. The chief Mahomedan papers of
are the Shums ool Akbar (vernacular weekly) ed.
the Jareeda e Rozgar (vernacular weekly), ly
and the Muslim Herald (English triweekly),
all published at Madras. Their dates of
origin were respectively 1858, 1875, 1884. The two
first have for vernacular papers a large
circulation, the largest next after the lead-
-ing Tamil papers. The Shums ool Akbar
is owned and edited by Mahomed Nady

Deen Khatauta Effendi. The Jareeda e
Izzar is owned and edited by Syed Moor-
-teza Sahib; it has a large constituency
in Hyderabad. The Muslim Herald is own-
-ed by Ahmed Mudeen Khan, and is a
paper without much character. These Maho-
-medan papers have been carefully examined.
Their tone is quite stationary and from the
Government point of view undeserving of comment.
It would serve no useful purpose for me to
mention more of the native papers. I believe
I have mentioned above all that are of
political or quasi-political importance.

5. In analysing the contents
of these papers there are three methods open.
One is to do what I have been doing during
the past few days, namely to examine the
papers myself in gross, and form as candid
an opinion as is practicable of their con-
-tents. For this general operation an op-
-portunity can seldom be found. The second
is what is done at fixed intervals by the

Translators to Government, namely to select
-worthy abstracts from the principal newspa-
in their different languages into the Secre-
-tariat, where they can be digested or other-
-wise treated. The third is to obtain tabular
returns drawn from a larger area and re-
-garding all the newspapers.

6. To begin with the last, I
must state that I do not think much can
be gained by the system of returns in its
present stage of organization. The Com-
-missioner of Police who sends in the prin-
-cipal return (that for Madras Town) says
in a letter to me, herewith enclosed, "for
"State purposes I do not consider my own
"returns to be trustworthy." He should be the
best judge, and I conceive his meaning to be
that the methods for getting the information
are too roundabout and too little organ-
-ized to give what is required by a Sec-
-retariat. In one respect I can state cer-
-tainly that these returns are of no use whate-

-ue point occurred to me in looking through the records and was the cause of my reference to Col: Weldon. It is that when once an entry has been made in the returns regarding a newspaper, that entry has been frequently continued from year to year without any check. This has been admittedly done in the case of the Madras Toiun newspapers. The error has apparently been either originated or perpetuated by a heading to a form which came down from the Government of India (see G.O. d/ 1st June 1885, No 1269, Public Confidential), which provided that new newspapers only should be returned with the annual report. Now a newspaper is not a stationary thing. In India especially the papers nearly always rise from small beginnings. Consequently to give information regarding it once at its birth is in reality to leave it to all intents and purposes thereafter unreturned. Any returns which are made on this subject should have

11 at any rate the merit of being strictly date. On the subject of newspaper returns generally I think that three things are to Kept in view. (a) The last column about and character cannot be returned adequa in two or three words; such concisene on this subject will give little information. (b) column relating to tone and character an those relating to proprietors and editors sho be actually filled in by some one having k Knowledge and judgment. Every one knows the natural tendency of reports drawn up i tabular shape to fall under the head of office-routine and to be cursorily treated. (c) The returns should be kept strictly current as above mentioned.

7. As to the Translators' Ab-stracts, that is no doubt the best practical means the Government have for acquainting themselves with the contents of the papers written in the vernacular. I have only to say about this that I think the weekly

-ve it to the Government of India on the subject might be made up in a more ser-viceable shape. The means of information is there, but I doubt whether it is so much utilized as it might be.

8. As regards the special per-usal of the newspapers which has just been made, the file of all the principal newspapers has been examined for 1886, 1885, and part of 1884. The remarks however at para 4 above practically reduces the limits of observation to a few. Extreme remarks are found only in the Hindoo and the Sand-eshamitran, and in a very small degree in the Andhra Prakasshica and Carnata Prakasshica. It is only necessary to men-tion extremes on the present occasion.

9. The contents of Indian News-papers may be classified under the heads of advertisements, news, editorial matter, and correspondence. Reporting, which is in a large English newspaper twice as much as

editorial matter, is here almost non-exi-I have reason to believe that the prac-of editors writing or inspiring their own correspondence is very prevalent in the na-press.

10. The editorial matter may be classified in different ways. The metho-taken in some of the reports which I ha-seen is to group the matter merely accord-ing to the titles of the subjects treated. As mentioned by me a short while ago in the course of official duties, I conceive a somewhat statistical method for the pur-poses contained in this note is to divide the matter into:- (a) Matter relating to affairs beyond the Presidency, (b) matters relating to internal affairs of the Presi-dency but without the introduction of any race question, and (c) matters con-cerning relations between the European rulers and the native ruled. A high percentage under the first head shows

-uct the paper takes some breadth of view. A high percentage under the second shows that the paper is not likely to contain matter with which the Government need concern itself. A high percentage under the third head shows that the paper deals with the most sensational part of news-paper functions, and in a country like this demands the close attention of Govern-ment. This analysis is rather a labor--ious process, but has been applied to four papers, the Hindoo, the Swadesha-mitran, the Carnautaca Pracanshica and the Shums ool Akbar, for the year 1886. The results, giving a liberal interpretation to heading 2, are the following:—

Name of paper	Heading 1.	Heading 2.	Heading 3.	
Hindoo	27.	26.	47.	= 100
Swadeshamitran	10.	45.	45.	
Carnautaca Pra--canshica.	33.	61.	6.	
Shums ool Akbar.	70.	18.	12.	

11. To come to the point without further delay, I have to say that both Hindoo and the Swadeshamitran are papers conducted on principles of rank sedition; and while they possess together numerically the same circulation as the Madras Mail, the principal paper conducted on European principles, they possess among the native population infinitely more influence. The Swad--eshamitran is not known to Englishmen, but it is the worst of the two papers in this respect. The Andhra Pracanshica has not adopted the same tone as these two papers, but appears to be in some danger of doing so. I shall verify these statements.

12. Seditious publication is defined for purposes of penal treatment under the criminal law in Sec: 124-A. Indian Penal Code, with its Explanation. The English law of seditious libel amounts to the same thing. Seditious publication is defined for pur--poses of the preventive measures contempla-

the Vernacular Press Act No. IX of 1878, India, in Section 3(a) of that Act. The definition is wider in the latter case than in the former, and consists in the publication of matter likely to excite dis-affection to the Government or antipathy between persons of different races &c. The popular view of seditious publication in this country is that of publication designedly intended to create disaffection against the British Government, and to create antipathy between the native races and the European administrators of the country. The definition under the Act of 1878 and the popular view practically coincide.

13. In estimating intent under the criminal law or likelihood of dis-affection &c being excited under the other law, it must be material to remember that this is an Asiatic country, whose inhabitants according to their own principles accord no license at all to vilify

in public established authority, and make no fine distinctions between the personality of highly placed officers and the Government which they represent. In the eyes of an Oriental to vilify the Governor of a Province who is the representative of the Crown is equivalent to vilifying the Government established by law. Whatever flaws a lawyer may find in this position for the purposes of law, it is undoubtedly the situation under which we live and the facts have to be considered in estimating the effect of the press on the native population who read it.

14. Another reflection is that a newspaper is rightly called "seditious" not only if it publishes every morning an article which oversteps the law as laid down in the Penal Code (a state of things not likely to occur unless in a time of open rebellion); but also when

gradually leads up to such a situation,
publishing say twenty articles just within
the line and occasionally a twenty-first
beyond it. Common-sense says that such
a paper is a seditious paper and is to be
judged by the occasional trespass beyond
the boundary.

15. While premising that the
best way to judge of the tone of a paper
is to take it as a whole, I here give
extracts with reference to the above ob-
-servations.

16. I regard the following
passages as of a nature leading up to
seditious utterances, though not actually
seditious :- (a) "We possess only the
"right of complaining in the newspapers
"and at assemblies, but we have not
"otherwise any title to constrain the Gov-
"-ernment to act according to our own
"view. If the country is governed by its

"own rulers, the people will rebel aga-
"the King who expends money in unne-
"wars and useless expeditions". (Swad-
-esha mitran, 27 September 1906) - (b) "Like
"a frog in the mouth of the snake, and
"like a soul caught in the hands of
"Yama, we, numbering 250 millions, become
"subject to the cruelty of some English
"officials having this mean quality, and
"waver. We have not the mouth (power) to
"ask Government "O Sirs, why do you
"oppress us so? what evil have we done?
"Not only do you take away with you
"enormously our country's money, but you
"not considering us to be men treat us
"like oxen and sheep, and not even
"giving us our own rights, make us
"slaves. Is this just?" We being so, is
"there any ground for saying that at any
"time we will raise up our heads? It is
"because we (our people) have not unan-
"-imity and other qualities like the pe

"with other countries that we swing in space
"without support." (Swadeshamitran, 6th
September, 1886.)

17. The newspapers rarely preach disaffection by abstract argument. They usually do so by attacking the head of the Government. With reference to what I have said above, I observe that every native would regard the following passages as seditious:— (a) "It is far bet-
"-ter to go to the forests and give up
"our bodies a prey to beasts, than live
"under such a government. Or, it will be
"well to flee to Pondicherry, Bombay,
"Calcutta, Ceylon and other places. To
"live under Mr Grant. Duff's rule is the
"fate of sinners who have no redemption.
"Though he is to go away in a few months,
"yet a day seems to pass as tediously as
"a year. What is to be done? How is
"it to be remedied? O wise men, unless

"you tell us a remedy, there is no rea-
"for the 40 millions of people in the
"Presidency. * * * If Mr Grant
"Duff is not recalled, it will appear
"to the people that the English power is
"cruel, and the people will become dis-
"-affected." (Swadeshamitran, 17th May, 1886.)
(b) "How do not the people suffer during
"the time of Mr Grant. Duff by the forest
"res-tions? a tax for grazing cattle,
"& of x for men walking in a forest, have
"originated during the time of Mr Grant.
"Duff! Shall the people of our country
"let off Mr Grant. Duff who has done
"so much harm?" (Swadeshamitran, 5th April
1886.)— (c) "During the last four years
"Mr Grant. Duff has done various harms
"to the people of this Presidency. We should
"proclaim them all. It is only those who
"persevere that win at last. The people of
"our country should hold to it fast,

"to accomplish the above-mentioned
"alchemy-like task." (Swadeshamitran,
5th April, 1886.) — (d) "It is only during
"the administration of Mr. Grant. Duff
"that a tax on grass in forests for the
"cattle and for people who collect there
"wood has been imposed. When Mr. Grant
"Duff is thus harassing us in several ways,
"how can we praise him?" (Andhra Pra-
-canshica No. 14 of 1886) — (e) "Is it in
"ignorance of the acts of injustice commit-
"-ted by Mr. Grant. Duff or through
"stupidity that our people are silent like
"dumb creatures?" (Andhra Pracanshica
No. 14 of 1886) — (f) "For the last four
"years Mr. Grant. Duff has done us acts
"of injustice and it is necessary that we
"should bring them to light." (Andhra
Pracanshica No. 14 of 1886) — (g) "Whatever
"Sir M. E. Grant. Duff may say on his
"own behalf or on behalf of his ad-

"-ministration, the people and ministe-
"rs of England assuredly will, when thinking
"of his 5 years administration, blush for
"him and weep tears, and exclaim 'Oh,
"base one!' Mr. Duff has as Governor of
"Madras disgraced the name and fame
"of the English people.' What wonder then
"if the natives of this country should
"curse him? The English in this country
"and in England ought to be glad that
"Sir M. E. Grant. Duff is returning to
"England without doing more evil." (Swad-
-eshamitran, 6th Nov. 1886).

18. I doubt whether the fol-
-lowing passages would not be regarded
as seditious even under the strictest legal
definition:— (a) "Like the Council of
"Dooryodhanan which sits in a corner,
"mutters, and thinks whose living shall
"we ruin, whose money shall we plunder,
"whose talee shall we cut, and whose

"the Government assemble Civilians who are
"like Saroony, consult with them and
"utterly ruin the people." (Swadeshamitran,
17 May, 1886.) — (b) "The economical, moral,
"and political evils of a foreign aristocracy
"of officials, planters, merchants, and
"bankers, are already a standing menace
"to the progress of the country. It is
"hopeless however, to persuade the
"Government to look at the matter in our
"light. We will have to fight it out in
"spite of the foreign aristocracy" (Hindoo,
April 14th, 1886.) — (c) "The hope that
"the people cherished that this [the con-
"-summation of benefits to India by Eng-
"-land] will be carried to the full has
"vanished like an empty dream. Everyone
"is fully aware of the evil done by the
"authorities in this country for nearly the
"last 25 years. There is consequently a

"a growing dis-satisfaction felt towa
"the Government, and when such rulers
"Lytton and Duff took up the governme
"of the country, this dis-satisfaction has
"increased a hundred-fold. The people
"England have no means of Knowing this
"They take for fact what the Governmen
"clothing falsehood in the garb of truth
"and vice versa, represent to them. They
"are therefore ignorant of the real truth
"This distich of the Nazanaur, viz, 'to a
"King, that which gives victory is not the
"spear, but the sceptre; even that should
"should be without a head,' the English
"interpret contrarily, and they will ac-
"-cording to the same distich obtain
"their reward. The Government Knowing
"that the natives are a meek people and
"will not come out openly but will
"murmur only in secret, have ventured
"to afflict them. They apparently do no

"with the proverb,— "if a tame beast gets
"frightened, the forests will not hold
"it." Have they begun to do injustice
"because they have the sole sway over
"India? It does not appear that the
"Government fear God in their actions.
"Do they take courage from the idea
"that while they a endowed with
"strength of body and mind, of what
"avail will divine power be against
"them, and if it existed, will it not
"have before this manifested itself."
(Swadeshamitran, 30 Oct., 1886)—(d) "The
"Government having on many occasions
"ascertained that its subjects are sleepy,
"is daily introducing harsh measures.
"Every measure introduced seems cal-
"-culated to suck the blood out of
"the people, when they are dumb. In
"very ancient days the rulers without

"being importuned showered benefits
"on the people. The people therefore
"had not the habit of importuning
"their rulers, and even now preserve
"the very same habit. Under this
"Government everything has to be
"asked for; and it is difficult
"even to obtain a thing even when
"asked for. If we had a Govern-
"-ment of our nation, it will be
"kind to us, but what kindness
"will the English feel for us,
"they being so totally different from
"us in every way." (Swadeshamitran,
6th Nov., 1886)—(e) "What is the
"difference between a savage who
"without mercy and unjustly murders
"wayfarers and plunders them, and

the existing Government Officers.? 28.

"The former appears glaringly cruel
"because he is illiterate, but as
"the latter are learned they ap-
"-pear as if they were not cruel;
"but their motives and their
"actions are the same in prin-
"-ciple. Even after this the
"Government with this costume
"to be evil. It will be hereafter
"difficult to enjoy even the bless-
"-ings which we now enjoy. after
"a few years more this country
"will doubtless have to be
"called 'Rama's Kingdom'!"
(Swadeshamitran, 6th Novem-
-ber, 1886.)

19. The passages given below come under the definition of passages calculated to create anti-pathy between the European and native race. This is a branch of the subject however where it is really useless to give extracts. I must rather point to the whole files of the Hindoo and Swa-deshamitran, papers which simply live by abuse of Anglo-Indians and every thing Anglo-Indian. It is not an under-current. Hostility is inculcated in almost every main article of the publications; and if the case being reversed a fiftieth part of a similar tone appeared in the journals which represent the Anglo-Indians, there would be universal out-cry and reprobation of the paper. The following however are extracts:— (a)

"Let every one well observe the deceit of
"some Englishmen in this country, who do good
"to one race and evil to another, so that there
"may be no unanimity among the people of
"this country but party-feeling prevail. (Swadesh-amitran, 6th September 1886.)— (b):—

"In Madras especially, Mr Grant Duff
"and his Councillors have made it impossible
"even for the worst habitual sycophants to
"speak of English officials as a class in terms
"of respect or praise. (Hindoo, April 3, 1886)—

(c) " The people have come to understand that
"after all, the officials care more for their
"own power and pay than for public interest and
"that their true friends are not the paid foreign
"servants of Government but those who have sprung
"from the same community and whose interests
"are identical with their own (Hindoo, April 3, 1886)—
(d) "Turn we our attention to whatever branch
"of the Governmental policy we please, whether in
"connection with the public service, taxation,
"trade, or foreign relations, the same discour-
"-aging spectacle meets the eye. In spite of our-
"-selves, of our efforts to put the most favorable
"construction on all that is being done, and the
"thousand and one plausible excuses and rea-
"-sons put forward by English statesmen in
"defence of their action, the conviction gradu-
"-ally steals upon us that the ruling power in
"its dealings towards India is actuated by a
"selfishness not troubled with any qualms
"of conscience, and that where the aggrandize-
"-ment of England and the dictates of rectitude

" clash, whatever conduces to the former is
"quietly adopted and given a color of justice
"by a course of untenable reasoning (Hindoo,
April 29, 1886.) — (e) — "We are aware that in
"the service there are a lot of peons and low-
"paid servants, who are not Europeans; but how
"is it in the higher ranks? Have not birth and
"backstairs influence, a great deal to do in
"giving decent official berth to a number of
"Englishmen who in England would not be
"considered worth their salt. (Hindoo, 29th April, 1886)
(f) " Is it not also true that sinecure ap-
-"pointments are maintained and sometimes
"created to find work for a few favored indivi-
-duals. What can be the reason for all this
"if it is not a desire on the part of the English
"Government to enrich its own countrymen
at the expense of India? (Hindoo, 29th April 1886)—
(g) "The wish is often father to the thought
"and we therefore know how to explain the
"statement of Anglo-Indians as to smallness of
"the change that has come over the people of
"this country. They may curse England for
"the lesson she has taught us both by example
"and precept. The seeds have fallen upon
"excellent soil, a people whose faculty of
"imitation has been repeatedly admired
(Hindoo, June 17, 1886.) — (h) : — From the

"present State of affairs people have reason
"to think that the British Government have gra=
"dually lost that sincere love and confidence
"which they entertained in 1857, towards the natives
"of India. This act showed that the British do
"not care to be just and equitable where their
"own interests are at stake. (Carnaula Bacaushica,
"January, 1886.):— (i)— "We want the Indian
"bureaucracy to be dragged out from behind
"the screen of secrecy that now covers its corrupt
"and selfish ambition". (Hindoo, July 8, 1886.)—
(j) "Some such arrangement will meet the
"wishes of Educated Indians, while it will con=
"=sult also the selfish timidity of those men
"who believe that unless Englishmen are re=
"=tained in the highest administrative posts,
"the country will fall back into a State of
"anarchy and rottenness from which it has
"been redeemed by the British Government.
(Hindoo, July 8, 1886.):—(K). — "There is only one
"limit to the employment of the natives, that is
"their fitness; and if this limit were recognized,
nine=

"ninety per cent of the places now held by Euro=
"peans would have to be conferred on them.
(Hindoo, August 14, 1886.)— (l). — "Many
"an Englishman entertains the delusion that
"for some reason or other, the people of India
"place unquestioning confidence in Englishmen,
"no matter what the character and motives
"of these latter maybe. No delusion can be
"more dangerous. The Indians have, we should
"rather say, had a great deal of confidence
"in Englishmen; but they had it, not be=
"=cause of the accident of their birth, but be=
"=cause they believed them to be honest and
"to be actuated by a sense of justice. But this
"belief is vanishing partly as the result of
"increasing enlightenment in the Community,
"and partly as the results of the degeneracy
"that has overtaken Anglo. Indian Adminis=
="=trators (Hindoo, 29th October 1886.):—
(m). — "That the people of this country should
"confide more in the genuine representatives
"of the English nation than in the degenerate
"specimens in India is not therefore surprising
(Hindoo, October 29th, 1886.— (n):— "The
"English forgetting the benefits they have derive
"from India and at the hands of the natives, sub=
="=ject the latter to various hardships, do not

"consider how to promote their welfare and
"their commerce, curtail their rights, impose
"burdensome taxes on them, and generally conduct
"themselves as if they do not govern India. The
"Hindoos have now begun to know that the actions
"of the English are unjust. What with the springing
"up of Associations and the free intercourse main-
=tained between various parts of the country, and
"what with the increase in the number of
"journals published and the diffusion of knowledge
"by means of them, the natives have come to under-
=stand what their own rights and what the
"rights of the Government are. They have lost con-
=fidence in the Proclamation promulgated when
"the Government of India passed into the hands
"of the Crown, & they find that the country is
"not governed in the terms set forth. The dis-sa-
="tisfaction hitherto felt but not expressed by
"the Hindoos, has now begun to be openly pro-
="claimed. There is not one Hindoo in all India
"but feels an aversion towards the English, and
"either proclaims it openly, or keeps grumbling

"in secret. (Swadeshabhimany, 6 Nov 1886).

20. As a passage which seems to me insidious, in spite of being contained in a con-=text of another tendency I quote the following I have noticed several similar during the last year:— "How long can the English "govern this country having such fear [the "fear of rebellion] before them? What can all "the English troops do if the natives but en-="tertain the desire to drive the English out "of the country? What can the English troops "in this country do if the natives should only "unite? (Swadeshamitran, 20 Nov. 1886.).—

21. I think the above extracts are sufficient to support my statement in para-=graph 10. I have to add that the papers are not by any means improving in this regard. On the contrary they are rapidly progressing (especially the Tamul Swadesha-=mitran) in hostility to Government. The difference between last year and this year in the case of the Tamul paper is striking.

22. As to practical conclusions to be drawn (if I am to be permitted to draw any) I will as a vehicle for expressing myself begin by commenting on some papers be-=longing to Bengal and Upper India which have recently come down to the Madras

Government from the Government of India (Enclo-
=sures to G. O. of this Government d 7 Sep: 1886, no
1868, Public Confidential). Those papers relate to
1885, and on the whole, laisser-aller views
are to be deduced from them as regards the
vernacular press. I cannot apply such views
to our own case and at the present date. Under
the title-heading of "Attacks by the Press on Euro-
=peans in India," the reporter for Upper India
uses in effect the following argument:—"It is
"not fair to take the utterances of the native press
"as those of responsible people". I can only say
that the Madras Editors perfectly know their
own responsibility and are fully alive to their
own very great and increasing power. Again
the same reporter says that the "tirades against
"Europeans are only stereotyped formulae."
But stereotyped or not, they are equally tirades.
Again, "in the incessant attacks against
"European officers, we may fairly believe that
"there is really no such extreme hostility as
"the expression would imply". I should be
giving

giving His Excellency very false information if
I said any thing to lead him to suppose that
there were the least grounds for this optimism.
There are none. I have stated what the papers
contain. The papers mean what they say.
And the people who read the papers, if
they do not go the same lengths of feeling as
the papers have at any rate nothing else
to read. This is not the time for optimism
but for facing the facts. Per contra to these
remarks I find the following observation
in the middle of the report of the reporter
on Bengalee newspapers, with which I do
thoroughly agree:— "if therefore any im-
="portance were to be attached to native pub-
="lic opinion, the tone and spirit of native
"newspapers would require to be watched,
"and it might be found necessary to adopt
"such measures as might enable native
"Editors to supply their readers with correct
"information, and healthy and legitimate
"criticism". Few people at the end of 1886
will doubt whether any importance is to be
attached to native public opinion, and the
writer's last sentence means the revival of
a preventive Press Censorship. That revival
is I consider Eminently to be desired for the

object of the administration is to heal the sore of foreign rule instead of allowing vitriol to be daily thrown upon it. In the words of my correspondent, the Police Commissioner, the constant dissemination of such papers as I have drawn attention to is the constant dissemination of moral poison.

23. The Madras Government were not consulted on the question whether the Vernacular Press Act should be repealed or retained, and I fancy they would find it difficult at short notice to acquire the material necessary for forming a comprehensive judgment on that difficult subject. Still less can I attempt personally to do more than stand on its confines. I will however, note some facts. When Lord Metcalfe in 1835 gave India a free Press, there was to all intents and purposes no native press, and the mutiny of 1857 had not occurred. The Vernacular Press Act of March 1878, based on the principle of preventive rather than of punitive measures of which latter all experience

shows can scarcely ever if ever be used) was introduced in the Vice-regal Council by an exhaustive series of Speeches showing the practical desirability of the measure under altered circumstances. The Despatch from the Secretary of State of January 1881, which called for repeal of the Vernacular Press Act founded the objection to it on the abstract principle that it was exceptional and contrary to the theory ruling such matters in England. The arguments for repeal in the Viceregal Council in 1881 may be said to have followed exactly the same line of reasoning as the Despatch. We are now approaching the year 1887, and the question is whether the circumstances will not soon be such that considerations of theory however good in themselves will have to be subordinated to practical considerations.

24. I will conclude by submitting my opinion that the real test of a country being able to carry the responsibility of an entirely free press is whether it possesses or not entirely free representative institutions. Until it can be said that a country is ready for one I do not see how it can be

H

[illegible] said that it is ready for the other.

Mss

2/12/86

24.

Chief Secretary's Office
22nd November, 1886.

My dear Weldon,

Will you be so good as to in-
-form me what your source of information for
the first seven columns of reports such as that
sent in by you on the 19th October 1886, No 59?

About the last column, it appears to me
that no particular attention has been given hi-
-therto to making sure that the information
(based I believe on Translators' reports) is the
latest available. For instance I should imag-
-ine that the last column of your 19th October
1886 was based for some of the newspapers on
information given by Tamil Translator as
far back as 23rd August 1885. Is this so?
The question of date for such remarks has
I believe been confused by certain instruc-
-tions given by the Government of India.

Your early reply would very much
oblige me.

Yours Sincerely
(sd) Charles Macleane.

City Police Office
Madras
24th November 1866.

My dear Macleane,

Upon D.O. 22 Nov: in re
Vernacular Press.

Columns 1 to 5 of our return are made out from the Register of Press Declarations and the returns furnished by Press Proprietors filed in this Office. Columns 6 & 7 are the reports made by Divisional Inspectors. For Column 8, we are dependent on the Government Translators to whom we refer for information. I find that such reference has this year been made only in regard to newspapers freshly started during the year and that in other cases the entries were simply repeated from previous Reports.

We have no Staff, as we ought to have, competent to undertake such important work as the supervision of the Sale and dis= =tribution of popular moral poison.

For State purposes I do not consider our return is trustworthy. My time and that of my Assistant is too much taken up by petty details to allow of proper attention to really grave concerns.

Yours Sincerely
(Sd) T. Weldon.

C. D. Macleane Esq. C.S.

[10]

DEPARTMENT.

SUBJECT.

Vote on Madras native newspapers

For

Pol & Con 253/4 dg-12-86

Confidential

Minute by H.E. The Governor

It is highly probable that the question as to the course to be adopted with reference to the seditious portion of the Indian Press may have to be seriously considered in the time of my successor, and I desire to put on record the fact that I consider that that question cannot be affected in any way whatsoever by arguments drawn from England or any other self-governing country.

Our rule here, however beneficent, is a foreign rule, and a foreign rule it will remain if we stay here 10000 years.

For the present it is perfectly easy to treat the utterances of the Hindu and other such papers with

perfect contempt — I have always done so — but with every month that passes the evil will increase, and, sooner or later, amount to a grave political danger.

I commend the remark of Dr Macleane to the attention of my successor, but I disagree with him in believing in the efficacy of a preventive censorship. If things go on as they have been going for some time, some Penal enactment, which shall give the Supreme Government the power of punishing press offences sharply and steadily without any of the theatrical pomp which is apt to attend press prosecutions and which usually has the effect of increasing the circulation of the paper prosecuted, will become indispensable.

This country must be governed, partly by force, and partly by policy, chiefly by the latter; but to govern it by force and impolicy, that is, to allow disaffection to be preached with the most perfect impunity, provided only some decent care is used in the turn of the expression, while we hold ourselves ready to repress by arms that sedition when it is translated into rebellion, is a mad and dangerous course for a race which is outnumbered by something not unlike a thousand to one.

For many purposes India is a Camp or a ship of war. The principles upon which a camp or a ship of war must be governed are not those on which a democracy of free citizens governs itself.

Of two things, one. Either we must repress such language as is found in the seditious press as soon as it is thought to be becoming really dangerous, or we must accept the logical conclusion of the principles we are now applying to that press and go elsewhere.

Dec 3 1880.

MEMORANDUM.

I have been desired by His Excellency the Governor to put down such notes as may occur to me regarding the present state of the Native Press of the Presidency. I fear that I have little to say as compared with the importance of the subject. I will however collect a few facts and co-ordinate a few ideas; as far as the records are concerned the facts are certainly scattered, and the subject by no means lies under the hand. I will give some extracts and new translations from the papers, which will have at any rate the merit of being an exact picture of the original. And I will submit some comments of my own on the general situation.

2. For technical purposes the newspapers which are published in the vernacular languages are regarded as something distinct from newspapers, owned and edited by natives and circulated principally among natives, but published in English. This distinction was maintained in the legislative action of 1878, and it may be that practically the language basis was the only one which could be taken on that occasion and for such an object. Still the distinction means nothing from the point of view of what natives think of Europeans, and as that is the main consideration which I have in my own mind at the present moment I will here define the Native Press according to its ownership, editorship, and circulation, and not according to the language of appearance.

3. There are altogether some 39 native newspapers in the Presidency; excluding a number of petty sheets, religious tracts, and similar publications not of an influential nature. The numbers are approximately as follows according to the language of appearance:—English 6, Tamul 13, Teloogoo 5, Canarese 4, Malayalam 5, Hindostany 6. The following are the papers which have most political influence:—the *Hindoo* (English), the *Swadeshamitrau* (Tamul), the *People's Friend* (English), the *Kerala Patrica* (Malayalam), the *Carnautaca Pracaushica* (Canarese), the *Andhara Pracaushica* (Teloogoo), the *Shums-ool-Acbar* (Hindostany), the *Jareeda-e-Rozgar* (Hindostany).

4. The affairs of the Vernacular Press have so very lately been taken up in a serious manner by the Government that there is but little statistical information available about the papers just named. The *Hindoo* is a Madras paper published in English, owned by two Bramins named M. Veeraraghavacharry, B.A., and G. Soobramany Iyer, B.A. The latter is also the editor. It was originally a weekly and has become a tri-weekly. Its circulation is larger than that of any other paper in the Presidency except the *Madras Mail*. The *Madras Times* which used to be above it in circulation has fallen below it. It may be said that the *Hindoo* and the *Madras Mail* between them command the market; the former being the native organ, and the latter the European organ. The *Hindoo* circulates to all the native reading-rooms, and is the favorite paper of the Vakils and native officials throughout the Presidency. Of its principles I will speak later on. The newspaper third in importance in the Presidency, and second in importance among what I have defined as native newspapers, is the *Swadeshamitrau*. This is published at Madras in Tamul at the same Press and under the same editorship as the *Hindoo*. It was started on the 20th November 1881. Its proprietor and editor is G. Soobramany Iyer above mentioned. The circulation is the third in the Presidency; and in estimating the circulation of a paper published in the vernacular it is necessary to take into account the wide prevalence of reading-rooms and the habit of clubbing which is common among natives for taking in such papers. The *Hindoo* in English and the *Swadeshamitrau* in Tamul, both under the same management and editorship, form together a most powerful organ. I will mention ...progress of the *Swadeshamitrau* and its present tone later on. The *People's* ...*nd* published weekly at Madras in English is the next in importance among ...ve newspapers. It was the immediate forerunner of the *Hindoo*. It is owned ...l edited by a Bramin called Narasiah. Being a very cheap sheet, it circulates ...ch among students. As far as I know it has never exceeded the bounds of

moderation in the tone of its utterances; and I will make no further reference to it. On the West Coast there is the *Kerala Patrica*, a Malayalam paper published at Calicut with a large circulation; it is strictly a paper of news, suited to the conservative population of that coast, and has very little concern with politics. It was started in 1883. The inland Canarese country has been served for about twelve years by the *Mysore Vrittaunta Bodhiny* and the *Carnautaca Pracaushica*, the latter being in diglott and managed in rather superior style. These Canarese papers are expiring and will probably next year not be in existence. One reason for their decadence is probably the rapid spread of the Tamul Press. The Teloogoo country is served by five newspapers, of which however only two, the *Andhra Pracaushica* published at Madras and the *Vivaica Vardhany* published at Rajahmundry, have any circulation. These are both weeklies. The *Andhra Pracaushica* is owned by N. Narasinga Row, B.A., a landed proprietor, and edited by A. C. Partasaurathy Naidoo an ex-Government servant. It shows a tendency to follow in the steps of the *Hindoo* and *Swadeshimitrau*, and will be mentioned more particularly later on. The *Vivaica Vardhany* is scarcely political, and occupies itself very considerably with the Hindoo Re-marriage Question. The chief Mahomedan papers are the *Shums-ool-Acbar* (vernacular weekly), the *Jareeda-e-Rozgar* (vernacular weekly), and the *Muslim Herald* (English triweekly), all published at Madras. Their dates of origin were respectively 1858, 1875, 1884. The two first have for vernacular papers a large circulation, the largest next after the leading Tamul papers. The *Shums-ool-Acbar* is owned and edited by Mahomed Naseer ood Deen Ghataula Effendi. The *Jareeda-e-Rozgar* is owned and edited by Syed Moorteza Sahib; it has a large constituency in Hyderabad. The *Muslim Herald* is owned by Ahmed Moodeen Khan, and is a paper without much character. These Mahomedan papers have been carefully examined. Their tone is quite stationary and from the Government point of view undeserving of comment. It would serve no useful purpose for me to mention more of the native papers. I believe I have mentioned above all that are of political or *quasi*-political importance.

5. In analysing the contents of these papers there are three methods open. One is to do what I have been doing during the past few days, namely, to examine the papers myself in gross, and form as candid an opinion as is practicable of their contents. For this general operation an opportunity can seldom be found. The second is what is done at fixed intervals by the Translators to Government, namely, to send noteworthy abstracts from the principal newspapers in their different languages into the Secretariat, where they can be digested or otherwise treated. The third is to obtain tabular returns drawn from a larger area and regarding all the newspapers.

6. To begin with the last, I must state that I do not think much can be gained by the system of returns in its present stage of organisation. The Commissioner of Police who sends in the principal return (that for Madras Town) says in a letter to me, herewith enclosed, "for State purposes I do not consider my own return to be trustworthy." He should be the best judge, and I conceive his meaning to be that the methods for getting the information are too roundabout and too little organised to give what is required by a Secretariat. In one respect I can state certainly that these returns are of no use whatever. The point occurred to me in looking through the records and was the cause of my reference to Colonel Weldon. It is that when once an entry has been made in the return regarding a newspaper that entry has been frequently continued from year to year without any check. This has been admittedly done in the case of the Madras Town newspapers. The error has apparently been either originated or perpetuated by a heading to a form which came down from the Government of India (see G.O., dated 1st June 1885, No. 1269, Public, Confidential), which provided that *new* newspapers only should be returned with the annual report. Now a newspaper is not a stationary thing. In India especially the papers nearly always rise from small beginnings. Consequently to give information regarding it once at its birth is in reality to leave it to all intents and purposes thereafter unreturned. Any returns which are made on this subject should have at any rate the merit of being strictly up to date. On

the subject of newspaper returns generally I think that three things are to be kept in view:—

(*a*) The last column about tone and character cannot be returned adequately in two or three words; such conciseness on this subject will give little information.

(*b*) The column relating to tone and character and those relating to proprietors and editors should be actually filled in by some one having both knowledge and judgment. Every one knows the natural tendency of reports drawn up in tabular shape to fall under the head of office routine and to be cursorily treated.

(*c*) The returns should be kept strictly current as above mentioned.

7. As to the Translator's Abstracts, that is no doubt the best practical means the Government have for acquainting themselves with the contents of the papers written in the vernacular. I have only to say about this that I think the weekly budget to the Government of India on the subject might be made up in a more serviceable shape. The means of information is there, but I doubt whether it is so much utilised as it might be.

8. As regards the special perusal of the newspapers which has just been made, the file of all the principal newspapers has been examined for 1886, 1885, and part of 1884. The remarks however at paragraph 4 above practically reduces the limits of observation to a few. Extreme remarks are found only in the *Hindoo* and the *Swadeshamitrau*, and in a very small degree in the *Andhra Pracaushica* and *Carnautaca Pracaushica*. It is only necessary to mention extremes on the present occasion.

9. The contents of Indian newspapers may be classified under the heads of advertisements, news, editorial matter, and correspondence. Reporting, which is in a large English newspaper twice as much as editorial matter, is here almost non-existent. I have reason to believe that the practice of editors writing or inspiring their own correspondence is very prevalent in the Native Press.

10. The editorial matter may be classified in different ways. The method taken in some of the reports which I have seen is to group the matter merely according to the titles of the subjects treated. As mentioned by me a short while ago in the course of official duties, I conceive a somewhat statistical method for the purposes contained in this note is to divide the matter into:—

(*a*) Matters relating to affairs beyond the Presidency;

(*b*) Matters relating to internal affairs of the Presidency but without the introduction of any race question; and

(*c*) Matters concerning relations between the European rulers and the native ruled.

A high per-centage under the first head shows that the paper takes some breadth of view. A high per-centage under the second shows that the paper is not likely to contain matter with which the Government need concern itself. A high per-centage under the third head shows that the paper deals with the most sensational part of newspaper functions, and in a country like this demands the close attention of Government. This analysis is rather a laborious process, but has been applied to four papers, the *Hindoo*, the *Swadeshamitrau* the *Carnautaca Pracaushica* and the *Shums-ool-Acbar*, for the year 1886. The results, giving a liberal interpretation to heading 2, are the following:—

Name of paper.	Heading 1.	Heading 2.	Heading 3.	—
"Hindoo"	27	26	47	100
"Swadeshamitran"	10	45	45	
"Carnautaca Pracaushca" ..	33	61	6	
"Shums-ool-Acbar"	70	18	12	

11. To come to the point without further delay, I have to say that both the *Hindoo* and the *Swadeshamitrau* are papers conducted on principles of *rank sedition;* and while they possess together numerically the same circulation as the *Madras Mail*, the principal paper conducted on European principles, they possess among the native population infinitely more influence. The *Swadeshamitrau* is not known to Englishmen, but it is the worst of the two papers in this respect. The *Andhra Pracaushica* has not adopted the same tone as these two papers, but appears to be in some danger of doing so. I shall verify these statements.

12. Seditious publication is defined for purposes of penal treatment under the Criminal Law in Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, with its explanation. The English Law of seditious libel amounts to the same thing. Seditious publication is defined for purposes of the preventive measures contemplated in the Vernacular Press Act, No. IX of 1878, India, in Section 3 (*a*) of that Act. The definition is wider in the latter case than in the former, and consists in the publication of matter likely to excite disaffection to the Government or antipathy between persons of different races, &c. The popular view of seditious publication in this country is that of publication designedly intended to create disaffection against the British Government, and to create antipathy between the native races and the European administrators of the country. The definition under the Act of 1878 and the popular view practically coincide.

13. In estimating intent under the criminal law or likelihood of disaffection, &c., being excited under the other law, it must be material to remember that this is an Asiatic country, whose inhabitants according to their own principles accord no license at all to vilify in public established authority, and make no fine distinctions between the personality of highly-placed officers and the Government which they represent. Thus in the eyes of an oriental to vilify the Governor of a Province, who is the representative of the Crown, is equivalent to vilifying the Government established by law. Whatever flaws a lawyer may find in this position for the purposes of law, it is undoubtedly the situation under which we live and the facts have to be considered in estimating the effect of the Press on the native population who read it.

14. Another reflection is that a newspaper is rightly called "seditious" not only if it publishes every morning an article which oversteps the law as laid down in the Penal Code (a state of things not likely to occur unless in a time of open rebellion); but also when it gradually leads up to such a situation, publishing say twenty articles just within the line and occasionally a twenty-first beyond it. Commonsense says that such a paper is a seditious paper and is to be judged by the occasional trespass beyond the boundary.

15. While premising that the best way to judge of the tone of a paper is to take it as a whole, I here give extracts with reference to the above observations.

16. I regard the following passages as of a nature leading up to seditious utterances, though not actually seditious:—

(*a*) "We possess only the right of complaining in the newspapers and at assemblies, but we have not otherwise any title to constrain the Government to act according to our own view. If the country is governed by its own ruler, the people will rebel against the king who expends money in useless wars and useless expeditions." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 27th September 1886.)

(*b*) "Like a frog in the mouth of the snake, and like a soul caught in the hands of Yama, we, numbering 250 millions, become subject to the cruelty of some English officials having this mean quality, and waver. We have not the mouth (power) to ask Government 'O Sirs, why do you oppress us so? What evil have we done? Not only do you take away with you enormously our country's money, but you not considering us to be men treat us like oxen and sheep, and not even giving us our own rights, make us slaves. Is this just?' We being so, is there any ground for saying that at any time we will raise up our heads? It is because we (our people) have not unanimity and other qualities like the people of other countries that we swing in space without support." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 6th September 1886.)

17. The newspapers rarely preach disaffection by abstract argument. They usually do so by attacking the head of the Government. With reference to what

I have said above, I observe that every native would regard the following passages as seditious:—

(*a*) "It is far better to go to the forests and give up our bodies a prey to beasts, than live under such a Government. Or, it will be well to flee to Pondicherry, Bombay, Calcutta, Ceylon and other places. To live under Mr. Grant Duff's rule is the fate of sinners who have no redemption. Though he is to go away in a few months, yet a day seems to pass as tediously as a year. What is to be done? How is it to be remedied? O wise men, unless you tell us a remedy, there is no redemption for the 40 millions of people in the Presidency * * *. If Mr. Grant Duff is not recalled, it will appear to the people that the English power is cruel, and the people will become disaffected." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 17th May 1886.)

(*b*) "How do not the people suffer during the time of Mr. Grant Duff by the forest restrictions? A tax for grazing cattle, a tax for men walking in a forest, have originated during the time of Mr. Grant Duff! Shall the people of our country let off Mr. Grant Duff who has done so much harm?" (*Swadeshamitrau*, 5th April 1886).

(*c*) "During the last four years Mr. Grant Duff has done various harms to the people of this Presidency. We should proclaim them all. It is only those who persevere that win at last. The people of our country should hold to it fast, and accomplish the above-mentioned alchemy-like task." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 5th April 1886).

(*d*) "It is only during the administration of Mr. Grant Duff that a tax on grass in forests for the cattle and for people who collect there wood has been imposed. When Mr. Grant Duff is thus harassing us in several ways, how can we praise him?" (*Andhra Pracaushica*, No. 14 of 1886).

(*e*) "Is it in ignorance of the acts of injustice committed by Mr. Grant Duff or through stupidity that our people are silent like dumb creatures?" (*Andhra Pracaushica*, No. 14 of 1886).

(*f*) "For the last four years Mr. Grant Duff has done us acts of injustice and it is necessary that we should bring them to light." (*Andhra Pracaushica*, No. 14 of 1886).

(*g*) "Whatever Sir M. E. Grant Duff may say on his own behalf or on behalf of his administration, the people and ministers of England assuredly will, when thinking of his five years' administration, blush for him and weep tears, and exclaim 'Oh, base one! Mr. Duff has as Governor of Madras disgraced the name and fame of the English people.' What wonder then if the natives of this country should curse him? The English in this country and in England ought to be glad that Sir M. E. Grant Duff is returning to England without doing more evil." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 6th November 1886.)

18. I doubt whether the following passages would not be regarded as seditious even under the strictest legal definition:—

(*a*) "Like the Council of Dooryodhanan which sits in a corner, mutters, and thinks whose living shall we ruin, whose money shall we plunder, whose talee shall we cut, and whose kingdom shall we take by force, the Government assemble Civilians who are like Sacoony, consult with them and utterly ruin the people." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 17th May 1886.)

(*b*) "The economical, moral, and political evils of a foreign aristocracy of officials, planters, merchants, and bankers, are already a standing menace to the progress of the country. It is hopeless however, to persuade the Government to look at the matter in our light. We will have to fight it out in spite of the foreign aristocracy." (*Hindoo*, April 14th, 1886).

(*c*) "The hope that the people cherished that this (the continuation of benefits to India by England) will be carried to the full has vanished like an empty dream. Every one is fully aware of the evil done by the authorities in this country for nearly the last twenty-five years. There is consequently a growing dissatisfaction felt towards the Government, and when such rulers as Lytton and Duff took up the government of the country, this dissatisfaction has increased a hundredfold. The people in England have no means of knowing this. They take for fact what the Government, clothing falsehood in the garb of truth and *vice versâ*, represent to them. They are therefore ignorant of the real truth. This distich of the Nayanaur, viz., 'to a king, that which gives victory is not the spear, but the septre; even that should be without a bend,' the English interpret contrarily, and they will according to the same distich obtain their reward. The Government knowing that the natives are a meek people and will not come out openly but will murmur only in secret, have ventured to afflict them. They apparently do not know the proverb,—'If a tame beast gets frightened, the forests will not hold it.' Have they begun to do injustice because they have the sole sway over India? It does not appear that the Government fear God in their actions. Do they take courage from the idea that while they are endowed with strength of body and mind, of what avail will divine power be against them, and if it existed, will it not have before this manifested itself." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 30th October 1886.)

(*d*) "The Government having on many occasions ascertained that its subjects are sleepy, is daily introducing harsh measures. Every measure introduced seems calculated to suck the blood out of the people, when they are dumb. In very ancient days the rulers without being importuned showered benefits on the people. The people therefore had not the habit of importuning their rulers, and even now preserve the very same habit. Under this Government everything has to be asked for; and it is difficult even to obtain a thing even when asked for. If we had a Govern-

ment of our nation, it will be kind to us, but what kindness will the English feel for us, they being so totally different from us in every way." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 6th November 1886).

(*e*) "What is the difference between a savage who without mercy and unjustly murders wayfarers and plunders them, and the existing Government officers? The former appears glaringly cruel because he is illiterate, but as the latter are learned they appear as if they were not cruel; but their motives and their actions are the same in principle. Even after this the Government will thus continue to be evil. It will be hereafter difficult to enjoy even the blessings which we now enjoy. After a few years more this country will doubtless have to be called 'Rama's Kingdom!'" (*Swadeshamitrau*, 6th November 1886.)

19. The passages given below come under the definition of passages calculated to create antipathy between the European and Native races. This is a branch of the subject however where it is really useless to give extracts. I must rather point to the whole files of the *Hindoo* and *Swadeshamitrau* papers which simply live by abuse of Anglo-Indians and everything Anglo-Indians. It is not an undercurrent. Hostility is inculcated in almost every main article of the publications; and if the case being reversed a fiftieth part of a similar tone appeared in the journals which represent Anglo-Indians, there would be universal outcry and reprobation of the paper. The following however are extracts:—

(*a*) "Let every one well observe the deceit of some Englishmen in this country, who do good to one race and evil to another, so that there may be no unanimity among the people of this country but party-feeling prevail." (*Swadeshamitrau*, 6th September 1886.)

(*b*) "In Madras especially, Mr. Grant Duff and his Councillors have made it impossible even for the worst habitual sycophants to speak of English officials as a class in terms of respect or praise." (*Hindoo*, April 3rd, 1886.)

(*c*) "The people have come to understand that after all, the officials care more for their own power and pay than for public interest and that their true friends are not the paid foreign servants of Government but those who have sprung from the same community and whose interests are identical with their own." (*Hindoo*, April 3rd, 1886.)

(*d*) "Turn we our attention to whatever branch of the Government policy we please, whether in connection with the public service, taxation, trade, or foreign relations, the same discouraging spectacle meets the eye. In spite of ourselves, of our efforts to put the most favorable construction on all that is being done, and the thousand and one plausible excuses and reasons put forward by English statesmen in defence of their action, the conviction gradually steals upon us that the ruling power in its dealings towards India is actuated by a selfishness not troubled with any qualms of conscience, and that where the aggrandizement of England and the dictates of rectitude clash, whatever conduces to the former is quietly adopted and given a color of justice by a course of untenable reasoning." (*Hindoo*, April 29th, 1886).

(*e*) "We are aware that in the service there are a lot of peons and low-paid servants, who are not Europeans; but how is it in the higher ranks? Have not birth and backstairs influence, a great deal to do in giving decent official berth to a number of Englishmen who in England would not be considered worth their salt." (*Hindoo*, 29th April 1886).

(*f*) "Is it not also true that sinecure appointments are maintained and sometimes created to find work for a few favored individuals? What can be the reason for all this if it is not a desire on the part of the English Government to enrich its own countrymen at the expense of India?" (*Hindoo*, 29th April 1886).

(*g*) "The wish is often father to the thought, and we therefore know how to explain the statement of Anglo-Indians as to smallness of the change that has come over the people of this country. They may curse England for the lesson she has taught us both by example and precept. The seeds have fallen upon excellent soil, a people whose faculty of imitation has been repeatedly admired." (*Hindoo*, June 17th, 1886).

(*h*) "From the present state of affairs people have reason to think that the British Government have gradually lost that sincere love and confidence which they entertained in 1857, towards the natives of India. This act showed that the British do not care to be just and equitable where their own interests are at stake." (*Carnautaca Pracaushica*, 11th January 1886.)

(*i*) "We want the Indian bureaucracy to be dragged out from behind the screen of secrecy that now covers its corrupt and selfish ambition." (*Hindoo*, July 8th, 1886).

(*j*) "Some such arrangement will meet the wishes of educated Indians, while it will consult also the selfish timidity of those men who believe that unless Englishmen are retained in the highest administrative posts, the country will fall back into a state of anarchy and rottenness from which it has been redeemed by the British Government." (*Hindoo*, July 8th, 1886).

(*k*) "There is only one limit to the employment of the natives, that is, their fitness; and if this limit were recognised, ninety per cent. of the places now held by Europeans would have to be conferred on them." (*Hindoo*, August 14th, 1886).

(*l*) "Many an Englishman entertains the delusion that for some reason or other, the people of India place unquestioning confidence in Englishmen, no matter what the character and motives of these latter may be. No delusion can be more dangerous. The Indians have, we should rather say, had a great deal of confidence in Englishmen; but they had it, not because of the

accident of their birth, but because they believed them to be honest and to be actuated by a sense of justice. But this belief is vanishing partly as the result of increasing enlightenment in the community, and partly as the result of the degeneracy that has overtaken Anglo-Indian administrators." (*Hindoo*, 29th October 1886.)

(*m*) "That the people of this country should confide more in the genuine representatives of the English nation than in the degenerate specimens in India is not therefore surprising." (*Hindoo*, October 29th, 1886.)

(*n*) "The English forgetting the benefits they have derived from India and at the hands of the natives, subject the latter to various hardships, do not consider how to promote their welfare and their commerce, curtail their rights, impose burdensome taxes on them, and generally conduct themselves as if they do not govern India. The Hindoos have now begun to know that the actions of the English are unjust. What with the springing up of associations and the free intercourse maintained between various parts of the country, and what with the increase in the number of journals published and the diffusion of knowledge by means of them, the natives have come to understand what their own rights and what the rights of the Government are. They have lost confidence in the proclamation promulgated when the Government of India passed into the hands of the Crown, as they find that the country is not governed in the terms set forth. The dissatisfaction hitherto felt, but not expressed by the Hindoos, has now begun to be openly proclaimed. There is not one Hindoo in all India but feels an aversion towards the English, and either proclaims it openly, or keeps grumbling in secret." (*Swadeshabhimauny*, 6th November 1886.)

20. As a passage which seems to me insidious, in spite of being contained in a context of another tendency I quote the following. I have noticed several similar during the last year:—"How long can the English govern this country having such fear (the fear of rebellion) before them? What can all the English troops do if the natives but entertain the desire to drive the English out of the country? What can the English troops in this country do if the natives should only unite?" (*Swadeshamitrau*, 20th November 1886.)

21. I think the above extracts are sufficient to support my statement in para. 10. I have to add that the papers are not by any means improving in this regard. On the contrary they are rapidly progressing (especially the Tamul *Swadeshamitrau*) in hostility to Government. The difference between last year and this year in the case of the Tamul paper is striking.

22. As to practical conclusions to be drawn (if I am to be permitted to draw any) I will as a vehicle for expressing myself begin by commenting on some papers belonging to Bengal and Upper India which have recently come down to the Madras Government from the Government of India (enclosures to G.O. of this Government, dated 7th September 1886, No. 1868, Public, Confidential). Those papers relate to 1885, and on the whole, *laisser-aller* views are to be deduced from them as regards the Vernacular Press. I cannot apply such views to our own case and at the present date. Under the title-heading of "Attacks by the Press on Europeans in India," the Reporter for Upper India uses in effect the following argument:—"It is not fair to take the utterances of the Native Press as those of responsible people. I can only say that the Madras Editors perfectly know their own responsibility and are fully alive to their own very great and increasing power." Again, the same Reporter says that the "tirades against Europeans are only stereotyped formulæ." But stereotyped or not, they are equally tirades. Again, "in the incessant attacks against European officers, we may fairly believe that there is really no such extreme hostility as the expression would imply." I should be giving His Excellency very false information if I said anything to lead him to suppose that there were the least grounds for this optimism. There are none. I have stated what the papers contain. The papers mean what they say. And the people who read the papers, if they do not go the same lengths of feeling as the papers have at any rate nothing else to read. This is not the time for optimism but for facing the facts. *Per contra* to these remarks I find the following observation in the middle of the report of the Reporter on Bengallee newspapers, with which I do thoroughly agree:—"If therefore any importance were to be attached to native public opinion, the tone and spirit of native newspapers would require to be watched, and it might be found necessary to adopt such measures as might enable native editors to supply their readers with correct information, and healthy and legitimate criticism." Few people at the end of 1886 will doubt whether any importance is to be attached to native public opinion, and the writer's last sentence means the revival of a preventive Press Censorship. That revival is I consider eminently to be desired if the object of the administration is to heal the sore of foreign rule

instead of allowing vitriol to be daily thrown upon it. In the words of my correspondent, the Police Commissioner, the constant dissemination of such papers as I have drawn attention to is the constant dissemination of moral poison.

23. The Madras Government were not consulted on the question whether the Vernacular Press Act should be repealed or retained, and I fancy they would find it difficult at short notice to acquire the material necessary for forming a comprehensive judgment on that difficult subject. Still less can I attempt personally to do more than stand on its confines. I will however, note some facts. When Lord Metcalfe in 1835 gave India a free Press, there was to all intents and purposes no Native Press, and the mutiny of 1857 had not occurred. The Vernacular Press Act of March 1878, based on the principle of preventive rather than of punitive measures (which latter all experience shows can scarcely ever if ever be used) was introduced in the Viceregal Council by an exhaustive series of speeches showing the practical desirability of the measure under altered circumstances. The Despatch from the Secretary of State of January 1881, which called for repeal of the Vernacular Press Act founded the objection to it on the abstract principle that it was exceptional and contrary to the theory ruling such matters in England. The arguments for repeal in the Viceregal Council in 1881 may be said to have followed exactly the same line of reasoning as the Despatch. We are now approaching the year 1887, and the question is whether the circumstances will not soon be such that considerations of theory however good in themselves will have to be subordinated to practical considerations.

24. I will conclude by submitting my opinion that the real test of a country being able to carry the responsibility of an entirely free Press is whether it possesses or not entirely free representative institutions. Until it can be said that a country is ready for one I do not see how it can be said that it is ready for the other.

2nd December 1886. (Signed) C. D. MACLEANE.

Demi-official letter from Dr. C. D. MACLEANE, C.S., to Colonel T. WELDON, Commissioner of Police, dated 22nd November 1886.

Will you be so good as to inform me what your source of information for the first seven columns of reports such as that sent in by you on the 19th October 1886, No. 59?

About the last column, it appears to me that no particular attention has been given hitherto to making sure that the information (based I believe on Translators' reports) is the *latest available*. For instance I should imagine that the last column of your 19th October 1886 was based for some of the newspapers on information given by Tamul Translator as far back as 23rd August 1885. Is this so? The question of date for such remarks has I believe been confused by certain instructions given by the Government of India.

Your early reply would very much oblige me.

Demi-official letter from Colonel T. WELDON, Commissioner of Police, to Dr. C. D. MACLEANE, C.S., dated Madras, 24th November 1886.

Your demi-official, 22nd November, *in re* Vernacular Press.

Columns 1 to 5 of our return are made out from the Register of Press Declarations and the returns furnished by Press proprietors filed in this office. Columns 6 and 7 are the reports made by Divisional Inspectors. For column 8, we are dependent on the Government Translators, to whom we refer for information. I find that such reference has this year been made only in regard to newspapers *freshly started* during the year, and that in other cases, the entries were simply repeated from previous reports.

We have no staff, as we ought to have, competent to undertake such important work as the supervision of the sale and distribution of popular moral poison.

For State purposes, I do not consider our return is trustworthy. My time and that of my Assistant is too much taken up by petty details to allow of proper attention to really grave concerns.

MINUTE BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

It is highly probable that the question as to the course to be adopted with reference to the seditious portion of the Indian Press may have to be seriously considered in the time of my successor, and I desire to put on record the fact that I consider that that question cannot be affected in any way whatsoever by arguments drawn from England or any other self-governing country.

2. Our rule here, however beneficent, is a foreign rule, and a foreign rule it will remain if we stay here 10,000 years.

3. For the present it is perfectly easy to treat the utterances of the *Hindu* and other such papers with perfect contempt,—I have always done so; but with every month that passes, the evil will increase, and, sooner or later, amount to a grave political danger.

4. I commend the remarks of Dr. Macleane to the attention of my successor, but I disagree with him in believing in the efficacy of a preventive censorship. If things go on as they have been going for some time, some penal enactment, which shall give the Supreme Government the power of punishing Press offences sharply and sternly without any of the theatrical pomp, which is apt to attend Press prosecutions, and which usually has the effect of increasing the circulation of the paper prosecuted, will become indispensable.

5. This country must be governed, partly by force, and partly by policy, chiefly by the latter; but to govern it by force and impolicy, that is, to allow disaffection to be preached with the most perfect impunity, provided only some decent care is used in the turn of the expression, while we hold ourselves ready to repress by arms that sedition when it is translated into rebellion, is a mad and dangerous course for a race which is out-numbered by something not unlike a thousand to one.

6. For many purposes India is a camp or a ship of war. The principles upon which a camp or a ship of war must be governed are not those on which a democracy of free citizens governs itself.

7. Of two things, one, either we must repress such language as is found in our seditious Press as soon as it is thought to be becoming really dangerous, or we must accept the logical conclusion of the principles we are now applying to that Press and go elsewhere.

M. E. GRANT DUFF.

December 3rd, 1886.

Order 9 December 86, No 2573.

Ordered to be recorded

H.S

No 2574

2d Copy to the Govt of India Home
initials illegible 13/12/86 Dept.

H.S

Previous:

Proceeds to bring this
Record Hundredweight to
the Govt of India.

H.S.

6/12.

Well
6/12

Home
Dept

To the Secy to the Govt India
Home Dept

Sir

I am directed to forward
for the information of the Govt of
India Copy of a memorandum
by the Tamil Translator to Govt on
the Native press of Southern India
& of a minute recorded thereon
by H.E. Sir M.E. Grant Duff.

H.S

[Despatch.]

BACK PAPER, No. OF 188 .

READ AGAIN Order of Government, dated
188 , No. Miscellaneous.

FURTHER PAPER, No. OF 188 .

ENCLOSURES.

CURRENT No.

STATEMENT WITH DITTO.

ORDER, &c. OF GOVERNMENT—A.

PAPERS KEPT OUT OF FILE FOR DESPATCH IN ORIGINAL.
(not paged.)

{ Order
Letter
Collection 20

N.B.—
A = Print in full.
B = Not to be printed.
P = Print abstract only.
Q = Print heading only.
R = Print, but not for monthly volume.

[1] Comf: (340) of 1886
Z 1/2 Ck 1 Cyl 24 Cols

PRESS.

Public Department.
G.O. dated 9 Dec 1886
No. 2573-74

First copy sent to Press. 9/12

Returned for signature. 13/12

Despatched in print. 13/12

9.12.1886

[Despatch Abstract.]

Native Press of Southern India Recording

Memorandum by the Tamil Translator

to Govt on the ——.

1961 from 7/1917

140 PD