THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN THE FORMATION OF MUSLIM PUBLIC OPINION FROM 1857 - 1947

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(Mehdi Hasan)
To

The Unknown Heros

of

The 1857 Struggle for

Independence
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After the down-fall of the Mughal Empire in the Sub-Continent, the society was disintegrated politically and socially. This decay was responsible for the success of the British Colonialism in India. After the failure of the Great Struggle of 1857, by the Indian public, the Sub-Continent was completely subjugated by the British Imperialism. It was during this period, after 1857, that the people of India reorganised themselves and struggled for the independence and freedom from the colonialist regime of the Britans. Since the armed struggle had failed in 1857, thus, the next course open to them was to make the people aware of their rights, to make them conscious of the colonialism and to organise the public opinion to this end. During this process the society witnessed a remarkable expansion in the role of the press. This expansion was undoubtedly stimulated by a growing interest on the part of Indian Muslim society in current political and social events. This interest finally found expression in the concept of Pakistan.
WHAT IS PUBLIC OPINION

What do we mean by Public Opinion? The difficulties which occur in discussing its action mostly arise from confounding opinion itself with the organs when people try to gather it, and from using the term to denote, sometimes everybody's views, that is, the aggregate of all that is thought and said on a subject, sometimes, merely the views of the majority, the particular type of thought and speech which prevails over other types.

The simplest form in which public opinion presents itself is when a sentiment spontaneously arises in the mind and flows from the lips of the average man upon his seeing or hearing something done or said, when some important event happens, which calls for the formation of a view, pre-existing habits, dogmas, affinities, help to determine the impression which each man experiences, and so far are factors in the view he forms. But they operate chiefly in determining the first impression, and they operate over many minds at once. They do not produce variety and independence, they are soon overlaid by the influences which each man derives from his fellows, from his leaders, from the press. Orthodox democratic theory assumes that every citizen has, or ought to have, thought out for himself certain opinions, must have a definite view, defensible by arguments.
We talk of public opinion as a new force in the world, conspicuous only since governments began to be popular. Statemen, about two generations ago, looked on it with some distrust or dislike. Yet opinion has really been the chief and ultimate power in nearly all nations at nearly all times — not only the opinion of the class to which the rulers belong. Governments have always rested and, exceptional cases apart, must rest if not on the affection then on the reverence, if not on the active approval then on the silent acquiescence of the numerical majority. It is only by rare exception that a monarch or an oligarchy has maintained authority against the will of the people. The Muslim rule in South Asia although began in conquest, did not stand by military force but by popular assent. The cases to the contrary are chiefly those of military tyrannies.

In modern age, known as the age of communication revolution, mass media — radio, television, films and the printed words besides, organised public opinion groups like political parties, pressure groups and other such organizations are the main organs of public opinion formation. But most of these media was not available for the purpose during the last century and in the early period of the present century. Radio came as a commercial medium in the second decade of the 20th century, medium of films was developed in the third decade and the television came to the world in the forties of the
present century. Before the advent of the modern mass media, Press and political organizations were the only important means of communication among the masses.

The newspaper as the agency of communication plays upon public opinion by disseminating news, opinion, and advertisement. Perhaps the easiest definition of the public opinion from the view of the journalist simply states that newspaper opinion is public opinion and vice versa. This concept places the newspaper abreast of its various publics rather than in front or behind, and it fails to explain those incidents in which newspaper opinion does not remotely resemble public opinion.

Another popular journalistic concept relegates public opinion to a great void until the newspaper comes along to give it expression by pointing the way on issues about which there can be public opinion.

When the sociologists define public opinion they find it difficult to agree. They stumble, in particular, over the term "Public". Though it is agreed that there are numerous publics, much confusion exists as to what and how permanent a public is. The development of social psychology has stimulated the study of public opinion. And more recently the research of the behaviorists has forced some sociologists to shift positions.
Dr. Harwood I. Childs summarizes the quest for the meaning of public opinion when he declares that "the multiplicity of definitions of public opinion is really due to the effort of students to restrict the meaning of the term to some aspect of public opinion in which they are especially interested."\(^1\)

In the phraseology of the newspaper world, past and present, Journalism is a reflector of the public mind. In some cases the eye to receive the reflected image is that of a legislator or an executive desirous of gauging public sentiment on some pending issue, in other cases it is the eye of a foreign observer interested in the reaction of a people to some international situation, in yet other instances it is the eye of a politician looking for a storm or for a clear sky. In all these cases functioning of the press is in harmony with the other processes of the government.

Just how much, in any individual cases, the opinion of the editor, or the opinion of the editor as modified by other opinion, or the opinion of the public as manifested directly in communication or accounts of public gatherings or interviews or resolutions adopted related to some issue, it would be difficult to estimate. But in the mass, newspaper opinion is public opinion.

Public Opinion is but one of the many manifestations of the social mind, one of the many ways by which individuals think, and
feel together. To public opinion has been so often ascribed the
fatuities and fickleness of certain of these manifestations that it is
advisable to define public opinion and distinguish it from other kinds
of public action with which it has been thus associated.

"Public opinion is the social judgement reached upon a
question of general or civic importance after conscious, rational
public discussions."²

Public opinion is not the offspring solely of impulse, it
is not merely a "reaction" along the grooves of the habit or custom.
It implies conscious departure from custom and tradition. The
people are conscious of the issue at aversion and are aware that
a decision is being reached upon it. Public opinion readapts old
principles to new conditions, creates new social norms, sets up
new group standards, develops new rules of action for a new social
situation. Public opinion is born out of and contains the customs,
traditions, and norms of a people and yet it is the chief instrument
for affecting changes in them.

GREAT REBELLION OF 1857 AND ITS AFTER EFFECTS

The uprising of 1857, given the name of Sepoy Mutiny by
the British historians, was the last organised effort by the people of
Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent to free themselves from the colonial and
expansionist rule of the British through armed struggle. According to official consensus, it began on May 10, 1857\textsuperscript{3}, when the first European lost his life in it.\textsuperscript{4}

Some historians believe that Indias' soldiery had, in fact, rebelled as early as 1806.

"On that occasion a new headdress had been introduced which offended the sepoys, partly by its resemblance to the European hat and partly from the belief that hogs' skin was employed in the manufacture of the cockade. Political disaffection too had its share in the revolt."\textsuperscript{5}

According to Arthur Maginin, an Irish soldier in East India Company's service, "the movement of 1857 had been developing steadily for the past 50 years and could be traced back to the battle of Plassey with a chain of out breaks in 1806, 1824, 1844, 1849 and with concentrated effect from the beginning of 1857."

The thesis expressed is that the victory gained by East India Company at Plassey opening the road to British Political supremacy, at first in Bengal and subsequently throughout India, produced resentment which intensified in the course of a century and burst forth in the shape of Mutiny. This thesis appears substantiated by the following statement:
"The English obtained Bengal simply as the Chief Revenue Officer of the Delhi Emperor. Instead of buying the appointment by a fat bribe, we won it by the sword. But our legal title was simply that of the Emperor's Diwan or Chief Revenue Officer...we usurped the functions of those formerly incharge of the administration." 7

Much have been written on the causes of Great Rebellion of 1857 and its failure. Whatever the causes of this uprising and yet, whatever the reasons for its failure, one fact is clear that the British Government after capturing whole of the sub-continent and hoisting its flag on Delhi fort, held the Muslims of India, mainly responsible for this armed struggle. It was also natural in those circumstances as they conquered the Delhi throne from the Muslim Emperor, thus marking the former rulers as their rivals.

**SOCIAL & RELIGIOUS LIFE OF MUSLIMS**

Just as other great conquering races of the world were affected by those whom they subdued, so the Muslims of India were greatly influenced by the Hindus. In manners and customs, in their outlook on life, and even in matters of belief, this influence is clearly visible. Action and reaction between Islam and Hinduism continued all through the period of Muslim rule in India, accelerated, on
occasion by the liberalism of some Muslim rulers. The alteration which Islam had undergone in adapting itself to an indigenous situation was very striking. The change was manifested in certain rites and customs which had imperceptibly grown out of long contacts with Hinduism.

M. Gracin de Tossy suggested that the change was attributable to the great simplicity of Islam, for a country like India, where an idolatrous and allegorical religion, appealing to the senses and imagination rather than to the mind and heart, was prevalent.

But, perhaps, contact with alien races, each having a culture of its own, isolation from the cradle of Islam and being in the small minority as compared to an alien majority, tended in the case of the Muslims to produce greater liberality of feeling and more sympathy for the religious feelings of those around them. The local gods, whom the Hindus sought after in the times of trouble, were too near and dear to the heart of Hindu converts to be abolished without apparent substitutes. This spirit of concession, the outcome of circumstances, was accelerated by the personal liberal attitude of some of the later Muslim rulers, like Akbar and Jehangir. Their examples were later followed by other Muslim rulers, who also cultivated matrimonial relationships with the great Hindu families of India, and the Hindu women brought with them their beliefs, manners
and culture to the Muslim families, which accelerated the process of transformation of Islamic mannerism into a new form according to the situation. By the middle of the eighteenth century this process of assimilation had greatly advanced. This intercommunication between two different cultures changed both, the Hindu and Muslim, societies considerably and Muslims started celebrating Hindu festivals like "Rakhi", "Holi" and "Dewali". Hindu mythologies also affected the themes of Muslims in the field of literature and such literature was produced which could be equally popular among both, the Hindus and the Muslims.

Incomplete conversion of Hindus to Islam resulted in mixed practices and beliefs especially, in the rural areas of the Sub-continent. The burning of Muslims widow (Sati) and inter marriage with the Hindus was prevalent in some parts of the country during the reign of Jehangir. The actual worship of small-pox, under the name of "Devi Mata" in the Punjab and "Sitla" in other parts of India, seems to have been one of the frequent practices in the nineteenth century. As late as 1911, the census Report of India refers to certain communities, the members of which admitted that they were neither Hindus nor Muslims but a mixture of both.

Incomplete conversion, especially in the rural areas, left these people only nominal followers of faith, a condition also found
among the Christian converts of India. The ignorance of these half
converted Muslims is clearly manifested in the statement made to a
missionary by the headman of a Muslim village in Bengal during
the first half of the nineteenth century "that Muhammad (peace be
upon him) was a Bengali, born in the house of a Brahmin". 11

One of the most remarkable features of the Muslim
worship in India during the 19th century was the veneration the
people came to lavish on the saints. The belief in saints and the
worship of their shrines came largely ready made to India through
those who introduced their religious orders from Afghanistan, Iran
and Iraq. But the pre-existing practice of "Guru and Chela" among
the Hindus and the belief in the local gods and goddesses made it
easy for saint worship to take a major part in Muslim religious life.
In fact, the Muslim masses entered into the worship of saints "with
more enthusiasm than into the regular religious exercises which are
obligatory." 12 The saints were regarded with reverence and fear
even by the Muslim rulers of India and their assistance was often
sought.

At the beginning of the 19th century, belief in the
efficacy of prayers to saints had become almost universal among the
Muslims of India. The princes of India, the nobility and wealthy
landlords, had come to look upon the support of "Dargahs" and
shrines as an action of great religious merit. They esteemed it a duty not merely to give land required for building the tomb of a saint, and to permit the holding of a mela near the monument, but also to grant lands, the revenues of which was appropriated to the maintenance of these pious edifices and to the support of the servants of the shrines.

When so much devotion was displayed towards the tombs of the saints deceased, it was but natural to find servile veneration paid to the living "Pirs". People believed implicitly in the miraculous power of the "Pir", in his ability to cure disease, to make sterile women conceive, to raise from the dead and to cause rain to fall when and where he pleased.

CASTE SYSTEM IN ISLAM

The ideal of brotherhood and equality, on which much stress is laid by Islam, was modified by Indian Muslims in imitation of the Hindu community. The proud distinctions of caste and the reverence shown to Brahmin did not fail to attract the notice and the admiration of the Muslim conquerors. The Sheikhs and Syeds had an invate holiness assigned to them, and the Mughals and Pathans copied the exclusiveness of the Rajputs. By the beginning of the 19th century the doctrine of caste seemed to have gained "a complete
practical ascendancy" over the Muslims of India and occasioned a vast number of subdivisions the members of which did not intermarry and often did not eat in company.  

The Syeds, the Pathans and the Mughals thought themselves to be superior to the rest and formed the "Ashraaf" aristocratic class, but even amongst them inter-marriages did not always take place. The Syeds, for example, would not give their daughters in marriage to any but one of their own caste and daughters of a poor Syed would often go unmarried for want of a suitable match. Even among the same order intermarriage was not always common. Thus, the Mughals divided themselves into four or five "Qaums" which did not inter-marry.

Following the principles which originally divided the Hindu community, the Muslims also divided and sub-divided themselves on the basis of the occupation they followed. In some cases, almost every trade formed a separate caste.

In a similar manner Hindu belief in astrology was taken over by the Muslims. An astrologer or "Najumi" became the oracle to be consulted on all occasions, whether the required solution be of utmost importance or a mere trifling subject.

The mischief of a devil or evil spirit was like-wise feared and the operation to ward off such evil on a family or house were
common in Muslim society. Superstitious beliefs got a stronger hold over women than men. Women, to win the hearts of their tyrannical or unfaithful husbands would resort to a series of ridiculous practices. During the time of pregnancy, child-birth, and various other stages of the women's life, superstitious practices, like those of Hindus, were observed in many Muslim families, to ward off the evil eye or injury feared from an evil spirit. In fact, from birth to death, the fear of evil constantly haunted the minds of ignorant muslims.

In keeping with the practice of Hindu society the Muslims gave up the simplicity of marriage ceremonies and substituted in its place costly and pompous displays. Music and dancing became a part of such ceremonies and some people indulged in intoxicating drinks on the occasions of marriages. The dowry system which was against the fundamentals of Islam, entered Muslim society and many a daughter of respectable but poor parents remained unmarried. In fact, muslims like Hindus, had come to look upon the birth of a daughter as a clamity upon the family. Under the influence of Hindus again, widow marriage was looked upon as dishonourable and disgraceful by the Muslims, although Islam encourages such marriages.
Thus long years of association with a non-muslim people who far out numbered them, cut off from the original home of Islam, and living with "half converts" from Hinduism, the Muslims had greatly deviated from the original faith and had become "Indianised" under the influence of cross cultural communication currents. This deviation apart, the Indian Muslims in adopting the caste system of the Hindus had given a disastrous blow to the Islamic concept of brotherhood and equality in which their strength had rested in the past. The loss of political power by the Muslims, who were in minority of the Indian population, undoubtedly contributed to the degeneration of Islamic society in India, and presented in the 19th century the picture of a disrupted society, degenerated and weakened by division and subdivision to a degree, which was beyond repair.

**ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF MUSLIMS BEFORE 1857**

Before the decline of the Political authority of the Mughals the decay of Indian Muslims set in. In Bengal from where the British started their expansionist colonial invasion of India, the battle of Plassey was followed by chaos and confusion, in which cohesion and understanding between the different classes disappeared. The upper class Muslims clung to the old order in a vain attempt to retain their old position and prestige in the changed environment of a rapidly disintegrating society. They did not realise at the moment
the impact and extent of the ruin, in which the country, in general, and the Muslims in particular, had been involved. Nor could they in their ignorance of and in difference to the consequence of the loss of political authority, give a correct lead to the Muslim population of the country.

The battles of Plassey and Buxar put an end to the independence of Bengal. The grant of 'Diwani' in 1765 gave a legal sanction to what had already taken place. The company already the controlling military power in Bengal, now, procured for itself the financial control of the country. The effects of this change following closely the loss of political authority were for the Muslims many and important.

The demands of the company at home seemed to grow with this immense acquisition. Their servants in India were auspicious that all the sources of revenue might not be fairly disclosed to them and they were alarmed lest the income from new possessions should decline under their management. The native collectors of revenue wanted to gratify the eager views of the company and conciliate the general favour of the English. All parties in the revenue department, English or Indian, concurred in the urgency of keeping up the standard of the public income. The land revenue, levied perhaps as severely as before the days of the Diwani, had never been so rigorously
collected. In the days of the Muslim rulers, the income of the state, spent in the country, directly or indirectly, benefited the people. With the assumption of the Diwani however, a large portion of the revenue began to be transmitted to England. The land revenue itself was almost doubled. To ensure and quick collection, the system of farming out the revenue to the highest bidder was adopted. Under this system evils and corruptions increased. It is significant to observe that even in 1772, when an acute famine carried away one third of the population of Bengal, the land revenue was kept up. The net collection of revenue from Bengal and Bihar in 1770-71, during first six months of which the famine was in its most acute stage, exceeded the collection of the previous year by more than six lacs of rupees. During the next year it was 14 lacs more. These farmers of revenue were Calcutta "Banias", money lenders and dealers, a class of speculators who bid up the leases solely in the hope of enriching themselves at the cost of the peasants. The English collectors were reluctant to interfere as any interference with the exercise of their authority might be a plea for them to break the engagement. The poor peasants were, thus, left to the mercy of those speculators preferring often the first loss to subsequent litigations, or wearied out by the protection of the other party had little redress.
The increase in revenue and the corruption in its actual collection apart the company and its servants made huge fortunes in the act of making and unmaking of Nawabs. Each new Nawab, besides adding to the company's trading privileges and granting fresh revenue-paying districts, was obliged to give to the company's servants enormous personal gifts in coin and kind. It is significant to note that during the period 1757 to 1765, this business of making and unmaking Nawabs alone brought to the company and its servants a sum of 6,261,166 pounds. According to a report the total sum paid as presents and compensation was 5,940,408 pounds out of which restitution money paid to the company by Shuja-ud-Dawla, presents to garnac from Balwant singh and the King, and to Clive from the Begum have been deducted. A large portion of this amount found its way to England in one from or the other. To make matters worse, European individuals, confident of protection and controlling their native agents, took up an extensive trade, which resulted in large scale corruption.

In the circumstances, small native traders, artisans and handicraftsmen had no other alternative left than that of begging or thieving. Arts and crafts declined, trade and Industry decayed and Bengal ceased to be a flourishing centre of commerce.
The conditions which paved the way of British rule from Bengal to whole of Sub-continent in hundred years, from 1757 to 1857, can best be realised by taking into consideration the position of three classes of Muslim society, namely, the Nawabs, the upper class and the peasantry.

After the battle of Plassey, the Nawabs had become a tool in the Hands of the foreigners, he was allowed to govern, but never to rule. His income had also declined considerably.

The aristocracy or the Muslim upper class who as conquerors or adventurers had from time to time poured into India, under their own rulers had assumed the administration of the country. As conquerors, they had claimed and monopolised the higher and lucrative appointments of the government. About eight centuries of Muslim rule in India created an upper class which was purely feudal in character "Three distinct streams of wealth", says Hunter, "run perennially into the coffers of a Noble Mussalman House - Military command, the collection of the revenue and Judicial and Political employ."

The first of these sources, the army, was almost a monopoly of the Muslims. The loss of political power and authority dried out this source. As a result thousands of Muslims lost their jobs in the country. Some of the military chiefs, who had grants of lands, from the Muslim rulers, settled down as landlords, with their followers and soldiers as peasants. Others having no such
grants marched into the inaccessible parts of the country and there settled as military colonialists and adventurers reclaiming the vast lands. These chiefs settled down as landlords or "Illaqadars" and under Muslim law they were treated as owners of land, which they brought under cultivation. They in turn allotted lands to their soldiers and poor relatives on payment of revenue.

This process, to some extent, again proves the causes of Muslim society being feudal in character as compared to the Hindu society which was comparatively more progressive and commercial in shape.

For some years after the grant of the Diwani, the East India Company maintained the superior Muslim Officers in the revenue department. But a severe blow to the Muslim aristocracy was dealt by a series of changes introduced by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. The system of farming out revenue to the highest bidder had already ousted some of the hereditary landlords, and the class of persons who took over was Hindu "Bania", and money lenders, who had ready money for such ventures. The result was that the system elevated the Hindu collector who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landlords and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own rule.
The third source of income of the Muslim upper class was in the monopoly of Judicial and political appointment which they enjoyed under previous governments. The situation remained to their advantage for some time after Diwani. Muslim revenue officers controlled the revenue collection, "Faujdars" officered the police, criminal law was administered by Muslim officers, jailors were Muslims, Qazis were incharge of the criminal and domestic courts. The code of Islam remained the law of the land and Muslim law advisers were authority on the law points, even when judges were English. The administrative reforms of Lord Cornwallis dealt the first major blow to this monopoly. Under the new system the higher executive officers were reserved for English men and the subordinate posts were left to the natives. Yet during the first fifty years of the company rule, the Muslims enjoyed a large share of state patronage. Then the tide turned very fast.

The substitution of English and vernacular language for persian in offices and courts, in 1837, dealt a severe blow to the Muslim community. Although the upper class of India spoke Urdu, compared to Persian they treated the language of the subject races with contempt. As far as other vernaculars were concerned they were as ignorant of these languages as any Englishman himself. Substitution of Persian with English, Urdu and other vernaculars served two
purposes. First, and the most important, was the reason which concerned the psychology of the ruling Muslims. Language is one of the most important factors of national identity of a nation. When Muslims conquered India they made Persian as the official language of the empire, although even at that time there were a number of vernaculars in India which was, and is, a vast country and had a variety of geographical, religious cultural and ethnic differences. By replacing Persian, the English rulers dealt a psychological blow to Muslims, telling them indirectly that the days of their rule were over, and they were no more in authority as a community. By adopting new language, for all practical purposes, including the field of literature, Muslims of India had to forge their past heritage of at least eight hundred years in India. The second reason was to establish the authority of the ruling nation by imposing their own language and to invade culturally the Indian society in the times to come, so that the Indians loose their national identity.

Any how, the change was to the advantage of the other community, which had, by then, made a considerable advance in English education, because for them English was as alien a language as Persian. The Muslims at that time had no institution where they could learn English, and there was no provision for teaching vernaculars in the schools, public or private, resorted to by the
Muslims. The youths of the Hindu colleges therefore, got the full benefit of the change and the remnant of the Muslim upper class that had sought to adjust to the new regime was ousted completely from the official life.

It was not only the upper class that suffered under the new conditions, the peasants and the weavers forming the lower order of Muslim society were also affected. The system of farming out revenue to the highest bidders had exposed the peasants to the extortion of the revenue farmers. The permanent settlement aggravated their sufferings, by creating Zamindars in perpetuity out of collectors and destroying ancient and private rights of thousands of people. According to Metcalfe "with the fullest respect to Cornwallis's benevolent intentions, he was the creator of private property in India, destroying hundreds of proprietors for everyone that he gratuitously created". The hope that the Zamindars would look to the happiness and prosperity of the tenants, as did the landlords of England, was never realised. The Zamindars farmed out their estates to those who would give them the largest profit over and above the government dues.

The fate of the other major section of the Muslims in the lower order of society, the weavers, was equally unfortunate. Weaving was carried on for a long-time throughout the country, each
district producing a distinct kind of cloth. In Bengal, this industry was so prosperous and cloth was produced in such huge quantities that, the province inspite of being a rich cotton producing area, had to import cotton from Bombay and Surat to supply the needs of her looms. The cloth produced was of various qualities ranging from coarsest (Khaddar) to finest. The coarse varieties had a flourishing market in India, while the delicate and fine quality muslin of Dacca, fostered by Muslim rulers, maintained its market in Europe for two centuries.

The commercial monopoly of the East India Company with corrupt servants and the oppressive and evil conduct of its native agents ruined this prosperous Industry. The pitiable plight of the weavers was described by an English businessman, William Bolt. It may be interesting to mention here that William Bolts announced to start a newspaper of his own in 1768, but the company deported him and declared him "personanon-grata before his proposed paper appeared. The whole Inland trade of the country, according to William Bolts, was one continued scene of oppression. Under existing monopoly the English and their "Gomashtas" arbitrarily fixed up the quantity to be supplied and price to be received for the same. The English merchants and their agents compelled the weavers to sign bonds specifying quantity, quality and price of goods.
to be supplied within a specified time; the consent of the weaver, in this contract, was never considered necessary. William Bolts says further, "upon the weavers refusal to accept advances, they were flogged".27 The prices paid by the Company's agent were 15 percent to 40 percent less than the market price.

A greater blow was dealt to the Indian Industry, when the Directors of the East India Company adopted a policy of discouraging finished products from India and encouraged only the manufacture of raw cotton and silk. They also ordered that the local silk dealers be forced to work in the Company's factories and prohibited from working on their own looms.28 The effect of this "perfect plan of Policy", remarked the Select Committee in 1783, was to change the whole face of the industrial country in order to render it a field of the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufacturer of Great Britain. This policy, adopted in the 18th century by the East India Company, had much more and far reaching consequences.

It was after such policies of the English colonialists and adventurers that were responsible for the Industrial Revolution of Great Britain, on the expense of the colonies they acquired during that period. In the meantime the Indian Industry lost its other International markets in comparison to the cheaper and finer English products. The English products also captured the local market and overwhelmed the Indian Industry.
Thus, the change of government and the colonial and imperialist oppressive policies it pursued effected equally all the three classes of the local population of India, especially the Muslim society, as they were the rulers before the East India Company took on itself to indulge in the local politics and practice its ambitious designs to capture the whole of the Sub-continent. The Hindus on the other hand fared better, and generally speaking, the first century of British rule in India was to the great advantage of their community. There was a revival of Hindu feeling of antagonism against Muslims coincident with the gradual weakening of the Mughal empire. They found greater relief with the advent of the British on Indian political stage. Therefore, most of the important families of the Hindu society sided, directly or indirectly, with the English. The victory of Plassey was probably the result of Anglo-Hindu alliance against a Muslim Nawab.

The cooperation of the Hindus with the East India Company’s servants was closest in the field of commerce. In fact, this close cooperation had materialised long before the company was a political power. During the years 1736 to 1740, the company carried on its investment in Calcutta with 52 native merchants, who were all Hindus. It was against this background that the Muslim society reacted in two different but interrelated ways. As a first reaction, reform movements by Indian Muslims started in the first quarter of the 19th century and
secondly, they reacted militarily as a last resort to regain the lost glory. It's true that all communities of the Indian society pooled their efforts together against the British colonialists as they were still faithful to the last Mughal Emperor at Delhi, but the main burn of the consequences of the failure of the great uprising of 1857 was faced by the Muslims, as they were the former rulers of this country. The second half of the 19th century, in which the people of India launched their struggle for independence, coincided with the political awakening and change in the political set-up of the world, especially in Europe, which had developed close links with Sub-continent at that time. Individualistic regimes of the early 19th century in Europe were gradually being transformed into political regimes in which the importance of public opinion and will of the people were increasing rapidly. In other words modern form of democracy was coming into shape in which those who govern are chosen by those who are governed by means of free and open elections. In many European countries universal suffrage was becoming the order of the day. Therefore, when the last struggle of the Indian people, to free themselves from the alien rule, failed mainly because of lack of planning on the part of the revolutionaries and lack of cohesion and coordination among the fighting forces of different parts of the country, than the last hope to revive the Mughal or, the Muslim, Monarchy had also died for ever. At first the Muslims of the
Sub-continent took sometime to overcome their shock of defeat and demoralisation. And then, they thought that if, by any chance, the Britishers left their Indian colony then it would be ruled by the majority—the Hindus of the Sub-continent who had prepared themselves to take over the responsibility. This realisation along with the antagonistic attitude of both the Hindus and the English forced the Muslims to think that they were different in many respects with their Hindu compatriots. Political organisations, an essential characteristic of the democratic governments were not present till then in India. Therefore, the duty of organizing and expressing public opinion and to create a sense of national identity among the "depressed and demoralised muslims was solely and seriously taken over by the press in India."
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CHAPTER II

FORMATION AND MEASUREMENT OF MUSLIM PUBLIC OPINION IN THE PRESS

In the present world public opinion functions as the "voice of democracy" or the "will of the people", choosing leaders and deciding questions of public policy. In a democracy, public opinion both influences and is influenced by leaders; in a totalitarian state it is controlled through fear and force when persuasion fails. In all spheres of society, public opinion is powerful. It sets codes of behaviour, formulates standards of morality, establishes rights and principles under which people must live.

Public opinion changes but changes gradually. What is "wrong" at one time becomes "right" at another; this is illustrated by the gradual change in public opinion with regard to Hindu-Muslim relations in Sub-continent from 1857 to 1937, when first provincial elections were held in some of the Indian provinces under the British Colonial rule. Public opinion is not "left" today and "right" tomorrow; it does not say "yes" this week and "no" the next. What are some of the forces responsible for this slow, gradual change?

One important fact about public opinion is that it is not the same in all sections of the society. According to an expert on
Public opinion there are five following sources of division in public opinion:

1. Differences in income
2. Social class lines
3. Specific occupational experience
4. Differences in region, race, religion, and nationality; and
5. Differences in age and sex

Public opinion changes when the social structure changes. For example, until 1857, for about 850 years, when Muslims ruled over Indian Sub-continent, they never thought of Hindus and Muslims as two different nations. It was after the failure of 1857 struggle to revive Muslim rule in India that they were subjected to a status of a subjugated class in the society. During such depressions the growing number of unemployed and the general shift toward lower incomes cause marked changes in attitudes toward direct governmental participation in the trade, economy, tax measures, foreign-trade policy, and other issues.

It is evident that the characteristics themselves are not principles. They are only descriptions of what occurs or what may occur. In addition, their relation to social behaviour in general has been suggested. But do they give rise to principles?

This question of principles cannot be dodged. More concretely stated, it is an inquiry concerning the conditions under
which one or more the characteristics will be demonstrated. The
inquiry, in turn, is much more general, for what is true of public
opinion must be equally true of the behaviour of individuals whether
or not that behaviour involves public opinion. As a most tentative
guess, however, the following principles may be stated. 2

1. Public opinion remains latent until an issue arises
   for the group; an issue arises when there is conflict,
   anxiety, or frustration.

2. Actual public opinion, therefore, is an attempt to
diminish conflict, anxiety, and frustration:
   A. When these punishing circumstances cannot be
      avoided, there is a rationalization.
   B. When they cannot be avoided but when aggressive
      activity is rewarding, there is displacement.
   C. When they cannot be avoided, when aggression is
      punished, but when substitute activity is rewarding,
      there is compensation.

3. Public opinion requires conformity:
   A. When this conformity can be achieved by having
      some people attribute their own attitudes and
      knowledge to others, there is projection.
   B. When it can be achieved by having some people
      assume that they possess the attitudes and
      knowledge of others, there is identification.
   C. When it can be achieved by having people share
      almost identical knowledge, there is simplification,
4. Internal public opinion becomes external public opinion when:

A. The drive strength of the attitude is great.

B. Knowledge exists that the expression of attitude in action will be rewarding rather than punishing.

The aim of the present study is to study those factors of Muslim society keeping in view the above mentioned principles. The conflict, anxiety, sense of deprivation and the urge for reform and reorganization of the Muslim social, political and economic life in India. It also seeks to analyze the nature of formation of gradual Muslim public opinion particularly relating to political developments and government policy.

The topics which have been discussed in it are those which have been frequently mentioned in the press and had in one way or the other affected the lines of the Muslims in the Sub-continent. These are mostly:

The Muslim world and pan Islamism; politics; Hindu-Muslim relations; social customs; religion; economics; society and education. Taken as a whole, it presents a picture of Indian Muslim society struggling to identify itself and define its position in the world. The various
questions which arise in the course of discussion are;
where did their cultural and religious allegiance lie—to
their cultural and religious origins in the Middle East,
to the Sub-continent in which they were born? Another
important question concerns the relations of the Muslim
community with Hindu society. Economically, were they
to remain for ever subservient to the Hindu community,
because of religious prohibitions or to establish for
themselves a separate place with a modernised
religious outlook. In regard to education, were they to
accept a western, Hindu-oriented educational system,
which would undermine their religious beliefs and erode
their sense of identity, or to insist upon an Islamic form
of education which was out of step with the modern world,
and which, while preserving them as Muslims culturally
and religiously, would leave them permanently at the
mercy of Christian and Hindu exploitation. And finally
society. How far could Muslim society really claim to be
unified, and what really was the basis of that unity. Did
a unity in fact exist, or was it being created by the Muslim
press and leaders who had greater knowledge of conflict,
anxiety and sense of deprivation.
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CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEWSPAPERS

Like all other human fields of improvement, newspapers also had a systematic, slow but steady growth. A short history of the press as it began in early times can help us in understanding the dimensions of its growth.

It was Julius Caesar, who is on record to have taken steps for the first time to disseminate news. As early as 60 B.C., when he became consul of Rome, Julius Caesar issued orders that the Senate's activities be chronicled in the "Acta Diurna", or the Daily Acts, as it may be called. This was a bulletin board and it lasted for many years in diverse forms.

The second and more serious attempt was made in China. The Tang dynasty in the 7th. or 8th century saw the establishment of the Peking Gazette. It was a significant step forward, not only because it happened in the East or "Orient" as the Western Scholars call it, but because it imparted a great fillip to the invention of paper, ink, type and xylography. It was centuries later that these Chinese inventions reached the western civilization, where they were utilized much more effectively. In the meantime, news used to be circulated by the spoken word. There were "town criers" or "Manadiwalas" in
France, "ballad singers" in England, and wandering minstrels elsewhere who were responsible for the circulation of news. Latest the kings and monarchs, rulers and noblemen banked on letter-writers for news of foreign lands or of the remote corners of their own country.

The history of the modern press is closely linked up with the invention of printing and the printing press. According to S. Natarajan; the art of printing from negative reliefs was known in China around 594 A.D., and from there spread along the caravans routes to the west where taking impressions from wooden blocks became quite common. Somewhere between 868 A.D., and 1045 A.D., the Chinese developed movable type.

Towards the middle of the 15th century, Johann Gutenberg developed printing with movable type, independent of the Chinese invention. By this single act, Gutenberg, perhaps unknowingly, set off a spark which spread all-over Europe and then over the whole world. It revolutionized the whole idea of dissemination of information.

PRESS IN INDIA

The Sub-continent of India and Pakistan is the cradle of one of the very old civilizations of the world. The Indus valley civilization dates back to more than five thousand years. Its two main centres,
Mohanjedaro, in Sind, and Harrappa, in Punjab, had a well organized system of news-collection. Though nothing can be said with certainty, it can still be assumed that once the pictographic script of Mohanjedaro and Harrappa is transliterated, many interesting facts relating to the system of news-gathering in pre-historic India would be known. According to Dr. Abdus Salam Khurshid, "It can be safely presumed that the 'highly evolved bureaucratic machine' of the Indus Valley administration included a department for the collection of information."^6

Much later, within the time of recorded history, there existed a well-organised system for the collection of news during the age of Chandragupta Mauriya (321-298 B.C.), Ashoka's administration too had well-knitted news-gathering system.

**NEWS-LETTERS IN INDIA**

The institution of news-letters came much later.

Dr. Abdus Salam Khurshid's pioneering work on "News-letters in the Orient" throws light on the origin of news-letters in the Sub-continent. It was the Ghaznavide Muslim rulers who are said to have introduced the system in India towards the end of 10th century. The system soon gain ground with the Sultanate at Delhi and the institution of news-gathering was stream-lined and made highly efficient. During Mughal Empire, the system became highly mature.
It was, however, during Aurangzeb's reign that the system of newsletters was at its peak and the news-writers or "waqai-Nawees" as they were called, earned the epithet of the "eyes and ears of the Emperor". Newsletters existed in the Mughal courts in India till as late as 1857, when the great war of independence was waged. After that they ceased to exist and printed news-sheet finally took-over. The newsletters played the major role in satisfying this quest (for news) and moulding public opinion before the printed newspaper became a reality.

Bengal, a part of which is now Bangla Desh, was the forerunner in modern journalism in the whole of the Sub-continent. It was in Bengal that the first newspapers in India made their appearance and then the seeds of awakening were spread over the length and breadth of the rest of the country, beginning of course, with some pockets of British colonies such as Madras and Bombay. Since, modern newspapers in India had their origin in the needs of the small but growing European colonies sprinkled over the capitals of the presidency towns.

Journalism in those days was hardly considered a profession for decent men. The government of Bengal, under the company rule, once contemplated the publication of a newspaper of their own so that, among other things, they may "put out of existence
and needy indolence a few European adventurers who were found unfit to be emerged in any creditable method of subsistence". It is stated about C.H. Clay, the editor of the "Madras Courior", that "he had the entry of good society, because he was clerk of the Chief Justice". In 1768, William Bolts was deported from Calcutta to Madras enroute to Europe, because he dared to set up a printing press in Calcutta. In 1780, James Augustus Hicky's "weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none", the Bengal Gazette, or the Hicky Gazette as it was popularly known, was refused transmission through the post office; and, after a historical struggle with Warren Hastings, in which the pioneer journalist of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent scored some success, it was finally crushed. William Duan of the Bengal Journal, was expelled from India, went to America and established himself as a newspaperman.

Almost from its birth, the all absorbing interest of the Indian press had been politics. James Augustus Hickey started the Bengal Gazette in 1780, some eighty years after the first daily newspaper in England had commenced publication. Perhaps it would be stretching the analogy too far to term Hickey's "loads of abuse" as purely political but he did write this; "Mr. Hickey considers the liberty of the press to be the very existence of an Englishman and a free Government" and he did set a precedent, followed devotedly by many
editors after him. He went to prison rather than abandon that belief.

Even before Indian editors used their pens to fight for the freedom of their homeland, there was a strong political flavour to the press and very soon censorship of one kind or another was enforced, even though the people on whom it was imposed belonged to the ruling race. Editors in Madras and Bombay soon followed their Calcutta forerunner into trouble with authority, which then of course was company, very jealous of its position and highly intolerant of criticism by what were regarded as outsiders. William Duance, an American of Irish descent, had a typical career of an editor in Calcutta, which was against the government. He was beaten up, persecuted and finally deported after a long legal battle.

Most famous of all these early pioneers perhaps was James Silk Buckingham of Calcutta Journal who, after an adventurous life as a sailor, forsook the sea rather than convey some slave ships and took up journalism. A Whig in politics, he soon fell foul of the company; in the end he set out to tell disagreeable truths. So popular his paper became that he made an income of 8000 pounds a year, and enemies of all his fellow editors. He carried on a continuous snipping campaign against authority, including sharp attacks on the Church, and was several times saved from deportation by the tolerance of Lord Hastings.
Indeed, for as long as that liberal Governor-General was in power, Buckingham survived. When he went, the forces that had been held in check triumphed and Buckingham was deported. It is interesting to note that it was two years before Buckingham came on the scene that G. Bhattacharya had established the Bengal Gazette, which in its brief life made history as the first Indian owned newspaper of the Sub-continent.

These glimpses of the early days, 18th century journalism in India, serve to illustrate the atmosphere in which the press in the Sub-continent was born. It grew to maturity in an atmosphere of struggle, not always of equal intensity, it is true, but every Indian editor had his goal clearly before him, even if the paths to that goal followed different routes. The goal was, of course, freedom of India from foreign domination, and it is, therefore, not surprising if the political side of the newspapers they edited dominated everything else. It can be objected that these arguments do not apply to what are known as the "Anglo-Indian" newspapers. They, it is obvious, did not share the Indian passion for the country's freedom, although some displayed commendable anxiety for constitutional reforms and progress. Nevertheless, they were directly involved in, and they could not avoid, the atmosphere of political struggle. Even if most of them were on the wrongside, they could not help being concerned, and some in their
fight against bureaucratic control, played no small part in the processes that eventually led to freedom. In some cases acute political foresight was displayed.

One other factor is also relevant. Anglo-Indian newspapers catered mainly for the English reading population in India, who were largely drawn from the upper middle classes and therefore, people of some education who would not, had they stayed in England, have been subscribers to the "popular" press which was then beginning to gain ground. A high level of comment and behaviour was maintained. There was several exceptions, but many Anglo-Indian newspapers adopted a tone in their writings which contributed to no small extent to the Indian determination to be rid of their foreign rulers.¹¹

THE PRESS IN 18TH CENTURY

In September, 1768 the following notice was found afixed to the Council Hall and other public places of Calcutta:

To The Public

"Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public that the want of a printing press in this city being a great disadvantage in business and making extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community, as is of importance to every British subject,
he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing, to manage a press, the types and utensils of which he can produce. In the meantime, he begs chance to inform the public that having in manuscript things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual and persons who may be induced by curiosity or other more laudible motives, will be permitted at Mr. Bolts' house to read or to take copies of the same. A person will give due attendance at the hours from ten to twelve any morning.

Those who read it before the council took it down, must have been puzzled by the appearance among the general notices and advertisements. It was fairly common knowledge that Mr. Bolts, ex-servant of the East India company, and elderman or judge of the Mayor's court of Calcutta, was about to be deported. A ship had been detained in port to carry Mr. Bolts back to England and the captain of the vessel was vexed on both sides by the Council's pressure and the intimidations of Mr. Bolts. Nor was there any indication as to how Mr. Bolts proposed in the very few days left to him to get together a printing press. At any rate, Mr. Bolts was forcibly removed to a local and taken away from India and nothing came to his offer. The hero of this drama, William Bolts, was a remarkable individual even for those times which abounded in adventure. A Dutch by birth, he had, at the age at which the English East India Company recruited its writers,
sheet paper, about 12 inches by 8 inches, with three columns printed on both sides. It published mostly extracts from the English newspapers and correspondence from local and distant writers. Its special features were addresses to the public from Mr. Hickey, a "poets' corner", and all the local gossips relating to the British Community in Calcutta. For the first few months, the Gazette was politically harmless, though it tended after the fashion of the times to a broad humour. Its public was mainly the merchants and traders, and at first the non-official European class. There was opposition from officials not only in Bengal from the very outset, many of them feared that the newspapers would at an early date turn to attack on them. But Warren Hastings seems to have been fairly tolerant. Reports that another newspaper was, being planned and that the subscribers of "Hickey's Gazette" were being approached, provoked the intemperate wrath of Mr. Hickey, who was suspected of promoting the rival venture. In June 1780, Hickey appealed to his supporters not to desert him for the new proposed paper. Possibly the appearance of the "Indian Gazette", four pages, each 16 inches long with three columns and well printed, infuriated him and drove him to adopt desperate measures to meet the challenge. His behaviour was directed first to the Swedish missionary, John Zachariah Kierhander, who was suspected of selling types to his rival, to the two proprietors of the India Gazette, Peter Rued, a salt agent and B. Mussiak, a theatrical
producer, and to Simon Droze whom he suspected of convassing for the rival product.

On the two indictments of Hastings on which Hickey was charged, he was convicted to one year's imprisonment and a fine of Rupees two thousand on the first occasion. The Chief Justice awarded Warren Hastings damages to the tune of Rupees five hundred but the Governor General waived it. There is a reference to another claim by a "padri" in the letter from Chief Justice Impey to one of his colleagues, but there is no award on it. It is a strange commentary on the times that, though Hickey was sent to jail, and the intention of the sentence seemed, to silence his newspaper, the "Bengal Gazette" continued to appear regularly and with no change in the tone. In fact, Hickey's addresses to his public were even more defiant to the Government, even the personal attacks continued unabated. With Hickey's references to his constitutional rights and to the persecution of the Governor General and the Chief Justice, The Bengal Gazette, began to receive considerable support. As the news of Hastings' Benaras War and Cudh incidents reached Calcutta jail, Hickey rose to the new height and published a satire on "The Congress at S.R.R.", and a "Vocal concert given previous to the rising of the congress". Here he lampooned all the members of the Government. This was the last of Hickey's editorials. In March 1782, four fresh actions by
Warren Hastings were instituted and a plea was made for permission to seize the types. Hickey told his readers that the petition was rejected, the judges holding that actions were repugnant to the British constitution. Hickey’s rejoicing was short lived. The types were seized and the Bengal Gazette was silenced eventually.

Hickey’s Gazette reflected life in the European Community in Calcutta faithfully. Calcutta had become the capital of the company’s possessions in India. Lord North’s regulating act of 1773 had created the maximum difficulties in the administration of the territories. The Governor General and one other company’s servant formed a council with three others nominated by the British Government. A supreme court had been established to administer British law to British subjects in India. Frances regarded himself General Clavering and Colonel Mouson as representatives of the English nation and, Hastings and Barwell as representatives of the company. The Supreme Court, about which Lord Hastings had been indifferent, was neutralised because it was presided over by Elijah Impey, Hastings’ old class-mate.

**THE INDIA GAZETTE OR CALCUTTA PUBLIC ADVERTISER**

This was the second newspaper to be started in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent in 18th Century. This was launched by
Mr. P. Reed and Mr. B. Messink in November 1780. Its file
containing issues from January 6, 1781 to December 29, 1781 being
No. 8 to 59, is lying in the library of the University of the Punjab.

This paper consisted of four pages, each divided into
three columns. The type was bold and printing was fair enough. The
editor was addressed as the "Monitor". In most of the issues nine or
ten months old news from England were reproduced, because for
Europeans in India these were "latest news". In some of the issues
affairs of different princely states were discussed, mostly condemning
the Nawab or Raja of the state. News of British "victories" over
various Nawabs were also published prominently.

In one of the issues of the India Gazette a correspondent,
Samuel Profit asked the Monitor to use simple language and confessed,
that he did not know the meaning of "Impromptu" and "as terish". He
said:

"On the whole you are rather more intelligible than your
rival publisher,...... that I protest I have given over all
hopes of being able to make plain sense of his paper".15

The Editors of the India Gazette, in the next issue dated February 3,
1781, thanked Mr. Samuel Profit for pointing out the printing errors,
and expressed determination "to render their paper correct, useful
and entertaining". However, they said that similar errors are also found in British newspapers and as a proof published a four column article entitled "Humorous Structures on the incorrectness of Newspapers; Addressed to all the publishers of Newspapers in Great Britain and Ireland".

A constant criticism of Hickey's Gazette was seen in almost every issue of the India Gazette and the correspondents charged Mr. Hickey's paper of "endeavours of malcontents to effect a total subversion of peace and harmony amongst us". Hickey's Gazette was also condemned for publishing personal scandals in its columns.

Extracts from various newspapers of other parts of the sub-continent were also published. The newspaper also published accounts of battles between Haider Ali and the British army. Regarding the battle fought between Haider Ali and Col. William Bailley, near conjeveram on September 10, 1780, Colonel Asser gave an account to the Governor of Goa, an extract from that is published in the issue of March 31, 1781.

"He (Hyder Ally) had exact and constant intelligence of everything that was done in the English Camp. He knows the hour—that Col. Flatcher was to march to reinforce Bailey; the strength of his detachment, and that he had no cannon".16
Extract from the Delhi Gazette in the form of a newsletter goes,

"The King observed, that the Mahratta power was at an end; that Haider Balg would most likely soon pay dear for his invasion of the Carnatic". ¹⁷

Tipu Sultan's "Death" news in 1781 was appeared in the issue of February 10, 1781, in letter from Ganjam has been quoted saying that an engagement between the British and Hyders' army commanded by "Tippy Sahib, his eldest son", "Tippy Sahib, was killed in the engagement" though this report cannot be absolutely depended on, yet it is generally believed, and we are in hourly expectation of its being confirmed". ¹⁸ The paper also published scandals, and pieces of poetry, which were sometimes obscene.

"The following is an account of the ships belonging to Hyder Ally, taken and destroyed by Admiral Hughes; At Calicut, one 26 gun Erlgate taken, one 22 gun do. driven on shore. At Manglore two 10 gun ketches taken, three ships of 30 guns each and one of \( \frac{1}{2} \) burnt; one of 15 guns sunk, and two store shows of 16 guns each, driven on shore". ¹⁹
HYDER ALLY BETRAYED BY FRENCH

Extract of a letter from Madras:

"We are in hourly expectation of receiving important news from camp; I suppose you have heard of the French Ambassadors that were sent from the Fleet to Hyder being in confinement, when they informed him of the arrival of their Fleet, he asked them if they had brought him any troops? But upon their answering in the negative, he ordered them to be put in Irons, telling them that ships could be of no use to him unless they could bring them to his camp. He observed that the French had de claved him very much, having faithfully promised to assist him with Men from Mauritius, that he would not supply them with either money or provisions, and that their Fleet might depart from the coast directly.

"General Sir Eyre Coote is in possession of Pondicharry, so that the Fleet can not be of the least service in India."\(^{20}\)

The "India Gazette" started publication in rivalry to Hickey's Gazette in November, 1780, with the "approbation" of Warren Hastings. His council was under control; Francis was on his way out; the vengeance of the law was being wreaked on Hickey. The joint promoters took the precaution of writing to Hastings in advance, having secured, according to Hickey, the interests of
Mrs. Hastings earlier, and desired to be also appointed printers to the Company. In February 1784, the Calcutta Gazette was launched under government patronage.

The "Bengal Journal", was established in February, 1785, and its proprietor, Thomas Jones, offered to print Government advertisements free.

In April 1785, the "Oriental Magazine", or "Calcutta Amusement" made its appearance as a monthly.

In February 1786, the "Calcutta Chronicle" was published as a weekly journal, within six years of Hickey's poineer attempt, four weekly and a monthly were being published from Calcutta.

**NEWSPAPERS FROM MADRAS AND BOMBAY**

Apart from Calcutta other two newspaper centres were Madras and Bombay under the Company's rule. The example of Calcutta was catching. Madras had its first weekly the "Madras Courier", officially recognised and owned by the company's printers, in 1785, followed eight years later by the "Hurkaru", started by Boyd, who was forced out of the editorship of the 'Madras Courier'. The 'Hurkaru' went out of existence with the death of Boyd a year
later. The "Madras Gazette", appeared in 1795, and the "India Herald", an "unauthorised" newspaper, had a brief existence the same year before its editor, Humphreys; was summarily dealt with for printing without permission and for "gross libels against the Government and the Prince of Wales".

Bombay was the last of the presidency towns to have its own newspaper. The "Bombay Herald", appeared in 1789, followed by the "Courier" a year later and merging into the "Bombay Gazette" to serve as an official publication in 1791. The "Courier" is noteworthy as the first newspaper to cater in part to an Indian Public, publishing its advertisements in Gujarati. All the newspapers solicited the privilege of printing official announcements and notices. The Bombay Gazette, and the Madras Courier, became the effective channels for government notices, and the printing press of the Madras Gazette, which was specialising in Persian and oriental types, received printing orders from the Madras Government. In 1786, the Bombay Government had requested the Governor General for supplies of two copies of the "Bengal Gazette". In 1793, two copies of the "Courier" were sent by the Bombay Government to the Bengal Government, with the remarks that it would be useful to exchange "Government newspapers".
The contents of the press in the 18th century reveal the Influence of James Augustus Hickey. Foreign news, parliamentary debates of England, Extracts from English newspapers, social news, letters to the editor and "poets corners" furnished most of the reading material. Government notices suggested that the press fulfilled an accepted function in administration. There were advertisements and fashion notes also. Editorials dealt mainly with subjects of interest to the European Community. The newspapers, as a matter of fact, were organs of local British opinion and, if in a subdued way unlike that of Hickey's Gazette, reflected the views of those outside the privileged official circle on the administration. Though the merchants, the lawyers, and the doctors were looked down upon by the administrators, there were occasions when these views were listened. 21

SOURCES OF NEWS IN THE 18TH CENTURY PRESS

News gathering was not so organised in the early period of the newspaper history. Sometime months old stories used to be published, especially foreign news and news from far flung areas of the country. Foreign news were lifted from the foreign newspapers which reached India through sea even after three months of their publication. Most of the newspapers were edited and published single handedly by the editors, thus, we can call it an age of Solo-Journalism.
Almost all the news items were written by the editor himself, who used to get information through his friends, his contacts at various important and newsworthy places and through the letters written by the general public to him.

At some important places correspondents were also appointed to write newsletters for the newspapers. Court news and official notices were also an important source of news for newspapers.

News writing was not so developed as it is today. There use to be no "intro" in the news items and no headline displaying the news. All the news were written like ordinary stories and letters giving all the details necessary and unnecessary in the items. Style was narrative rather than informative.

All the newspapers were in English language not only in the 18th century, but also as late as 1822 in the 19th century when the first Persian newspaper appeared in the Sub-continent. There were a total number of 30 newspapers, all in English language, and owned by Europeans from 1774 to 1799. Out of these the largest number of newspapers, 21, were published from Calcutta, 6 from Madras and 3 newspapers from Bombay, the third presidency town under the rule of East India Company.
Following is the list of 30 newspapers of 18th century with the names of their owners or editors and the place of their publications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Publication</th>
<th>Name of Newspaper</th>
<th>Editor or Owner</th>
<th>Place of Publications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 1774</td>
<td>India Gazette</td>
<td>East India Company</td>
<td>Calcutta (It was the official gazette of the Company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1780</td>
<td>Bengal Gazette</td>
<td>J.A. Hickey</td>
<td>Calcutta (First Newspaper of India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 1780</td>
<td>India Gazette</td>
<td>B. Mussiak</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 1784</td>
<td>Calcutta Gazette</td>
<td>Francis Gladwin</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 1785</td>
<td>Asiatic Miscellany</td>
<td>Joseph Cooper</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 1785</td>
<td>Oriental Megazine</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 1785</td>
<td>Bengal Journal</td>
<td>Thomas Johns</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 1788</td>
<td>Madras Courier</td>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>Madras (First paper from Madras)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 1785</td>
<td>Madras Intelligi-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 1786</td>
<td>Calcutta Chronicle</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 1788</td>
<td>Asiatic Research</td>
<td>Asiatic Society of Bengal</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 1789</td>
<td>Bombay Herald</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bombay. (First newspaper of Bombay)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is significant to note that no daily newspaper appeared in the 18th Century. Most of the newspapers started their publication as weekly and, remained such, because essentials for the development of daily journalism were not available in that society. Although the department of postal services had been established, however, postal facilities were not available to the ordinary public. Lord Clive had set up the postal department in 1766, and at the time of the publication of first newspaper in the Sub-continent, the department was only able to distribute the newspaper in and around Calcutta only.

NINETEENTH CENTURY JOURNALISM 1801-1857

There are three distinct stages of the rise and growth of newspapers in India. These stages, set one after another, are as follows:

1. English periodicals started by Englishmen who came with the East India Company. Most of these pioneers of journalism in India, although belonged to the ruling race, but they were against the activities of the East India Company for one reason or the other. Therefore, their newspapers, which catered to the needs of the English or the European community only, were more or less personal in character.
2. The second stage began when some missionaries bringing out periodicals both in English and native languages with a view to convert and increase the following of Christianity among the local masses.

3. The Third stage is genuinely local in character when some Indians began going into the propagation of their own ideas by bringing out their own journals. The idea was mainly, in the beginning, to counteract the missionary propaganda which was directed against the interests of the local population and their religious, social and cultural beliefs.

MISSIONARY NEWSPAPERS

The second stage of Indian journalism started when the Baptist missionaries at Serampur, a Dutch settlement, started bringing out a monthly magazine in Bengali, the first of its kind to be published in a native language. This monthly, "Dig-Durshan", was brought out "as a feeler to test the Governments' reactions to a newspaper in Bengali". It was first brought out in April, 1818 by John Clark Marshman and Mr. Ward. The founder of the missionary settlement, Dr. Carey, did not approve of this venture but when two issues were out and no objections were forthcoming, the
missionaries felt encouraged and went on preparing themselves for a weekly newspaper that was soon to follow. About "Dig-Durshan", Margarita Barns says, "The magazine contained historical and other notices as well as some items of political intelligence".  

"SAMACHAR DARPAN"

On May 23, 1818, Samachar Darpan, appeared as a weekly. The fears of official objections were soon overcome when Warren Hastings approved of the project "endeavouring to excite and gratify a spirit of inquiry in the native mind by means of a newspaper."

OTHER NEWSPAPERS BY THE MISSIONARIES

"The Friend of India", a monthly periodical was also launched by the Serampur missionaries in April, 1818. Dr. Marshman, the guiding force behind all the missionary newspapers, also brought out a quarterly edition of the 'Friend of India', in June, 1820. The idea was to enable him to give publicity to "essays on subjects connected with India and a review of such works published either in Europe or in India as must in any way affect the interests of the country." Both these periodicals had to coope with financial difficulties and ultimately they ceased to appear sometime in 1827.

The Baptist missionaries were also requested by Lord Hastings to bring out a persian urdu edition of their Bengali weekly,
Smachar Darpan. There is some confusion as to the exact nature and name of this newspaper. Some authors say that this Persian Urdu edition was entitled "Jam-i-Jahan-Numa", but it stands contradicted when one reads a letter written by Hurce Hurdutt, to the Secretary, to the Government Persian Department, in which he sought official help and encouragement "as the sole proprietor of the Persian and Oordo (Urdu) newspaper now published under the appellation of the "Jam-i-Jahan-Numa". In the same letter we find mention of "Ukhbara Serampur", which was the persian edition of the Bengali weekly, Samachar Darpan, and it was only in Persian and not in Urdu.

**INDIAN-OWNED NEWSPAPERS**

The first Indian-owned newspaper did not came out till the beginning of the nineteenth century. These newspapers were broughtout to counteract the English and missionary influence on the local population. It is significant to note, therefore, the first such newspaper that was to come out was neither in the language of the area where it originated, that is, Bengal, nor in the language that was still deeply entrenched in the soil and in the courts and other official dealings, Persian. It was in English.
THE BENGAL GAZETTE

The Bengal Gazette, the first Indian-owned newspaper, was launched in 1816, by Gangadhar Bhattacharya. According to Margarita Barns, "Its existense was a short one but it was the pioneer of hundreds of Indian-owned newspapers".28

Raja Ram Mohun Roy, a well known but controversial Hindu reformist, is also believed to have been associated with the launching of the Bengal Gazette. Gangadhar Bhattacharya himself and his supporters were members of Raja Ram Mohun Roy's "Arriya Samaj". The Bengal Gazette had no commercial interest. It represented a school of thought-progressive Hinduism—rather than any commercial or business interest. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the first among the Indians of those days to realise the significance of the English rule and he went all out to infuse some life into the depressed and morbid Indian society. He had also to reckon with the increasing intensity of the christian missionary propaganda which was gaining ground every day. His efforts at social reforms apart, the contributions he made to the growth of newspapers are by no means in-significant. There are many newspapers that he either owned, edited or circulated. Besides his association with the Bengal Gazette and later on in 1821, taking over of the Bengali weekly, "Sangbad Kaumudi", in 1822, he started a persian language weekly,
"Miraat-ul-Akhbar". It was meant for that section of the Indian society who did not understand either English or Bengali, side by side, he also launched an English periodical "Brahmunical Magazine", whose sole purpose was to counter the propaganda of the Sarampur missionaries.

OTHER NEWSPAPERS

Within the space of a few years, many other local owned newspapers were on the scene. "Jam-i-Jahan Numa" the first urdu newspaper in the Sub-continent, made its appearance in 1828. After thirteen issues, the paper had to switch over to persian because as urdu journal, it did not have much patronage and a sizeable clientele for it to continue. Again in 1824, after Jam-i-Jahan Numa, had successfully lasted for two years as a solvely persian language journal, the paper began an urdu section as well. Therefore, it continued appearing in Persian with an Urdu supplement. Its editor and publisher was Hurryhar Dutt.

Bengal also claims the rare distinction of being the home of the first Hindi newspaper as well, "Qodunt Martund", the first Hindi newspaper in Devnagri script was launched in Calcutta in 1826.

A total of about 406 newspapers appeared in the Sub-continent from 1801 to 1857, in eight different languages of the country. Of these
papers largest number of newspapers (127) were in English, while Bengali and Urdu following closely with a number of 108 and 102 newspapers and periodicals respectively. Persian language press occupied the fourth place with a total number of 16 newspapers from 1801 to 1857. It is significant to note that Hindi language was not so popular in the early days of the British rule and from 1780, when the first newspaper of the Sub-continent had appeared until 1857, when the new era of British rule started only 12 Hindi magazine and periodicals appeared, a number which was less than the number of Gujarati newspapers. A total number of 22 Gujarati language papers were published from three centres, namely, Bombay (16), Ahmadabad (4) and Surat (2), during the period under review. A total of ten newspapers were published in Marhati language from Bombay (4) and Poona (6). Ten newspapers were also published in more than one language simultaneously, or we can call them bi-lingual in modern terminology. The combinations of the languages being:

1. English and Gujarati from Bombay,
2. Bengali and Persian from Calcutta,
3. Bengali, Persian and Hindi from Calcutta,
4. English and Marhati from Bombay,
5. English and Bengali from Calcutta
6. English, Bengali, Persian, Hindi and Urdu (a multilingual publications 'Marutund') from Calcutta,
7. Urdu and Hindi from Indore, Bharatpur and Gawallar, and

8. Tamil and Malayam language publication from Madras.

Calcutta, which was first to fall under British colonial rule of the three English colonies—other two being Madras and Bombay—remained the most important and largest press centre during 19th century. A total number of about 210 newspapers and periodicals were launched in this presidency town of East India Company from 1801 to 1857. Of these 98 were in Bengali language while 90 in English. In newspapers were published in Urdu, five in Hindi (Devnagri script) and eight newspapers were published in Persian. Other important newspaper centres were obviously Madras and Bombay, the other two colonial strong holds of the English. From the central and northern India Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Meerut and Benaras were prominent as newspaper centres, especially, as far as the Urdu journalism was concerned. It is significant to note that during 18th century and first half of the 19th century very few newspapers of any language were launched in the province of Punjab. During the period under review Lahore had only one English newspaper and four Urdu newspapers. As compared to it Sialkot had six Urdu newspapers launched during this period. Rest of the important towns of Punjab like Multan, Rawalpindi, Ludhiana, Gujranwala and Gujrat had one
urdu publication each at one time or another from 1801 to 1857. In
the province of N.W.F.P., Peshawar was the only place which had
two urdu newspapers published during the early half of the 19th
century. Reason for Punjab not being in the forefront of Journalism
in the first hundred years of the origin of the press in the Sub-continent
could be that the beginning of Journalism in India is linked with the
British occupation of Indian territories through East India Company,
and Punjab was annexed by the English in the fifth decade of the
nineteenth century, that is in 1849, when the sikhs were ruling there.
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CHAPTER IV

TONE OF THE PRESS TILL 1857

The first Indian newspaper was started in 1780, as said earlier, that is after the company forces defeated the Nawab of Bengal at Plassey in June 1757. For about 42 years from 1780 to 1821, when the first Indian owned newspaper was launched journalism in India was solely the English business. All the editors and the owners of the newspapers were Europeans. Therefore, the tone of the press though bitter against the authorities of the company, but it had nothing against the imperialistic designs of the British. The criticism was rather personal and based on self-interest and personal motives. But as the local population of the sub-continent took up the business of printing their own newspapers in 1821, the character of the press also changed. After the defeat at Plassey in 1757, the general public, especially Muslims, the former rulers having a glorious recent past were generally depressed and were suffering from a severe inferiority complex. The Muslims, particularly of Eastern part of Bengal where they constituted a majority, went into a self-styled seclusion. Partly because of that and partly because of a deliberate British policy to keep the Muslims out of the administration, the Muslims remained a thoroughly demoralised and dejected class throughout the 18th and the 19th century. The demoralisation and dejection also showed in the
columns of the native press of that period, they accepted the English rule as some thing superior and beneficial for the people of Subcontinent. The Indian-owned press praised the developments of the English rule and as a matter of fact accepted the "White man's burden" theory of Imperialism. The press praised every thing which was of English origin, from English life style to postal service, railway, construction of roads, establishment of dispensaries, education system and even English social traditions and values. Press used to indulge in such controversies as whether the natives while appearing before an English servant of the company should wear shoes or should appear before him taking off their shoes outside his office or residence. Furthermore, when Persian was replaced by English as the court language in 1837, the death knell of the Muslim supremacy at the courts was sounded. According to Sir William Hunter, there were "six Muslims against seven Hindu lawyers in 1838, they held their own till 1951. Between 1852 to 1868, out of 240 lawyers enrolled, only one was a Muslim".¹

From this vivid example, one can easily see the degeneration of the Muslims especially, in Bengal. The Muslim backwardness in education was due also to another reason. Margarita Barns writes that the Muslims were "Convinced that the only type of education worth following was a religious education", and so "did not avail
themselves of the opportunities offered to the same extent as the Hindus did. Moreover, the Muslims at this time were also displeased by the adoption of English in the courts in place of Persian, and it was many years before the community modified its attitude." 2

The growth of Journalism presupposes a sort of action and reaction in the society. An inert and senile society is not congenial for journalism to take firm roots. The dawn of 19th century saw the Muslim society in the Sub-continent, especially in Bengal - first to come under British occupation-withdrawn into itself. The fact of the matter is that the downfall and disintegration of Muslim society had started very early in the beginning of the 18th century with the death of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707. Demoralization of the Muslim reached at its climax with the defeat of Nawab Sirajud Dula at Plassey in 1757. A kind of nostalgia for the lost ruling power prevailed over them. Consequently, they remained demoralised and dejected for a long time. While the Hindu society was taking full advantage of the prevailing conditions, the Muslims seemed to have launched an undeclared non-cooperation movement. Gradually, they were left far behind in education and other fields including journalism. It was also the time when the Wahabi movement was in full swing and the Muslims disassociated themselves from all kinds of official policies initiated by the British rulers. Under such conditions where the social
scene was not congenial to the growth of journalism, journalistic activity among Muslims was retarded. Till 1857, there were very few newspapers owned by the Muslims.

It is a fact that the institution of press flourished in those parts of the Sub-continent which were under the administrative control of the East India Company namely, Bengal, Madras and the Bombay presidencies. Other parts of the Sub-continent which were not under the company's rule were far behind in the field of journalism. Delhi, the seat of the Mughal emperor, just a figure head of the country, Lahore, the capital of northern parts of the country which remained under the Sikh rule till 1849 and some other cities had few papers which mostly dealt with either the local matters or indulged in the politics of the princely states.

However, when the 1857 struggle, known as "Muntiny" started from Meerut on May 10, when the first European lost his life, the Muntiny soon became a country-wide great Rebellion. Whatever the causes of the spark off, it can be said, and many British and local authors had said, that the movement of 1857 had been developing steadily for the past 50 years and could be traced back to the Battle of Plassey with a chain of out breaks in 1806, 1824, 1849 and with concentrated effect from the beginning of 1857.
The thesis expressed is that the victory gained by East India Company forces at Plassey in 1757, opening the road to British Political supremacy, at first in Bengal, and subsequently throughout India, produced resentment which intensified in the course of a century and burst forth in the Mutiny. This thesis is substantiated by the following statements:

"The English obtained Bengal simply as the Chief Revenue Officer of the Delhi Emperor. Instead of buying the appointment by a fat bribe, we won it by the sword. But our legal title was simply that of the Emperor's "Diwan" or Chief Revenue Officer." (Subsequently) "who unsurped the functions of those" formerly in charge of the administration.

As the struggle against the British occupation of India gained momentum, the tone of the press owned by the locals, especially in those areas which were not under the Company's rule, got more and more critical of the British occupation, their political and social activities, their motives including the activities of the Christian missionaries in the field of the religion. Detailed account of the struggle of the local forces to oust the British from the subcontinent were published by the press owned by the Muslims and Hindus, especially in local languages. However, the English language press, mostly owned by the English or Anglo-Indian community openly sided
with the imperialist British rulers and severely criticised not only the local language press, but also the activities of the freedom fighters. In 1857, Bengal and North Western Provinces of India, the local languages press had a total circulation of 5166. Of this Punjab newspapers had only a circulation of not more than 500. The rest belonged to the provinces of Bengal, Oudh, and Delhi. Besides these printed newspapers, a number of hand written newssheets played an important role in moulding the public opinion against the British occupation of India and such newssheets time and again urged general public and the local army of the British rulers to rise against the foreign rule and throw the English men out of the country once for all. Such newssheets were first distributed in large numbers in Southern India in 1800. In these hand bills the local army, Hindus and Muslims were urged to take a united stand against the "Frangis" and were asked to wage a war till the last "Farangi" is eliminated from the Indian soil. Then in the out break of mutiny in 1806, the hand-written papers, according to Sir John Malcom played an important role in spreading hatred towards the British rule. However, the "Punjabee" and Lahore Chronicle from Lahore, the "Mofussilite" of Agra, "Bengal Hurkaru" of Calcutta and the "Bombay Times" appearing from Bombay not only supported the English rule but severely criticised the struggle for independence and demanded exemplary punishment and strict action against the freedom fighters and the newspapers which
published their achievements and gave publicity to their thought and action. These papers demanded restrictions on the freedom of the press for locally owned or local languages newspapers and went to the extent of demanding restrictions on the "desi" journalism even for one hundred years. "Bengal Hurkaru" published an article in which the British government was advised to take revenge by demolishing fifty mosques for every one church desecration and for the beginning the writer suggested that "the Jamia Masjid of Delhi should first of all be demolished." The paper also wrote that "at least one thousand mutineers should be shot dead for each christian man, woman or child killed by them." Bombay Times, published from Bombay wrote an article which demanded "blood for blood". But, the board of directors dismissed the editor Dr. Buist. The Lahore Chronicle in a leading article under the heading of Bloody Revenge - the only right policy, wrote that Delhi should be raised to the ground so that when the residents from here will go to other areas they will narrate the destruction of their city and tell the people that the streets of Delhi had seen the blood of English women and children. Therefore, its grand and beautiful places have been truned into rubble. This grand city will thus, turn into a "monument". If Delhi was not destroyed, the people said, than the Muslims will continue to live there and will be inspired to try for the revival of Islam through intrigues by looking at the monuments of past glory.
The most significant development in Public life was the launching of the first Indian newspaper in English, the weekly Bengal Gazette in 1816 by Gangadhar Bhattacharjee, a teacher who was influenced by the liberal ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Circulations with all these publications were small between a hundred and two hundred copies. But their appearance was notable for two reasons. In the first place, the press in India was growing roots in the country, evincing a keen interest in local events and national controversies, secondly, a more serious development was taking place a more serious attitude was gradually introducing itself into discussion, presentation and exposition than had been noticeable in the earlier newspapers. Religious controversy came in with the mission journals, the dispute was carried into Hindu society by the writings of Ram Mohan Roy, and English radicalism had its adherents in the field. In the official circles, the resentment at the presumption of Calcutta Europeans daring to criticise authority mounted to fury at the very thought of Indians attempting it. But there was a very practical problem it had to face, the Indian editor, unlike English, could not be deported.

Upto 1816, there were no Indian proprietors or editor of newspapers. Between 1816 and 1820, there was only one Indian owned newspaper published weekly in Calcutta. In Madras and Bombay there was considerable official sponsoring and patronage. This influenced
the character of the press in different presidencies. The general idea was that the newspaper should function as a branch of the administration, concerned more with conveying the views of the government to the community than informing the bureaucrats of the wishes of the people. The publications of the missionaries violated this tradition for the first time. But they were more interested in expressing their own opinion than recording the views of the public. Raja Ram Mohun Roy and James Silk Buckingham came too close to topics that touched the administration and were considered a danger to the company. But, Ram Mohun Roy generally was considered as unrepresentative of Hindu opinion because of his unorthodox views. Generally the contents of newspapers at the time in the Indian language journals, mostly in Bengali and Persian, contained writings on government, on social customs, on the necessity for the spread of education, especially scientific and medical education and on philanthropy, mingled with local reporting, foreign news, shipping intelligence and market prices.

The newspaper had come to stay in India despite weak beginning. It is not an accident that the dawn of the press is to be seen in the first moves to establish British sovereignty in India and that its rapid growth should synchronise with the strengthening of British authority. Between 1813 and 1835 several events took place which have their bearing on the growth of newspapers. The decision
to extend English education, the opening of jury service first to Indian converts to Christianity and later to Hindus and Muslims, and the increasing interest of British publicists in Indian affairs with a sense of responsibility for the acts of the Company came at the end of this period. A still more serious crisis was presented by the Indian "Mutiny" of 1856-57 which injected a racial colour to British thinking and affected the policies of the British for the next 90 years. The Indian press was not interested in over throwing the British government in India. Neither English residents of India, nor Indians conducting newspapers at the time were anxious to see the British leave the country. An important group in fact felt that British influence and English institutions were necessary for the regeneration of the people. In the Mutiny itself, the press took little interest. In Bengal, Bombay and Madras, there was no indication of the unrest among the Indian regiments of the Company's army. In the North-West the few organs that existed leaned heavily on government support and were under the double control of censorship and subsidy.

Only in Delhi and in the Punjab were newspapers inclined to oppose British influence and they all seem to have ceased publication just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. These were the Persian, and the Hindi newspapers. Not all of them were against the British. Between 1830 and 1855, newspapers grew both in numbers and
circulation in Bengal, Bombay and North West Province, in Madras, the Karnatak and Malabar the effort was mostly missionary, and very rigorously controlled by the government. In Delhi and the Punjab, the shadow of the declining regimes lingered fitfully over the Persian and Urdu Press. The Mutiny was thus of little significance for the Press. What was far more important was its consequence. The Mutiny was responsible for driving a wedge between English-owned and Indian newspapers and creating a distinction between English language and Indian language journals.
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CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEPRESSION AND INFERIORITY COMPLEX - 1857-1900

The atmosphere after the unsuccessful struggle of 1857 for independence in the subcontinent was that of political and social depression and disappointment. The people of the sub-continent suffered from an acute inferiority complex and considered all Europeans, especially Englishmen as very superior from the local population. The period of 1857 struggle, and after, was an age of political change and reform in Europe. The people of the subcontinent realized that the revival of monarchy was not possible even if the British were forced to leave their colony. But for achieving independence on democratic principles organized society was an essential. Therefore, in the absence of organized groups, the press of the subcontinent was an important, and the only, medium of the expression of organized public opinion for political and social purpose. Soon after 1857, the press seldom indulged in politics. Most of the time the stress was on social and moral issues. Till the end of the 19th century, the tone of the Indian vernacular press was very submissive and particularly soon after 1857, having a shade of inferiority complex. All Europeans were generally considered superior human beings and people had started feeling ashamed of their traditions and culture.
Aligarh Institute Gazette of March 7, 1873 while pleading the cause of the "Natives" in the higher Civil Services after observing that the "Natives" had done well in the fields of Law, and politics and were well acquainted with the country and its people, the paper wrote about the third requirement of honesty in the discharge of public duties. It said that this was one field in which Europeans may be accredited with fulfilling just as well as natives. The paper further stated that the above facts viewed in connection with the consideration that civilization had long been in progress in England, while in India it might be said to have only lately commenced, that was, since the commencement of the British rule.

Ab-i-Hayat-i-Hind, of Agra published on January 1, 1873, a representation made to the government by the Anjuman-i-Haq, saying that in the cities, towns, and villages there was a great need of such education which would enable the ignorant people of this country to lay aside their habits and customs and learn to be modest and good.

The paper further stated that before the spread of education, it was common custom for thousands of the most respectable people in the city of Agra to sing and dance, and join the ignorant classes during the "Holi" festivities, but, by the blessing of education, this custom had been discontinued, and was only indulged in by the lower classes.
Class discrimination in those days used to take considerable space in the press. Since the British colonialists were not acquainted with the Indian traditions, they treated people from all cast and creed at par. The people of sub-continent, especially Hindus, took strong exception to this practice. Akmal-u-Akhbar, Delhi, in its issue of December 29, 1872 commenting in an article upon the indiscriminate admission of all castes and classes of boys into government schools, compared the Education Department to a "tray of loot", of which all who pleased partook. The writer went on further, "things have come to such a pass, that in the District School of Gujrat, there may be seen a number of children of the very lowest order of prostitutes, who are school fellows with boys of the most respectable classes which cannot be pleasing to the latter."

The newspapers of the sub-continent realised the backwardness of the native people in the field of scientific knowledge and frequently commented on it. Kavi Vachan Sudha of Benares in its issue of December 30, 1872, wrote an article under the heading of "A sacrifice at the Normal School, Benares", stating that; "the master employed for teaching surveying has been dismissed, and the class abolished". The writer added, "this is well, for in proportion as the government saves, so will our load of taxation be lessened. And here we might say, that by such acts government clearly shows
that the English wish only to teach such knowledge as will enable us to become Maulvis. For instance, what is the reason that in this country there should be thousands of large and small schools, and yet not one school of arts? The answer is that the English do not from their hearts, desire that Hindus should surpass them in knowledge and be able to do all they do; because should the people of the country obtain such proficiency in the arts and sciences, it will lessen the importance of the English. But this is not all; there would be less profit derived then there is now by Europeans, as the goods imported from Europe could be manufactured in this country. After the struggle, the North Western provinces, excluding Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies, of the sub-continent had an average of about 300 newspapers and periodicals between 1857 and 1890. Even after the organization of Indian National Congress the press remained the most important organ of the expression of the peoples will and aspirations, as most of the newspapers and periodicals viewed the congress with doubt. Gradually the press became more vocal and critical against the British rule in the sub-continent, and some papers started criticising the policies of the government. Akhyar-ul-Akhbar, Lucknow, on March 11, 1873, made a comparison between the policies of the ancient sovereigns of India and the British government. The paper remarked that the former rulers of the country deemed the support of the people as their prime duty, and had such an excessive regard for
their welfare, and loved them so fondly, that they squandered large 
sums of money in gifts and charities simply for their benefit, being 
under the conviction that just as much portion of the revenue collected 
from the subjects as was sufficient for the necessary expenses of the 
management of the country, with a small reserve for hard times and 
state exegancies, ought to be kept in the royal treasury; and that the 
rest was the subjects due, and ought, therefore, to be restored to 
them. The English government followed quite a different principle. 
It did not consider the support of the subjects as the duty of the ruling 
power, but rather expected them to acquire money by cultivating 
arts and sciences, and aims at filling its coffers and increasing the 
public revenue by continually devising new taxation schemes, and 
laying out the public money in a variety of commercial and lucrative 
pursuits; while it was delighted to encumber the people with new burdens 
with rising rates and cesses, the paper after describing some of the 
government schemes for curtailing the expenditure expressed surprise 
over the financial position of the country and said "we hear of the state 
debt increasing year by year". The paper urged the people that was 
the time for them to be up and doing.

Besides commenting on culture, education economic conditions 
and administrative matters newspapers of that period also commented 
on the most important issue which had a political aspect also. The
The issue was the employment of the Hindustanis. The British colonialists had made it a point to keep the Indians away from prestigious and important jobs. The English rulers had convinced the people that they were incompetent and wanting in ability and that they were unable to compete with the Europeans. Most of the Indians believed it to be true. But gradually they started competing successfully with the Europeans in Civil Service Examinations, and in tests for other higher science and arts fields, and displayed superior talents. Despite their higher proficiency they were debarred from the higher offices of the government. The Nur-ul-Absar Allahabad, of March 15, 1873, discussing the issue in detail wrote:

"It now remains to be seen why, with all these facts in their favour, "Natives" are still debarred from higher offices under the government. In a few of the discussions which have a late been going on. It has been mentioned that on acquiring the knowledge of English, Natives become disobedient, and begin to think so highly of themselves as to regard themselves equal to Europeans in rank and dignity. This may be true to a certain extent, but can certainly be no charge against the Hindustanis. If Bengalis and some other educated natives have taken a fancy to imitate European manners and habits, this certainly may be looked upon as a bad effect on English education. But it does not appear why simply this consideration, or
the fact of a few of the Hatives having taken to wrong notions of superiority, should be made a pretext for excluding Hindustanis from the higher offices.

Till the end of the 19th century, the press was regulated through the press and Registration of Book Act, XXV of 1867. After the formation of Indian National Congress, the Muslims of the subcontinent also moved to organize themselves. Thus, Hindu-Muslim religious controversies gradually increased and the Press was also divided in Muslim Press and the Hindu Press. The most frequent cause of strained relations, and sometimes communal riots, was "Cow Slaughter". The Incidents of "Zabiha" of regularly reported by the press. The official records of newspapers kept in all the provinces of the subcontinent had a permanent heading "Kine Killing" or "Kine Slaughter". In 1892 religious riots on the question of Kine slaughter occurred in Azamgarh and Ballia, followed by those in Bombay and many other places in the sub-continent. Therefore, Kine slaughter question assumed an unusual degree of significance, and was by far the most widely discussed subject during 1892 and for quite sometime after. The official report on the press for 1893 said about it.

As might be expected, the occasion was seized on by the more disaffected portion of the press an opportunity either for an attack on
the Government and its officials or to endeavour to intensify the ill-feeling already existing between the Mohammadans and Hindus. An instance of this may be noted the violent and intemperate attacks on the North Western provinces Administration, published by the Akhbar-i-Am, Lahore in the issues of 26th, 29th and 30th September and 3rd October 1893, supported by the people's journal, a paper published in English but practically under the same management, and an article of the distinctly mischievous tendency which appeared in the Sing Sahal of the 24th August 1893 under the heading of "To be proud of Muhammadanism is a mere folly", containing an offensive attack on the Muhammadan religion, for which the Editor, finding that he had for once gone too far, abjectly apologised in a subsequent issue of the paper.

The attitude adopted by the tribune, so far at least as the action of the North Western Provinces Government in regard to the riots at Azamgarh and Ballia was concerned, was far from conciliatory. Writing on the 23rd August 1893, this paper remarked with reference to the speech delivered by Sir Charles Crosthwaite at Ballia that it had never read a speech conceived in worse taste. At the same time the Editor affected to approve of the measures taken by the Government of Bengal, and contrasted the sentiments expressed by Sir A. Mcdonnell with writings of the Anglo-Indian paper headed by the pioneer, which were referred to in the following terms:-
"Newspapers which are supposed to be the exponents of the Government officers serving and Government have directly brought about the state of affairs which is not causing so much alarm". In more than one instance the riots in the North-Western Provinces, which arose out of the Kine-slaughter agitation, were attributed to inexperience of the young officers placed in the charge of districts, while the Tajul Akhbar, Rawalpindi, even went so far as to assert that Government officials deliberately provoked ill-feeling between two communities in order to win a name for themselves by suppressing the disturbances which they had originated. Several attempts were also made to prove that the Key-note of the policy of Government officials was 'divide et imprea'. (Divide and rule). . . . . . The Paisa Akhbar, without any apparent object other than to obtain notoriety, published a sensational communication from a correspondent giving exaggerated account of excess alleged to have been committed on the Mohammadans during Bombay riots, but eventually on being addressed on the subject apologised for its mistake. Of the other topics frequently discussed was Afghanistan. This country attracted the attention of the Press since long. Especially when the Russians had extended their borders upto Afghanistan and the British Government in the sub- continent feared an invasion of Afghanistan and then of India by them. The press gave considerable space and coverage to Afghanistan. In the beginning this discussion of affairs in Afghanistan was chiefly
confined to the usual form of praise of the Amir's capacity as a Ruler and his loyalty as an ally of the British Government. The vernacular press usually blamed the Anglo-Indian press for being the cause of suspicious in the Amir's mind regarding the Indian Government. In view of the Russian advance upto the frontiers of Afghanistan the press always insisted on the friendly relations between Afghanistan and India. But there was an exception also. The Rahbar-i-Hind Lahore always expressed hostility towards the Amir of Afghanistan. The paper in its issue of 11th May 1893, denounced the Amir as a robber.

Later, when Kabul Mission under Sir M. Durand (of Durand Line) was despatched to Kabul was welcomed by the press. Although suspicion was expressed that the Amir would accede to British proposals, owing to the British action in Baluchistan ending in deposition of the Khan of Kalat. The results obtained by the Mission were favourably commented on, and both Sir Durand and Amir Abdur Rehman were praised. However, Akhbar-i-Aam, Lahore, and Himma, Rawalpindi described the mission as a total failure.

In the internal political situation, although newspapers had not started giving much Importance to the National Congress till 1900, but the press had taken sides as pro and against the body. The chief congress organ in the Punjab till 1900, was the "Tribune", Lahore,
had appeared as a daily during the 9th congress meeting at Lahore in 1893. The Government of the Punjab had issued orders to impose a restriction on the students to attend congress meetings. This order drew forth a storm of indignant protest from the "Tribune". Other papers in Punjab which supported congress were the "Singh Sihal", Amritsar, The "Rahbar-i-Hind", Lahore, the "Akbar-i-Aam", Lahore, the "Tajul Akhbar", Rawalpindi, the "Himala", Rawalpindi, and the "Paisa Akhbar", Lahore.

Those taking other side included the Sirajul Akhbar, Jehlum, the Gham Khwar-i-Hind, Lahore, the Wafadar, Lahore, and the Akmal-ul-Akhbar, Delhi.

The arguments put forward in favour of congress were that it was a political and not a religious movement, and therefore, open to all classes of the people independent of caste or creed. This paper which supported congress said that the aim of the congress was the advancement of the masses and the "constitutional agitation" was one of the lessons of the people of India and learned from English education. It was also endeavoured to show that Government was in no way opposed to the movement, as was evident by the fact that several of its prominent supporters had been advanced to high positions. Every attempt was made by the congress to disavow any feeling of disloyalty towards the British Crown. Attempts were also made by
these papers to win over Muslims population and they were successful also to some extent because of Muharram Ali Chishti, a well known Editor of Lahore who held aloof were stigmatised as being "selfish and psychopaths". Attacks were also made from time to time on Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, in connection with Mohammadan Educational Conference which was held in Aligarh in 1893.

On the other hand the efforts of the papers opposing the Congress were mainly directed towards inducing the Muslims to keep aloof from the movement, which, according to these papers, was detrimental to their interests. Besides these vernacular opponents of the Congress, some Anglo-Indian papers also opposed the congress and described it as "disloyal" to the Government.

The cases of assault by Europeans on Natives were also used by the press as an opportunity to criticise the British Government. About more than one hundred such cases were reported by the press till the end of 19th century, in which some English men had murdered Indians in cold blood. The murderers were either acquitted from the charge or were fined from Rs. 10.00 to Rs. 200.00 at the most. One person was shot dead by an Englishman, and the killer was acquitted on the plea that he took the native wearing a black blanket to be a bear. Another English officer was acquitted of the murder charge when he said that he was "just warning his bearer with the gun which,
accidently got fired". A case in which a European boy had shot an Indian in the Kangra District, and was fined Rs. 10.00 only by the Magistrate, was made the subject of sacrastic remarks in the Koh-i-Nur. The Taj ul Akbar observed sacrastically that native possessed spleens more delicate than the skin of a mosquito, and that it was owing to this cause that they died from the blows inflicted by the soft hands of Europeans. The Dost-i-Hind of Bhera, remarked with reference to a case in which a European had shot an Indian at Ranaghat in Bengal, that with the advent of the cold weather the shooting of "Black animals" had again commenced, and that something should had been done to keep these "shikaris" in check. The tribune, Lahore, advised the Indians, after three more cases of Europeans killing Indians were reported to return blow for blow.

Taking note of the increasingly hostile attitude and strong tone of the Press, a Press Association was formed in the Punjab, modelled on the lines of the similar Association started in Bengal. The objects of the movement was to form an organised body, which in addition to bringing the members of the provincial press into closer social relationship, would not only give them facilities, for obtaining and disseminating reliable and authentic news, but would at the same time effect an improvement in the tone and morale of the papers joining the Association. To aid in this object the Government arranged to supply
the Association from time to time with press notes on matters of
general and public interest. A fair proportion of the papers in pro-
vince identified themselves with the movement. The Tribune, however,
held aloof, Editor being of the opinion that every newspaper should be
an independent enterprise and an independent exponent of public
opinion, and that if all papers were conducted on the same lines,
press would become valueless as a vehicle of public opinion and
criticism. The Punjab patriot, Lahore, a weekly journal published
in English, claimed that the Association had succeeded in its objects
and that "Improvement" in the tone, general spirit, getup of the
papers, which had come under the society's influence, was already
marked. The optimistic view was, however, scarcely borne out by
facts, and several leading papers had a strong tone even after the
Association was formed. The Government was annoyed with several
leading papers, belonging to the Association, especially with the
Koh-i-Nur and Paisa Akhbar.

The official report for 1892 said, "The spirit of exaggeration,
which has always militated against any usefulness which the vernacular
press might otherwise possess as an exponent of public opinion, was
again prominently noticable during the year 1892. In cases where
inquiries were instituted with regard to complaints appearing in the
papers, the grievances brought to notice were almost invariably found
to have been either considerably magnified or wholly misrepresented.
The conductors of vernacular journals, in their desire to gain
notoriety and to push the circulation of their papers, are, it is to be
feared, not over scrupulous with regard to publishing communications
from their correspondents without first testing their accuracy. So
long as present large number of papers with a limited circulation and
conducted by persons of small means and little social standing
continues, this evil must be expected........there was, however, it
is satisfactory to note, somewhat less of actually offensive criticism
and the tone of many of the papers in discussing the various government
measures was moderate.

The British Government had taken little action against the
press in North-Western provinces till 1900. In most of the cases just
a warning was considered to be enough or the paper used to be black
listed which meant no official press notes or hand outs were given to
the paper on black list. Any severe action till then was not needed as
most of the papers and periodicals were of the religious nature or
were meant for social reforms. The papers dealing with religion
were usually drawn against each other. Hindus against Muslims and
vice-versa, shias against sunnis and Qadyans, sunni against Qadyans
and shia and hindus and muslims both against christianity etc. etc.,

The British Government seldom interfered in the affairs of these
papers, unless there was a danger of law and order situation being arisen out of such controversies. Otherwise, the religious papers and periodicals were declared as harmless by the police official dealing with the press. For instance reporting about weekly Al Hakam, Qadian, Gurdaspur, the Assistant to the D.I.G. Police for press said, "This is the organ of the Qadiani sect and the bulletin of their leader, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and chiefly concerned in establishing his claim to the title of prophet. It has no influence on the general public, but is designed to advocate the interest of Mirza's disciples. Its tone was in former years scurrilous and sometimes more or less openly seditious. During the year 1899 it did not overtly to incite illegal acts, but contained a violent and mischievous attack on the Arya Samaj. Its writings are generally on religious subjects. Influence harmless."
REFERENCE

1. Comments by the Assistant to the D.I.G., Criminal Investigation Department, U.P. about Urdu Weekly Aligarh Institute Gazette, in 1911 report.

2. Aligarh Institute Gazette March 7, 1873, as reported in the statements of Vernacular Press of Punjab January and February 1873.


5. Kavi Vachan Sudha, Benares, December 30, 1872, as reported in the selection of vernacular papers from North Western India in 1873.


10. Same as above


12. Ibid.
CHAPTER VI

GRADUAL MUSLIM AWAKENING DURING 19TH CENTURY

When Indian National Congress was organised in 1884, it was not given much importance by the general public, especially the press. However, some newspapers criticized the organisation and described it as an "hostile act" towards the British Rulers, as the British rule was generally considered to be progressive and beneficial for the Sub-continent. However, Indian National Congress was considered to be a Hindu organisation from the very beginning and it was opposed by almost all the important Muslim public figures with very few exceptions. Till 1888, Muslims all over India had started describing congress as a Hindu body. First to oppose the participation by the Muslims in the activities of the Indian National Congress was Syed Amir Ali, while Sir Syed Ahmad Khan followed in his footsteps and used his journalistic activities to urge and convince the muslims to keep aloof from the Congress. A statement by Syed Amir Ali had appeared in a Lahore paper "Rafiq-i-Hind" which asked the Muslims not to associate themselves with the activities of the Hindu organization. In 1888, Congress session was held in Lucknow, which was described as the "assembly of rebels" by the Lahore press, which assured the government that "Punjab was loyal to the British Rulers as the nobility of Punjab realises that the activities by the Congress were against the interest of the Indians."
The press, especially the local languages newspapers, which used to be very mild in tone and apolitical in character developed into an organ of effective public opinion gradually as the Indian National Congress started its activities. Although the Congress claimed, and strived for, to be a national organisation representing all sections of the Indian society, including Muslims. However, Indian Muslims from the very outset considered this organisation to be a communal body working in the interest of the Hindu majority of the Sub-continent. For the first few years after its inception the Indian National Congress was viewed with contempt even by many Hindus, who considered the organisation of such a body to be an act of hostility towards the British Government. However, the distinction of Hindu Politics and Muslim politics became clear and distinct after Congress started its activities.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the first Indian Muslim who was bold enough to project the Muslim case to the rulers almost immediately after the failure of the struggle of 1857. His Risala-i-Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind (The Causes of Indian Revolt) presented a scientific and courageous analysis of the factors responsible for the revolt. He cited the following causes:

1. The revolt was the outcome of the frustrations and the accumulated wrongs of the decades on the part of the British rulers in whom the people had lost all faith.
2. Active patronage given by the rulers to Christian missionaries led to the belief that the government wanted to interfere with peoples' religion.

3. The rapacity of money-lending classes and the unusually heavy rates of revenues assessments had ruined many families financially and undermined their allegiance to the British.

4. The disbandment of the princely armies and dissolution of native "Darbars" gave rise to widespread unemployment.

5. Indigenous industries were throttled by the competition of cheap machine made goods imported from Britain.

6. Government had kept itself isolated from the people by neither associating them with the administration nor listening to their grievances.

7. The Muslims did not join the revolt out of sheer perversity; they had an understandable case against the government, for the rigours of the administrative system bore harshly upon them.

8. The systematic exclusion of Muslims from higher administrative ranks, which they had practically monopolised in the past under successive dynasties, had caused great unrest.

However, Sir Syed opined that Muslims did not participate in the revolt en masse. To bring home the point to the authorities, he wrote a book titled the "Loyal Mohammadans of India" in which he played up the role of those Muslims, who gave full assistance to the rulers in that period of crisis.
The Aligarh Movement is the name given to that combination of efforts on the part of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his colleagues that aimed at the cultural renaissance, social regeneration and the political rehabilitation of the Muslims in the sub-continent. This movement began soon after 1857, gained momentum during the next half-a-century and though aimed at keeping Muslims aloof from politics, ultimately led to the establishment of the All India Muslim League in 1906. During the lifetime of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan it passed through the following phases:

1. Healing of the breach between the ruler and the ruled by assuring Muslim loyalty to the British and the necessary adjustment to and compromises with the new order.

2. To bring about a closer understanding between the two, it was considered necessary to open the minds of the people to European literature, science and technology. For that the Scientific Society was established in 1863, that published translation into Urdu of Standard English work on Chemistry, Physics, light, heat and other scientific subjects as well as elementary and advanced works on mathematics. The Society also published the "Scientific Society Magazine" or "Akhbar Scientific Society", later named "Aligarh Institute Gazette." This bi-lingual weekly continued for thirty two years (1866-98). It was a good example of sober and responsible journalism. Non-communal in outlook, it projected people's affairs feelings and emotions on topics of current interest.

3. For the social regeneration of Muslims, another journal named "Tahzib-ul-Akhlq" or "Mohammadan Social Reformer" was sponsored in 1870 which continued for
about seven years during its first phase. This aimed at promoting a rational religious outlook among Muslims, furthering the cause of education in western and oriental branches of learning, reminding Muslims of their past glory and at disseminating new cultural values in order to civilize them. The journal also played a great role in asking Muslims not to squander away money in wasteful channels, abandon un-Islamic customs and to take greater interest in business and commerce.

4. To acquaint the Muslims with the western learning the Anglo-Mohammadan College was established in Aligarh which about a couple of decades after the death of its founder, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, took the form of the Muslim University of Aligarh. The purpose was to help in the emergence of a class of Muslim intellectuals well-versed in Muslim traditions as well as in western learning, who could provide men for official cadres and civil services so that Muslims could get their due share in the administration. Similarly, institutions were established in other parts of the sub-continent.

5. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, throughout his life, asked Muslims to eschew politics. This was because he considered them unprepared to take part in active politics and also did not want Muslims to do anything that might harm the cause of good will between the rulers and the ruled. When in 1884, the Indian National Congress was established, he asked Muslims not to join it and to keep their activities confined to educational, social and cultural fields.

6. Sir Syed was opposed to representative elective institutions because according to him, that would reduce Muslim representation to much below the level of their percentage in population. He was also opposed to competitive examinations for civil services as Muslims being backward in education would lag behind others.

7. Sir Syed, during the early phase of his public career believed in a United India without distinction of caste, creed or colour but when the Urdu-Hindi controversy and Hindu prejudices against Muslims rose in tempo,
he began to express views indicating his belief in the "two-nation theory".

8. The Aligarh Movement also embraced literary renaissance in its fold. Sir Syed's lead initiating a simple Urdu prose was followed by his contemporaries like Hali, Nazir Ahmed and others. A new form of poetry emerged with Hali in the lead. Thus Urdu literature took a more meaningful and purposeful form.

The Scientific Society Magazine or "Akbar Scientific Society" subsequently named "Aligarh Institute Gazette" was first a weekly and later a bi-weekly, bilingual newspaper. It was a fine specimen of sober and balanced journalism and could rightly be called a "quality" newspaper because it aimed at disseminating correct, accurate and authentic news of national and international significance without giving it any exaggerating or sensational touch and published balanced informative and interpretative editorials along with background articles, both original and those called from foreign newspapers. Its intellectual approach towards the understanding of national and international problems and its outspoken comments on the maltreatment of natives at the hands of European bureaucracy lent it an independent outlook that was greatly appreciated by the intelligentsia. Its bilingual complexion made it a vehicle of ideas that simultaneously gave it the status of an agent of free flow of information and opinions between the rulers and the ruled. Though non-communal in approach, this newspaper played up Muslim needs and aspirations and gave good
coverage to the educational, social and cultural activities of Muslims of the sub-continent.

It was a 16-page paper with the motto, "Liberty of the Press should be the policy of a wise government and its maintenance is the duty of the subjects". Its language and style was chaste and lucid and its views were always given due weight by the rulers of the day. In fact, it was regarded as the most authentic spokesman of Muslim public opinion without in any way changing its non-communal character.

While on a visit to England, Sir Syed was told of the splendid role played by "The Tatler" of Richard Steels and "The Spectator" of Joseph Addison during the eighteenth century in bringing about a revolution in the manners, habits, customs and ideas of the common man through light essays with a slight tinge of humour and thus leaving a great impact on the contemporary literature. It was somewhat on the pattern of these two journals, that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan sponsored the "Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq" or "Mohammadan Social Reformer" in December 1870.

The eight to twelve page fortnightly in Urdu, printed wholly in "type" was started on a non-profit basis and aimed at
the following:

a. To acquaint the Muslims with the new values of civilization and culture in order to make them better human beings.

b. To impress upon them the virtues of self-respect, punctuality, cleanliness, truthfulness, conduct in society, good behaviour towards others, welfare of women and of taking interest in business and commerce and improvement of agricultural methods.

c. To bring home to the people the desirability of doing away with social evils.

d. To make efforts in the direction of promoting a rational approach to religion, freedom of expression and free discussion on the problems of the day.

e. To promote western learning and at the same time to remind the muslims of their glorious past.

During the first phase of the journal that continued for about seven years, Sir Syed wrote 112 articles out of a total number of 226 articles that appeared. The free discussion on religious and social matters led to great controversy that helped a free exchange of views through journals for and against Sir Syed's line of thought.

**SIR SYED'S IMPACT ON MUSLIM PRESS**

As Sir Syed's medium of communication was Urdu, and his journals too were in Urdu, therefore, his impact on Urdu press was much greater than on the press in other languages. His journals were followed by a very large number of papers throughout the
sub-continent some supporting and others opposing his viewpoint. Among his supporters "Paisa Akhbar" of Lahore and "Vakil" of Amritsar were in the vanguard. "Paisa Akhbar" was a popular daily sponsored by Moulvi Mahbub Alam in 1887. It reflected the sobriety and balance of Sir Syed’s journalism and promoted Muslim interest in politics and education in a moderate manner. It gave support to all Muslim movements inside and outside the sub-continent. Probably it was the most widely circulated Muslim daily till 1911.

"Vakil" was a weekly owned by Sh. Ghulam Muhammad. It was brought out during the closing years of the 19th century and among its editors, Maulana Abdullah Al-Imdadi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abdullah Minhas became very prominent. The Vakil was a highly respected Muslim spokesman. According to Muhammad Ali, it was a very good example of Urdu Journalism. In 1912 he wrote in the "Comrade"; "The Vakil has represented the best type of Urdu Journalism and its views have always been broad and dignified. It has exercised an intellectual tolerance and comprehension which is rare even amongst the better class of English Journals in this country." These two papers continued to exist for roundabout half-a-century and made a mark on Muslim public opinion.
Among the opponents of Sir Syed "Rafiq-i-Hind" of Lahore and "Muhazzib" of Lucknow played a notable role. The former appeared in 1884 under the editorship of Moulvi Muharram Ali Chishti, gave full support to Sir Syed's educational movement but later became a vigorous opponent because of his views on religion. The "Muhazzib" of Lucknow was started in 1890 by Abdul Halim Sharar. This paper had the distinction of having made a proposal that Muslim and non-Muslim provinces be separated from each other and migration of population should take place.

The backwardness of the Bengali Muslims could be judged from William Hunter's statement that "of the 240 Indian pleaders admitted to the Calcutta Bar between 1852 and 1868 only one was Muslim and among 1338 gazetted appointments, the number of Muslims was only 92. The gravity of the situation was realised by the Bengali Muslims much earlier than Aligarh Movement started by Sir Syed. Nawab Abdul Latif had launched a programme of modern education for the Muslims in Bengali and English. Creative efforts on the part of Muslim writers led to the emergence of new Bengali literature with its roots in the Muslim society.

Synchronising with the growth of Muslim journals in other parts of the sub-continent, there appeared a very large number of newspapers and other periodicals in Bengali, which though shortlived,
performed a useful service in acquainting the Muslims with their glorious traditions and boosted up their morale. Among these, the first important journal was "Shudhakar" that appeared in 1889 from Calcutta under the editorship of Sheikh Abdur Rahim, a well-known author and scholar. He collected around him a large number of leading writers who in later period became very prominent. After a few years, he sponsored another journal "Mihir" which was equally important. This journalist played a notable role in developing literacy in the Muslim youth of Bengal.

Next in importance was "Islam Pracharak" that appeared in 1891 and was edited by Munshi Riaz-ud-Din Ahmad. This aimed at propagation of Islam and amelioration or the social conditions of Muslims. Its major contribution was the introduction of Islamic terminology in Bengali literature. It was under the impact of this journal that Muslim writers began to use the word "Allah" and "Rasul" in place of "Ishwar" and "Autar".

The tone adopted by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan against British colonialists was very mild and appologetic. He tried to convince them, that responsibility for 1857 upsurge did not lie with the Muslims and at the same time persuaded the Muslims to achieve modern knowledge and cooperate with the British government. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan’s journalism was in such a low tone that the British administration coined a term "Aligarh School" for "Loyal and low-toned newspaper".2
Following extracts from some of the important newspapers show the trend of the public opinion in general, and how the tone of the press became political from non-political issues in various parts of the sub-continent.

The "Julwa-i-Toor" of the 16th December published a diary from Delhi of the first week of December and said that the case of Chuna Mull, connected with the Fattehpuree Musjid had commenced and that Lalla Mohesh Dass had given evidence to the effect that the door and courtyard of the musjid, together with the shops were "Waqf" legacy for pious purposes, but Chuna Mull purchased the shops and repaired them. Orders were passed that "Government was now defendant of the musjid".3

The "Khair Khawah-i-Punjab" of December 21 contains an article on the manners and customs of the English and Hindustaneees. The article said, "Munshi Pyaree Lall, Secretary to the Delhi Society, remarks that ignorant people say "as the "choli" (boddice) is to a "daman" (skirt) so is a Hindu and a Muslim, and that God has made only two creeds, one Hindu and the other Muslim. This has spread from the Himalayas to Ras Komari and from Karachi to Asam. With such people it might sometimes be said that the English are brave and kings, in their ruling we derive comfort. Fire, water, air and all such necessities are in their power, they have gained
victories over deities, and through the means of this Government our
tletters go hundreds of miles to our friends and relations; while by
the Railway a journey which do not long ago occupied fifteen days is
now performed in twenty-four hours. Our forefathers could never
have affected such changes we can even hear news from places
thousands of miles distant in four minutes. For the administration of
justice judges on liberal salaries are appointed. Whereas in former
times if one bore enmity to another he was murdered, and the murderer
went unpunished. This Government is so just that no criminal can
escape just punishment. If we are wealthy our governors do not place
a bag of chillies in our mouths and our rights are not forced from us.
Our ancestors used to bury their wealth for fear of their governors.
Now we toss gold about in open and no one interferes with us, we sit
in our shivalas (temples) and worship, and call out prayers from our
masjids, or mosques, and no one asks what we are doing; nor does
any one pull down these places and build churches. The governors in
the days of our ancestors made thousands of people Muslims by the
power of the sword, and converted many temples into masjids. So
every body has been blessed by British Rule that they well know what
ruin would await them if that rule went from Hind. The address is
continued in the same strain in praise of the government and in
conclusion, the speaker adds that the English ought to give up that
idea of distinction between black and white, "for after all we are
are brothers". He also thinks that it would be as well if Europeans were to become inhabitants of the country, and follow some of the local customs in order to have friendly relations with the Indians.  

The "Akhbar-i-Alam" of December 26 opens with an article headed "Fouj Kashi" as follows: "In former times, when a British Army was ordered to march, the Government Gazette always notified the same giving the reason for the movement, in order to inform the general public of the reasons for military movement. The great advantage of this publicity was that the acts of government were known, and people judged for themselves the necessity or otherwise of such actions and the public could have no doubt about the measures of the Government. This was done when an army was sent to Punjab and to Oudh. But the British Army has been sent to Abyssinia, and to displace the Tonk Chief, Muhammad Khan and the reasons for these movements have not yet been gazetted in the Government Gazette" "the Editor of the Newspaper recommends that on such occasions proclamations should be issued, as it is quite necessary that all suspicion should be removed from the public mind".

"Rohail Khand" Akhbar of 4th January writes about the often repeated controversy of shoes and says, "A few days ago the Governor General passed an order, through the High Court, North
Western Provinces, to ascertain whether those natives who wear English clothes should take off their shoes when they enter the Court which is carpeted. Various judges have expressed different opinions on the matter and now the Madras High Court has been referred to on the subject."

The "Sholatoor" of the 7th January, after extracts from other papers, both English and Vernacular, publishes a newsletter describing the deplorable conditions of the elite after the failure of 1857 struggle under the heading of "Lucknow" — "A friend writes that the city of Lucknow is, in comparison with other cities, much more populated and there are many families which are badly affected by the utmost poverty, but being respectable, they do not ask for any help and no one helps them during the broad day light. But at night these respectable ones seek charity, and ask for alms, and thus they survive too, and are in this condition, from the dusk of evening upto 10 O'clock at night". The writer goes on to say that at Husainabad, blankets were distributed among the poor and needy, through the agency of Munshi Rampershad, and he adds, —"Although there was a plentiful supply of both blankets and quilts they were not nearly sufficient for the wants of all the poor. The Nawab Maihsin-ul-Doula presented each with some cash. He goes on to say that although the revenue of Husainabad has increased manyfold but the conditions of
the general public has deteriorated in such a way that even if hundreds of poor-houses were established they would not be sufficient. "Apparently the generosity of the Talookdars and Chiefs of Oudh is well known, but if some arrangements were made for the public good it would be better. The writer suggested that the Government should establish one or two charity-houses from the municipal funds, to which the Talookdars should be forced to subscribe, there would be some chance of the improvement in the general condition of the suffering public. The article also comments on the working of the middle class people as ordinary labour and says that it was not charity. The writer goes on to urge that a monthly allowance should be paid to those who are "respectable", and prefer to die rather than beg. The writer further comments on the operatunism of the moneyed class and says "Too frequently it is customary for the people, who are anxious to please some departing ruler, to donate towards setting up a school or something else, but no one has ever thought of erecting a charity-house as a token of rememberance, by which both, in the present world as well as in the life after death, one is rewarded." 15

The "Naya Rajistan" of the 2nd of January publishes a complaint against European soldiers who on their march through Native States, caused great damage, spoiled the hunting-grounds of the State, killed and wounded the animals, oppressed the tradesman.
After reporting the oppression of the English soldiers the newspaper praises the British government and reminds the public that the British Government was just and merciful, and will not allow such conduct, as was proved in a similar case sometime ago, when the Governor General had noticed it, and called for an enquiry and said "It is necessary for the British Government to enquire into this, and ascertain all facts from the people of the State, in order to make arrangements for the protection of the "rayyat" of Hind, so that they may be able to thank for such protection. This time it was quite unnecessary inasmuch as that a metalled road runs from the Ghat Gate to the Baja Garden outside the city, the regiment went from the Bikaneer Gate through the city, and out at the Ajmere Gate. This has caused people to indulge in their usual habit of taunting the Sirkar, and therefore, it is necessary for the Sirkar to make arrangements accordingly. Such events are confined to Rajistan only, but even the cities especially under the Government, also witness such scenes. The natives are troubled by European soldiers. If the Government think or desire that the army should be particularly favoured, there are many other ways of favouring it, but it is not right that the public should suffer."

The "Jalwa-i-Toor" of the 13th of February publishes the following: "Be it known that those persons who are interested in their
future do not care to take into their service any but respectable men, because experience has taught them that low-caste person is not loyal to his employer. In support of this statement we give the following narrative which dates back to the time of Sekunder Sahib (the late colonel James Skinner) - A person was enlisted in one of his regiments who gave himself out publicly to be a Syed, though in reality he was only a bhatiyara (inn-keeper). One day Sekunder Sahib saw him wipe his nose during the parade, using his sleeve for the purpose. He was enraged and soon discovered that the man was of inferior birth. So, turning to his officers, he asked why the man had been employed in the regiment. The native officers replied that the man was not a low caste but a Syed. Orders were given for thorough enquiries and it was discovered that the man was a false Syed. He was discharged, and sent to his own country. This little narrative shows the moral that a human being ought not, even in forgetfulness, to lean towards those of low caste, but always keep them at a distance.

The "Punjabee Akhbar" of the 7th of February, opens with a continuation of the article headed "Durbars and their results and benefits". The writer compares the country Durbars in former times with the Durbars under British rule. The article says that the former Durbars were held for either the pomp and display of state, or for the purpose of rewarding loyal subjects. But he adds, this is
not the case with Durbars of the present day, as their real object is afford ease and comfort to the subjects. The benefits from the Durbars at Agra and Lucknow were that it provided the opportunities to the Ameers of Hind to acquaint themselves with the Naib of Queen, in Hind, and to pay him the due respect or Secondly, that some of the best among them might receive honours and respect, in order that their brethren might follow their good example, and learn that such rewards were bestowed by the Government for the good work done. Our patrons are those who favour and protect us, who uproot tyranny, and encourage all that affords benefit to the public. In this way the "hakim", in the course of his duty, sees many highly respectable men, receives respect from them, and finds them with closed hands in his presence. Those who are present receive the honour that is due to them and they know that they are not without patrons who are ready to deal with justice and look to their interests. Men of inferior rank see men of high position, and are glad. In the Durbars of the past, there were great disputes inasmuch as that a person, whether deserving or not, received present and favours; he had scarcely emerged from the Durbar when people made insulting gestures to him. It is said that a special glory is given to the "hakim" in the present Durbars, which was not the case in ancient Durbars - that is both parties receive rank and glory, inasmuch as that both parties bear friendship towards each other; and all God's
creatures receive justice. It should be understood that Durbars are not merely places where we can flatter the "Hakims" by bowing before them and paying respect, and by so doing get them into our nets; but on the contrary, they are places where our own worthiness and merit may be tried; and it is therefore, becoming in us to present ourselves as meritorious persons, and remember that this alone pleases and gives satisfaction to the "Hakim", instead of the vain flattering behaviour from which the "Hakim" turns away.

The "Koh-i-Noor", of the 8th February, published a letter commenting upon the order of Lord Dalhousie about the natives wearing shoes in court, and the more recent one passed by the present Governor-General on the same subject. The writer says, that he cannot understand why these discussions continue, unless the "Hakims" themselves are averse to the native wearing shoes in their presence; but he says, "A general rule concerning this ought to be established; because the Bengal Hakim does not object to natives wearing shoes in his presence; while in the north some people allow it, and others do not; therefore, a general rule, applicable to all places, ought to be established; for to have different rules in different places under one Government, causes grief to the rayyat. It should be remembered that with more and more education the public is getting conscious and the people of this country have now begun to know what is good for them and what is not. Our Government, too,
has open ears for all kinds of complaints; which was not the case
during the reigns of the Kings of Hind, when people belonging to a
different religion, that of the King, were skinned, and their skins
stuffed with 'bhoosa' (Chaff). Although the High Court of Calcutta
has gone in favour of allowing the wearing of shoes in Courts, the
High Court of the North-Western Provinces is against it, and the
Government referred the question to the Bombay Court, and perhaps
that of Madras will also be asked its opinion; still in my opinion it
would be well if the 'Raees' (elite) were consulted in the matter;
because on reflection, it will be found that two parties are interested
in the question, the English Government, and the elite of Hindustan;
it would be then against justice to take the opinion of one party and
enforce the custom. We have had many discussions on this question
the Angrez (English) argue thus: 'when Hindustanees go to the houses
of their friends they take off their shoes, but when they go to have an
interview with the Angrez (English) they go with their shoes on which
is an insult. The writer remarks that this was a false idea, as it was
clear that the interviews of Hindustanees take place on carpets spread
for the purpose, and for this reason they have to take off their shoes,
and not as a mark of respect. On the other hand, Europeans sit upon
chairs and couches, therefore, it was not necessary to take off shoes;
for when a person sits on a chair without his shoes, he looked like a
peacock without its tail. "Another argument of the Angrez (English)
is, that the natives do not take off their headdresses in Durbars, as they, the English, do their hats, and remain covered from head to foot; therefore, they ought to take off their shoes as a mark of respect. A little reflection will show how weak this argument is; because one party takes off their hats out of respect, the other should take off their shoes. This act is in itself disrespectful and insolent; and a rule ought to be observed by which both parties may receive respect. To my mind in the first place, the matter is so small that the dispute appears to be mainly due to English pride. They wish to look down upon Hindustanees; otherwise, this small matter would not have taken up by writers and the authorities; and their energies would have been devoted to more important matters and for the good of the empire and people. If this matter is really so important, it would only be proper for Hindustanees to follow the English custom of taking off the hat, and take off their turbans, and keep them in their hands in the Durbar. This would create equality. And the "Hakim" will also be satisfied as the removal of the hat is a purely English custom, and not Hindustanee. So if the Hindustanees adopt this custom, the English will have it all their own way. After all there should be but one practice, either, the English take off their shoes, that it would be foolish to ask them. So the only alternative left for the Hindustanees is to take off their turbans. Thus, both will save their honour and dignity. As the old saying runs, "kill the
snake and do not break the stick". The writer adds, that "in this the Hindustanees will not suffer, because it is much better to take off the honourable headdress to save the disgrace of going without shoes. History also points out that the customs of the ruling power are followed by its subjects; and in this case our Hindus have been boundlessly liberal for when the Mussulmans ruled, the Hindus, immediately adopted the dress, language, foodhabits and other customs of the Muslims, and now, in the English reign, they are adopting the customs of the English; in this respect, I do not care to specify any particular point, as I have already written much on the subject, and I now leave the settlement of the question to news-writers and the people of Hindustan. The Editor adds, "doubtless the opinion of the writer Khush Lall, vakeel of the High Court, Bengal is, as it has been in other cases too strong; but in the humble opinion of the Editor, if the English were to imitate some of the ways of the former kings of Hindustan, that is let them give up this respectful custom of removing their hats, and as the Hindustanees have taken a fancy to going into assemblies with their caps and shoes on, so let the English do. By adopting this custom many advantages will be gained. First, friendship will be increased between the English and the Indians. Second, this lengthy dispute which has lasted for years, will be brought to an end. Third, there will be no longer any necessity for taking great care of one's shoes, and each party will
perhaps be spared the loss of their caps or shoes. Fourth, if anybody argues that there is no reason why the English should change their habits and customs, then it may be remembered that they have already started wearing beards and turbans on their hats; besides which, even jewellery may now be seen on some of them; from which it is inferred that a change has already taken place. The writer goes on to say, that "it is time this discussion should stop as the feeling now is, that all are alike, whether they are black, white, purple, or blue; and that the "Hakim" also possess much of the feeling".

The "Rampore Akhbar" of the 7th of February, publishes the following under the heading "Wisdom". In the Burmah Durbars, Colonel Fytche Sahib goes without shoes. In some places he takes off his shoes; in others, he does not. For instance, in the Jamma Masjid, which is the most sacred of all Muslim mosques, the English walk in with their shoes on; the Government takes care to protect all places of worship, but there it is not done.

The "Nasseem-i-Jaunpore", of the 11th of February, publishes the following quoting the Khair-Khawah-i-Punjab. "At Berhampore, a chuprassee made a salam to an English with his left hand, and was punished for it. A proclamation was also sent round the city, to the effect that all shop-keepers, and street passers who happened to see the sahib, were to get down from their shops, and
bending low, make their salams; otherwise they would be punished". 10

The "Julwa-i-Toor" of the 21st of February, says that in one of the Punjab Courts, before a magistrate, "Ahle Farung", (a European) some baboo refused to take off his shoes; and the Sahib ordered him to take off both his shoes and his turban before he came into the court. "The Baboo has filed a petition to the Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab".

The "Akhbar-i-Alam" of the 27th of February, under the heading "Restriction on Service" publishes the following:- "Bad and good people are to be found in every caste, country and village. There is no country or house in which both good and bad are not to be found together. No sensible person will refute this assertion; therefore, it is not right for the ruler of the time to direct that there shall be such distinctions made in the selections of people for employment, and that persons of such and such castes shall be excluded. Had such an order been given even by a Hindustanee Chief in his own territory, it would have been strange much more so that the English Government should pass such order. The Goojur and Brahmin classes are generally excluded from Government employment; and the Police Circular No. 10 dated 9th of March 1860, prohibit persons of the Kayath caste from obtaining employment in that department. When it
is considered that Muslims and Kayaths are placed in the most trustworthy appointments, why should Government work suffer by the latter being excluded? Moreover, by comparison, Muslims and Kayaths are, generally speaking, more meritorious and hardworking than other castes; and it is against justice to pass such an order. No better argument can be offered against the employment of Muslims and Kayaths, and it is a great evil to pass such an order in a department where is room for thousands to be employed. Another evil caused by this is that it cast a slur upon our own classes; it is a disgrace upon them. Further, when such orders have been passed, what else remains for the prohibited class or castes but plunder? And good men will not do this; they cannot follow any profession they do not understand, and they do not have the means of living without service. To our mind, such an order ought to be cancelled, and one substituted for it, ruling that all classes shall be engaged in every department, so that all classes may share the generosity of the Government.11

The "Najm-ul-Akhbar" of the 4th of March publishes an article headed "The English rule in the early days of Hindustanees". The writer points out that there were two parties. One in favour of Hindustan to be ruled by Hindustanees, the other in favour of Hindustan to be ruled by the English; but that both agreed in opinion
that a political agent should be kept up, by following his example the Hindustanees be trained to be perfect rulers. The writer goes on to say, "those who are well-wishers of Hindustanees know fully well that if they are left entirely to themselves, their mistakes will soon bring them to naught, and the result will be the attachment of their state".¹²

The "Adeeb-i-Hind" of the 6th of March, after extracts from other papers, mentions that General Dunsford, commanding at Peshawar, has advised the Government not to discipline or to arm the Native troops similar to the Europeans, as, if such an arrangement be carried out, serious mischief will some day result, as was the case in 1857. The writer says that the Governor-General and Council also lean to this opinion.

A disturbance at Bangalore is also referred to in the same issue of 1876, "A Hindu, with some cavalry of horsemen, passed near a mosque, beating drums, and making a great noise, and would not desist when remonstrated with. When this was brought before Mr. Pagul Sahib, Magistrate, who was in camp at Bangalore, he warned the offenders mildly not to repeat the offence; but this was not heeded, and the same thing was repeated; upon which the Muslims brick bated and the case came before the Sahib Commissioner. The man was fined Rs.3,000/- and has left Bangalore in great grief,
declaring that until his case is settled to his satisfaction, he will not return.

In the same paper of the 13th of March a correspondent writes that "a gentleman has arrived who says that a great argument is going on between some padrees (clergymen) and some Moulvis" "It has been resolved that if the Muslims are the loosers in their argument, they will be converted Christians". The Editor expresses surprise that these two parties should be disputing, while the British Government, friendly to all, has ruled that everyone is free to follow his own creed. He proceeds: "these people indulge in useless arguments, for we do not think the loosers will keep their promise. Such events would only result in ill feeling for each other. The editor suggests that the Government should take effective measures to stop such practices.

The "Akmal-ul-Akhbar" of Delhi of the 18th of March, refers to the statement quoted by the daily Telegraph London, to the effect that when the British leave India, they will only be remembered by broken beer bottles. The paper says that the saying would have been applicable to the English when the East India Company held sway, but after the British Rule the situation is changed. After enumerating "the blessings of British rule", the paper says that these "blessings" are planted firmly and cannot be moved. The writer further says :-
"We have roads every where, water tanks, and canals. The railway and telegraph have been established from one corner of the country to the other; and by means of good postal arrangements, letters go all over the country for just half an anna". The writer goes on to say that "whatever has been done has been done from unselfish motives. The network of education has been established, by means of which the sacred duty we owe to the children of Hindustan is being performed". The writer urges the government to pay attention to the female education when this is accomplished, he says, all over the country, the nineteen crore people will be benefitted. 14

The "Oudh Akhbar" from Lucknow of the 14th of April 1876, reports from Moradabad, "it has now become customary to create a disturbance whenever a cow is slaughtered in large cities on the day of the Eid festival. In Moradabad, the Munshi Fidda Ali wanted to sacrifice a cow. The Hindus remonstrated and a disturbance ensued. The shops were closed until the police interfered, when they were reopened. The Collector has not yet passed any order on the subject, whether a cow should or should not be slaughtered. 15

The "Shola-i-Toor" of the 21st of April reports from Rewarree, "it is said that on the day of Eid-ul-Zoha, there was a great disturbance between the Hindus and Muslims because the latter acted against the orders of the authorities, and against the ancient
custom, by killing a cow inside a masjid in the city. Thirty-two years have passed since the Muslims of Rewaree requested permission to slaughter cows in the city. But with a right sense of justice, the judge refused to allow it, and ordered that it should always take place about four miles from the city, outside the city walls. In the present case the offence was against law, the Hindus complained the Maharajah, and the Muslims were fined Rs.200/-. The Hindus have organized a committee and decided not to have any dealings with the Muslims in future including all business transactions. The Editor adds that for some time there has been a Muslim Tehseeldar in Rewaree and some "rebels" encouraged by him have created this disturbance. There was formerly great friendship between the Muslims and Hindus. He further adds that this Tehseeldar should be transferred.

"Benares Gazette" of Benares on 20th April, referring to the "Shoe order" says, "The Government has passed orders to the affect that natives who wear English shoes may appear so in the presence of Europeans, who have no objection to western style shoes, and permitted the natives to appear while native shoes are not allowed in the Courts. They (English) must have thought that the wearing of Western Shoes increases their loyalty and adds to their respect. It is said that Europeans do not take off their shoes when they eat their meals, but as a mark of respect, they carry their hats in their hands. Apart from this, they are always on the alert in business, and always
true to their masters, and grateful to their tutors, through whom they obtain knowledge and achieve a respectable position in society. The Bengalees have kept to their manners and customs. It must be (or may be) said that the Hindustanis have given up the taking off their shoes. But it does not seem so, because according to this order the Chiefs and pundits, with other men of position in the Indian society have not given up their ancient custom, and even at the time of Durbars, they appear without their shoes. The Editor urged his readers that Indians should not change their manners and customs.

The "Lucknow Times" is quoted: "There are many rumours that the Shahzada Feroze Shah, will create more trouble yet. Although we regard him as an insignificant enemy, still the Muslims are optimist that the Empire of Delhi will be reestablished by the Russians. The paper says that although this may be a rumour only, but even then, the sooner he is dealt with the better". A strange piece of news has now been heard that Feroze Shah has written a letter to the rebel Begum, telling her to wait patiently at Nepal for his return when he will come back with strong force to Nepal, and deal with his enemies". The Editor, referring to this rumour enquires "where is Feroze Shah? Where is the Begum? And where are the Russians? We have seen it mentioned in some of the papers that Feroze Shah returned from Mecca through persia in great
distress and poverty, and come to the Governor of Swat, who considering him a member of an ancient and royal family, paid him respect. 16

"Mufidul Aam of 30th April writes under the heading "Rebels of 1857", "it is noticed that many rebels are in the Swat "country" and that the Akhoond of Swat had applied to the authorities for their pardon, and permission for them to return their own country in peace, as they have already received their full punishment. The Commissioner is said to have imprisoned the bearer of the letter". The editor, referring to this remarks that "up to this, in no other reign and under no other rule, has an agent or ambassador been arrested and the reason of this man's confinement is not known".

The "Delhi Gazette" is quoted, to the effect that some disturbance was expected between the Hindus and Muslims owing to the former wishing to send their idol out for an airing during the time of Moharrum. The Muslims tried to prevent this, but the Magistrate interfered and ordered the beligerents to keep apart from each other, and each party to go through their own ceremony.

The "Rahnuma-i-Punjab" of the 15th of May, after extracts from other sources, refers to the conduct of the Officer Commanding at Sialkot, and brings it to notice" for the benefit of the head hakim". The 9th of Mohurrum this year was on a Saturday, and the poor
Muslims, who had been saving money to make their tazzias, were disappointed to find that the Commanding Officer had prohibited all music at the time it was most required, on the night of 10th Mohurrum after 9 o'clock, but the sahib would not listen to anything, and stood firm to his orders; as a consequence people suffered great inconvenience and loss and they wonder at the mode of justice by the officer commanding. Some people think that the order was issued for his own comfort and to his religious belief. The writer goes on to say that "this commanding officer took no heed of the Mohurrum which both Hindus and Muslims recognised. Although the Queen, the Governor General, the Lieutenant-Governor and all other authorities have ordered to the effect that there shall be no interference in religious ceremonies. The paper said that it was not known why the Commanding Officer had acted in such manner. The "Anjuman-e-Hind", of the 6th of June, under the heading "Baroda" says, "it is said that the Guikowar has seized Rooper Naib, who was leading a gang of rebels; and that he together with his companions had been executed. The writer continue: "The troops who killed the Sirdar Muloo Maunuk Naick, of the Wagur tribe, have received from the Guikowar Rs.5000/-, in addition to Rs.5000/- from the chiefs of Kathiawar. In consequence peace has been restored in the districts of Gujrat and Kathiawar; but there is still some fear of the Mahrani tribes making raids, which they generally do. We hope that the British Government will make some arrangements to prevent this also".
The "Cudh Akhbar" of 9th of June 1876 published some questions and answers concerning British rule in India, by Maulvi Mohammad Osman Khan of Rampore.

Question:— Why and wherefore is it best?

Answer :— "By reason of the following arguments :

1. The Government is law abiding and the subjects free.

2. Unless the opinion of the members of the parliament supported by the majority, the king can neither make nor enforce law.

3. Whatever is to be done is first submitted to public opinion, so that it may be accepted or rejected.

4. The Government does not interfere with the customs of the people except in the case of "Sattee" or other sacrifice of human life.

5. Although the Government may consider its own religion superior, it does not show prejudice against any other nor adopt measures for enforcing its own religion.

6. Every person in authority is given full powers to enforce his authority.

7. Trade is encouraged, and the people are happy and prosperous.

8. Roads which were formerly impassable are now well maintained and safe.

Question:— Are the people happiest under the English or the Hindustani rule?

Answer :— There are many reasons for this; it is partly to be attributed to the ignorance of the people, and partly because the Government is not sufficiently mindful of the demands of the people.
Question: What is the meaning of "ignorant people", and what does the unmindful Government mean?

Answer: "By ignorant people" is meant that they do not understand why laws are changed so frequently, and consider it against their interests; for instance, they reproach Government with the preaching of missionaries, and although the Government is not anxious for this, still any prohibition against it by Government, would show a disregard for the liberty of its subjects. The unmindful Government is that the Government is desirous of binding the weak and the strong with the same rope and wishes to treat the people of India as the people of Europe are treated. But the people of Europe are of one creed, one language, and one level of education, on the other hand the people of Hindustan, who belong to different creeds and follow different customs, are uneducated and prejudiced; they do not recognise the laws, or do not understand them. So it is clear that the people of Hindustan and the people of England cannot easily be united. Moreover, the plans and resolutions of Government are misunderstood by the people of India, inasmuch as they took upon the desire of Government to treat them at par with Europeans.

The writer after narrating many complaints by the public concludes that in comparison with former rules the England rule was better, although, according to the writer, the rights of the subjects of Hind were not considered as they should have been considered.

The Nujma-ul-Akhbar, of the 10th of June 1890 discourses upon the custom of city and village people closing their shops, (strike) in order to cause the Magistrate to think that something unusual has occurred, or is about to take place. The writer says: - "Sometimes
strange things are done; when village people concerned in a case want to press their demands, they force shops to be closed, and intimidate the Magistrate, so that he may heed them and hear them. A similar case was reported from Moradabad district. A Muslim wished to slaughter a cow on the occasion of Eid festival; and all the shopkeepers in the market closed their shops as a protest. The writer goes on to say, that "an Afghan at Sumbul, killed a cow at his house on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, although no Hindu houses were in that vacinity and yet all the shops at Sumbul were closed for a day and a half.

The Koh-i-Noor of the 13th of June 1890 Bokhara news is alluded to as having appeared in the Lahore chronicle. The death of the King of Bokhara, and the capture of the place by the Russians, reported by the above paper, are contradicted. The rumour is said to have originated in Kabul, and spread from there to Peshawar. The writer adds, "So much of it is true, that the Russians wish to bring the King of Bokhara under subjection. It is likely that the news originated from the private letters, and is doubtful". If it were true, the writer thinks that there would be some signs of rejoicing among the Shikarpooree Hindu tribe, whose friends and relations live at Bokhara; and the Hindus there were not properly treated. Among other things, it is said that they (the Hindus) are not allowed to ride
horses at Bokhara, but only mules; and they are not allowed to bathe in the tanks because the Muslims bathe there. Instead of turbans they wear caps; and whenever a Hindu is found guilty of any heinous crime he is stoned to death, which mode of execution is described as follows:— "The criminal is made to stand in a pit surrounded by Muslims well provided with stones. He is then ordered to pray for the rights of the King, that he may live long, his empire increase, and his reign be continued. If the criminal obeys this order, a large stone is thrown at him, with the object of relieving him of the agony of death, but if he refuses, he is subjected to showers of smaller stones, and thus tortured to death."

The Aligarh Institute Gazette, of the 26th of June, opens with an original article on Infanticide, under the head of "Communicated". The writer compares the objects of the different former rulers of Hindustan with that of the British Government, and says that the preservation of human life has always been the primary object of the British Government; and that it has spared no pains or exertions in the attainment of the desired end. And he asks, "does not this alone warrant us in holding it to be superior to any of its predecessors; since, by its paternal care and great watchfulness, life in India is so secure, that open and reckless attacks are unheard of, and even secret murders can seldom be perpetrated with impunity". The writer proceeds to say, that although the Government avoids all
interference with the religious usages of any class, yet in the matter of human life, it has departed from its ordinary policy; and that the effect of its measures in this respect has been so marked, that in cases where the taking of a life was formerly considered lawful and right, it is now looked upon with abhorrence. He alludes to the custom still prevailing in certain parts of India, viz, female infanticide; and gives an explanation of the motives which impel parents to outrage the claims of nature and affection, and slay their own offspring. The wild tribes of Arabia are mentioned as the first of those who were guilty of infanticide, and the crime is traced as far back as before the birth of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be Upon Him). This was attributed to the dread of shame which their relations would undergo, if they fell into the enemy's power; and led the defeated party to slay their wives and daughters with their own hands. Also, that the birth of a daughter in Arabia, where provisions were often scarce, was suggestive of poverty and distress, and this led the people to destroy their female offsprings; "But," he adds, "there are other causes in India besides those mentioned in Arabia, and these are attributable to ignorance and prejudice. Some regard the idea of their daughters marrying, and look upon any man having the power of styling himself their husband, as a humiliation to the parents of the girl. Others see disgrace in not being able to endow their daughters with a suitable dowry, or to meet the expenses of the marriage
festival, and think it better to prevent their daughters over growing to maturity. Others, from reasons unknown, consider it improper that their daughters should after marriage settle down near their parents, but that they should live at a distance; and thus they argue, if we must be separated in any case; it is better to be separated by the great divider of friends death, before the affection with which they shall have inspired us shall have made the separation painful to both parties. Yet all these reasons have no other foundation than prejudice and darkness of mind; let enlightenment once come, and they will disperse and melt away as the mists before the rising sun".18

The Punjabee Akhbar, of the 26th of June, after extracts, refers to the old rumour to the effect that the Bonair Moulvis had gone to the Akhund of Swat, asking him to arrange for a crusade against the English; at the same time stating that although the British were formerly prepared, they would now be taken by surprise, and that the time had arrived for making an attack upon them. The Akhund's reply was unfavourable; the reasons given being that as fighting was going on in Kabul, it would not be advisable to increase the flame; and, besides this, the cultivators were busy at work on their crops, and might not like fighting; so that it would be better to wait until the winter; but at the same time, if the English were to attack them, they would find us ready to meet them.
A correspondent of the Cudh Akhbar, writing from Nahun, mentions that an European superintendent of the steam engine has ordered to prevent the people from performing their religious devotions on Fridays; and that the Raja has supported the point, by ordering that whoever works at the godown, should offer prayers one by one, so that the work should not suffer. The writer is much annoyed at what he considers interference with the religious ceremonies of the natives; and says that the British Government have never interfered in the religious matters, nor it ever happened in Rajwarras. The writer adds, that this gentleman does "not allow leave for Friday prayers, but gives only one hour at 11 A.M. as luch interval. "The Rajah is blamed for giving this gentleman so much power, as he is very obstinate and stubborn in this matter. (The dispute apparently relates to some workshops at Nahun, where a European is a superintendent).

The Punjabee Akhbar, of the 3rd of July, under the heading "Tyranny" the following appears:- "Notwithstanding the imperative orders of the Government on this subject, it is said that any persons who slaughter cows in some parts of Rajputana are punished by having their ears and noses cut off; but that owing to the ignorance of the people in those places, no complaint has ever reached Government about it, therefore, the Government has not interfered. It is added
that "the poor people in the more distant States of Rajputana consider their Raja to be most powerful and greater than any other human being on the face of the earth. Rohailkhund Akhbar of 11th July noticed that at Hartulla, about 2½ miles from Moradabad, some people belonging to the lower caste (chymars) have converted to Christianity, and "these people" adds the writer, seem to think that by adopting the Christian religion, they have become children of Englishmen. In Hindustan it is the custom for chumars and sweepers to have separate wells for their use, and they are not allowed to use the wells for other castes. A few days ago these Christians, against all traditions wanted to draw water from the city wells, but the Hindus prevented them; by chance padre Thoburn Sahib was preaching in the village, and he listened to the complaint of these Christians; he went up to the well, and ordered them to draw water from it; and he, moreover, in the spirit of tyranny, spat in the well, and said something slanderous about the inhabitants of the village. Some people pushed him from the well, and beat him with sticks, kicks, and punches. It was reported throughout the city that the padre has been killed. The Superintendent of Police went to the spot, and took him to the hospital; many of the inhabitants were apprehended; one man has been imprisoned for one year, and three for six months each, while other being tried for the offence.
The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore) of the 5th April says that the Dost-i-Hind publishes an article for the benefit of those who, in their opposition to the National Congress, are making themselves the laughing-stock of all who understand the question by inducing ignorant people of the old school to express their dissent from the views of the promoters of the National Congress movement. The Koh-i-Noor then quotes a paragraph from the article of the Dost-i-Hind, in which the latter paper remarks that the various nationalities which inhabit this country should unite together and forget their petty jealousies. It is simply ridiculous, says the Dost-i-Hind, that its co-religionists should confess their inability to compete on equal terms with their own countrymen and try to cultivate the friendship of those who are so much advance of the Muslims point of civilization.

The Victoria Paper (Sialkot) in its issue of the 6th April remarks that the several meetings of the National Congress must have cost several lakhs of rupees, and that if this large sum of money had been utilised by the Congress for the introduction of social reforms, the Congress would have rendered a service to the country. Intemperance is fearfully on the increase, and it is very much to be regretted that a subject of such vital importance to the country should have escaped the notice of the Congress. In conclusion, the writer expresses a hope that the National Congress, instead of wasting money
on holding grand meetings for the discussion of reforms for which the country is not yet ripe, will in future contribute all the money collected by its promoters towards the maintenance of orphanages or to start a fund for defraying the tuition fees of indigent students.

The Doorbin (Lahore) of the 3rd April 1888 is at a loss to understand why the Government thrusts Europeans on Native states against the will of their rulers and provides for them the loaves and fishes of the service available in those states. Two Europeans have lately been appointed to high posts in the Rampur State quite regardless of the actual requirements of the State. As a matter of routine, the consent of the Ruling Chief was obtained by the Government, and he as may be imagined, acquiesced in the arrangement which emanated from the Government. It cannot be urged too strongly that the responsibility of this line of policy revolves on the shoulders of the Viceroy. When Lord Dufferin set foot on the shores of India, there were scarcely half-a-dozen Europeans to be seen in the Native States, but European Ministers and advisers are now the order of the day in them. The Ruling Chiefs, for fear of being characterized as disloyal, will not dare give vent to their feelings of grief and disappointment for the blot of defection is likely to tarnish their reputation for ever. It is not a pity that one should first live on the crumbs of a land and then usurp the power of its ruler? Is this justice?
The Punjabi Akhbar (Lahore), dated the 4th April 1888, regrets to say that the educated Hindus should go so far in their hatred towards the Muslims as to resort to all sorts of unfair means in order to incriminate Muslim judicial officers. The writer then refers to the case of Sundar Das versus Mir Barkat Ali Shah, sub-Judge, which according to the writer, is pending in the Court of Mr. Silcock, District Judge, Lahore, and remarks that it has been instituted at the instigation of the educated Hindus of Gujranwala, who are mortified to find two Muslims filling the posts of Tãnsildar and Sub-Judge.

The Punjabi Akhbar (Lahore) of the 7th April, 1888 remarks that it is a pity that the Gham Kkhwar-i-Hind should have commented unfavourably on an article in which the Rafiq-i-Hind took exception to an order of the District Judge of Delhi, who directed that a Hindu alone should be appointed to the post of Nazîr. The Punjabi expresses its concurrence with the Rafiq and, after referring to the concessions made by Government in favour of the Muslims, observes that it is to be regretted that the provisions of the Circular issued by Government for the more extensive employment of Muslims in the Public service are not being strictly carried out.

The Akmal-u-Akhbar (Delhi) of the 6th April, after referring to the backward state of English education among the Muslims and the
inability of the latter to take advantage of the educational facilities provided by Government owing to their poverty, says that it is a matter for surprise that while Government is doing all in its power to encourage English education among the Muslims, Mr. Merk, the Deputy Commissioner and President of the Municipal Committee, and the members should think of withholding the proposed grant of Rs. 100 to the Muhammadan Anglo-Arabic School of Delhi on the ground that the School in question cannot be treated as a High School unless it fulfils the conditions prescribed in the Educational Code regarding tuition fees, etc. The writer says that the number of the Muslim inhabitants of Delhi is as large as that of the Hindus, and since the former contribute as large a share of municipal taxation as the latter, there is no reason why the Municipality should hesitate to contribute as large an amount towards their education as it does towards that of the Hindus. The Akhbar suggests that these conditions should be relaxed in favour of the Muhammadan Anglo-Arabic School, and calls upon the Muslims not to pass over the matter lightly but to appeal to the Government on the subject if necessary.

The Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore), dated the 7th of April, remarks that it is a pity that a Hindu paper should have made some disparaging remarks regarding a meeting held by the Muhammadans for the purpose of forming a company to start an English paper in the interests
of their co-religionists. Maulvi Hassan Ali, who addressed the meeting in question, strongly urged the necessity of raising funds for an English paper to represent Muslim opinion, and there was nothing whatever in the Maulvi's lecture to which any exception could reasonably be taken. The writer then goes on to say that arrangements have already been made for issuing an English newspaper from the Rafiq-i-Hind press. The object of the new journal, which will be conducted by a European gentleman, whose sympathy towards the Muslims is well known, is to advocate the cause of Muslims and to counteract the pernicious influence of those Bengali papers which are spreading disaffection in the country.

The Akhbar-ul-Akhyar (Delhi), dated the 15th April, 1888, publishes a hoax to the following effect:

The pitiable condition of the people of India having attracted the attention of the Queen, Her Majesty held a grand Drabar, at which the principal servants of the Crown were present. Her Majesty delivered a very remarkable speech on the occasion, in the course of which she expressed her sympathy with her Indian subjects who, she said, she was grieved to find were being treated as a conquered race by their foreign rulers. She expressed her appreciation of the qualities which had enabled the English nation to plant the British flag in every quarter of the globe; but she could not conceal from
herself the fact that Empires, like everything else in the world, were destined to pass away. She was, therefore, sorry to learn that complaints were being made in some quarters about the robbery of Englishmen in the public service, and, in order to preserve the fair game of the great English nation, she said she would like to see the following measures adopted without delay:

1. That the water-rate and the duty levied on cotton, indigo and opium should be remitted with a view to relieving the Indian agriculturist, whose condition had deteriorated considerably since the establishment of British rule in India.

2. That the export of grain should be prohibited so as to prevent the frequent occurrence of famines in the country.

3. That the import of foreign goods should be stopped and every possible encouragement given to native industries.

4. That natives should be allowed to carry arms and to learn drill.

5. That railway passengers should be asked to pay no more than they can conveniently afford to pay in the shape of railway fare.

6. That the cost of litigation, which was ruining the country, should be reduced and the stamp duty remitted.

7. That none but honest and respectable men should be employed in the Police Department.

8. That the pay of those employed in the Police and Military Departments should be doubled.

9. That the allowances paid to frontier Sardars should be stopped and the amount thus saved utilized in carrying out the reforms described above.
(10) Her Majesty also desired that the Punjab should be restored to Dalip Singh, Oudh to the descendants of the King of Oudh, the North-Western Provinces to the descendants of Timur, the Province of Berar to the Nizam, Central India to the Chiefs of Rajputana, Sindh to the Sindhis, Bombay to the Mahrattas of Sattars, Madras to the grandson of Tippu, Bengal to its Nasim and Burmah to the ex-King of that country.

The Darbaris were not a little surprised at the tone of Her Majesty's speech, which, being an appeal on behalf of this country, met with no response. Mortified at the coldness with which the proposals sketched above had been received. Her Majesty delivered another speech, in which she charged the Anglo-Indians with oppressing the people and enriching themselves at their expense. Her Majesty then went on to say that Russia was making great preparations for the invasion of India; that she had collected 97 lakhs of troops for the purpose in Siberia; that it was possible that India might be attacked at any moment; that the issue of a struggle with that power was doubtful; and that in the event of England being defeated the reputation of that country would be destroyed. Under these circumstances Her Majesty thought that the only honorable course open to them was to emancipate the country, as in that case the English would not only avert a war with Russia, but would also avoid the disgrace which a defeat under such circumstances would involve, to say nothing of the effect which such self-sacrifice would have on the people of India, who, Her Majesty went on to say, would become so attached to the British throne that
they would rise like one man to defend the British Empire in case of
necessity. Her Majesty concluded by threatening to abdicate in the
event of her wishes not being compiled with.

This speech did not fail to produce the desired effect, for
no sooner had Her Majesty, concluded than all present expressed their
readiness to carry out Her Majesty's wishes. Her Majesty then thanked
all present and sent a confidential despatch to the Viceroy, who has
since expressed his concurrence with the recommendations of
Her Majesty, and the real object of the forthcoming Camp of
Exercise at Delhi (Which will be attended by some 50,000 troops) is
to hold a Darbar for giving effect to the orders of Her Majesty
regarding the partition of India and to lay down the lines on which the
Native Chiefs will be expected to carry on the administration of the
country.

The Akhbar has learnt with surprise at the same time
that, unless Her Majesty's orders are carried out before the end of
April, the exact reverse of what is described above will take place
that is to say :-

1. The Police will be recruited from among the very drege
   of society, i.e. badmashes, thieves and other likely to
   render life and property insecure.

2. New taxes will be imposed.
3. The more important offices will be conferred on those who are opposed to the advancement of the people.

4. All the grain in the country will be carried away.

5. The Native Chiefs will be deprived of their powers and they themselves left to the tender mercies of the Politcals.

6. Natives will be treated worse than barbarians.

7. Agents for Native States will be appointed from among those not well disposed towards such States.

8. Justice will be denied to the natives whether rich or poor.

9. The laws of the country will be so modified as to encourage the Europeans to do whatever they like and to punish those who complain of their oppression.

10. Native manufactures will be driven from the market by the imposition of additional duties.

11. Preference will be given to low caste people over men of position and good family as far as practicable.21

The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore of the 14th April 1888 states that no practical good is likely to accrue by starting societies for the suppression of cow slaughter unless some measures are adopted to provide the poorer classes of Muhammadans with cheap meat. The Akhbar suggests that the Hindus should raise funds to establish camel, sheep and goat breeding houses and sell these animals at nominal price so as to enable butchers to sell meat at 9 pies a seer to the poorer classes of the Muhammadans.
The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore) of the 17th April 1888 states that the fund started for the suppression of cow slaughter at Bombay amounts to Rs. 13,000.

The Gham Khwar-i-Hind (Lahore) hears that a number of butchers have been sent far from the Punjab to Kashmir for the sale of beef. This fact, if true, is an earnest of what is likely to follow from British interference in the affairs of the State.

Munshi Dewan Chand, writing to the Victoria Paper Sialkot of the 21st April, remarks that he has read the speech of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan with great satisfaction. The Munshi is at one with the Syed that the people of this country should not abuse the liberty allowed to them by the British Government, and that instead of trying to spread such doctrines as are calculated to widen the gulf between the rulers and the ruled, they should concentrate their attention towards the social improvement of the country. The writer is, however, unable to endorse the assertion of the Syed that the Hindus alone were the authors of the Mutiny of 1857. It is a matter for regret that a man like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan should have given expression to such unworthy sentiments against the Hindus. The writer then goes on to say that if Hindus are largely employed in the public service, it is because they form the largest part of the population of this country and because they qualify themselves for high offices under Government.
The Hindus are loyal to the British because British rule has done more for their advancement than any previous Government, and consequently it is not easy to see why they should be stigmatised as being the authors of the Mutiny of 1857. The writer then refers to the services rendered by the Sikhs during the Mutiny, and concludes by remarking that the Hindus yield to none in their loyalty and devotion to the Crown.²²

A correspondent writing to the Khair-Khwah-i-Alam (Delhi) of the 24th April 1888 remarks that Dalip Singh was astopped at Aden because he had announced his conversion to Sikhism through the Press with a view to incite the Sikhs to rebellion. The real fact is that Dalip Singh, being unable to cope with his pecuniary difficulties, was anxious to return to India, where he could live a quiet life. It is scarcely possible that his indiscreet writings, which contained nothing that could be construed into an incitement to rebellion, could have influenced the country in any way. The people of this country now prefer a constitutional to a despotic form of Government. There could be no harm in allowing a prince like Dalip Singh to come and live in India. The Government at Simla, however, think differently. They treat native public opinion with supreme indifference because in their opinion the people cannot be trusted. Now do they care for the interests of this country. Indeed, all that they do is to
saddle the country with the expenses of costly wars and expeditions.

From Aden Dalip Singh went to Paris and there remained for some time; but when his appeals for help met with no response he left that city. The writer sympathises with him from philanthropic motives only, and has no hesitation in remarking that he has been treated with injustice and cannot be regarded as a rebel. In conclusion the correspondent remarks that it is not impossible that the Russian Government may confer a good appointment on him in the Central Asian Army, but Dalip Singh will not even then be able to do any harm to the British Government. 23

The Nanak Parkash (Kapurthala) for April 1888 assures the British Government that the Sikhs do not at all sympathise with the Maharaja Dalip Singh, whose foolish writings are likely to make Government suspicious of the loyalty of the Sikh community. The Parkash then appeals to the good sense of the Sikhs, and calls upon them to come forward and express themselves ready to sacrifice their lives and property for the sake of the British Government, as by doing so they would remove all suspicion that Government may have been led to entertain as regards their loyalty to the British Crown. 24

A correspondent gives an account in the Punjabi Akhbar (Lahore) of the 2nd May 1888 of a large meeting of the Bengalis held at Lucknow in favour of the Indian National Congress. He says that
the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath, Pleader, High Court, Allahabad, who spoke at the meeting in question, misinterpreted several verses of the Koran to suit his own purpose. The few Muslims present at the meeting strongly protested against the Pandit's conduct and prevented him from making any further comment on religious matters.

The writer draws the attention of the Muslims to the above and remarks that when the Hindus and the Bengalis behave in this way towards the Muslims in such unimportant meeting (although professedly representative of the whole country) the Muslims will know what to expect from them when Government confers upon them the privilege of speaking in a more important assembly.

A correspondent of the Koh-i-Nur (Lahore) of the 5th May 1888, comparing the past and present conditions of India, says it is true that during the Muslim period telegraph offices, railways and litigation were unknown, but the people were ten times as rich as they are now. Though some of the Muslim Kings were actuated by religious bigotry, yet no high posts were withheld from the natives of the country on account of difference of race or religion. The Hindus were not only appointed Generals and Commanders in-Chief of armies, but also to other high offices, political or financial; but under the present Government a native of India can not aspire to a post of more than Rs.300 a month in the Military Department. Commerce had not,
indeed, made so much progress as it has done during the present time, but at the same time no foreigners were there to monopolise the trade of the country. Hindus and Mussalmans were treated with equal respect, and low class people were not admitted to high offices. The Muslim Kings no doubt sometimes demolished Hindu temples, but at the same time they appointed Hindus to such high posts as Prime Ministers. The stamp duty, the Police, and the Criminal and Civil Procedure Codes are doing much more to ruin the country than the depredations of the Maharatas and the Sikhs.

A correspondent writing to the Akmal-ul-Akhbar (Delhi) dated 14th May 1888, says that out of the 19 candidates who passed the Entrance Examination from Delhi only one is a Muslim, and he, too a resident of panipat. This state of things is due to the fact that the Muslims have no school of their own were they could educate their children up to the Entrance Standard. There are at present 4 schools in Delhi, viz, the Sanskrit School, Municipal School, the Mission School, and the Arabic School. The last-named school teaches up to the Middle School Examination only, and as the teaching staff consists of Muslims who take special interest in the welfare of their co-religionists, a considerable number of Muslims annually, pass the Middle School Examination from the institution. The Sanskrit School is in the hands of Hindus and it is very difficult for a Muslim to get on
in it. The Mission School however, is open to Hindus and Muslims alike, but the undue importance given to the study of the Bible is not at all liked by Muslims. As regards the Municipal School, that too is practically in the hands of the Hindus, the whole teaching staff, with the exception of one or two persian teachers, consisting of Hindus. The writer disclaims all intention of insinuating that the Hindu teachers are members of the Arya Smaj, of which the object is to wreak vengeance for the "cruel treatment" which their forefathers received at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni and Shahab-ud-Din Ghori, nor does he mean to insinuate that they took part in anti-Muhammadan meetings held during the Muharram and Dasehra festivals of last year. The writer, however, has no hesitation in asserting that the Hindus are naturally incapable of sympathising with the Muhammadans. Another reason why Muslims are unable to join the Municipal School in considerable number is to be found in the fact that they cannot afford to subscribe towards the Cricket Fund, etc. in addition to the tuition fees and fines. In order to remedy this state of things the writer asks the Director of Public Instruction to appoint a European Headmaster for the School in question. Mr. Baker is held in great esteem by all parties, and his transfer to Delhi would be hailed with general satisfaction. Secondly, there should be at least one or two Muslim students to subscribe towards the Cricket Fund and award some other
form of punishment than fine. The writer, after remarking that, but for the fact that the riots of last year and the meetings of the National Congress have shown that the interests of Hindus and Muslims are not identical, the above suggestions would have been unnecessary, requests the Deputy Commissioner to make the following concessions in favour of Muslims.

1. That a grant-in-aid should be given to the Arabic School in the same manner as a grant-in-aid is given to the Mission, Sanskrit and Municipal School, from which the Hindus alone derive benefit, and that the grant-in-aid should not be less than Rs. 250.

2. The Arabic School should be raised to the status of a High School for teaching up to the Matriculation Standard.

3. Jubilee Scholarships should be granted to the Muhammadians of Delhi in the same way as other Municipalities have done in the Punjab.

In conclusion the writer appeals to the Europeans and those Muslims who take an interest in the welfare of their co-religionists to come forward and lend a helping hand to the Muslims, so as to enable them to make up for their past neglect and to compete on equal terms with their more fortunate rivals.

The imperial paper (Lahore), of the 26th May 1888, after giving an account of the circumstances which induced the Muslims community to keep aloof from the National Congress calls upon the Muslims to join the proposed Muhammadan National Conference, which though a political movement, will not like the National Congress seek
to extort concessions from Government by bringing undue pressure to bear upon it. The importance of the Conference in question cannot be urged too strongly, inasmuch as the Muslims are in a most backward condition, and, consequently, it is essentially necessary that they should take steps to make their wants known to the Government.

The Lahore Gazette (Lahore), of the 26th May 1888, says that it is a great pity the disunion among the Hindus and Muslims should increase day by day. The leaders of both the communities, instead of promoting union, are themselves so far blinded by race prejudice that they often intensify party feelings. The general public entertain no individual opinions; they only follow in the wake of their leaders.

The Gazette calls upon the heads of both communities to think for a moment over the advantages which would accrue from promoting union among the Hindus and Muslims.

The Punjabi Akhbar (Lahore), of the 23rd May 1888, publishes the prospectus of a weekly Anglo-Muhammadan Paper to be started under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. The paper will supply a long felt want by acting as an organ of the Muslim community in Upper India. It will be conducted by an able and impartial Englishman, with the Assistance of a Muslim Sub-Editor.
The paper will be started by a Limited Company with a capital of Rs. 50,000 distributed in 5,000 shares of 10 rupees each. Shares of the value of more than Rs. 5,000 have already been disposed of.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), dated 31st May 1888, publishes a communication from Syed Muhammad Hussain of Mohan on the National Congress movement. The writer after giving an account of the circumstances which have led the Bengalis and other educated natives to set this movement on foot, and explaining the purport of many of the Resolutions passed at the last meeting of the Congress, remarks that the demands made by the National Congress are either those based on promises made by the British Government or those which the altered circumstances of the country have rendered necessary. One of these promises was to the effect that the people of this country should be admitted to all posts for which they might be qualified by their education. But when the people made great progress in education the age for the Civil Service Examination was reduced, and thus natives who had to pass through the medium of a foreign language were placed at a great disadvantage as compared with Englishmen who had to pass through the medium of their own language. The Public Service Commission have no doubt recommended the raising of the age limit to 23 instead of 19, and probably many natives will now be able to compete successfully if the recommendations of the Commission
are carried out. But the question is whether they will be promoted to high posts in the same manner as the European members of the Service. The writer thinks that the natives cannot hope to get responsible executive posts, as, in spite of their passing the required examination, Government cannot trust them to the same extent as it can trust a European. But there can be no question that since Government has promised to confer all posts on natives, the latter are justified in demanding the fulfilment of the promise.

The writer then goes on to say that the National Congress has taken up the cause of the English-speaking natives only, and does not represent the grievances of those who do not know English. The Land Question, the increase of Litigation, the rights of the ulama (Learned men) and religious leaders are questions which concern hundred and thousands of persons, and unless they are satisfactorily settled the people of this country cannot be expected to cease complaining against the Government. It appears that the object of the National Congress is to represent the grievances of all classes of the people in future, and when it does that it will really be the National Congress it aims to be.

A correspondent of the Akmal-ul-Akhbar (Delhi), dated 1st June 1888, says that the Bengalis, having failed in their attempts to induce the authorities to reverse the sentence passed on a Bengali
journalist for contempt of court, set on foot what they called a "National" movement, and through the exertions of Babu Surrendra Nath Bannerji, who after completing his term of imprisonment, visited the Chief cities of India in the interests of that movement, raised a sum of Rs 80,000 and with the assistance of the Parsees and a few Englishmen of low position held the first meeting of the National Congress at Bombay which was presided over by a Bengali gentleman. With very few exceptions the Muslims did not join the movement because the objects of the Congress did not command their sympathy. After referring to some of these objects, the writer remarks that he will show in future articles that the Muslim community will suffer very much if the efforts of the promoters of the Congress movement are crowned with success. It is very much to be regretted that some Muslims have joined the Congress merely because they are under the impression that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, whose views on Islam are diametrically opposed to those of the orthodox Muslims, cannot be safely relied on as a leader in worldly matters. The writer assures the Muslim sympathisers of the Congress that it was the Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali who was the first to oppose the movement, and that Sir Syed Ahmad has merely followed him. It should be remembered that the Europeans are opposed to the movement because it aims at expelling them from the country, and it is better that the Muslims should be ruled by the English than become the slaves of the Bengalis and the Hindus.
The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), dated 2nd June 1888, says that a large and influential meeting was held at Jullundur in favour of the National Congress. The meeting was attended by about 300 persons, and all classes, Hindus, Muslims and Christians, took part in the meeting which was therefore a thoroughly representative one. After giving the names of some of the Muhammadans who attended the meeting, the writer says that Mian Chiragh Muhammad, in proposing one of the resolutions, made the following remarks:—"I fully sympathise with the Congress movement. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Muhammadan community keeps aloof from the movement. This view is held only by some of Syed Ahmad Khan's followers, who have been greatly misled. Can any one doubt that the Muhammadans sympathise with the movement, especially when eminent leaders of that community like the Hon'ble Badr-ud-din Tyabjee, the Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jha, Mr. Muhammad Raffik Barrister-at-Law, Nawab Raza Hussain Khan, and several others have joined heart and soul in the movement". Resolutions were passed expressing sympathy with the aims of the Congress and appointing an Executive Committee, and the meeting closed with cheers for Her Majesty the Empress.

The Ghamkhar-i-Hind (Lahore) dated 2nd June 1888, says that some of the Vernacular Papers are in the habit of abusing the liberty allowed them by Government and in support of this view refers
to the Rafiq-i-Hind which has used such epithets with reference to the Maharaja of Kashmir as "rebel", "incompetent", "mad", and so on. The Foreign Office should take some measures with a view to prevent irresponsible writers of low position from giving offence to persons in high position. The writer does not think it worth while referring to the question of annexation, as it would be sheer madness to reply to the Rafiq-i-Hind.

A correspondent of the Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore) dated 9th June, calls the attention of those Muslims who sympathise with the National Congress movement to the following passages of an article published in a Bengali Journal:

"Do not the Anglo-Indians see that the attitude of extreme humility and subserviency of a section of the Muslims, who cannot for a moment forget the Caliphan blood coursing through their veins, is only an assumed attitude? They are shrewd men, far shrewder than our Anglo-Indian statesmen and officials. Do they not know that if the prayers of the National Congress are granted, the people will get all they desire and it will bind them by eternal ties of gratitude to the British Government, rendering the reassertion of the Caliphan blood impossible for all time."
"The same paper continues:—

They (the Muhammadans) are opposed to the National Congress because in that they see a rock of adamant on which they know English rule would everlastinglly stand. Those who want to see the Caliphan blood reassert itself in India naturally oppose the National Congress.

"In the permanence of ignorance, in the growth of discontent, in the denial of legitimate rights lies their strength, and of those materials is composed the lever by which one they could overthrow British rule".

Commenting on this, the correspondent of the Rafiq says that the Muhammadan sympathisers of the Congress should pause and think for a moment of the feelings with which the writer of the passages quoted above is actuated towards the Muslims. Referring to M. Badr-ud-Din Tyabjee's proposal that no subject will be discussed by the Congress unless there is a practical unanimity of opinion about it, the author of the communication remarks that this proposal will prove effectual only so long as the Congress is a debating body. But what will the Muslims do when the promoters of the movement succeed in attaining the real object of their wishes viz. a Parliament for India in which the Hindus will be naturally in the majority and the Muslims
in a hopeless minority? The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 16th June 1888, says that Government forces respectable native girls into a life of prostitution for the sake of European soldiers. Government official go to villages and tell the people that Government has ordered that so many girls should be made prostitutes Poor girls are thus taken away from their parents and, under the orders of the just Government of the Empress of India, made to adopt a life of sin. Nor is this all. In order to induce good looking young girls to become prostitutes, bazar women, who besides a fixed commission, receive part of the earnings of the prostitutes for several months, are employed for the purpose. The orders of Government require that there should be a sufficiently large number of good looking prostitutes in every bazar.

The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 19th June, 1888, referring to the speech delivered by Raja Rampal Singh at Lahore in a Congress meeting, says that there are three classes of people in Lahore:

1. The English-speaking natives, i.e. pleaders, office employees, and students who mustered strong on the occasion.

2. The nobility and gentry of the city, including some English-speaking natives. These did not join the meeting as they did not even know what was meant by the Congress.

3. The common residents of the city who do not know what the Congress and its aims are.
The writer is glad to find that those belonging to the first group are now considering the aims of the Congress with a view to determine what demands should be pressed and what demands should be waived.

The nobility and gentry of the Punjab, to whom the Punjab owes its reputation for loyalty, are also considering the subject with a view to decide what subjects should be taken up and what should be left untouched. The writer, after giving an account of the aims of the Congress, remarks that if the election of members for the Legislative Council is to be made in the same manner as Municipal elections, then the present generation cannot hope to derive and benefit from the proposed reform. As regards the right of interpellation, some people are of opinion that this right should not be extended to political questions, as even in England the Ministers of the Crown are allowed to reply to such question or not at their discretion.

As regards volunteering, the writer thinks that the upper classes cannot become volunteers, while the mass of the people cannot be trusted. In the event of the Muharram and Dasehra festivals coming together it will not be easy to manage armed and disciplined Hindus and Muslims without the aid of the Military.
The writer also condemns the repeal of the Arms Act as unadvisable. As regards technical schools the Akhbar thinks that as Government is already transferring the charge of higher education to the people, it is not likely that it will take upon itself the task of establishing technical schools. Let those who attend Congress meetings in such large numbers subscribe for such schools. It is the duty of all loyal subjects to act according to the wishes of their rulers, and the Punjabis understand this fact and it is owing to this that have gained everything and will gain everything they require. It is true that the people are sometimes justified in making their complaints known to Government, but they have no right to find fault with its actions.

The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 21st June 1888, says that the opponents of the Congress are natives of the old school, who think that a ruler is infallible like the Almighty, that the people have no rights, and that they should suffer in silence and never make their grievances known. They are also of opinion that no object can be gained without flattering the Powers that be. The supporters of the Congress, however, think differently. They hold that flattery should be resorted to only where the object is to deceive; that a ruler is not like the Almighty, but merely a fortunate man. The supporters of the Congress condemn flattery and think that the permanence of British rule which has conferred so many blessings on the country is essentially necessary
for the progress of India. The object of the Congress is to make the views of the enlightened portion of the people known to Government. The Congress does not aim at dictating to Government; on the contrary its object is to bring to its notice the views of the more enlightened portion of the people. It must, of course, rest with the Government to act up to these views or not just as it likes, but it cannot certainly lose anything by hearing these views.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 23rd June 1888, gives the substance of an article which appeared in the Civil and Military Gazette a few days ago under the title of "Boycotting the Babu" and in which that paper suggested that, with a view to put a stop to seditious writing in newspapers, Government should dismiss those of its Native servants who support such papers. The Civil and Military Gazette, says the Koh-i-Noor, is greatly mistaken if it supposes that people derive their ideas from newspapers. On the contrary, it is the ideas and feelings of the people which are reflected in the newspapers. The remedy proposed will not prove effectual, as the proprietors of many newspapers far from depending on the support of their subscribers, generally devote the income derived by them from other sources in order to keep up their journals. As regards Government servants, there are very few indeed who support Native journals, and even if the stupid suggestion of the Lahore paper is carried out, it will not succeed in boycotting the Native
newspapers, as those who care to read such papers will in that case read them secretly. In conclusion, the Koh-i-Noor remarks, let the Anglo-Indian papers think and do what they like, but let them do nothing to create a feeling of hatred towards the Government.

A correspondent of the Koh-i-Noor (Lahore) dated 26th June 1888, after stating the objections raised against the Congress by its opponents, remarks that it is quite true that this country is inhabited by different races belonging to different religions, and that consequently serious quarrels arise almost daily between the different communities. But it is equally true that in European countries also serious differences exist, though they are due to other causes than religious or race prejudices; and since the people of those countries have succeeded in gaining the objects aimed at by the Congress, there is no reason why a similar movement should not succeed in this country. If the different nations of India, continues the writer, join in sufficient members, it would be impossible for the Bengalis or Madrasis to deceive them.

The Muslims are inferior to the Hindus in point of number and educational progress, and the only way by which they can raise themselves from their present degraded state is by taking more kindly to English education. The writer also ridicules the charge of selfishness brought against the promoters of the Congress, as they advocate the employment of the warlike races of Syed Ahmad to higher appointments in the Military Department. There is, therefore, no reason to question the
motives of the promoters of the Congress; and those who are labouring under the misapprehension that Government will suppress the movement are greatly mistaken. The Congress aims at representing the grievances of the country in a most respectful manner, and therefore it is unreasonable to suppose that the movement is looked upon with disfavour by the authorities.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 30th June 1888, remarks that the opponents of the National Congress are opposed to the movement for various reasons. For instance, the Lukhnow papers say that able members of the Hindu and the Muslim communities have kept themselves quite aloof from the movement as they regard it as an assembly of rebels. But a Calcutta paper observes that a great effect has been produced upon the public, or more properly speaking, upon the Muslims in the upper provinces by the recent utterances of Sir Syed Ahmad, Hence, the Koh-i-Noor remarks that the opinions of these papers are diametrically opposed to one another. The Urdu Akhbar (Calcutta), knowing that Mr. Tyabjee, Sir T. Madhava Rao and others will shortly commence lecturing in India in favour of the Congress, calls them "young champions of the Congress", and speaks of the Syed as the "grand old man of Aligarh", and says that the grand old man of Aligarh exercises great influence over his followers and over those who in any way come in contact with him. Again, the same paper alleges that
unless the promoters of the Congress give an assurance to the effect that Muslim interests will receive due regards at their hands, the latter will never be persuaded to join the movement. And this assurance can only be given if the system of competitive examination be entirely done away with or its rigidity relaxed in favour of the Muslims, or if the Hindus give the Muslims half of what they have and enjoy at present. Commenting upon the above extracts the Koh-i-Noor observes that such ideas would have been more becoming if they had found expression from the lips of the Maulvis of the old school to please their ignorant followers. The Congress is ready to discuss measures equally benefitting to all. It is quite evident that if the Income Tax be abolished, or the Military expenditure of Government, which has of late swollen into gigantic dimensions, be curtailed, Hindus and Muslims will equally benefit. There is no community in India to the interests of which the principles of the Congress can prove determinental, with the solitary exception of those selfish and interested people who, in the name of the National cause, try to serve their own purpose.

The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 30th June 1888, publishes an article in favour of the National Congress and says that it is quite impossible that Government should take steps to ameliorate the condition of India and redress the grievances of its people unless an agitation is
set on foot to draw its attention to them. The writer, in support of this view, refers to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, which was due to the fact that the public bodies in India set on foot an agitation in the length and breadth of the country and informed the British public in England of the shameful consequences of the Act; and the British Parliament with one voice voted for its repeal.

The Gham Khwar-i-Hind (Lahore), of the 30th June 1888, cannot agree with those who think that it is owing to the National Congress movement that Natives have been appointed to high posts of responsibility, such as Judgeships of the Chief Court, Divisional Court, and Sessions Court, Deputy Commissionerships, and other posts of a similar nature which were formerly withheld from them.

The same paper states that the lecture delivered by the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath in favour of the National Congress at Lucknow has attracted considerable notice in England. When Mr. Hume, a learned European Officer, has been working so zealously in the cause of the National Congress, no one can doubt the usefulness and importance of the movement. The writer is of opinion that the next meeting of the Congress in Allahabad will be a great success, but he is much afraid of the opponents of the Congress lest their foolish party spirit should lead to unpleasant results.
The Akhbar-i-Ravi (Lahore), dated 11th July 1888, publishes the prospectus of a new monthly journal which will be issued as a supplement to the Ravi. Several Muslim papers have of late been vilifying the Hindu religion and using strong language against Hindu Chiefs like the Maharaja of Kashmir. The Hindus are also prevented from performing their religious duties. The new paper will reply to these attacks and advocate the interests of the Hindus.

A correspondent of the Umballa Gazette (Umballa), dated 18th July 1888, remarks that the supporters of the Congress movement who were once regarded as being able, well educated and loyal subjects of Government are now denounced as rebels. This is done simply to silence them and induce them to hold all of from the movement. But an opponent of the Congress, even if he be an oilman (Taili), a barbar, or a washerman, is regarded as an able man of high birth and a well-wisher of Government. The writer then comments on an article written by a correspondent of the Delhi Punch and says that the correspondent seems to be quite ignorant of the meaning of the word "rebellion" because the promoters of the Congress do not give vent to their feelings of dissatisfaction towards the Government; on the contrary they take the opponents of the movement to task. Thus it is evident that they are not opposed to Government but to those who are hostile to the Congress, and hence cannot be regarded as disloyal.
The writer is very much surprised at the ignorance displayed by the correspondent, who represents Munshi Newal Kishor to be one of the promoters of the Congress, whereas, being afraid of the European officers, that gentleman is a bitter enemy of the movement. The writer, in conclusion, says that the promoters of the Congress have never brought any pressure to bear on Government with a view to obtain certain rights and privileges; whatever they have asked they have asked in a respectful manner. They have merely to show that they are deserving of those rights and Government will at once accede to their wishes.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 19th July 1888, say that meetings have been held at Lucknow, Faizabad and Gorakhpur in support of the National Congress. Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji, one of the leading merchants of Bombay, who has come to the North-Western Provinces with a view to remove the misapprehension under which the Muslims of those Provinces labour, delivered speeches at the meetings held in his honour. These meetings were a great success and were in most cases presided over by Muslims. At the meeting held in Lucknow a respectable Muslim, Ahmad Ali, Editor of the Azad expressed himself opposed to a representative system of Government. Muhammad Yasin, a Mukhtar, also wished to attend the Gorakhpur meeting for a similar purpose, but was prevented from doing so.
A correspondent of the Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 21st July 1888, commenting on a communication published in the "Pioneer" under the heading "Where will it end", ridicules the idea that the National Congress will lead to rebellion unless Government puts a stop to it. The writer also does not share the apprehension of the writer in the Pioneer that elected members of the Legislative Council will oppose Government whenever the latter find it necessary to impose an income tax. On the contrary, people will not complain of any tax imposed with the consent of their representatives. It is not true that the promoters of the Congress movement "add fuel to the fire". On the contrary what they desire is that the causes of discontent should be removed and friendly relations between the people and the Government established. It is true that poverty, injustice and other evils are not confined to this country, but that is no reason why those evils should not be remedied. The object of the Congress is not to weaken but to strengthen the hands of Government by making it attend to the grievances of the people. In conclusion the writer emphatically denies that Government is abused at the meetings of the Congress.

The Pate Khan (Lahore), of the 18th July 1888, publishes a cartoon in which two editors a Hindu and a Muslim are represented as wrestling together, while a European Judge is represented as umpire. A demon, called "libel beats a drum, and a European holding a long
banner at the top of which is fastened the prize, viz, a curse, exclaims, "whoever wins, shall get it". 26

The Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir (Lahore), dated 10th July 1888 observes that the stability of British rule in India rests on the diversity of the Indian nations and their hostility towards each other. The same opinion was expressed by an American gentleman, who came to India from the United States of America to be present at the Delhi Camp of Exercise. The English, like the Romans, set upon the principle of divide and rule and try to create ill-feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims, while the Anglo-Indians add fuel to the fire. The writer is of opinion that the ill-feeling at present existing between Hindus and Muslims is attributable to the promise which Lord Dufferin made to the Muslims when he first landed at Bombay. Before his appointment no ill-feeling existed between the Hindus and Muslims, and both lived on friendly terms. 27

The Ravi (Lahore), of the 25th July 1888, says that the Hindus should think of the extent to which Government shows favour towards the Muslims and look after their own interests. 28

A correspondent of the Akhbar-ul-Akhyar (Delhi), dated 22nd July 1888, comments on an article written by another correspondent against the Congress, and says that no member of the Congress joint it
as a representative of his community or of his co-religionists but as a native of India and subject of the British Government. In the first meeting of the Congress no doubt the number of Muslims was very small but gradually they began to attend its meetings in large numbers; and in the Madras meeting last year Mr. Badr-ud-Din Tyabjee, Barrister-at-Law, presided. Moreover, no resolution was passed which was, from a religious point of view, in favour or against any particular community. Under such circumstances it is unfair to denounce it as a Hindu Congress; on the contrary it fully deserves the name of the Indian National Congress.

The Khalr Khwah-i-Kashmir (Lahore), dated 17th July 1888, charges Sir Syed Ahmad Khan with having set the Hindus and Muslims against each other, and says it is a matter for regret that those Muslims who have a high opinion of the past services of the Syed should think it right to follow him. The writer feels sure that the opposition to the Congress is due, not to the doings of Sir Syed or Mr. Amir Ali, but to a large number of Anglo-Indians who are at their back. The Muslims will have cause for regret, if they fail to realise the blessings which a national union is sure to confer on the country. The writer congratulates the Muslims on the special aid given to them by Government, and assures them that the Hindus are not jealous of their good fortune, but asks them to join the Hindus in political movements which are calculated to benefit them equally. The
Anglo Indians, who are on the side of the Hindus and then the Muslims will be swept off the face of the earth. Let them ponder over these things before it is too late.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 26th July 1888, quotes an article from the Nayyar-i-Azam, of Moradabad, in which that paper after some preliminary remarks observes that there are three classes of Muslims who are opposed to the Congress. The first of these have no opinion of their own on the subject as they can neither read nor write. The second class consists of those who at first did not understand the object of the movement, but who still persist in their opposition in spite of the fact that they have now come to understand the subject. The third class comprises a set of people who care for their personal interests only. The opposition of the two last mentioned classes is due to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. The writer then refers Sir Syed to an article which appeared in his own journal, the Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq, on bigotry and asks him to compare his present utterances with what he wrote in the past. After referring to some passages in Sir Syed's speeches the Nayyar-i-Azam remarks that Sir Syed is throwing obstacle in the way of a national union between the different races inhabiting India.

The Imperial Paper (Lahore), of the 28th July 1888, reproduces an article from the Urdu Guide of Calcutta on the National
Congress. The writer is at a loss to understand why Hindus and Muslims should become hostile to each other on account of the National Congress. The movement is a political one, and everybody has a right to express his views about it freely. The Hindus need not take the leaders of the Muslims community to task for not joining the movement, as the leaders of their own community have not joined it. The Urdu Guide then republishes a letter from a Hindu, who is of opinion that representative Government is not suited to this country and condemns the demand about the repeal of the Arms Act as disloyal.

The Aftab-i-Hind (Jullundur), dated 28th July 1888, says that the National Congress movement is premature, if not worthless. It is a great mistake to think that by making a great deal of noise the people will induce Government to accede to their wishes. Although Sir Syed Ahmad Khan asks Government to ameliorate the condition of the people and confer certain rights and privileges on them, yet he does not make use of intemperate language towards Government as the disloyal Bengalis do. This is why he did not join the National Congress of Calcutta.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), dated 28th July 1888, publishes the proceedings of a meeting held in the Benares Town Hall under the auspices of the Benares Institute on the 20th July 1888, in which
Raja Sheo Parshad, c.s.i. delivered a lecture against the National Congress. The writer comments on this lecture and remarks that the Raja was wrong in saying that in the United States of America there was no such thing as a National Congress, because it is evident to the weakest thinker that the Government of that country being democratic the people did not stand in need of such congresses. In the Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 24th July 1888, Pandit Gopi Nath gives an account of his journey to Madras on the occasion of the last National Congress, and says that people in Madras showed great enthusiasm on the occasion and gave a warm reception to the delegates.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of 24th July 1888, remarks that it is satisfactory to find that while in India the Anglo-Indian papers, with a few honourable exceptions, are trying to represent the Congress as a dangerous movement and denouncing its authors as a set of disloyal people, the English Press support the movement and praise its authors as being the true well-wishers of the Government. The writer then reproduces the articles written on the subject by the Christian World, the Daily Chronicle, the Eastern Press, the Manchester Guardian, the Whitehall Gazette and the Graphic.

The Umballa Gazette (Umballa), of the 25th July 1888, also reproduces the above from the Koh-i-Noor.
The Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir (Lahore), dated 10th July 1888, states that Muharram Ali Chishti, has of late been abusing the Hindus, insulting their religious feelings, and using contemptruous language towards some eminent members of their community. Had the Government been impartial it would have chastised him but instead of punishing him the Government nominated him a member of the Educational Conference. Has not his nomination provoked the jealousy of the Hindus and will they not consider it a grievance? Again, the Mir Munshi to the Punjab Government dismissed a Hindu translator and, ignoring the claims of a Sikh candidate, appointed two Muslim translators instead. The Vernacular Papers protested against the jobbery, and the Government called for an explanation from the Mir Munshi, who replied that the Hindus already employed in the office far exceeded the Muslims in number and consequently both the jobs had been conferred on Muslims, The Government regarded the explanation as sufficiently satisfactory, and there the matter ended. Let the Hindu Newspapers say what they like, Government will continue to be partial to the Muslims and consequently no regard will be paid to the qualifications or claims of Hindu candidates. Had Government been impartial, Mian Nizam-ud-Din himself would not have been appointed Mir Munshi, because the claims of Lala Bhagat Ram were far superior to those of Mian Nizam-ud-Din. This policy of showing favour and partiality towards the Muslims has long been in
vogue in other provinces of India and is now being adopted in the Punjab. But the Hindus of the Punjab are not so cowardly as those of other parts of India. If the impression that Government is partial towards the Muslims and hostile to the Hindus once gains ground, the result will be anything but pleasant. It was the Hindus of the Punjab who, oppressed by the Muslim Emperors in general and Aurangzeb in particular, created a political union among themselves, which gave rise to the Sikh community and destroyed the Muslim Empire. If the Hindus succeeded in gaining their object at a time when they had no means of uniting, they can do so much more easily at the present time, as they have greater facilities and as Government is surrounded by powerful enemies and will some day have to fight one of the most powerful of them. By showing undue favour to the Muslim and ignoring the claims of the Hindus, Government will alienate the latter and commit a great mistake. Government should not be led away by the idea that the Hindus are a simple people who can quietly submit to every kind of wrong; they no doubt bear with patience every wrong, but always wait for a favourable opportunity of revenging themselves.

The Wazir-i-Hind (Sialkot), dated 22nd July 1888, states that most people complain that the Vernacular Papers in stead of discussing local matters devote their attention to the affairs of Turkey, Russia, Afghanistan and so forth. That the Vernacular papers would more useful if they discussed local affairs cannot be doubted. But
since high officials as well as District Officers do not even glance at the papers, what is the use of their writing on local affairs and what good can accrue from their doing so? Some editors who wrote freely on local affairs got into trouble and were sent to jail. 30

The Lisan-un-Hind Akhbar (Umballa), of the 11th June 1888, remarks that selfish people cannot be expected to do any good to others. God fearing and orthodox Muslims such as Haji Maulvi Syed Imdad Ali, C.S.I., and Maulvi Khawaja Muhammad Yusaf, Proprietor of the Agra Akhbar, have always differed widely from Sir Syed Ahmad. It is, therefore, a serious mistake to look upon Sir Syed as the leader of the Muslim community. He has always inveighed against the Muslims whenever he found that he would gain his selfish ends by so doing. Hence the writer concludes that his opposition to the National Congress is based on selfish motives. 31

The Dost-i-Hind (Bhera), of the 2nd August 1888, is glad to find that the vernacular papers in the Punjab have at last commenced to give wide publicity to the objects of the National Congress. Hitherto the Punjabis have taken very little interest in the movement partly because the Province is backward in education and partly because the press has not written much on the subject. The number of delegates, and more especially the number of Muslim delegates, who attended the last three meetings of the Congress was very small; but it is not fair
to conclude from this that the Muslims of the Punjab are opposed to the movement, or that they blindly follow some of the great men of their community. There are several Muslims who understand and sympathise with the objects of the Congress, while many others have formed no opinion on the subject, as the aims of the movement have not yet been brought to their notice. The writer is, therefore, glad to find that the Indian National Association of Lahore is circulating printed pamphlets on the aims and objects of the movement. The Nayyar-i-Azam of Moradabad, the shaihna-i-Hind of Meerut, and the Koh-i-Noor of Lahore are giving wide publicity to the subject, and it is to be hoped that all interested in the welfare of the country will do all in their power to induce the people of the Province to take an interest in the movement.32

The Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore), of the 4th August 1888, says that it is not true, as alleged by some papers, that the Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali is now in favour of the Congress. The writer can assert from the letters received from the Syed that he is opposed to the movement. It is, of course, true that the Syed does not like those who use strong language whether for or against the Congress.

A writer in the Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 7th August 1888, after giving an account of the manner in which Akbar and Aurangzeb respectively ruled India, remarks that the promoters of the Congress
wish that the British Government should rule this country after the manner of Akbar, while the opponents of the movement want it to follow the policy of Aurangzeb.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 7th August 1888, commenting on a letter of the Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali published by Maulvi Abdul Halim in the Oudh Akhbar, says that the letter in question shows clearly that Mr. Amir Ali is not opposed to the National Congress in principle. On the contrary, he wants his co-religionists to make a separate effort to establish "nationality" among themselves.

The Lahore Gazette (Lahore), of the 11th August 1888, observes that Mr. Bhimji has at last succeeded in inducing 100 Muslims to join the National Congress as delegates and 300 as visitors. Mr. Bhimji has expressed a desire to visit Aligarh and the Punjab for a similar purpose, and his strenuous exertions in this direction deserve appreciation.

The Ravi Akhbar (Lahore), dated 8th August 1888, says that the Editor of the "Dushman-i-Hind" (Rafiq-i-Hind) is making himself notorious by writing on the kinemaking question with a view to insult the religious feelings of the Hindus. He wishes that the Government should permit slaughter of cow without let or hindrance. The Chishti also urges the dismissal of Hindus in Government employees and advocates the annexation of Kashmir. The writer says that Europeans
eat pork with great pleasure and that consequently pigs should be allowed to be slaughtered openly. As regards the dismissal of Hindus in the public service, the Ravi remarks that no Muslim should be allowed to reside in India; on the contrary they should go back to Arabia. With regard to the annexation of Kashmir, the writer propose that the house in which the Chishti resides, together with his press-building, should be annexed as a punishment for creating ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muslims.

The Ganjina-i-Akhbar at (Lahore), dated 9th August 1888, commenting on Muharram Ali Chishti's letter on the slaughter of cow remarks that Muharram Ali and the Editor of the Civil and Military Gazette publish such articles with a view to set Hindus and Muslims against each other. The riots which have occurred during the past few years were due to the Dasehra and Muharram festivals occurring simultaneously. The writer then says that the "Bakra Id" is not a festival of cows as, if it were, so the Arabs would sacrifice cows instead of Dumbas and camels. To represent the "Bakra Id" as a festival of cows is to mislead Government. It was useless to talk about cow slaughter under Muslim rule. The Muslims were guilty of numerous acts of oppression, and the practice of cow slaughter was one of those acts. Beef and pork are sold now as they have been ever since the advent of the British, but cows and pigs are not killed in
public. The remarks of the Chishti that the Sikhs would also object to the sale of tobacco is simply ridiculous, as if it were true they would have stopped its sale when they were masters of the Punjab. To attribute the agitation against cow slaughter to the fact that the Hindus have become more powerful is not correct. The fact is that, in order to prevent Muslims from joining the National Congress, some members of that community have been trying to excite their co-religionists against the Hindus. If this is true, Muharram Ali should confine his articles to the Congress and refrain from offending the Hindus. The writer concludes by showing that Muharram Ali is not considered a representative Muslim even in Lahore, inasmuch as the Anjuman-i-Islamia excluded him only a short time ago.

A correspondent writing to the Bhartaria Besala (Dera Ismail Khan), for the month of July 1888, says that ever since young Punjab has come into existence the question whether Hindus and Muslims can be united into one nation has been a subject of discussion. This question can be answered by considering the following questions:

1. Can the Muslims be expatriated from India?
2. Can they be united into one nation with the Hindus?

The writer replies to the first question in the negative, and in support of his answer quotes the case of the Jews in Europe, but
thinks that the Muslims can certainly be united into one nation with the Hindus in political but not in religious matters, and quotes the case of Italy in support of his opinion.35

The Wazir-i-Hind (Sialkot), dated 12th August 1888, publishes an article in the form of a catechism explaining the advantages which will accrue to the country from the National Congress. The English are, the writer say, a very good people, anxious to do justice to the people of India. The only reason why India grievances have hitherto remained unredressed is to be found in the fact that their existence has not been made known to them. The people of this country should therefore try to acquaint Government with their opinion. They should also endeavour to appoint a select Council like the British Parliament which should consider measures for the welfare of the country. They should obtain permission from parliament to elect members for such a Council and ask Her Majesty to direct the Viceroy and the Governors to act up to the advice of this council. If a Council like this were established for the whole of India with five Provincial Councils, and if it were enacted that no laws should be passed and no taxes be imposed without the sanction of the Council, the country would be greatly benefited. The writer concludes by calling upon imperative necessity of reform in the direction indicated.
The same paper, in its issue of the 19th August 1888, says that the Indian Legislative Councils are not so useful to the country as the English Parliament because, unlike Parliament, the members of these Councils are nominated by the Government and consequently the people cannot deprive them of their seats when they do anything calculated to injure the interests of the country. These members are allowed to prefix the word Hon'ble to their names, and if they act according to the wishes of Government, they receive empty titles which are considered of great value by foolish people. The only way to make these Councils really useful is to bring these defects to the notice of the English people, and it is for this purpose that the National Congress movement has been set on foot. The writer feels sure that the movement will prove beneficial to the country and that Government will listen to the prayers of the Congress as soon it is satisfied that the assembly represents the opinion of the whole country.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), dated 16th August 1888, says that the success which has attended the efforts of the promoters of the National Congress in England has roused the jealousy of its opponents, one of whom, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, has issued the prospectus of a new association called the Indian Patriotic Association. With the exception of three or four papers, all the leading London and country journals have supported the Congress movement. Indeed, the movement counts several members of Parliament among its supporters and
some of these members will attend the next meeting of the Congress.

A new agency is about to be established in England under the control of Mr. Digby, the object of which will be among other things, to give wide publicity to the aims and objects of the Congress. This marked success of the movement has roused the jealousies of its opponents, and hence they have started the patriotic Association, which will in the end be sure to do good to the cause of the Congress.

The Ravi Akhbar (Lahore), dated 15th August 1888, states that Faqir Jamal-ud-Din Honorary Magistrate and President of the Central National Muhammadan Association, Punjab issued a notice some days ago asking the Muslim community of Lahore to gather together in the Mosque of Wazir Khan where a sermon was to be preached on the importance of saying prayers regularly, and people were to be instructed to form committees for a similar purpose in all quarters of the city. The writer thinks it has duty to inform the Government of the real object of the notice, and says that the above mentioned Association was founded by Muharram Ali Chishti, in direct opposition to the Anjuman-i-Islamia. The Association has been set on foot not to establish union among the Muslims but also to form committees in different parts of the city, by means of which Muharram Ali Chishti, is endeavouring to create disunion among the Hindus and Muslims, and widening the gulf between them, and tries to induce the Muslims to oppose the National Congress with all their mights and main; and through
the medium of the Press is using every possible means to insult the feelings of the Hindus Government should keep an eye over such committee, whether Hindu or Muslim and Government officials should be strictly prohibited from attending or taking part in them. The writer in conclusion says that he is not quite certain whether such committees are founded to do some mischief or are really intended to effect some social reforms.

The Imperial paper (Lahore), dated 18th August 1888, publishes the substance of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's letter to the Pioneer about the proposed establishment of "The Indian Patriotic Association" and highly approves of the efforts of the Syed to counteract the influence which the National Congress has acquired in England.

The Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore), of the 18th August 1888, also publishes Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's letter to the Pioneer.

The Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore), dated 18th August 1888, publishes a communication entitled "the cow slaughter question from a political point of view." The writer, after showing at great length that the British Government is stronger than any former Government of India, warns Government against heeding the agitation against cow slaughter. Indeed, any concession made in deference to the wishes of the agitators would tell on the prestige of Government and will be construed into a sign of weakness. The Muslims will also be led to
think that their religious liberty is being unduly interfered with. The Muslims are no doubt weak, but Government should stand impartially between the parties as it is a strong Government.

The agitation against cow slaughter is the thin end of the wedge and should be nipped in the bud. If Government makes a single concession, it is not easy to see where it will stop.

The Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir (Lahore), dated 19th August 1888, remarks that the more respectable members of the Muslim community keep themselves aloof from everything calculated to create disunion and ill-feeling. The conduct of the Muslim community of Ferozepore who, knowing that cow-slaughter was calculated to wound the religious feelings of the Hindus, convened a meeting for suppressing the sale of beef in the city is an instance in point. But the thorough going Muslims who do not like unity among the Hindus and Muslims are mean enough to express their dissatisfaction through the columns of their newspapers. The New Imperial Paper (Lahore), says the writer, expresses great regret at the conduct of the Muslims of Ferozepur who, the Imperial Paper says, do not understand the real object of the Hindu agitation in connection with the cow preservation question, because this question is not a religious question, but a political one, by means of which they wish to unite all Hindus of India against the English and the Muslims. This is the only question which
can unite together all Hindus under one banner. The Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir, commenting on the above, says that if the cow preservation question is not a religious question what else can it be; and is not this foolish assertion of the Imperial Paper equivalent to the stupid statement of a bigoted Hindu, who thinks that pork is not prohibited in the religious book of the Muslims. The writer admits that this question has the power of bringing all Hindus under one banner without any distinction of caste. But is it not because it is a religious question? If the Shiah proprietor of the Imperial Paper can, in connection with the cow-slaughter question, agree with the Sunni Editor of the Rafiq-i-Hind, what harm can there possibly be if in connection with the cow preservation question all Hindu unite together? Were the Muslims killed during the Mahratta and the Sikh rule was the cause of the unity among the Hindus is so much dreaded by them? But if, on the contrary, Hindus and Muslims were alike exalted to high posts of respectability, why is the Imperial Paper in subject fear? If he is impartial he will see that it was during those times that barbers became Shekhs and Sayeds. The cow question has certainly assumed a political aspect, and whoever opposes it is a traitor to his country and to British Rule; because it is possible that if the Russians, on attacking India, declare that they intend to suppress cow slaughter in India, the deception will very easily involve the Hindus in great difficulties (i.e. the Hindus will be won over to the side of Russia).
The Government officials, therefore, should not view the question in a cursory way, but should look to the serious consequences to which it will lead, and suppress the practice of killing cows, because if they leave the question unsettled a day will come when the Hindus, goaded to desperation, will not care even for their lives.

The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), dated 23rd August 1888, reproduces an article from a Calcutta contemporary, who gives an elaborate and detailed account of the causes of the poverty of the Indian Muslims and states that the first cause of such poverty was the advent of the British, because when the English conquered the country they did not meddle with the people either Hindus or Muslims, but let the elite alone. But during the first fifty years of British rule the English upset the families of the Muslim elite and brought about their ruin. They deprived the Shah of his title and suspended the Nasim of Bengal, by whom the East India Company was invested with the Diwani Adalat, and every European began to call his menial servant a Khansaman (a title of great honor under the Kings of Delhi). During the next fifty years the British Government forfeited a substantial portion of the Jagirs awarded by the late kings and thus reduced a large body of Indian Muslims to a state of destitution.

The Wazir-ul-Mulk (Sialkot), dated 22nd August 1888, says that the promoters of the Congress movement having tried to lead the
English public to believe that all classes of the people sympathise with it, the leading men of the North-Western Provinces have started the Indian Patriotic Association, which will issue pamphlets, etc., in reply to the Congress.

The Aina-i-Hind (Lahore), dated 27th August 1888, acknowledges the receipt of certain pamphlets issued by the Congress and warns the Muslims against joining a movement which, though useful for the Bengalis and the Hindus, is calculated to affect the Muslims prejudicially. The country is not yet ripe for a movement of this character, and if the Hon'ble Sir Syed Ahmad and the leaders of the Muslim community throughout India persist in their present attitude, the prophecy of the Bengalis that Sir Syed will after a time join the movement will be falsified.

The Rafi-i-Hind (Lahore), dated 22nd August 1888, informs the Muslim community of the Punjab that Mr. Bhimjee has been sent by the Promoters of the Congress to induce the Muslim community to join the movement. But the writer is of the opinion that they should neither let him take up his abode in their houses nor attend the meetings held in favour of the Congress movement, otherwise they would be regarded as promoters of the Bengali Congress. The writer hopes that Mr. Bhimjee will not regard the Punjab Muslims inhospitable for
doing so, because they wish to mark their opposition to the Congress and not to Mr. Bhimjee.

The Delhi Punch (Lahore), dated 22nd August 1888, reproduces an article on the National Congress from the Urdu Guide (Calcutta), purporting to give an account of the origin of the Congress. The writer observes that the Congress was founded in Calcutta by some respectable and learned Hindu and Christian Bengalis. The writer expresses great sorrow that neither the public nor the Government approved of the movement. These gentleman convened a preliminary meeting and invited the Hindu Rajas, Maharajas and other Raises to join them; they also asked the British Indian Association to attend the meeting, but they all of them declined the invitation. They then invited the Central National Muhammadan Association and the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta, but after a free discussion these societies came to the conclusion that it was not right for the Muslims to take part in the Congress and they both sent a reply to the effect. Consequently, no influential or respectable member of the Muslim community of Calcutta took part in the Congress. The Congressionists then endeavoured to add to their number from other Provinces by means of speeches and lectures. But in the meantime a class of people arose who thought that the Congress movement was not only prejudicial to the interests of the Muslims, but also to those of the Hindus, and that it was essentially necessary to prevent people
from taking part in such a dangerous movement, and on this account the number of the opponents and promoters is daily increasing.\textsuperscript{37}

The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), dated 21st August 1888, observes that great preparations are being made for the next National Congress meeting to be held at Allahabad. A Committee of Management has been formed. The Honorable Pandat Ajudhia Nath has been appointed President and Raja Rampal Singh as Honorary Secretary; Syed Abdul Rauf, Munshi Madho Parshad and Pandit Madan Mohan as Joint Secretaries, and Lala Manohar Das as Treasurer of the Committee. A larger number of Muslim gentlemen is expected to attend this year's meeting of the Congress. The cost of the next meeting of the Congress has been estimated at about Rs. 50,000.

The Dost-i-Hind (Bhera), dated 23rd August 1888, says that the success of the National Congress in England has induced its opponents to form an association called the Patriotic Association, the object of which will be to issue pamphlets in opposition to the Congress for the persual of members of Parliament, editors of newspaper, etc. The opponents of the Congress are greatly mistaken in thinking that the people of England will receive the anti-Congress pamphlets as favourably as the Congress reports. The writer thinks that the establishment of this so-called Patriotic Association is the
only proposal ever started by Syed Ahmad Khan destined to end in failure, and long the public will see that the Association has ceased to exist.

A correspondent writes to the "Doorbin" (Lahore), of the 21st August 1888, that Maulvi Shams-ud-Din issued a notice calling an anti-Congress meeting, but as very few people attended, the meeting was held on the next day, when the Maulvi made a speech against the Congress. Bawa Sundar Singh, Pleader, made a very good speech in reply, and the meeting then dispersed without waiting to hear a reply to the Pleader's speech.

The Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore), dated 25th August 1888, publishes a communication by an able and distinguished muslim executive officer on kine-slaughter and says that the Muslims heartily wish that Government should decide the question once for all.

The writer of the article says that it is an open secret that the real cause of disputes and disturbances between Hindus and Muslims is kine-slaughter as has been shown by nearly all the newspapers. He himself is of opinion that the coming of Muharram and Dasehra together cannot be regarded as the cause of these disturbances. It is a matter of every-day occurrence that in the same city on the same day while one man is bewailing the death of a member of his family, his neighbour is celebrating the marriage of his
relation, but no quarrels takes place on this account. It must be admitted, therefore, that the real cause of these disturbances is the kine-slaughter agitation. The Dasehra and Muharram festivals merely afford an opportunity to the parties for revenging themselves. The writer divides his article into three heads, Religious, Social and Political. From a religious point of view, he says, a Muslim regards a pig as unclean as a Hindu considers a cow sacred. The former hates a pig and is loath to touch any part of its body, while a Hindu makes a free use of Cow's milk, butter, skin, urine and cow-dung, and regards its urine and cow-dung as clean and lawful. The Koran prohibits Muslims from eating pork, while the Hindus, if the writer is not mistaken, of the time of Manu, ate beef like the English, and cows and oxen were sacrificed, and he-buffaloes are still sacrificed in India. If the above facts are true why are the Hindus hostile towards the Muslims because they slaughter kine? In Burma pork, beef and mutton are exposed for sale side by side and no objection is ever raised. Similarly, all Hindus carry on their business in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia and Central Asia. Why have no disturbances connected with kine-slaughter ever taken place in those countries. The writer asks those who say that this is because the rulers of those countries are Muslims, why do not the Hindus leave off all connection with those rulers? The rulers of India, says the writer, consume more beef than those Muslims rulers; why then do
not the Hindus attack the commissariat Department, where thousands of cows are killed every day, and fight the European soldiers who eat beef regularly? If the religion of the Hindus requires that Muslims should be prevented from kine-slaughter, it must prevent the Christians from indulging in that practice. But if the Hindus think that the Muslims are helpless and do not possess Henry-Martini rifles, they are sadly mistaken. Their religion has not taught them to oppress the poor and the weak beef consumers, and let the strong party do whatever they like. The above facts, says the writer, have been recorded to prove that the Hindus are greatly mistaken if they look upon kine-slaughter as a religious question, and if Government thinks it a religious one it also errs in this respect. With regard to the second point, the writer thinks that the social relations of the Hindus and Muslims have undergone considerable change and that the Muslims have adopted many customs from the Hindus opposed to their religion. Further on the writer advises, the Muslim community that, although they were loyal to the Government, they should regard the Hindus as their rulers and superiors on whom they are dependent for their livelihood and to whom they are in debt. He also advises the Hindus that it does not behave them to avenge themselves on the Muslims for the high-handedness to which they were subjected by the Muslim Kings. A lion does not prey upon another lion because they
both belong to the same genus, and the same is the case with the
Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims sacrifice kine in their houses,
but the Hindus burst open their doors and enter to pick up quarrels.
This they should not do. The Hindus eat pork and Jhatka, but the
Muslims never protest against their doing so.

From a political point of view, the writer says, Government
cannot suppress kine-slaughter by the Muslims because after the
lapse of a few years the Hindus will take advantage of this concession
and call upon it to suppress the practice in the Commissariat
Department, where cows are killed for the use of European soldiers;
and on getting a flat refusal will create a political union and rise to
suppress the practice. If, on account of the pressure brought to bear
upon it by the Hindus, Government commits any mistake, the whole
of India will become a battle-field. The District Officers should also
remember well that if they give way to such pressure the result of
their cowardice will surely be very serious.

A correspondent, signing himself Danishmand contributes
an article to the Akhbar-i-Kaisari (Jullundur), of the 1st September
1888, on the backward condition of the Muslims, The writer does
not agree with Mirza Ahmad Beg that the present deplorable conditions
of the Muslim community is not due to their having failed to take
advantage of the educational facilities provided by Government, but to
circumstances over which they had no control. The mere fact that Muslim boys waste several years over the study of the Koran and join a school at an advanced age and leave it before they have received a good education, is sufficient to account for their present condition. The reason why they leave school early is to be found in the fact that their parents are unable to bear the expenses of their education. After quoting from an appeal of the Muslim School in Sindh, the writer remarks that the only means of earning a livelihood and distinguishing one's self is Government service; but all the good appointments are monopolised by the Hindus, the pay of the few appointments held by Muslims being barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. The writer concludes with a quotation from the Sindh Times which says that it is a great mistake to allow any community to monopolise Government service and suggests that Government should utilize the services of the Muslims in the Military Department.

A correspondent writing to the Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 28th August, 1888, says that it is very much to be regretted that some of the native papers oppose the National Congress inspite of their ignorance of the aims and objects of that movement. These papers have never devoted their attention to the subject. The writer feels sure that if they tried to understand, it would be impossible for
them to oppose the Congress. They would at once find that the Congress is not a seditious movement having for its object the expulsion of the English from India. The writer then goes on to show that the repeal of the Arms Act would not lead to a rebellion, as some of the anti-Congressionists seem to think, and shows that the demands of the Congress were reasonable and that it was a mistake to suppose that to ask Government to confer certain rights on the people was equivalent to rebellion.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 30th August 1888, is glad to find that the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Bombay has at last decided to send its delegates to the Congress. In a former meeting of the Society some bigoted and ignorant members passed a resolution against joining the Congress, and it is a matter of satisfaction that truth has at length triumphed over ignorance.

The Punjabi Akhbar (Lahore), of the 25th August 1888, says that the National Congress movement has met with sympathy in America and many newspapers in England have expressed themselves strongly in its favour. Very few papers have expressed unfavourable views because they are afraid that their countrymen will get fewer appointments in future. In support of its views the Punjabi Akhbar reproduces the Resolution passed by the Liberal Association of Indur welcoming Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee and Mr. Eardley Norton.
The same paper says that at a meeting held at Peshawar it was resolved that a delegate should be sent from Peshawar to the National Congress meeting. A committee was appointed with Kazi Syed Ahmad Khan as President and Kazi Tila Muhammad as Secretary. It is a matter of satisfaction to find that the Hindus and Muslims of a Frontier town have unanimously supported the movement. The writer then remarks that both the above named gentlemen were men of great influence, the one a distinguished Government servant, the other an Honorary Magistrate and influential "Alim" (learned man) of the Ahl-i-Hadis sect. In conclusion, the Punjabi takes the Delhi Punch to task for finding fault with the Koh-i-Noor for giving publicity to the aims and objects of the Congress, and asks the latter to prove that the National Congress is a disloyal movement.

A correspondent writing to the Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), dated 30th August, 1888, says that the object of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in inducing the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress is to gain his own selfish ends, and warns the Muslims against following an old man who is not only selfish but has gone mad through old age, and seeks to promote his own welfare in utter disregard of the interest of the Hindus and Muslims.
The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 28th August 1888, praises the "Hindustani" (Lucknow) for writing in favour of the National Congress. There are many who say that the Congress should be accused of spreading seditious ideas among the general public so that people may be deterred from joining the movement. The Hindustani says that these false accusations could produce no effect whatever. If the Congress and its promoters were seditious, why does not Government suppress the movement? It was a matter of great delight that the public had begun to leave all fear and breathe the healthy atmosphere of liberty and freedom. Indeed, people need not be frightened when they see that in spite of holding such opinions Government had neither forfeited their property nor hanged them.

The Wazir-ul-Mulk (Sialkot), of the 29th August 1888, publishes a communication the writer of which says that if the promoters of the National Congress movement took upon themselves the duty of opposing the local self-government scheme now introduced into this country, their efforts would be sure to be successful. Before asking Government to confer additional rights on the natives of the country, it is incumbent upon the latter to give proofs of their ability, fidelity and sincerity and to assure Government and the public that they can express their opinions consciously without partiality and selfishness. Concessions made prematurely always produce bad results, as is evident from the local self-government scheme. The proceedings of
the Local and the Municipal Board furnish several instances of partiality and selfishness.

The Political Soldier (Lahore), of the 27th August 1888, remarks that the Native Press has made much more noise over the National Congress than the English Papers; but in reality nearly all the Native Vernacular Papers are as ignorant of the aims and object of the Congress as they are of their own duties. The Hindus have got a mania in favour of the Congress and are trying to induce people to join the movement. The objects of the Congress are, no doubt, beneficial but the newspapers which are engaged in discussing the question have never thought of giving publicity to the aims and objects of the movement. They do not know that the conquered cannot get anything from their rulers by rebellion and display of force, but only by being obedient and loyal. To call meetings and deliver speeches with a view to set on foot an agitation in connection with the question are, therefore, calculated to produce no better result than causing a breach of the peace and diffusing seditious ideas among the public. 40

The Delhi Punch (Lahore), of the 29th August 1888, publishes Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's letter on the Indian Patriotic Association and highly praises the proposal.

The Punjab Punch (Lahore), of the 6th September 1888, reproduces an article from the Pump Court (sic) to the following effect:—
Sometime ago a man named Mathewson was sent to England by some Native Chiefs to buy military stores to the extent of £50,000 for them. He took great precautions and succeeded in purchasing the required stores and bringing them to India. The India Office was in the meantime informed of this man's doings. He was arrested and the arms were forfeited quietly, and Government thought it wise to keep the matter a secret. The loyalty of the people of India is much talked of, but they are not to be relied on.41

A correspondent of the Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 11th September 1888, quotes some passages from a pamphlet by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan entitled the Asbab-i-Baghawat (causes of the Mutiny) with a view to show that Sir Syed Ahmad was then of opinion that the Mutiny of 1857 was due to the non-admission of natives to the Legislative Councils, which framed laws unsuited to the circumstances of the country. Now, however, that thousands of natives whose abilities were admitted even in England were to be found, the Syed thinks that no native was qualified to be a member of a Legislative Council. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was quite right in saying that he was the most incompetent member of the Legislative Council, as otherwise he would not have opposed the National Congress. But the mere fact of the Syed being incompetent does not at all show that no one else was competent to be a member of the Legislative Council. The writer
then quotes some passages from a speech delivered by Sir Syed Ahmad in 1884 in which he praised the Bengalis and remarked that Hindus and Muslims formed one nation. This, says the writer, shows that Sir Syed Ahmad was not a man to be relied on and his friends should refrain from blindly following him in his unreasoning opposition to the Congress.

The same paper publishes another communication commenting on the proceedings of the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Bombay. The substance of the first Resolution passed by the Anjuman was that the promoters of the Congress wished to bring undue pressure to bear on the Government and that the Muslims should consequently hold aloof from the movement. Now, as a matter of fact, people engage pleaders to fight out petty cases for them because they do not trust the authorities and want to bring pressure to bear on them, and there was no reason why the same should not be done in a case which affects the interests of people at large. The writer also takes exception to the remark of the Anjuman that formerly the country was oppressed and unjustly treated, inasmuch as formerly all offices were conferred without regard to race distinction. There was no stamp duty, no appeal and further appeal, no import trade, and no low caste men holding high offices. Under these circumstances the opposition to the Congress was inexplicable and could only be attributed to a desire to please the authorities. The writer, however, assures the opponents
of the Congress that flattery was a commodity for which there was little or no demand among Europeans.

The same paper publishes a third communication, the writer of which says that the account of a so-called conversation between Mr. Bhimjee and some members of the Dar-ul-Salam as published in the "Alam-i-Tassawar" (Cawnpore) is incorrect. The real fact was that at the first meeting held at the Lyall School at Cawnpore Mr. Bhimjee at the request of Maulvi Abdul Halim explained the meaning of the Congress Resolutions, but on the following day, when the members of the Dar-ul-Salam desired to enter into a controversy, Mr. Bhimjee replied that he would prefer replying to their questions through some newspaper, and requested the members to supply him with a written copy of their questions. This was agreed to and the meeting dispersed.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), dated 11th September 1888, publishes a communication the writer of which, commenting on the speech of the President of an anti-Congress meeting held on the 19th July 1888 at Baranum (Allahabad), says that it was a serious mistake to denounce the Muslims Kings and Hindus Rajas of India and praise the British Government to the skies. It was a well-known fact that the Muslim Kings, though bigoted, always exalted men of high education and abilities to responsible posts without any distinction of caste or
creed. It was a matter of great regret that the speaker complained of those times simply to please the present rulers, but he should remember that the British nation has no taste for flattery; they have a better knowledge of the history of those times than the president himself, who need not, therefore, expect any favour from them by such means. The writer does not admit that India has made great progress in arts and sciences when he sees that the people of this country are wholly dependent upon the Europeans for a box of matches or a needle. It was a great pity that the President remembers the sad story of the ill-treatment in collection revenue during the Muslim rule, but was quite forgetful of the fact that lakhs of rupees in arrears were remitted and never realised from the poor zamindars. The assessing of the taxes, the stamp duty and the intricacies of the present law were much more oppressive than the hardships of those times. It was very amusing to see, says the writer, that the speaker complains that the British Government confers high posts on low caste people who on account of their official position rule the Raises and high-born classes. Why then does he praise the British Government and infer that this policy has added to the honour of the people? The writer is quite opposed to the elevation of low caste men to high posts. He is of opinion that this method of administration has degraded high class natives in the social scale. If Government had thought of doing honour to the natives it would have appointed them to high posts. It
was strange that the President of the anti-Congress meeting fully remembers the evil doings of the natives, but has forgotten the misdeeds of Messrs. Larpent, Crawford, Drewery, Kirkwood, Cordery, Wilson and Colonel Marshall. To defend the Indian frontier is not the special duty of the natives of this country. What great rights and privileges do the natives enjoy now that the loss of which was to be feared by change of Government? Everyone was disgusted with these taxes. Indian Railways were calculated to do no good to the country. They were of great service to the Imperial Government. The National Congress has shown no Insubordination to Government; it is as loyal and faithful to Government as the President himself. There is no harm in giving expression to the Grievances of the people against Government with a view to their being redressed.

The Delhi Punch (Lahore), dated 5th September 1888, writing on the National Congress, says that though the movement was making great progress the opposition party was at the same time becoming stronger and stronger. It was stated in some papers that the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Bombay had consented to join the Congress, but the rumour has turned out to be unfounded. The Anjuman-i-Islamia of Lahore has resolved to join the Indian Patriotic Association and oppose the National Congress as far as possible. The Government has been fully convinced of the disloyalty of the Bengalis, who can no longer claim to be loyal and faithful to the Government. They have
always been disloyal and troublesome, but Government has invariably treated them with justice and appreciated the abilities and learning of the distinguished members of that community. The writer was of the opinion that all the distinguished members of this community should be arrested and sentenced to transportation for life. All respectable Muslims and some of the distinguished Hindu gentlemen were heartily opposing the National Congress; but the Bengalis were trying to diffuse seditious ideas among the general public against the British Government. The writer calls upon the promoters of the Congress movement, especially the Bengalis, not to persist in their rash and ill-advised conduct, otherwise it will be too late for them.

The same paper reproduces a communication from the Azad (Lucknow), the writer of which condemns the National Congress, and says that representative Government is not suited to the condition of this country. To advocate representative Government for India is enough in itself to prove that the country is not ripe for it. Experience and political education is quite a different thing from University honours. The writer says that the country is inhabited by people of different castes and creeds having no community of interests; and the National Congress has practically served to intensify. Ill-feeling between the Muslims and their powerful brethren, the Hindus. The writer, therefore, thinks that the National Congress cannot succeed in its aims and objects unless the people of this country profess one religion. The
The Akmal-ul-Akhbar (Delhi) dated 7th September 1888, reproduces an article from the Aligarh Institute, in which the writer gives an account of a visit paid by Mr. Bhimjee to the Hon'ble Raja Muhammad Amir Hasan Khan at Lucknow. Mr. Bhimjee asked the Hon'ble Raja to join the Congress which is endeavouring to better the condition of the country by political reforms. Social reform, Mr. Bhimjee said, was impossible in a country like India. On this the Raja said that it was impossible for a man to manage the affairs of a country, if he is incompetent to manage his household affairs. Therefore if social reform is impossible in India, political reform will be more so. Mr. Bhimjee went to the Raja on the following day and advised him not to join the Congress openly but to secretly assist it with money. The Raja replied that the mere fact that Mr. Bhimjee himself considered it undesirable for the Raja to join the Congress openly showed that there was something wrong at the bottom of the movement which necessitated secrecy. He accordingly refused to take part in a movement the object of which was to incite people against Government.

The Kaisari-Akhbar (Jullundur), of the 6th October 1888, publishes a communication the writer of which states that a great deal of noise was being made in Jullundur by the promoters of the Congress movement about the arrival of Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimjee,
but the whole affairs proved to be a hoax. He arrived on the 28th September, but the Muslims did not receive him as a guest; he consequently went to the house of some Missionaries, but there being no room available for him he was obliged to live in a tent pitched in the Mission compound. No pains were spared to induce Muslim gentlemen to preside at the meeting but as they had been previously informed of the antecedents of Mr. Bhimjee they declined the invitation. A notice was given of Mr. Bhimjee’s lecture on the National Congress, but the place where the meeting was to be held was previously occupied by the Mujawars on account of the anniversary of some one of their ancestors; and thus all the plans of the Congress agitators were frustrated and no lecture was delivered on that day. The same evening Maulvi Mahmud Shah delivered a lecture in the Mosque of Hafiz Alamgir to a large audience against the Congress. On the 30th September Mr. Bhimjee delivered a lecture at the house of Lala Saling Ram Honorary Magistrate. Not a single Muslim joined this meeting. The same afternoon the Anjuman-i-Islamic of Jullundur held a meeting, denounced the Congress movement, and passed two or three resolutions against it.

The Akmal-ul-Akhbar (Delhi), of the 28th September 1888, publishes a lecture delivered by Maulvi Abdul Haq at Delhi against the National Congress. The lecturer commenced by stating that the Hindus, and more especially the Bengalis, encouraged by the favours
shown towards them by the British Government, which not only educated them, but also appointed them to high posts, had set this movement on foot in order to induce Government to remove all distinction between the rulers and the ruled, and to confer all government posts on those who won them by competition, i.e. practically transfer the Government of the country to the Bengalis. The promoters of the movement, however, knew only too well that such an object could not be obtained merely by those who had passed University examinations. They accordingly set about persuading the Muslim to co-operate with them, and, indeed, succeeded in inducing the Hon'ble Budr-ud-Din Tayabji and some other Muslims to join the movement. The lecturer then went on to show that the interests of the Muslim community would greatly suffer if they indentified themselves with a movement calculated to create disaffection towards the Government. The Muslim community, the Maulvi continued, had made very little progress in education as compared with the Hindus and were consequently unable to compete with the latter on equal terms. A Hindu Lieutenant Governor or Chief Commissioner would command no respect among the Muslim who were only recently their rulers. Nor was this all. The two communities were hostile to each other. It was only recently that some well-educated Hindus joined the kine preservation movement and the
consequence was that ill-feeling was created between the parties. Indeed, during the last Muharram and Dasehra festivals the Native officials, both Hindus and Muslim, were so far carried away by their religious zeal as to forget their duty. The lecturer promised to prove on a future occasion that the aims and objects of the Congress were worthless.

The Delhi Punch (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1888, says that the National Congress movement is making great progress, and unless the Foreign office (sic) takes some action in the matter, disturbances will break out in the country at no distant date. The writer suggests that the Bengali newspapers should, if possible, be suppressed for a time and the Secret Police be directed to keep a strict watch over the movements of all Native Societies.

The Delhi Punch (Lahore) of the 3rd October 1888, reproduces a communication from the Azad of Lucknow on the National Congress. The writer is surprised to find that some of the English papers should have been led to regard the National Congress as a loyal movement and considers it a pity that its proceedings should have commended themselves to the English Press. If Representative Government is granted to India, the result will be that, like the United States, India will also become independent. The writer therefore think that the promoters of the Congress are not loyal to the
British Government and trusts that their demands will not be conceded, inasmuch as Representative Government is not only calculated to affect British rule prejudicially, but in unsuited to a country the inhabitants of which profess different religious and entertain feelings of hostility towards each other.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore) of the 6th October 1888, publishes a communication the writer of which remarks that the opponents of the National Congress are divided into two classes. The first consists of a large number of ignorant people who are incapable of forming an opinion on the subject, but who consider it sufficient to oppose the movement because Sir Syed Ahmad Khan has spoken against it. The second class consists of bona fide opponents of the Congress who are, however, only opposed to some of the objects of the Congress and not to the movement in principle. It is easy enough to reason with this class of anti-Congressionists. The writer, with a view to show that opposition to the Congress is equivalent to aiding Russia, remarks that hitherto no ruler has been able to firmly establish himself in India merely because the people were allowed no share in the Government of their own country and did not consequently care to identify themselves with their rulers. The British Government has, on the contrary, been educating the people with a view to enable them to take some part in the administration and thus to enlist their
sympathies in its behalf. The opponents of the Congress who advocate a despotic form of Government are therefore the greatest enemies of the British, inasmuch as they try to prevent British rule in India being placed on a really sound basis. The opponents of the movement who desire a change of rulers know nothing of the Russian system of Government, which is neither more nor less than a military despotism of the worst conceivable type. The object of the Congress is to show Russia that the people of this country will indentity themselves with the British Government and that she will not succeed in conquering 250 millions of people by an army of a lakh or 1½ lakhs. Russia knows that the people of this country are at present neither appointed to high military and civil posts, nor allowed to volunteer, and consequently their opposition means nothing. The object of the Congress is to disabuse the mind of Russia of all such ideas by asking the British Government to give the people a share in the administration of their own country.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 11th October 1888, in a leading article entitled "Republican Government" remarks that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan is not justified in representing the Congress as aiming at Republican Government, inasmuch as to urge the election of a portion of the members of Legislative Councils cannot possibly be construed into a design for a Republican form of Government. A
perusal of the Congress report and the speeches delivered in its favour both in India and England is enough to show how far the Syed is justified in charging the Congressionists with disloyalty. The writer, after enumerating some of the objects aimed at by the Congress, remarks that it is by misrepresentation that the Syed wants to set the Native Chiefs against the Congress and induce them to sympathise with the Patriotic Association. These tactics are, however, not likely to succeed. The increase of native members in the Legislative Councils or the appointment of natives as Deputy Collectors cannot affect Native Chiefs either one way or the other. The Congress has not yet taken up the question of Native Chiefs. For the present, they desire to call the attention of Government to the condition of the people, and consequently the co-operation or opposition of the Native Chiefs cannot affect the movement any more than the co-operation or opposition of the Emperor of China. The Congress does not at all desire that Native Chiefs should join a movement with which they have nothing to do, and if under such circumstances any Raja or Nawab declares himself opposed to the movement, the writer will have no hesitation in saying that he has done so on account of the pressure brought to bear on him by the Political Agent. Sir Syed has evidently thought fit to resort to misrepresentation with a view to collect money from Native Chiefs by diverting their attention from their own people to a subject with which they have no concern. The Koh-i-Noor
concludes by calling upon the Congress Committees to send copies of
the Resolutions passed by the Congress to Native Chiefs so as to
enable them to *judge* for themselves how far the statements made by
Sir Syed are true.

The Dost-i-Hind (Bhera), of the 11th October 1888, comment-
ing on Sir Syed Ahmad's appeal to the Native Chiefs for subscriptions
on behalf of the Patriotic Association, says that it is too much to expect
Native Chiefs and the higher classes whose conservatims is proverbial
to sympathise with a movement which is the outcome of the liberal
Western education given in British India. The Native Chiefs should
neither join nor oppose the movement. They should content themselves
with watching its progress like independent judges, inasmuch as by
taking any part in it, favourable or otherwise, they would be neglecting
their duty towards their own subjects.

The Imperial Paper (Lahore), of the 13th October 1888,
quotes a paragraph from the Muhammadan Observer of Calcutta with a
view to show that the Patriotic Association has met with general
sympathy, and that all classes of the people have joined it as members.

The same paper, commenting on an article of the Bengali
on the National Congress, says that the Hindus are responsible for
the ill-feeling which at present exists between the two communities,
because the Aryas were the first to excite their co-religionists against
the Muslims with a view to avenge themselves for the wrongs which their forefathers suffered at the hands of the Muslim rulers of India. Indeed, the Aryas went so far in their unreasoning opposition as to attribute Child-marriage and other social evils to Muslim rule.

The Punjab Punch (Lahore), of the 18th October 1888, says that the National Congress agitation cannot prove successful so long as disunion prevails among the various sections of the Indian population. The same paper publishes a cartoon in which the Patriotic Association and the National Congress are represented as urging the Hindus and the Muslim to fight each other.

The Khair Khwah-i-Alam (Delhi), dated 8th October 1888, states that Mr. Bhimjee is trying his best to win the Muslims over to his side by his speeches, but his efforts have proved fruitless. The opposition to the Congress has been rapidly increasing. Two large meetings were held in Delhi to denounce the movement.

The Akmal-ul-Akhbar (Delhi) of the 12th October 1888, publishes an account of a meeting held in the Town Hall at Delhi on the 5th October at which Shahzada Mirza Suleman Shah presided and Maulvi Nazir Ahmad delivered a long speech against the Congress. The Lecture Hall was overcrowded and several people could not find room to sit and were consequently obliged to stand in order to hear the lecture.
The Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore), dated 13th October 1888, publishes a communication, the writer of which remarks that, discouraged by his failure at Delhi, Ludhiana, Jullundur, and Hoshiarpur, Mr. Bhimjee went to Peshawar. The promoters of the Congress had won Kazi Syed Ahmad Khan, C.I.E., to their side by their honeyed words, but on the arrival of Mr. Bhimjee the Muslims began to think over the matter and at last determined to oppose the Congress. Kazi Syed Ahmad Khan and Kazi Tilla Muhammad both refused to preside or act as Secretary at a meeting convened in favour of the Congress. The Muslims of Peshawar held a large meeting against the Congress on the 8th October, at which Kazi Said Ahmad Khan, C.I.E., presided and Kazi Tilla Muhammad Khan acted as Secretary. Almost all the influential Muslims and Arbabs attended the meeting, which was a great success.

The Akhbar-ul-Akhbar (Delhi), dated 8th October 1888, publishes a letter, the writer of which remarks that India is inhabited by a variety of nations whom it is impossible for the Indian National Congress to represent. The advocates of the Bengali Congress take it for granted that India is inhabited by one nation. The writer remarks that the following four conditions must necessarily be fulfilled before the people of a country can be called a nation in its true sense:—
1. They should profess one religion
2. They should speak one language
3. They should be descended from the same stock
4. And they should be governed by the same ruler

Judging by this test it is clear that India is not inhabited by one nation, because the first three conditions remain unfulfilled.

The Sahifa-i-Kudsi (Delhi), dated 18th October 1888, publishes a lecture delivered by Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, a retired Deputy Collector, in the Town Hall at Delhi, against the National Congress. The lecturer commenced by observing that the inception of the Congress movement was due to the facilities which the people had for receiving Western education and to the fact that the supply of educated natives was out of all proportion to the demand. It was these discontented people who had set this movement on foot. The lecturer, after expressing his regret that, instead of acknowledging the blessings which British rule had conferred upon the country they should be always trying to point out its defects, went on to show that India was not inhabited by one nationality. Let the Congressionists say what they pleased, the election of Municipal Commissioners, and the Muharram, Desehra, Holi, and Id riots fully proved the truth of the Assertion that the Hindus and Muslims cannot be one nation. The National Congress agitation showed that the people of India were discontented with the
Government; in other words, that they liked a change of rulers. What effect would a knowledge of this fact produce on Russia? Surely her desire to conquer India would be inflamed. The lecturer then praised the British Government for what it had done for the welfare of the people of this country. The best way, in the opinion of the lecturer, was to respectfully pray for the redress of grievances and not to create disaffection among the people. The lecturer then observed that self-respect, force of character, courage and conscientiousness, in which the Hindus were wanting, were as essential for a public servant as educational qualifications. Indeed, educational qualifications alone were not at all sufficient. The case of the Muslims was a special one; there was no community of interests between them and the Hindus, and by joining the Hindus in the Congress agitation they would be injuring their best interest, inasmuch as the object of the Congress was to urge the claims of those who possessed educational qualifications alone, in which respect the Hindus were more than a match for the Muslims.

The Imperial paper (Lahore), of the 20th October, 1888, is of opinion that the vacillating policy adopted by Government towards the National Congress is calculated to lead to very serious results. Indeed, under such circumstances it would not be a matter of surprise if the promoters of the movement succeeded in gaining their object; because unless Government shows in an unmistakable manner what it thinks of
the movement the Muslims community cannot be expected to oppose it as resolutely as it has hitherto done. While the Muslims are opposing the Congress simply to please Government the latter is sympathising with the promoters of that movement. Is it not surprising that garden parties should be given to those who create disaffection against Government, and that the most discouraging replies should be given to respectfully worded memorials submitted by the Muslims? The reply of Sir Steuart Bayley to the memorial of the Muslims of Bengal is a case in point. What can be the meaning of Sir Steuart Bayley's reply except that he wants to discourage the opponents of the Congress, and are not the Congressionists justified in boasting that Government is well disposed towards the movement? How can the Muslims be expected to believe that Government does not look with favour on the movement when they find that Government is showering its favours on the promoters of the Congress? The writer after referring to the appointment of Babu P.C. Chatterji as Judge of the Chief Court, warns Government against the evil consequences which are likely to follow its present policy of conciliating the Congressionists, inasmuch as the opposition to the movement will in that case cease to exist.

The Nanak Parkash (Kapurthala), of the 18th October 1888, says that the statement of the Civil and Military Gazette that the Sikhs are opposed to the National Congress is utterly without foundation, and
challenges that paper to name the section of the Sikh community which authorised it to make the statement. The writer has no hesitation in saying that the Sikhs fully understand the principles which underlie the National Congress movement, and are quite convinced of its necessity. The opposition of the Muslims is by no means a novel phenomenon, inasmuch as they have always adopted an attitude of hostility towards the Hindus. Their object is to prevent the Hindus from obtaining their rights, because these plunderers consider themselves to be the masters of the Hindus. The writer concludes by taking the Rafiq-i-Hind to task for writing against the suppression of kine-slaughter and thereby creating ill-feeling between the two parties.

The Wazir-ul-Mulk (Sialkot), dated 17th October 1888, states that the Muhammadans of the Punjab seem to have imbibed a bitter hatred against Mr. Bhimjee, whose efforts consequently proved abortive in Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur. Indeed, the advocates of the National Congress committed a serious mistake in sending out Mr. Bhimjee to preach the gospel of the Congress because his mission has practically resulted in increasing the number of the opponents of the Congress agitation. It is stated that in Delhi, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur Mr. Bhimjee made use of Billingagate language in regard to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He accounted for the opposition to the Congress as follows: — "The Muslims oppose the Congress on account of the Russian spies intriguing with them". The writer says that the
opponents of the Congress should be thankful to Mr. Bhimjee because it is owing to him that their number has so largely increased.

The Mullah Dopiazza (Lahore), of the 28th October 1888, publishes a cartoon in which England is represented as an old woman holding a basket full of sweetmeats before little boy representing India. Railways, Post Offices, Conservancy Departments, Hospitals and European Manufacturers represent the sweetmeats. The Residents, the Income Tax, Promissory Notes, Court Fees, Viceroy's Darbars and the expenses of the Burmese war, etc., are represented as being the means by which Government has diverted the boy of his ornaments while eating the sweetmeats. The letter press runs to the following effect: "Poor boy you are losing your ornaments for the sake of sweetmeats. Be careful your life will be in danger soon."43

A correspondent signing himself "H.N," writes to the Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 10th of November 1888, to say that some of the Muslims newspapers assert that an enemy of the Sultan of Turkey is an enemy of the Indian Mussalmans and a friend of the former; a friend of the latter. But, asks the writer, if the Sultan enters into an alliance with Russia against the British Government, will the Indian Mussalmans oppose their benevolent Government? When France and England joined Turkey against Russia the Indian Mussalmans showed the greatest sympathy for the Sultan, and tried their utmost to help him out of his
pecuniary difficulties. If the Turkish Empire is entitled to the sympathy of the Indian Mussalmans on account of its being a Muslim Empire, the Moghal Empire was still more entitled to their sympathy. But if it is held in esteem because the Kaba is within its jurisdiction, is not the Kaba in itself an object of veneration? The writer calls upon Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to solve this question instead of opposing the National Congress.

The Bharatri Risala (Dera Ismail Khan), for the month of September 1888, publishes an article with a view to show that India, which was in days gone by a rich and fertile country, where men of arts and sciences could be found in large numbers, is now being reduced to a state of abject poverty and destitution.

The Imperial Paper (Lahore), of the 3rd November 1888, takes exception to the views expressed by a correspondent of the Civil and Military Gazette, who says that Government cannot make public its policy towards the National Congress in the same way as it cannot declare its policy about Russia. Russia, says the Imperial Paper, is a great power and the attitude of outward friendship adopted by Government towards her is perfectly intelligible. The National Congress on the contrary, is an insignificant movement which it is not at all difficult to suppress.
A correspondent of the Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 3rd November 1888, dwells at considerable length on the disadvantages of disunion among the Hindus and Muslims owing to the National Congress, and after expressing his regret at the silence of Government suggests that the supporters and opponents of the Congress should hold a friendly meeting and after discussing the subject should arrive at an understanding and thus prevent ill-feeling being intensified between the parties.

The same paper, of the 10th November 1888, publishes a lengthy communication entitled "the Muslims of Lahore and the National Congress". After giving an account of a meeting held at Lahore to oppose the Congress, and relating the substance of some of the speeches delivered on the occasion, the writer observes that the remarks of Muharram Ali Chishti, that instead of starting the Congress the people should respectfully make their requirements known to Government, was uncalled for, as the object of the Congress was nothing else than the making of such requirements known to Government. The Congress has done nothing to which exception could be taken, and it is simply ridiculous to suppose that in the event of any of its prayers being refused the organisers of the movement would feel piqued or that their failure would lead to disturbances. The writer then takes the next speaker, Khair-ud-Din, to task for indulging in personalities against Mr. Bhimjee, and quotes the following extract from
Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to show that the latter’s views have undergone a change for the worse:—

"The Mutiny of 1857 was no religious war. Most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the Voice of the people that the Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. This voice can alone check errors in the bud and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us. This voice, however, can never be heard, and this security can never be acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of the Government".

The writer does not share the fears entertained by the speaker on the score of the Hindus being in the majority, and refers him to a letter of Mr. Badr-ud-Din Tyabji, from which it will be seen that considerable concessions have been made in favour of the Muslims. After remarking that the third speaker was not justified in saying that the Hindus alone were the authors of the Mutiny, the writer calls upon the Muslims to read the Congress literature, think over its aims and objects and point out its shortcomings in a friendly spirit.

A correspondent writing to the Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore), of the 3rd November 1888, says that the meeting held at Jhelum to hear
Mr. Bhimjee's lecture was far from being a success. The Muslims community took no part in the meeting, and the audience consisted of boys, labourers, peasants and some six or seven Hindu Pleaders.

The same paper publishes an account of the meetings held at Gujrat both in favour of and against the Congress. The former was a failure, and the latter, which was attended by about 600 Muslims, was a great success. Several speeches were delivered against the Congress, and Maulvi Nazir Ahmad's lecture was read to the audience.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 10th November 1888, says that a well-attended meeting was held on the 7th November at Hissar, where Mr. Bhimjee delivered a lecture. The audience, consisting of both Hindus and Muslims numbered between 700 and 1,000. Munshi Malik Muhammad Khan presided, and cheers were given at the end of the meeting for the Queen-Empress and the Viceroy.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), of the 6th November 1888, says that Mr. Bhimjee reached Lahore on the evening of Saturday, the 3rd and was received by several workers of the Congress at the Railway Station, and lodged at the house of Mr. Golakh Nath, Barrister-at-Law. He delivered a lecture on the following day to a large audience numbering over 2,000 people, among whom were a considerable number of Muslims, who evidently endorsed his views. The meeting was a great
success. The lecture delivered by Mr. Bhimjee will be published in the next issue.

The same paper, in its issues of the 8th and 9th November 1888, reproduces from the Tribune the lecture of Mr. Bhimjee who tried to show that India was a fertile country, but the people were very poor; that eminent statesmen were of opinion that this state of things was due to some error in the system of administration, which could not be corrected without the aid of the people.

A correspondent writing to the Dost-i-Hind (Bhera), of the 8th November 1888, says that it is a great pity that everybody should nowadays meddle with politics, and instead of discussing a subject in a calm and dispassionate spirit should heap abuses upon the heads of their opponents. The opponents of the National Congress are intellectually inferior to its supporters, and might therefore be excused if they used unbecoming language in reference to the Congressionists. The supporters of the movement, however, can plead no such justification in their behalf. The Native Press should in particular avoid the use of strong language, as it is to their indiscreet writings that the Muharram and Dashehra riots are attributable.

A correspondent of the Punjabi Akhbar (Lahore) of the 31st October 1888, commenting on Mr. Bhimjee’s lecture at Gujrat, remarks that as the Muslims and the Hindus of that place were
generally opposed to his views, Mr. Bhimjee could not deliver his lecture in any place fit for the purpose, his request to deliver his lecture at the Mission and the Government Schools having been refused. The lecture was at length delivered in a field owned by a Hindu. The number of the audience did not exceed 250 of whom more than one-half were Hindus and Muslims lads. Only two Muslims gentlemen attended this meeting as friends of the Congress movement; the rest of the Muslims gentlemen took their stand at a distance to witness the "tamasha". Mr. Bhimjee in the course of his lecture proved that the expenditure of India far exceeded its income owing to the Europeans being allowed large salaries. This defect, said Mr. Bhimjee, could easily be removed by replacing them by natives on reduced salaries. The writer was of the opinion that nothing could be more seditious than these utterances. Mr. Bhimjee then went on to quote the opinion of some high officials, who held that the natives of this country should be given an ample share in the Governing of the country. The writer however, thinks that this request was premature. The British Government knows best when and how to teach natives to govern themselves; when Government found it appropriate to confer the boon of Local Self-Government on the people, it did so of its own accord, and will also act on the same principle in future, the lectures of Mr. Bhimjee being therefore quite useless.
The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore) of the 11th October 1888 received on the Nawab Mohsin-ud-Daula with Mr. Gladstone, says that the Nawab did not speak the truth when he told Mr. Gladstone that the Muslims of India were opposed to the Congress. He would have been more accurate if he had said that a particular section of that community was opposed to the movement.

The Koh-i-Noor (Lahore), dated 12th November, 1888, publishes a communication, the writer of which states that Mr. Bhimjee arrived at Gujranwala on the 1st of November and put up at the house of Munshi Mahbub Alam, proprietor of the Khadin-ul-Talim. He delivered a lecture in the Anjuman-i-Faizan-i-Am and explained the aims and objects of the Congress and in support of his views quoted from the writings of high officials, such as Governors-General, Lieutenant-Governors, and the Secretary of State. About one thousand gentlemen attended the meetings. The same night another notice was circulated by the anti-Congressionists to the effect that a Muslim gentleman would deliver a lecture against the National Congress. The meeting was apparently convened by Muhammad Nawab Khan the Tahsildar, and Mirza Muhammad Bag, the Inspector of Police. The lecturer stated that Representative Government would do no good to the Muslims on the contrary, it would prove injurious to the interests of that community. He also said that the Hindus had become strong enough to oppose Government but that Muslims should wait till they become as
strong as the Hindus. Mr. Bhimjee delivered another lecture the same day at the same time. Besides 400 Natives, two European Gentlemen and some Native Christians attended this meeting, which dispersed with loud cheers.

The Rozana-i-Punjab (Lahore) of the 23rd November 1888, publishes an article giving an account of the circumstances which led to the ruin of the Muslims of India and the Hindus of the North-West. So long as Persian remained the Court language the Muslims could hold their own against the Bengalis. The Bengalis, however, took kindly to English education and gradually ousted the Muslims and the Hindus of the North West from the public service. They have now become so powerful as to demand that the government of the country should be transferred to them and have for this purpose held three meetings of the National Congress. The writer is glad to find that this mischievous movement has met with a good deal of timely opposition, but thanks that the people should make their grievances known to Government, and if they are not listened to should keep quite over the matter.\textsuperscript{44}
The Rafiq-e-Hind (Lahore), of the 22nd December 1900, states that great preparations are being made in the Punjab for the coming session of the National Congress, and that meetings are being held in different parts of the Province. The Rawalpindi District has surpassed all other districts in this respect, seeing that 50 delegates have been elected there and about Rs.1,500 has been collected as subscriptions. Some members of the Aligarh party who pose as the representatives of the Muslim community and who are in the habit of opposing the Congress have held a meeting at which they said whatever they liked against the Muslim supporters of the Congress. The editor does not consider the statements made by them worthy of being taken any notice of, and observed that these people have begun to discover that the Muslims in general were now inclined to regard the Congress with favour and that it was almost impossible to check this tendency. The Editor then concludes by refuting the charge that Government considered the advocates of the Congress as disloyal, by stating that the Presidents of the Congress have been raised to high positions by Government itself.

The Anwar-ul-Islam (Slalkot), for the month of November 1900, complained that the Arya Musafir Magazine (Jullundur) has called the Prophet a Beduin villager and a savage. The Editor warns the Editor of the magazine against the use of language calculated to injure
the religious feelings of the Muslims and to bring him within the pale of the law of sedimentation. "The Editor of the magazine should remember that if he goes on writing against the Prophet in such language he will spread excitement among the Muslims a nation who are always ready to lay down their lives for the sake of their Prophet. It is strange that the Aryas who pretend to be so merciful and humane as not to injure the life of an insect should hurt the religious susceptibilities of a nation. Polemics should not be carried on in a lude and uncivilised manner." The Editor then stated that all the objections raised against Islam by the magazine would shortly be refuted to the satisfaction of the opponents of Islam.

The Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 3rd January 1901, regrets that no Muslim has been selected as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council, and expresses surprise that Government should have made such an omission, especially when Parisis, Hindus and Anglo-Indians have all been represented on the Council.

A correspondent, writing to the Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore), of the 15th January 1901, says that the Congress does not represent the Public opinion of the country, and that with the exception of a few lawyers and certain other persons the entire population of the Punjab was opposed to this movement. It may be mentioned here that the Congress was in the habit of appropriating to itself the credit of having suggested to the
authorities whatever new measure they may introduce for the benefit of the people. As an instance in point, the writer observed that the questions of separating judiciary from executive, establishing agricultural banks and devising means to banish famines from the country were just now engaging the attention of the Government of India. The assembly under reference has very shrewdly taken advantage of this, and has decided to send a deputation to the Viceroy to request His Excellency to introduce these very reforms. This move on the part of the "Congresswalas" was intended merely to enable them to pose before the public as originators of the schemes in question. The correspondent further remarks that it was the earnest desire of the people of India that they may be allowed to enroll themselves as Volunteers and that military colleges may be established for them; but they know that at present it was not the proper time for Government to confer these privileges on them. Those persons, therefore, who ask the authorities to do so forthwith must be held to know absolutely nothing about politics. The best way for the people, adds the writer, to obtain these concessions would be to gave a military training to their sons in a private manner, and then request Government to take such trained persons in its service.

The Paisa Akhbar (Lahore), dated the 12th January 1901, remarks that there could be no stronger refutation of Mr. Alfred Nundy's
recent statement about respectable Muslims having given up their opposition to the Congress, than the fact that with a few exceptions all the Muslim delegates to the last Congress were obscure persons who were induced to take part in its proceedings under some sort of pressure. That this was so was further illustrated by the fact that not one of them had been considered worthy of a seat on the Punjab and Bengal Standing Congress Committees. The Editor then goes on to say that the Muslims were lacking in education and although they were not without their political demands they dare not join hands with the latter in demanding political rights from Government.
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to their future. However, soon a number of shocks came to Muslims that disillusioned them.

6. In 1912 Partition of Bengal was annulled as a result of widespread discontent among Hindus and also because of their terrorist movement. The Muslims were disappointed and realised that their loyalty to the British was not appreciated and that force alone could be useful in political matters.

7. The Muslims were given two Baits in lieu of the annulment of partition namely:

- Transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi
- Establishment of a University at Dacca

However that did not satisfy them.

8. In 1913, a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque was demolished by the municipal authorities in order to straighten a road. Muslims took it as an affront to their religious susceptibilities, made demonstrations and suffered hundreds of casualties when they were fired upon. That caused great unrest throughout the sub-continent.

9. The Muslims became all the more peevish because of Imperialist machinations against the Muslim World.

The Italo-Turkish War of 1911 deprived the Ottoman Empire of the province now known as Libya. The Balkan's wars (1912-13) made the Ottoman Empire lose large alices of their European territories.

10. Thus the Muslims had the feeling that they had been beaten both at home and abroad.

11. In 1914 the First World War began. The Ottoman Empire became an ally of Germany and that brought the Indian Muslims at the cross road - whether to cooperate with the British in their war effort or to oppose them as their hearts were on the side of Turkey. This led to the internment of almost all the extreme Muslim leaders.
These important political events helped in the emergence of a new Muslim leadership through the medium of the press, who exercised a great influence on the Muslims of the sub-continent. This was made possible by the entry into the field of journalism and public life by great personalities like Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Of these Muhammad Ali was a graduate of both Aligarh and Oxford Universities, Hasrat Mohani and Zafar Ali were graduates of Aligarh and Abul Kalam Azad had a thorough grounding in oriental literature. All with the exception of Azad were poets of repute. All were men of letters with Zafar Ali Khan and Abul Kalam Azad possessing literary styles of their own. All were politicians and had entered journalism not because they were enamoured of the profession but because they wanted to use journalism as an instrument for the projection of their political views. In short they were literateur-cum-politicians-cum-journalists. All suffered imprisonment or interment for the free expression of their views and their papers had to close down publication for repeated demand and forfeiture of securities.

On international politics, their views were identical for all stood against imperialist exploitation of colonies and intervention in the affairs of small countries with particular emphasis on Muslim world. With the possible exception of Hasrat Mohani, all were pan-Islamists.
On internal affairs, their views were somewhat different from each other. Hasrat Mohani and Abul Kalam Azad wanted Muslims to join Congress unconditionally and thus forge a united front for the liberation of India. Muhammad Ali wanted Hindu-Muslim settlement as a pre-requisite of a united front with Hindus. Zafar Ali Khan stood in between the two. The annulment of the partition of Bengal was criticised by Muhammad Ali alone. On the issue of Cawnpur Mosque, all followed the same line.

Their reader audiences were different from each other. Hasrat Mohani's appeal was for those who were completely disillusioned with liberal elements. His journal "Urdu-u-Mualla" was a curious mixture of classical Urdu literature and radical political outlook. Muhammad Ali's approach was directed at influencing the opinion of those educated in English and projection of Muslim views to the ruling circles. He also started an Urdu daily "Hamdard" but it was not a success in this particular phase of Muslim journalism. Abul Kalam Azad succeeded to a substantial extent in influencing the views of those politically conscious people who had received grounding in oriental languages. And Zafar Ali Khan knocked at the door of the common man and played a notable role in creating the taste of newspaper reading among the general mass of Muslim people.
The prose style of all was rhetoric as it was the need of the hour in those days of stormy Muslim politics. Hasrat Mohani was the first among the four militant Muslim journalists to raise the voice of complete freedom for the sub-continent at the time when no other Muslim leader or journalist had the courage to do so. He belonged to that group of extremist and radical workers who worked for the boycott of British goods, promotion of local industries and the ultimate exit of the British rulers. Among his co-working were revolutionarise like Aurobindo Ghosh, Moulvi Barkatullah and others who later went into exile and worked for freedom from places as far as New York and Tokyo. His monthly magazine "Urdu-i-Mualla" though essentially a literary one published regularly political articles highly critical of the British. In 1908 when he refused to divulge the source of an article he was placed in jail for 2 years. Thus he was the first Muslim editor to go behind the bars for maintaining values of journalism.

Again, to Hasrat Mohani, goes the credit of suggesting "Passive Resistance" against the British. This is commonly but erroneously attributed to Mahatma Gandhi.

Although he repeatedly expressed the desire for full Muslim participation in the freedom struggle, he was not unmindful of the fact that Muslim of the sub-continent constituted a nation. In 1909 he
published an article by Bipin Chandar Pal to the effect that Hindu-Muslim settlement should take place before the exit of the British and on the basis of India being a country comprising more than one nation.

Muhammad Ali, a product of the Aligarh College and a graduate of the Oxford University, launched "The Comrade", a weekly in English, in January 1911 when he was only 33 years old. Modelled on the "Spectator" of London, it was balanced but trenchant in criticism. It presented a fine specimen of journalism with thoroughly argumentative editorials, authentic background articles, light literature and an excellent summary of news, both national and foreign with particular emphasis on the political and cultural developments in Indian Muslim politics and in the Muslim world.

With regards to Muslim politics, his views as expressed in "The Comrade" from 1911 to 1914, had the following salient features:

1. Muhammad Ali had no faith in a United India. To his mind, the Hindu-Muslim problem was an international rather than a national problem, deserving of being solved on the basis of International Law of which equality of nations was the basic tenet.

2. He visualised a concordat like that of Canada based on a marriage of convenience between Hindus and Muslims which should be honourably contracted and honourably maintained.

3. Even the genesis of Pakistan could be traced from a careful perusal of the contents of "The Comrade". The proposal for a partition of India into a Muslim India and
non-Muslim India made in a humorous contribution by "Bambooque" in 1913, might have been a feint thrown to others in order to gauge their reaction.

4. Muhammad Ali was a great supporter of Separate Electorates for Muslims and wrote quite a number of editorials on the subject.

5. He was bitterly opposed to the annulment of the partition of Bengal and in the course of a series of editorials on the subject gave the view that Muslims had suffered because they were loyal and contented.

6. Regarding Cawnpore Mosque Agitation, Muhammad Ali did his best to dissuade the authorities from demolishing a portion of the mosque. When it was demolished, he was in the vanguard of the India-wide protest and did all he could in projecting the Muslim viewpoint.

On the political developments in the Muslim world,

Muhammad Ali's views could be summarised thus:

1. He stood for pan-Islamism which according to him was "a force for purposes of defence and not defiance." He always took up the cause of Muslim countries against the designs of colonial powers.

2. In the Italo-Turkish War and the Balkans Wars, he gave full support to the Turnish policies published special daily war bulletins of "The Comrade" consisting of news and views from Turkish angle, was instrumental in the despatch of two Medical Missions to Turkey, asked people to buy Turkish Bonds in order to assist in the war effort and also suggested the establishment of a Turkish Agency for the newspapers of the sub-continent.

3. When the first World War began and Turkey joined the Central Powers against the Allies, Muhammad Ali wrote a long editorial entitled "Choice of the Turks" justifying the Turkish stand. The previous security deposit was forfeited and a fresh security was demanded whereupon the paper closed down publication. After that Muhammad Ali was interned.
Muhammad Ali also wanted to project his views to the general mass of the Muslim people, therefore, he started an Urdu daily named "Hamdard" on February 23, 1913. This was printed in type but as people were accustomed to litho and Nastaaleeq calligraphy, the paper could not attain a large circulation. Therefore, he began to publish it in litho and as a result it became quite popular. The paper had to close down publication in June 1915 as firstly Muhammad Ali and his brother Shaukat Ali were interned and secondly pre-censorship was imposed. The policy of Hamdard was the same as that of "The Comrade."

CONCEPT OF JOURNALISM

Muhammad Ali’s concept of journalism could be summed up thus in his own words:

1. "All that the journalist is expected to do is to see that his chronicle is accurate and that the material he provided for the historian can be depended upon for the reconstruction of a latter fabric."

   "A journalist has to appear not only as the spokesman but also as the leader of public opinion, not only to advocate the claims of the people but also to preach from the journalistic pulpit to his flock."

2. "Our opinions have been offered more as friendly suggestions to our readers than as sermons delivered from a great height. They have not been lectures administered by a superior person but tete-a-tete confidences exchanged between comrades."
Muhammad Ali gave a lot of importance to ethics of journalism and in the course of a letter to a person intending to start a paper advised him to observe the principles of accuracy, objectivity, impartiality and truth.

His concept of an Ideal Urdu daily could be ascertained from his plan that appeared in "The Comrade" about "Hamdard". He visualised Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Maulana Abdul Haq, Sh. Abdul Qadir and Sajjad Hyder Yildrim as members of the editorial staff, and aimed at a proper coverage of national and foreign news with background articles contributed by specialists.

He stood for the freedom of the press, wrote a series of editorials against the Press Act of 1910 and made vigorous protest whenever the Government took action against a paper. However at the same time he advised his fellow journalists to write in a sober and balanced fashion. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan took over the editorship of "Zamindar" in 1909 after the death of his father Sirajuddin Ahmad who had founded the paper six year earlier. By that time his reputation as a writer and journalist was already established for his literary journal "Daccan Review" (1904-1909) was known in literary circles throughout the sub-continent.

Zafar Ali Khan shifted the office of Zamindar from Karamabad, his hometown, to Lahore and gave it a political colour. When the
Italo-Turkish War began he converted the paper to a daily and secured the services of literary men like Niaz Fatehpuri, Wahiduddin Salim Panipati and Abdullah Al-Imdadi. The paper subscribed to the service of Reuter and API and it became so newsy and outspoken in comments that it soon overshadowed its contemporaries and gained a large circulation.

The Balkans War, the Cawnpur Mosque Agitation and a number of other events caused greater news hunger in people and "Zamindar" was there to satisfy that. At one occasion, its circulation reached the peak of 30,000 which was not only unprecedented but also unattainable by any paper in Urdu including "Zamindar" for the following thirty years.

Maulana was a supporter of Turks, an opponent of the colonial powers, an ordent votary of freedom for the sub-continent, an advocate of Pan-Islamism and an enemy of British imperialism. His writing style was rhetoric and tuned to the spirit of the times that made him immensely popular among the general mass of Muslim people. He is called the father of journalism because he was the first to bring the newspaper to the very door of the common man, and established the traditions of boldness and sacrifice in journalism. In 1912 two security deposits of a thousand rupees each were demanded from the weekly and the daily edition of Zamindar respectively. The
reasons stated for the order were firstly publication of objectionable matter and secondly violation of the contract between the Government and the paper to the effect that the daily edition would publish nothing else than the news received from agencies. The readers of Zamindar collected two thousand rupees and handed over the same to the proprietors who deposited the amount with the Government.

During Cawnpur Mosque Agitation due to publication of alleged objectionable comments against Sir James Meston, Governor of U.P. the security deposit of Rs.2000/- was forfeited and a fresh security of Rs.10,000/- was demanded. The nation subscribed to the amount and Zamindar survived through the second ordeal.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was informed by his friends in the bureaucracy that he was going to be arrested soon. Therefore the Maulana left for England in order to meet the members of the British parliament for convincing them of the desirability of withdrawing the Press Act of 1910. During his stay in England, he wrote a 300-page book against the Press Act which never saw the light of the day. While in England, he contributed an article to Zamindar which was regarded as seditious by the authorities. Therefore the earlier deposit of Rs.10,000/- was forfeited and a fresh securing of the same amount was demanded. Moreover the press was confiscated.
The "Zamindar" made an appeal to the High Court which was rejected. Meanwhile funds were raised and the fresh security of Rs. 10,000/- was deposited. When Maulana returned from England, the first World War broke out and he was interned in Karamabad, However Zamindar continued to appear. At one time, Government banned publication of all war news. Therefore the paper closed down as a protest. This happened in 1915.

Abul Kalam Azad's technical contribution to Urdu journalism may be summarised as follows:

A. He started "Al-Hilal" the first illustrated weekly journal in India, which because of its excellent lay-out, profuse illustrations, and good editing, represented a marked advance in journalistic techniques.

B. He printed his paper in type. This was done earlier by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan but Azad made the best use of it and he constantly expressed the opinion that Urdu Journalism could make progress only when it resorted to the "printing in type."

C. He was the first to edit a journal with a rich variety of features and other articles of a high literary standard. The subjects included Religion, Politics, Economics, Psychology, Geography, History, Sociology, Biography, Literature and current affairs.

D. Leading men of letters including Shibli Nomani, Allama Iqbal, Hasrat Mohani, Syed Suleman Nadvi and Abdus Salam Nadvi contributed articles and poems to Al-Hilal.

E. He introduced a rhetoric style of prose, which though unsuited to modern journalism, proved a great asset for agitational purposes in the years 1911-14 when the country was seething with discontent.
F. His main drawback was that he spoke from a high pedestal considering himself to be much too superior a personality than his contemporaries and something very much above his audiences.

CONCEPT OF JOURNALISM

Azad did not regard journalism as a commercial enterprise. He claimed to have no commercial considerations and said that he started the paper in order to perform his mission of bringing the Muslim back to the teachings of the Holy Quran and preparing them for the struggle for independence and that he never received any aid from any quarter. He often placed emphasis on ethics of journalism, though at times, he readily deviated in order to lampoon his opponents.

HIS OPINIONS

Azad was opposed to the leadership of the All India Muslim League throughout his career as a journalist and as a politician. He supported Congress and wanted Muslims to join that body in large number and struggle for independence without demanding any separate right for themselves.

He was opposed to the Aligarh Movement, which according to him had produced a class of loyalist Muslim intellectuals. He also unsuccessfully worked for maintaining Muslim University of Aligarh as an independent academic institution, seeking no recognition from the Government.
Apart from politics, he created among Muslim an intelligent interest in Holy Quran and its tenets.

He continually supported the anti-colonial movements in Muslim lands, was a great admirer of the Ottoman Caliphate often criticising the Western powers for their machination against the Caliphate.

He advocated freedom of the press and pleaded for resisting all kinds of governmental pressures, both visible and invisible. He gave a tough opposition to Press Act of 1910 and worked for its abolition.

**POLITICAL BACKGROUND 1918-1923**

The five years that followed the first World War brought in their train an unprecedented mass upsurge in the sub-continent with Muslims in the vanguard of the struggle for national emancipation. There was complete Hindu-Muslim understanding on almost all issues of the day. Such a unity was neither seen before that stormy phase nor even after. Here is a panorama of events.

1. To give permanence to the emergency powers taken in hand by the Government of India, Rowlatt Act was passed. That curb on civil liberties led to country-wide protest and complete strike on March 30, 1919.

2. Violent disturbances involving murder of nine Englishmen and looting and burning of government buildings and banks
in Punjab led to the promulgation of Martial Law in Lahore and Amritsar that brought untold miseries to the people.

3. In Jallianwala Bagh of Amritsar a public meeting was ruthlessly fired upon by the British troops resulting in the death of about a thousand Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. That caused great unrest throughout the sub-continent. Later Martial Law was withdrawn.

4. In December 1919, Amritsar was the venue of the annual sessions of Indian National Congress, the All India Khilafat Committee and the All India Muslim League. The participating leaders included Gandhi, Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abdul Kalam Azad, Zafar Ali Khan, Moti Lal Nehru, Pandit Malaviya and others. All the political parties rejected Montague Chelmaford Reforms, demanded self-government and condemned the Serre Treaty that had inflicted humiliating terms on Turkish Caliphate.

5. In the beginning of 1920 started the Hijrat movement. The philosophy behind that was the belief that the only way to attain freedom was for Muslims to migrate to Afghanistan, make preparations there and then launch an attack from there. Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahel gave a fatwa in its support. Consequently thousands of Muslims mainly from Sindh and Punjab sold their properties for a long and migrated to Afghanistan. However, they were cold-shouldered and made to return. That caused great frustration.

6. The Hindu and Muslim leaders wanted to canalise the national sentiment in the direction of a freedom struggle. They decided to launch a mass civil disobedient movement of a non-violent character aiming at complete non-cooperation with the authorities in every sphere of life, so that the whole administrative machinery was paralysed and the British forced to hand over the power. This was called the non-cooperation movement and its programme included the following:

   - Boycott of British goods
   - Renunciation of titles
   - Resignation from the legislatures
   - Non-participation in any elections
   - Non-payment of taxes
   - Mass resignation from government service including that of police and army
   - Boycott of all schools, colleges
and other educational institutions in receipt of government aid; renunciation of practice by lawyers; holding meetings and processions in violation of law.

7. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema was established and under its aegis five hundred ulema belonging to various schools of thought issued a fatwa in support of the movement.

8. This was also called Khilafat Movement because it also stood for safeguarding the Turkish caliphate from the Imperialist machinations and for the undoing of the Sevres Treaty.

9. The movement was a great success. Although all the leaders and thousands of people were jailed, the tempo was maintained. However in 1922, Mahatama Gandhi suddenly called off the movement on account of a violent incident at Chauri Chaurc which involved burning alive of a few police officials.

GROWTH OF MUSLIM PRESS DURING 1918-1922

The tempo of political agitation was quickned by the Muslim Press in particular, that set up new traditions of sacrifice. The Zamindar reappeared in December 1919. Its circulation was 6145 in 1920, 5129 in 1921, 5150 in 1922 and 5400 in 1923. During phase it had to deposit three securities of Rs.2000 which were all forfeited. All the money was donated by readers. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan went behind the bars for five years in connection with a speech at Hazre (Campbellpur Distt), His son Akhtar Ali Khan was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for having published objectionable matter. Another editor, Abdul Majid Salik was sent behind the bars for one year for having published a seditious editorial. A number of other
Editors of the same paper also remained imprisoned. Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikaah, a news-editor of "Zamindar," resigned his job, went to Hijrat and on return resumed charge of his duties. Syed Habib started daily "Siasat" in 1919. The paper was placed under censorship for some time. One sub-editor was imprisoned and Syed Habib himself was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for a seditious speech. Abul Kalam Azad sponsored "Paigham" from Calcutta in 1921 which had a short-lived existence. Qazi Abdul Ghaffar sponsored "Sabah" from Delhi.

All these papers made their contribution to the success of the non-cooperation Movement.

Another interesting feature of those days was that each editor retained a number of declarations, so that if one newspaper was to be closed for non-payment of security, another could be started immediately. Thus innumerable newspapers appeared and died. In 1922, the Press Act was withdrawn after the movement stopped under directive from Mahatma Gandhi.

BACKGROUND TO MUSLIM POLITICS 1929-1937

The abrupt and of the Non-Cooperation Movement brought in its wake a sort of civil war between Hindus and Muslims. Political issues were thrashed out and Muslim demands formulated. The rift
between the Congress and Muslim League stood crystallised with Congress standing for a centralised and Hindu-dominated system of Government and Muslim League for a federation deriving limited power from autonomous provinces and for adoption of Separate Electorates. During this very phase emerged the idea of "Pakistan" and the vague demand for a "Free Islam within a Free India." The salient features of Muslim politics during this phase are thus summarised:-

1. Soon after the Non-cooperation Movement came to an end, Swami Sharanand sponsored Shuddhi Movement that aimed at converting Muslims to Hinduism, so that a homogeneous Hindu nation could be evolved.

2. This was followed by the Sangathan Movement launched by Pandit Malaviya that aimed at organising Hindus on a separate militant platform and the sponsoring of para-military organisations like the Mahabir Dal and Sevak Guards.

3. As a counter-blast to these, Tabligh and Tanzeem movements were launched by some Muslims.

4. That sharpened Hindu-Muslim conflict to a degree that resulted verging on a civil war being fought without regular armies. In Bengal alone from 1923 to 1927 thirty-five thousand women were abducted and innumerable instances of public rape, burning alive, murder and arson were witnessed.

5. The immediate causes were cow-slaughter, band-playing before mosques, publication of provocative pamphlets and articles against each other injuring the religious susceptibilities of the other community but the fundamental causes were different. Firstly there were economic factors. In Bengal the landlords mostly belonged to Hindu religion while peasants were Muslims. In Punjab
money-lenders were invariably Hindus while Muslims were peasant-proprietors depending upon them for credit facilities. The political factor was also very much present. With the gradual transfer of power, the majority community consolidated while the minority community had genuine apprehensions with regards to its future. The "divide and rule" policy of the British also made its contribution. And in addition to these was the worsening law and order situation. During the Non-cooperation Movement, the forces of law and order had suffered great loss in prestige and respect and that also contributed in encouraging the forces of disruption to have their away.

6. For a few years Muslim leadership seemed to be more interested in the Muslim world politics than in home affairs. Opposition to Ibn-i-Saud on accepting of Saudi Arabia, adverse attitude towards Kamal Ata-Turk on abolition of Caliphate and demand from Egypt to go to the assistance of Syrians in revolt were the major factors that focussed Muslim attention.

7. The arrival of Simon Commission brought to the fore political issues. Discontentment against the Lucknow Pact found expression on the part of both Muslims and Hindus. Muslims objected because that had deprived them of majority in their own majority provinces and Hindus opposed it as they did not like Separate Electorates and 33 per cent Muslim representation at the Centre.

8. Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State of India, challenged Indian leaders to put forward an agreed plan for the future constitution of India. As a result Nehru report was prepared. As it deprived the Muslims of their rights, the All India Muslim League rejected it.

9. An All-Parties Muslim Conference was held in 1929 under the chairmanship of the Agha Khan. That formulated Muslim national demands later known as "Jinnah's Fourteen Points." These included the following:

A: Federal system of government
B: Complete provincial autonomy
C: Recognition of Muslim majority in Punjab and Bengal
D: Separation of Sind from Bombay
10. There were two groups of Indian Muslims. One was represented by the All India Muslim League while the other was in Congress. The Congressite Muslims did not stand for any settlement of Hindu-Muslim question. This group participated in two successive civil disobedience movements sponsored by the Congress.

11. In 1930 (December) Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal read his presidential address at the annual session of the Muslim League at Allahabad and proposed the establishment of a Muslim National State in N.W. of India. Three years later Ch. Rehmat Ali, a Cambridge University student, sponsored "Pakistan National Movement".

12. Meanwhile three Round Table Conferences were held in London where representatives of the British Government and Indian political parties discussed the future constitutional reforms. The communal issue posed the biggest problem. Therefore the British Prime Minister Ramsay Mcdonald gave the Communal Award which conceded some of Muslim demands.

13. In 1935, Government of India Act was passed by the British Parliament. It gave Sind the status of a separate province, recognised in theory the Muslim majority in Punjab and Bengal, gave reforms to N.W.F.P. and conceded separate Electorate.

14. In 1937 elections were held under the new Act. Congress won majority in 6 Hindu provinces and in N.W.F.P., Muslim League did not get a majority in any province, however at the Lucknow Session of the League, the chief ministers of Punjab, Bengal and Assam rallied round the Quaid-i-Azam. Thus a united Muslim front was established.
From 1931 to 1935 the Kashmir Movement, the Shaheedgunj Movement and the Red Shirt Movement kept Muslim engaged.

**Muslim Press during 1924-1937**

During this phase, the role of Muslim press could be studied in two states, the first covering the 1924-1928 period and the second covering the years between 1928 and 1937. During the first stage, Muslim politics was in the melting pot and in the second stage it took a concrete and clear-cut form. The following are the principal features of the first stage:

1. Some old journalists re-entered the arena. Muhammad Ali resumed publication of "Hamdard" and "The Comrade" in 1924. The former continued for five years and the latter for not more than a couple of years. Abul Kalam Azad re-started Al-Hilal in 1927 but after six months had to close down as it was no longer in sufficient demand.

2. More newspapers came into being namely "Al-Aman" and "Wahadat" from Delhi, "Khilafat" from Bombay, "Haq" and "Hamdard" from Lucknow, "Asre Jadid" and "Hind" from Calcutta, "Al Waheed" from Karachi and "Muslim Outlook" and "Ingilab" from Lahore. Among the old newspapers "Zamindar" remained prominent and "Siasat" held its ground.

**Highlights of Policy**

Almost all Muslim dailies were primarily Congressite with the possible exception of the "Muslim Outlook". At the same time they owed allegiance to Muslim organisations striving for Muslim rights. They condemned Shuddi and Sangathan movements and gave
only lukewarm support to the Tabligh and Tanzim movements. They were almost unanimous on the point that the leadership of these movements should be captured by nationalist-minded politicians so that after the storm was over, they could rally the people around a united front for the liberation of the sub-continent.

Unusual attention was given to the politics of the Muslim world. When Ibn-i-Saud demolished some tombs "Siasat" opposed him and "Zamindar" and "Hamdard" supported. When Ibn-i-Saud accepted kingship, "Hamdard" too lined against him while "Zamindar" supported him on the plea that he was anti-imperialist.

During this phase the demand for reforms to the N.W.F.P. and separation of Sind from Bombay were projected from time to time in the columns of the "Zamindar". With the emergence of the clear-cut Muslim stand in the form of Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points, Muslim press was divided into two groups namely the Nationalist group and the Muslim League group. The former included "Zamindar" of Lahore, "Al-Jamiat" of Delhi, "Madina" of Bijnor and "Hind" of Calcutta. These papers took the position that Hindu-Muslim problem did not exist except in the imagination of the pro-British, and that the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem was not a pre-requisite for the establishment of a united front to attain independence. They supported Nehru Report, and joint electorates and gave strong opposition to the Fourteen Points.
They also gave full support to the Congress when it launched civil disobedience movements in order to pressurise the British to part with power without taking into consideration the Muslim national demands. The erstwhile common membership of both League and Congress had, by that time ceased to exist.

Later Maulana Zafar Ali Khan left Congress but did not join Muslim League. He sponsored Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat, a new political party which suffered a rout in 1937 elections and after that he joined Muslim League and stood firm till the attainment of Pakistan.

During the early thirties a group of Muslim nationalists established Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam but stuck to that nationalist and anti-League policy. It started a few newspapers from time to time, but they had a short-lived existence.

A notable addition to the nationalist Muslim press was "Payam" of Hyderabad Deccan, edited by Qazi Abdul Ghaffar. Some Congressite elements started an Urdu daily from Lahore named "Tiriyaq" but it had to close down very soon.

**ROLE OF MUSLIM PRESS 1924-1937**

The proleague Muslim Press of this phase was spear-headed by the "Muslim Outlook" and "Inquilab" whose lead was accepted by
Muslim papers all over the sub-continent. Their contribution was as follows:

1. They exposed the machinations of the Congress and brought to surface the mischief done through the Nehru Report.

2. Despite the boycott of the Simon Commission by a large body of public opinion these papers projected Muslim political demands to the Commission.

3. Their support to the All-parties Muslim Conference and "Jinnah's Fourteen Points" was unconditional, vigorous and consistent.

4. Their united efforts led to the unification of the two sections of the League functioning as parallel bodies.

5. The Lahore papers (Inqilab and Muslim Outlook) gave full support to Iqbal's Allahabad Address and fought against the storm of opposition raised by the non-Muslim press.

6. During the Round Table Conferences (1930-32) the Muslim press mobilised the public opinion to such a pitch that the announcement of the Communal Award became inevitable.

7. The Muslim press supported the Kashmir Movement launched by Sh. Abdullah and Ch. Ghulam Abbas and made sacrifices for that. They also helped in strengthening the Ahrar civil disobedience movement involving arrest of 30,000 Muslims.

8. The administration was continually watched to see where Muslim interests were trampled upon. These papers also gave support to Muslim officers who worked under great stress.

9. The campaign for social reform and for promotion of education went on unabated. The papers also acted as forums for Muslim intellectuals who were ignored by the Hindu press.
10. The press was friendly to the Muslim world, kept Indian Muslims informed of the new trends and movements in the Muslim world but the emphasis was on home politics.

Till 1915, the criminal investigation Department of the Police was responsible to look after the working of the Press. In 1915, the post of an Officer on Special Duty was created at the Special Branch of the Police for the purpose. After the First World War, Press Branch was created in 1919, to look after the press. Till the end of the 19th century the circulation of newspapers and periodicals ranged between twenty copies to about 3500 copies. The Paisa Akhbar of Lahore was the most influential paper in Punjab its circulation was 3500, in 1892-93 and 8000, in 1907. During World War I, Zamindar was the largest circulation paper with 12000, copies in 1915.

In Bengal, most influential paper was considered "Amrit Bazar Patrica". The four decades from 1901 to 1940, witnessed a remarkable expansion of the press both in number and influence. Especially, this period saw a rapid growth of Muslim Press, particularly in Bengal, Bombay including Sind, and Punjab. However, Punjab had comparatively a lesser share of Muslim Journalism, Zamindar and Inqilab being two most important organs of Muslim Public Opinion till 1940, in Punjab.
The Press had important issues during all this period to comment, criticise, oppose, Support and propagate, starting from the Swadesi movement (boycott of the imported goods), partitioning of Bengal, founding of Muslim League, Khilafat movement, Non-cooperation Movement, Terrorist Movement and the two world wars. All the Muslim Press supported the Khilafat movement and showed great interest in the future of Ottoman Empire and Muslim holy places. The period during two world wars and the terrorist movement was hard for the press under British Government. The Press was dealt, besides the Press and Registration of books Act XXV of 1867, with the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act XXIII of 1931 Emergency Powers ordinance No. 11, Special Powers Ordinance No. X of 1932, and the Defence of India Rules. During all this period many editors and printer, publishers were convicted to various terms of imprisonment and fines, securities were demanded from the presses, and certain issues and copies of newspapers and periodicals were prescribed but no paper was closed down by the cancellation of the declaration. Moreover, no one was refused permission to start a newspaper, as the declaration was interpreted as declaration and not the permission to print a newspaper. However, newspapers did stop publications in those cases where the press or the paper, failed to deposit the required amount of security in due time.
After the end of First World War, there were a total of 2243 newspapers and periodicals in the whole of the Sub-continent, excluding the Province of Burma which was a part of British India. Bombay presidency including the province of Sind had the highest number of 525 papers, with Madras 524, U.P. 398, Province of Bengal 330, and Punjab had 276 newspapers and periodicals. The Province of Bihar had 66 newspapers and periodicals while Delhi and central province (C.P.) had 40 papers each. Assam had 21 newspapers and central India Agency 19. The least number of newspapers and periodicals were published from Baluchistan, which had only 4 publications, all of them weeklies.

From 1919, onward Political propaganda continued to be the leading topic of interest in the press. During the thirties of the 20th century largest number of newspapers and periodicals supporting Muslim League and the partitioning of the Sub-continent were found in Bombay Presidency including Sind. In the twenties and early thirties some support to the terrorist activities was found in the press. This support was especially conspicuous in the Bengal Press. The subject of revolutionary crime received very prominent notice in connection with the government measures to deal with it. Poems and stories glorifying revolution and accounts of revolution and revolutionaries, successful or otherwise, appeared in many papers.
The annual Press report of the Bombay Presidency for 1929, said, "...If anything the press has steadily progressed towards extremism so that papers which used to demand Dominion Status within the Empire have adopted with the congress the ideal of complete Independence, and growing number has been expressing revolutionary ideas. The most remarkable phenomenon during the year was a crop of more or less short-lined papers which openly professed communist ideas and denounced "Imperialism" and "Capitalism" in the abstract, and the British Empire and the British capitalists in particular, as the arch enemies of the toiling masses all over the world and of the independence of India. The Meerut case seems to have roused the interest of the public in communism and its ideals, and the result has been a number of new ventures in English, Marathi, and urdu which have made not secret of their communist and pro-soviet leanings. Even before the beginning of the Meerut case, the frankly revolutionary spark declared with much self complacency: "Even a 'rag' like ours can work wonders especially when soaked in Marxism oil and ignited by a spark from the sharpening clash of class forces." And the paper hoped to be able to "blaze the workers path to power." This work of generating "class consciousness" among workers and peasants so as to make them militant in the Markism sense has been done by several papers but by none so sedulously as by the Marathi paper Kranti. The avowed object
of this paper is to establish a "workers and peasants' Republic" by
means of a revolution which is to put an end to imperial and capitalist
rule, take the land away from the landlords and do away with the
capitalist class.......

During the late twenties and early thirties the politics of
the Sub-continent took a definite direction and the Political Parties,
namely the Indian National Congress and Muslim League started
reaching the masses directly. Thus the newspapers took the duty of
propagating the ideas of the political parties.

It can be said about the press in the Sub-continent that it
performed the duty of acting as the organ of expressing and formulat¬
ing public opinion in the absence of political organisations. This role
of the press in the independence movement is unique in the history of
world journalism.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND, 1938-1947

It was a decade of great significance there was clash between
two important forces, the Congress and the Muslim League. Both
established their bonafides as representative of the non Muslims and
Muslims respectively. With partition, power was transferred to
Congress in India and to Muslim League in Pakistan a new state carved
out of the erstwhile united India. This was a period of virtual civil
The conflict between the two candidates of political power. This civil war grew in intensity as the years passed by culminating the great holocaust in 1947. The highlights are as follows:

1. In 1937 Congress captured power in seven provinces including one Muslim province namely the N.W.F.P. In Hindu majority provinces, Muslim nationalists without any substantial backing in the legislatures were appointed ministers. They were obviously powerless. These Congress ministries committed great atrocities on Muslim minorities. Therefore when at the advent of the second world war, Congress decided not to cooperate in the war effort and these ministries resigned, Muslims took a sigh of relief and observed the "Day of Deliverance" throughout the sub-continent.

2. Both Congress and Muslim League decided to boycott war effort with the difference that the Congress boycott was complete while the Muslim League though theoretically boycotting war effort had allowed its members to cooperate on individual basis. The lenient attitude was due to the assurance given by the British that Muslim troops would not be used in curbing freedom of Muslim countries and that the federal part of the Government of India Act 1935 would be kept in abeyance.

3. On March 23, 1940, the Lahore session of All India Muslim League passed what was later popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution. It rejected the idea of a federation of the sub-continent, and demanded the establishment of a Muslim national sovereign state comprising the provinces of Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam.

4. The same year Congress under the leadership of Mahatama Gandhi launched individual civil disobedience movement against the war effort, and quite a number of persons courted arrest.
5. In order to secure active cooperation in war effort, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India in 1942 and as a result "Cripps proposals" emerged. These visualised inclusion of the Congress and League representatives in Viceroy's Executive Council with Defence as the sole responsibility of the Viceroy and election of a Constituent Assembly after the war with the provision that some provinces, if they so desired, could establish their own separate Federation. The Congress rejected the proposals because the transfer of power was not made immediately and also because the right of a separate Federation was injurious to the interests of a United India. The League rejected because no clear-cut assurance was given for the establishment of Pakistan.

6. The Congress, in its bid to capture power over and above the head of the Muslim League, launched the Quit India Movement which became very violent and led to the imprisonment of the entire Congress Working Committee as well as of thousands of others. The Muslims as a nation did not participate in it.

7. In general elections held immediately after the war in 1946, Muslim League captured all the Muslim seats for the central Assembly and 446 out of 495 Muslim seats in the provinces losing power only in the N.W.F.P., that proved beyond doubt that the Muslim League was the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslim.

8. The same year a three-minister cabinet Mission came from England. The Cabinet Mission proposals envisaged the establishment of an Indian Union holding control over Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications alone. Its constituent Assembly was to be elected indirectly with members of provincial assemblies as the electoral college. After the preliminary session, the Constituent Assembly was to be divided into 3 groups, one comprising Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and
Baluchistan, the other consisting of members from Bengal and Assam and the rest comprising the Hindu majority provinces.

MUSLIM JOURNALISM DURING 1938-1947

During this phase the Muslim press grew rather rapidly. A number of English language newspapers sprang up while Urdu Press too had new additions. Together with the old newspapers, they voiced Muslim political aspirations with still greater force and played the major role in mobilising public opinion in support of the Pakistan Movement. The highlights are as follows:–

1. From Lahore appeared "Eastern Times" originally sponsored by Ferozsons under the temporary editorship of Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali. He was followed by Mr. F.K. Khan Durrani who had written a number of books on Muslim politics. Though shabby in appearance and deficient in equipment, it did play a role in projecting Muslim viewpoint. For a couple of years there existed in Lahore the "New Times" a bright weekly started by Malik Barkat Ali which acted as the spokesman of Muslim League.3

2. From Calcutta appeared a daily named "Star of India", first under the editorship of Pothen Joseph and then of Lawrence P. Atkison. This was owned by Kh. Shahabuddin and his family. This was a positively good paper and did a lot of work in interpreting Muslim politics. This was later replaced by "Morning News" jointly owned by Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and Kh. Nuruddin, brother of Kh. Shahabuddin. The Morning News was a more vigorous spokesman and continued to appear till after partition and was later shifted to Dacca, subsequently bringing out an edition from Karachi. This was and even now is edited by Mohsin Ali.4
3. Elsewhere a number of weeklies sprang up. There was "Star" in Bombay edited by Aziz Beg, another weekly of the same name from Allahabad sponsored by Sir Shifaat Ahmad Khan, "Deccan Times" from Madras and "Muslim Voice" from Karachi which was owned and edited by Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi.

4. Muslims were greatly handicapped by the fact that the API and the UPI were both controlled by Hindus. Their news was blacked out and distorted. Therefore a news agency named Orient Press of India was sponsored. Though financially weak and under-equipped it did help in circulating news about Muslim politics on a wider scale.

5. The "Statesman" and the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore realising that the chances for the projection of Muslim viewpoint were small, initiated special weekly features on Muslim politics. The column in "Statesman" was contributed by Mr. Altaf Hussain under the pen name of "Ain-ul-Mulk" and later "Shahid" while in the "Civil and Military Gazette" this column was written by Syed Nur Ahmad under the by-line "From our Muslim Correspondent."

6. Under private enterprise quite a number of Urdu papers also came in the field. Among these was "Ehsan" edited by Maulana Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash and Chiragh Hasan Hasrat. The appeared from Lahore and was the first to install a teleprinter. The paper was courageous spokesman of the Muslim League. Later the two editors resigned and established "Shahbaz" a daily from Lahore which was a much better specimen of journalism than Ehsan. Maulana Maikash was an editorial writer of repute and was considered the best after Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mehr.5

7. The Muslim press in Delhi was strengthened by the appearance of "Jang" and "Anjam" which in 1947 shifted to Karachi. Both papers supported the Muslim League. From Calcutta appeared "Azad" in Bengali under the editorship of Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan who had served as President of the
Bengal Provincial Muslim League for pretty long. He remained the Chief Editor till 1968 when he died at the age of 100 years. This paper shifted to Dacca in 1948 and remained largest in circulation among Bengali papers in East Pakistan.

8. There also appeared "Millat" from Peshawar under the editorship of Rashid Akhtar Nadvi and "Tanzeem" from Quetta with Nasim Hijazi as editor. Though ill-equipped, these papers played a notable role in countering congress propaganda in areas where its influence, was great.

Several other papers were started from other cities of the sub-continent. After the Lahore Resolution was passed, the Quaid-i-Azam sponsored a "create Muslim press campaign" and collected funds for the purpose. He founded the "Dawn" in October 1942 as a daily from Delhi and placed it under a trust of which he was the Managing Trustee. The broad policy was to support the League but the paper was allowed to make independent criticism within the framework of its policy. Its first editor was Pothan Joseph but after a couple of years Mr. Altaf Hussain replaced him. Mr. Altaf Hussain wielded a trenchant pen and his editorials were widely appreciated, The paper's entry was banned by the Khizr Ministry during the League civil disobedience movement in Punjab, but thousands of its copies were smuggled and sold at a high price in several cities of the Punjab.
Quaid-i-Azam also started "Manshoor" an Urdu daily from Delhi which was the official organ of the All India Muslim League. This bright and newsy was edited by Syed Hasan Riaz. However, this paper could not succeed and had to close down after a couple of years.

In 1947 riots the Hindus mobs burnt the offices and the printing press of "Dawn". As a result it closed down temporarily, only to reappear from Karachi at the inception of Pakistan. The Trust ceased to exist and it was owned by Pakistan Herald Publications Ltd, with majority of shares possessed by the Haroon family of Pakistan.

Another important addition to the Muslim Press was the "Nawai Waqt" of Lahore that appeared as a daily in July 1944 with Mr. Hamid Nizami and Mr. Hamid Mahmud as the co-founders. Earlier, it appeared as fortnightly with Shabbar Hasan as editor in 1938. The paper was technically a good specimen of journalism and was also highly outspoken in support of the Pakistan Movement. This became very popular, particularly because of the short but to the point lucid and logical editorials of Hamid Nizami.

In February 1947, "Pakistan Times" appeared from Lahore under the aegis of the PPL with Mian Iftikharuddin holding a majority of shares. Its first editor was Desmond Young, formerly of the
Statesman who was followed by Faiz Ahmad Faiz. This was a fully-equipped paper, at par with the Civil and Military Gazette. Its role during the civil disobedience movement was notable.

Some underground papers were also established in Lahore when the Khizar Cabinet had banned publication of the news of civil disobedience movement. These papers were cyclostyled and distributed on a large scale. Thus Muslim press became a power to be reckoned with. Side by side with the old papers like the "Zamindar", "Inqilab", "Asre Jadid", "Khilafat" and others, the new papers made their best efforts in convincing the Muslim masses of the righteousness of their cause and mobilising their energies in support of the Pakistan Movement.

It goes without saying that during the last phase, Mr. Altaf Hussain and Mr. Hamid Nizami were the two leading editorial writers.

The following extracts from some of the important newspapers during 20th century show how the interest of the Muslim press shifted from international Muslim politics and problems in the earlier part of the 20th century to the national problems and politics which ultimately resulted in the creation of Pakistan.
MUSLIM WORLD

(a) TURKEY: THE CENTRE OF THE SYMPATHIES OF THE MUSLIM PRESS

(i) Turkey as a whole

In 1877 Mahammadi Akhbar, Calcutta, called upon Bengali Muslims to contribute to save the innumerable windows and orphans of valiant Turks, who were laying down their lives to protect the Muslim holy places, Mecca, Baitul Moqaddes, Medina, Karbala from the Russians. "Send money to succour them", the editor cried, "look religious merit (sawab) is being sold cheaply. Buy it up. Heaven is available at a low price. Do not miss this opportunity." (This refers to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. The Sultan of Turkey was regarded by Indian Muslims as Khalifatul Muslemin. His war with Kafir (infidel) Russia was, therefore, in their eyes Jihad and evoked deep, wide-spread sympathies among them).

(ii) As embodied in the Sultan of Turkey

A few months later the editor of Islam-pracharak of Calcutta reproached his readers for not sending a presentation to the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid (1842-1918) on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee. Neither the rich, of whom there numbered several millionaire Nawabs and Zemindars, nor ordinary Muslims had
subscribed to send a presentation. This was disgraceful since even the alien Jews and Christians had given gifts. The editor, therefore, suggested to his middle class readers that as a mark of respect to his Excellency at least a subscription to the Damascus-Hedjaj Railway Fund could be sent.  

"Whose heart is not inundated with joy", Pracharak asked, waxing eloquent over the Sultan of Turkey, "to learn of the life-story of His Excellency, the Sultan, Emperor of Turkey, and leader of the whole Muslim world, who is the foremost champion of eternal Islam, and who has fully preserved from the hands of infidels Mecca and Medina, indeed the whole of Arabia, which proclaim the glory of our Islamic religion ..... Therefore, today this young contributor to Pracharak presents to its readers a brief account of the life of His Excellency, Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan,"  

In its 11th no., 8th vol. the editor of Islam-pracharak reminded his readers of the coming anniversary of the Coronation of His Excellency the Sultan of Turkey urging them to observe the occasion in a befitting manner. The day would be celebrated throughout the whole Ottoman empire: everyone was to hold congregational prayers, Maulud and Waz meetings; give alms to the poor; decorate mosques and houses with lights and bunting; and pray for a long life
for "His Excellency Amirul Mumenin, Khalifatul Muslemin Gazi Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan and for the power of his rule to prevail and his kingdom to prosper."

In 1907 Islam-pracharak drew attention to the introduction of the Japanese system of agriculture in Ottoman territories, interpreting this as another sign of the way in which the Ottoman Government was benefiting from the experience of other countries. The depth of the affection of Indian Muslims for the Sultan and his empire can be gauged from an editorial comment in the same journal. Viewed objectively, it would seem that Young Turks, by instigating a military revolt in Macedonia and Albania, had compelled the Sultan to introduce a constitutional form of Government in his country to appease dissatisfied elements. The Young Turks, a secret revolutionary society, had been agitating ever since the late 1870s for the restoration of the Constitution in Turkey. They demanded the civil liberties benighted by the Sultan. In April, 1909 they crushed a Mulla-inspired uprising and eventually deposed the Sultan himself. The Young Turk movement was distinctly national, discouraging religious fanaticism. They repudiated Pan-Islamism, and their manifestos even failed to give any particular prominence to Islam.

The Sultan, under popular pressure, issued a decree on July 24, 1909, restoring the Constitution, which he himself had abrogated in 1878.
In 1909, however, the editor of Basana Rangpur, recorded with regret that 'the glory of Islam' had been devastated by 'atheistic Young Turks' who had deposed the 'all-virtuous Shahinshah' of the Ottoman empire, Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan, under whose ideal rule the empire had made such remarkable progress.  

(b) ATTITUDE TO OTHER NATIONS DETERMINED BY THEIR RELATIONS WITH EITHER TURKEY ITSELF OR MUSLIMS IN GENERAL

Russia:

The Indian Muslim press seems to have constantly seen Russia as the arch enemy of Islam. In 1877 Mahammadi Akhbar stated that Russia had attacked Turkey 'out of greed' and to harm the faith of the Muslims by seizing Mecca, Baitul Moqaddas, Medina and Karbala. In 1899 when paying tribute to the memory of Gazi Osman Pasha, Islam-pracharak did not miss the opportunity of describing him as 'the crusher of indomitable Russia's arrogance' and 'hero of the battle of Pleven'.

According to Islam-pracharak in 1903, the Russian emperor was constantly inciting Christians within the Ottoman empire to rebel and also going to war against Turkey on the pretext of protecting Christians from Turkish oppression. This, Islam-pracharak regarded,
as extremely brazen in an emperor "whose own realms see the like a terrible volcano... because of his oppressions." 11

That same year Islam-pracharak again highlighted Russian injustice in preventing the Amir of Bokhara from going on pilgrimage to Mecca. "The Russian Government is really terribly oppressive and a great enemy to Islam", the journal declared.

And, when discussing events in Tunisia, the editor of Islam-pracharak could not help observing that "in ruling other nations, the French have outdone the despotic Russian Government," 12 i.e. the Russian Government was held up as a kind of yardstick of despotism by which to measure the villainy of other non-Muslim powers.

Subsequently Islam-pracharak again drew attention to Russia's opportunism for benefiting from worsening conditions in Persia. And in regard to Muslims in Russia itself, the editor observed in the same article that they were "vigorously advancing towards progress despite being under the despotic and terribly tyrannical Russian Government."
France

In 1908 the editor of Islam-pracharak ridiculed the professed belief of France in Equality and Republicanism. The French had now by fair means or foul established their ascendancy in Tunisia which was once part of the Ottoman empire. Its whole population was Muslim and some years earlier a large amount of money had been earmarked for education by the Tunisian Government. The money had, however, been spent wholly on French national projects. The French authorities in Tunis had argued that once given higher education, Tunisians would wish to participate in the administration of their own country. "Do you not see, readers, how liberal-minded the French are" the editor of Islam-pracharak ironically exclaimed, and, then comparing the colonial attitudes of the French and British concluded that "We, however, prefer British rule to French."

The French were again criticized by the editor of Islam-pracharak (4th no., 9th vol.) for the influence their teachings had exerted on Young Turks. The French, he observed, were "the worst of ethelists", and in consequence it was not surprising that Young Turks were "now out to destroy the glory of sacred Islam." The same point was again implied in a criticism of the type of Parliamentary Constitutional Government likely to be instituted in Turkey and Persia, outlined in the same article. According to the editor, constitutional
government as practised in Europe and specially in France, "from which the Christian religion, or anything bearing the name of religion, has been eternally banished", would be completely disastrous for Islam.

In short, it would seem that in the eyes of Islam-pracharak France's professed belief in equality and republicanism required qualification: the French regarded equality and the franchise as things to be enjoyed by Frenchmen alone, and not by other nations subject to French rule. Furthermore, Islam-pracharak regarded the secular form of government practised in Europe, and specially in France, as diametrically opposed to Islamic principles. For, in the Ottoman empire, which Islam-pracharak regarded as the ideal State, temporal and spiritual power resided in one and the same person, namely the Caliph; whereas in France the power of the Church was restricted to spiritual matters and even there appeared to Islam-pracharak to be ineffective.

(iii) Britain:

In the closing years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth Indian Muslims were, on the whole, bound in loyalty to the British. And so any criticism of the British during that period was mainly constructive in that the Muslims hoped that Britain would be open to persuasion; and, therefore, on the whole they tended
where possible, to praise the British. This does not mean, however, that no criticism of Britain was ever uttered. In 1903, for example, Islam-pracharak highlighted the inconsistency in Britain's behaviour towards Turkey. In the Crimean War (1854) Britons and Turks had fought side by side against the Russians. Yet, "when Russia unjustly attacked Turkey in 1877-78," Britain "merely stood there and watched..." Indeed later at the Treaty of Berlin (1878) "she was even one of the chief agents in the dismemberment of Turkey, despite the fact that shortly before that war Britain had received from her friend Turkey the beautiful, fertile and useful inland of Cyprus."13

Islam-pracharak was also dissatisfied with British policy towards Egypt and Kuwait. Nevertheless, its outlook was constructive. It urged Britain to ally itself with Turkey so as to negate Russian influence in the Persian gulf; to encourage Persia to withdraw herself from Russia's sphere of influence; and in conjunction with Afghanistan to safeguard the frontiers of India against Russian designs. The article indeed ends with high praise for the Emperor-King, Edward VII, his Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, and his "very brilliant Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain". "By establishing itself in the affections of the seven crores of Indian Muslims and forty crores of Muslims scattered throughout the world" Britain would "gain ascendancy..., and become a power second to none."
SELECTIONS FROM MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI'S COMRADE:

As described earlier, Mohammad Ali was the greatest exponent of International brotherhood of the Muslims the world over. The following are some of his important writings on the subject:

(I) Morocco

"It was only three weeks ago that we described the situation in Morocco, referring to 'the disinterested' mission which Spain is carrying out as her share of the Algeciras Act, and the ominous instructions to the German Legation at Tangier to investigate the circumstances of the expulsion by the French of an expedition, representing German mining interests, from Debou. 'Here is excellent material,' we wrote, 'for diplomacy to work upon and in the last resort for the sons of Mars to settle.' It looks now as if Cassandra-like our prophecies of evil are coming true. Although officially France has not perhaps gone further against Spain than calling upon her to explain her action and motives, the French Press has been indignant at what it regards as a 'flagrant breach of the Algeciras Act, the Madrid Treaty of 1880 and the Secret Treaty concluded between France and Spain in 1904.' And now it has to complain, though of course, in milder tones of Germany's 'unfriendly action.'"
It must be remembered that when in 1859, Abdur Rehman of the Hassanian dynasty, which is still ruling, died and his successor, Sidi Mohammad, had to defend himself against other candidates for the throne, some raids by Moroccan troops upon Spanish and Franco-Algerian territory gave to Spain the not unwelcome opportunity of taking up the sword against her old opponent in the Islamic world. War was declared, and in the following year, the Spaniards, advancing southwards from Ceuta towards Tetuan, gained a victory in the vicinity of the latter city. The peace negotiations which followed this defeat of the Moors led to no result, but another defeat forced them to accept an amnesty which led to the peace of Tetuan on 25th April 1860. A small tract of land was surrendered, Spanish missionaries were allowed to pursue their vocation throughout Moroccan territory, and the was indemnity of 400 million rials was imposed. In the reign of Mulai Hassan, in 1880, a Conference was held at Madrid to determine the extent of the protection which may be afforded by foreign Consuls to Moroccan subjects. In 1893, a Spanish fort near Melilla was attacked by the Kabail, and when they had been finally reduced to submission by the combined Spanish and Moroccan troops, Morocco concluded, in 1894, a treaty with Spain, whereby the Sultan Pledged himself to punish the Kabail, to establish a neutral zone round Melilla, and to pay a war indemnity once more of 20 million pesetas. This is the history in brief of the Spanish connection with Morocco during the
last century. What the secret treaties between Franch and Spain contain we cannot say, but in April 1904 Great Britain in consideration of a free hand in Egypt recognised by treaty the predominance of France in Morocco and practically consented to ultimate annexation. Germany, as is well known, intervened; a Conference of thirteen delegates representing Morocco, the European Powers and the United States was held at Algeciras in 1906, and ultimately the Algeciras Act was signed by the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, and ratified by the Powers.....

.. Mulai Hafid was declared Sultan in 1907 and 1908 at various centres of Morocco, and was recognised by the Powers early in 1909, on undertaking to recognise the Algeciras Act and abide by the engagements entered into by his predecessors. To prevent misunderstanding, France and Germany defined their respective interests in Morocco soon after this recognition of Mulai Hafid, and declared that they would neither pursue nor encourage any measure of a nature to create in their favour, or in favour or any other Power, an economic advantage.

We have seen how France has acted, and how the English mail has brought news in greater detail of the circumstances preceding the occupation of Alcazar by Spain..... of course in Madrid the occupation of Alcazar was defended as 'a necessary measure of protection for the town,' and as 'intended to uphold the Sultan's authority.'
The Spanish Government proclaims its innocence of all aggressive and unworthy motives but the French are frankly sceptical of the sincerity of such protestations...... The last claim of France is the approval of the civilised world' and the 'cordial sympathies' of Russia and Great Britain. So far as the sympathies of Great Britain are concerned it is well known that a blank cheque was given to France fully seven years ago, and no matter what she may do, Great Britain, in consideration of a free hand in Egypt, would have nothing but 'cordial sympathy' with France. The 'approval of the civilised world' must include Spanish and German acquiescence. Even if Spain ever approved of French intervention at Fez she is evidently not of the same mind to-day. But in reality M. Cruppi referred only to German approval, for Germany is the only 'civilized world' outside 'our ally, Russia, and our friend, Great Britain'. This is evident from the repeated references to Berlin in the Parisian Press.

As regards the German attitude, the Berlin Correspondent of the Times wired on the 13th June that 'Germany is watching events in Morocco with calm and reserve. The Press extravagances do not reflect official views, and it is held that the fermentation of international excitement is both unreasonable and dangerous. With regard to the Spanish action, an inspired telegram from Berlin to the Cologne Gazette points out that Germany has 'simply taken cognizance of the
Spanish communication concerning the Spanish military occupation, its motives, and temporary character. So far as any information goes Germany had no occasion to express any approval or assent. Least of all is it true that the Powers including Germany are being drawn into direct contact with the events in Morocco by objections on the part of France.' Some German journals such as the Fankfurter Zeitung regarded Spanish action as, irreconcilable with the Algeciras Act, attributing it to a desire to produce a situation which would restore to the Powers that freedom of action which Germany says would result from breaches of the Algeciras Act. So far as our own Government has taken no part in this game of occupation in Morocco, nor could it do so with any grace after the agreement with France in 1904. But the Daily Chronicle says that 'when the partition comes, Great Britain will have something to say. She cannot allow Tangier to fall into the hands of another great Power.' This may or may not reflect the mind of Sir Edward Grey; but if it does, British action of such a character would remind us of the well-known lines of Cowper, 'Pity for Poor Africans.' We give an extract below for the perusal of Sir Edward Grey — if he has forgotten them — and of our readers who will find therein much food for reflection and a great deal of political wisdom.\textsuperscript{15}
(ii) Albania

"While Europe is openly professing to believe that the young Turk is only the Old Turk rejuvenated and more virile, a study of the Albanian question and its developments rather emphasises the fact that Europe is no great respector of character than of age and will treat the Turk just as it has always treated him whether he has the wings of an angel or the cloven hoof of the devil. So long as the Turkish troops met with difficulties and news reached Europe every day that another fresh tribe had been induced to join the rebels, Europe looked on complacently as we generally do in the troubles of others. But when the better organisation and more effective arms and ammunition which Turkey now possesses combined with the old doggedness and patience of the Turk began to tell in the campaign, the diplomatists of the European Powers began to fidget in their bureaux. With everything against him the Turk had won and, in the words of a writer in Blackwood's Magazine, it seems as if the victory was likely to cost him more than any defeat.

From time to time we have shown what it is that has caused so much trouble in that afflicted province of the Turks, and it is surprising that Powers known as civilised should attempt to stay the hand of the Turk when all that he is doing is to reform his Empire on the lines of Europe itself. But it seems as if the little altruism that
was shown at the time of the Young Turk Revolution has now evaporated 
and the old selfishness is once more as rampant as ever. The Turks 
have been accused of Ottomanising Albania, but we fail to understand 
what this expression really means. During the reign of Sultan Abdul 
Hamid the old Turks were abused for giving preference to some 
members of the Ottoman Empire at the expense of others, and now the 
Young Turks are abused because they are bent upon removing those 
inequalities. If Ottomanising means only the consolidation of the 
Ottoman Empire to be secured by equalising the rights and duties of 
all the Ottoman subjects we fail to understand the logic of Europe. As 
Ben Kendim has explained in the Blackwood's article, extracts from 
which we have recently reprinted, the cry of equality is very popular 
when it means that the Moslem has to step off his pedestal and to stand 
upon the same level with the Christian, but it is disliked when it involves 
the surrender of Christian rights. It is not equality but superiority 
which the Christian demands. The Christians say that if they suffered 
under the old regime with patience it was not that they desired simply 
to be relieved from persecution. They looked beyond and sought to 
crown the work of their forefathers and to win what their prophets and 
poets had promised them. Their grievance is not that the Young Turk 
is not a sincere reformer, but that the reforms will make him stronger 
and put an end to the hopes and ambitions of the Christian population 
which only seeks Christian dominance. As the writer in Blackwood's
says, can saint, philosopher or politician suggest one reform in Albania that does not create a dozen grievances, and is a compromise possible where one party desires homage and the other insists on tribute? Is a people whose tradition is anarchy, whose life is unrestricted individualism, to be conciliated by a programme of order and made tame by a threat of discipline? Can the Turks consolidate their Empire by treating the Albanians not as subjects but as the occasional and not always dependable allies of the Government? These are the questions which the humanitarians of Europe must consider before they offer friendly advice or unfriendly admonition to the rulers of Turkey.

The demands of the Albanians are that they should be free from taxation, that they should bear arms but be relieved from fighting for the Empire, and that while they are quarrelling among themselves in determining what is the exact language of Albania and the script in which it is written, Turkish language and the Arabic script should find no entrance into their province. No judges should punish them for breaches of the law of which they know little and for which they care less; and, finally, there should be no roads which may give the Central Government least chance of ruling Albania. Now, we ask, if any European Power could concede any of these demands to any portion of its subjects or any province of its Empire, The Fremdenblatt and Count Aehrenthal may lecture Turkey to be conciliatory towards that
Catholic Malissoris who are the proteges of the Dual Monarchy, but in the first place, every suggestion from the Power which swallowed up two provinces of Turkey to mark the coming of age of the Young Turk must be suspected to be tainted with interested motives and, in the next, the Turks must be convinced that the concessions desired by the friends of the Christian portion of Albania are consistent with Ottoman control. It is all very well to talk as the Austrian journal has done 'of the olive branch of civilising solicitude'. But the 'friendly' Powers must suggest a compromise and a concession which should not only prove an olive branch but also be the means of civilising Albanis...

Turkey has done all that she could reasonably be expected to do. But if she cannot mutilate herself by giving to an outlying province complete autonomy — which is certain to lead its falling a prey to one or more of the Powers of Europe on her frontier — or allow a wedge of internationalisation to be inserted in her Empire by permitting the Powers to guarantee the concessions which she offers to the insurgents, who can blame her? A great Asiatic and a Semite once gave to the world a golden rule of conduct, Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto ye. It is a commentary on the changing ideals of mankind that those who profess to be followers of that great teacher in a special manner, are often reluctant to give to a non-Christian Power the liberty of action within her own dominions which they enjoy in the fullest measure within their own — and often even in those of others.
It is not possible to adhere in practice to the ideal preached by Christ in his Sermon on the Mount, for in such matters at national honour and interests even arbitration is mostly unthinkable in Europe. Turkey was often too weak to do more than make a virtue of necessity, and had to turn the other cheek also to the smiter. But with returning strength have come to her the wisdom and virtues of modern Christians, and her answer to the Powers was the order for general mobilisation.

King Nicholas followed suit, but postponed the mobilisation because the Powers had realised that they had strung the bow too sharply and there was danger of its snapping. This was a welcome diminuendo after the crescendo culminating in the threats of Austria. We hope the Powers are less inclined now to lecture Turkey or interfere in her internal affairs. It is at times like these that one realises how much Turkey has gained in strength under the Young Turks, and belief is also strengthened in that best commonplace of modern politics, that preparedness for war is the security of peace."18

(iii) Egypt

"Reuter had prepared us for the announcement that Viscount Kitchener would succeed the luckless Sir Eldon Grost as the British Agent at Cairo, though a fortnight ago hardly anyone would have thought such an appointment possible. It is not a little strange that a Liberal Government should have so far conquered its aversion to soldiers in
charge of civil administration. Even Lord Salisbury used to say that if soldiers had their way they would occupy Mars to prevent its annexation by the Man in the Moon. The British generally have a horror of allowing the last word to a soldier even in military matters, and it is characteristic of Liberalism that, for from entrusting a civil charge to a soldier, it should tolerate and even admire the semi-despotism of a lawyer at the War Office. Yet in the 'Land of Paradox' it is a Liberal Government that appoints the first soldier in the realm to a post requiring intimate knowledge of civil administration and demanding a diplomatic temper and training which no one associates with a Field Marshal.

It is not for us to discuss whether the motive of the appointment is the desire of Lord Haldane to bear, like the Turk of Europe's hallucinations, 'no brother near the throne.' The appointment has now been made and we have to accept it as a fact. Without pretending to be able to judge Lord Kitchener's merits as a soldier, we may still safely say that his talents, are not those of a commander of troops whose dash, heroism, and popularity with his men result in brilliant victories. He is essentially a soldier whose great gifts are shown to the best advantage in the bureau rather than in the battlefield. Far from the din of battle and the clash of arms such a man works with his brain, silently and systematically, winning half the battle before the first shot is fired.
Talents such as these are as useful in civil government as in warfare, and we have no doubt that Viscount Kitchener will prove as successful an organiser in Egypt and the Sudan as he proved in India. Here he had to deal with military finance and after the abolition of the post of the Military Member he had to bear the whole brunt of the work which such a large spending department as the Army entailed. We do not think Egyptian finances would prove too heavy a burden for him, and we even hope that he would wipe off the deficit of the Sudan and save Egypt the expenditure on that territory which brings her no commensurate gain. Much of Egypt's prosperity depends on the proper administration of the department of Public Works and Lord Kitchener's advice would perhaps in this matter be much more useful than Lord Cromer's or Sir Eldon Gorst's has been. The great similarity between conditions in India and in Egypt, however, makes it easy to suggest a liberal programme of reforms for the latter similar to that which has recently been sanctioned for the former. It is said that only 85 per mile are literate in Egypt, and that representative institutions are therefore impossible. But it is forgotten that here in India we have only 55 literates out of every thousand of the population. In one important matter the problem of Egypt is far easier. In spite of the factious Coptic agitation which became more vigorous after the appointment of Boutros Pasha, a Copt, as the Prime Minister, Egypt is homogeneous and is not the battle-ground of contending creeds. Those who know how
this religious rivalry hinders the progress of India can easily understand how much easier the problem of Egypt becomes in the absence of such struggles.

But there is, on the other hand, a difficulty peculiar to Egypt. We in India are the subjects of His Majesty the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of India. To him alone we owe allegiance, and any benefit, like the grant of the recent reforms, makes us even more loyal to his person and his government. But to whom should Egyptians be loyal? To Abbas Hilmi Pasha, to Mohammad V, or to Vis-count Kitchener of Khartoum? The British connection with India is now a matter of nearly two centuries, and, whatever we may think of the motives and methods of the East India Company, India is a country conquered and annexed by the British and then brought under the Government of the British Crown. On the contrary, British connection with Egypt is only a matter of yesterday. A rising of the Egyptian Army less than thirty years ago, which could have been suppressed either by the grant of reforms or by force by the Khedive himself, had he been either sagacious or possessed of vigour, gave an opportunity to a third party to intervene. Turkey failed to assert herself and take back a province of her Empire, which had become semi-independent because Ismail Pasha's ancestor Mohammad Ali, had possessed all those qualities in a remarkable degree which Ismail Pasha seemed to lack. .... It is true that Egypt has progressed much
during the occupation; but it was not for ruling Egypt benevolently that Great Britain was invited or went to that country. It may be that Egypt would advance still more under the British as India is doing; but that is not why the Army of Occupation and the British Agent are there. Egypt is the main source of cotton supply of Lancashire, and, what is far more important, it is through Egypt that the great Imperial highway of the Suez Canal runs. It was not long ago that Sir Eldon Gorst wrote in his report: 'British intervention in the affairs of this country is directed to the sole end of introducing and maintaining good administration, and gradually educating and accustoming the Egyptians to carry this on for themselves. Although even this is not the same as Mr. Gladstone's famous words: 'The occupation of Egypt is in the nature of a burden and a difficulty, its permanent occupation would not be agreeable to our traditional policy. It would be inconsistent with our good faith towards the suzerain power. It would be contrary to the laws of Europe.' There is no shadow of doubt that it is wholly inconsistent with the declaration of Sir Edward Grey made in response to the clustering advice of Mr. Roosevelt: 'The British occupation must continue in Egypt more so now than ever.' But in one respect the Minister and his Agent were in full agreement. Neither of them confessed that they had gone to Egypt partly to help the Khedive and partly to safeguard the interest of Ismail Pasha's creditors, and that they remained there because the interest of Great Britain made
occupation necessary. For Sir Edward Grey added: 'It is not a question of British interest in Egypt. It is simply this: we have gone on doing better and more and more good work year after year; that good work depends upon our stay there, and we cannot abandon Egypt without disgrace.' All this is excellent in its own way; but can Viscount Kitchener convince a single Egyptian that it is not because of British interest that he is there? And if he cannot do so, how is it possible even by giving them good government, to satisfy those who want self-government in an unconquered country coming as the gift would do from those who never conquered Egypt nor were ever invited to occupy it in its own interest? We do not know how Lord Kitchener proposes to convince the Egyptians. We doubt whether he has even convinced himself. What message of change can he bring to Cairo? If he goes there simply because Lord Haldane could not have him in the War Office and he could not remain idle, we do not think that would improve matters in Egypt. In that case it would have made no difference, as an English journal suggested, if Sir Edward Grey had left it to Cook's Agency to choose the British Agent.\(^\text{17}\)

The events of July and August, 1911, in Morocco attracted little attention in the Muslim Press of India to start with. However, some Muslim papers, (The "Vakil" of Amritsar) suggested a boycott of French goods as a reprisal for the action of France, and proposed
that Indian Muslims should hold meetings to protest against the dismemberment of Morocco and to request the intervention of Great Britain. These suggestions, however, which were made in a somewhat tentative manner, appear to have passed unnoticed at the time, and the press received no encouragement to continue its efforts on behalf of the oppressed Muslims of Morocco.

In the light, however, of what subsequently happened in Tripoli and Persia, Morocco came to be frequently cited as the first victim of European aggression, and, as one event in the series of misfortunes that befell Islamic States during the year 1911, the Moroccan trouble certainly played its part in arousing, in Muslim India, that corporate Islamic feeling which had expressed itself in bitter reproaches against Europe and in exhortations to the followers of Islam to present a united front to the world.

The news of the outbreak of the Turco-Italian war was received by the Muslim Press with an outburst of indignation. The "Observer", Lahore, wrote that a great outrage had been committed and that the first scene of a dark tragedy had been enacted on the stage of the world. 18 The whole Muslim world, said the paper, was watching the progress of the unequal struggle with breathless anxiety. The sentiments of Islamic races was, it declared, especially perturbed, and wherever Allah was worshipped and the prophet of Islam revered, there every true Muslim heart was beating in tense sympathy with the
Turks in their hour of trial and trouble. The "Comrade", the "Vakil", "Zamindar", the "Islam Parcharak" and "Paisa Akhbar", known Muslim papers with considerable circulations and influence in the Muslim society in different parts of India also published news and views on the subject with prominence. The "Zamindar" most outspoken of the Muslim papers of the day, urged the Turks to follow in the wake of the Japanese, and exhorted all Muslim students in schools and colleges to display their courage and boldness on the present occasion as far as was consistent with legitimate enthusiasm, so as to let "neighbouring communities" know that Muslims were not to act in a weak or cowardly manner.  

The "Paisa Akhbar" proclaimed its conviction that the powerful Turkish Army was capable of devastating and annexing Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Servia, and Romania in a fit of revenge, and that if the sword of the Turks was once drawn from the scabbard, it would not be sheathed until it had shed "a river of blood". The paper asserted that the entire Muslim world would learn with surprise and regret that, at the instance of the Liberal Government, the King Emperor had given a most unsatisfactory reply to the Sultan's appeal for British intervention. The Vakil, Amritsar, expressed the opinion that, if the British Government took no notice of Italy's savage conduct, the belief that the English were in the habit of succouring the
oppressed would be destroyed, adding that the removal of this belief, on which alone, British rule in Asia rested, would result in a most dangerous state of affairs. However, a large number of Muslim papers in India adopted a moderate policy and acknowledged the difficult situation of Great Britain and the difficulty of the British Government taking any active measures in order to check Italian aggression. But a few journals, however, continued to write inflammatory articles. Especially, the "Zamindar" and "Vakil" continued to attack Italy in particular and Europe in general, in articles well adapted to stir up the religious sentiments of the Indian Muslims. In poems written in a spirit of fiery indignation and of passionate zeal for Islam the powers of Heaven were implored to stay the hands of "Trinitarian" enemies; and the sword of Islam, before which the Christian world once lay prostrate, was adjured to unsheathe itself and once more to glint in the cause of the faithful Turks. The passion and spirit of these poems, written mostly by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, was such that the official report about the tone of the press in 1911 said, 'These poems were full of the redundant imagery and impassioned fervour of the oriental mind, and it is impossible to read them, even in a bold English translation, without feeling the force of the emotional appeal that they could not fail to make to natures ever ready to kindle into religious enthusiasm.' 20
The Press as a whole deplored the difficulties in which Persian nationalists became involved in 1911, and expressed abhorrence of the selfish intrigues of Russia. The Muslim Press sounded a note of despondency over the disasters that appeared to be overwhelming Islam, and sought relief in the expression of appeals to Great Britain, the greatest Muslim Power in the world and the traditional friend of Islam, for assistance in extricating Persia from her difficulties.

At the outbreak of First World War in 1914 the most important Muslim newspapers were "Al-Hilal" of Calcutta, "Comrade" and "Hamdard" in Delhi and the most outspoken of all in Lahore, the "Zamindar". By the end of the year 1914, the first two ceased to exist, the third suffered a temporary setback, while the fourth came under the action of the Press Act in January, 1914, when its press was confiscated with the forfeiture of its second security of Rs.10,000. It was revived, however, and continued on more moderate lines. The restrictions on the proprietor and editor, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, under Ingress Ordinance affected the tone of the "Zamindar".

Other important Muslim papers "Afghan" of Peshawar and "Badr" ceased to exist in 1914, while "Sirajul Akhbar" and "Azzia" followed the policies of the "Zamindar".
The Caliph-Sultan of Turkey was the centre of the sympathies of the Indian Muslims and until his interests were threatened, their attitude towards the British was one of almost undivided loyalty. The Hindu community, which had a courtship with the British rule in the earlier half of the 19th century had benefited by collaboration with the British rule in the spheres of education and political advantages, but gradually disillusionment set in and with it a desire initially to assert their individuality and cultural identity but eventually to claim for more control of their political destiny. The Hindu community during its courtship with the British rule had no rival community with superior western education and greater economic power. But the Muslim community, when they started showing their loyalty to the British rule, in the later half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, the Hindus were the most important rivals, whose advancement lent them present ascendancy and potential future dominance complicated the future of the Indian Muslims. Rendered cautious by past mistakes, the Indian Muslim leaders during the early part of the 20th century to steer clear of political involvement, consoling themselves with the often repeated belief that British rule was fundamentally benevolent and that once apprised of Muslim grievances, the British would swiftly remedy them. Thus it was that upto 1911, Indian Muslims on the whole struggled to remain aloof from the politics and repeatedly asserted their loyalty to the British rulers.
With the outbreak of the great war, other matters such as Hindu-Muslim relations and law and order situation, were relegated to a position of secondary position. The steps taken by the government to secure the internal tranquillity of the country necessarily imposed certain checks and restrictions on the press, with the result that it became merely a channel for the dissemination of news, approved by the government, interpersed with more or less colourless critical articles, exhortations to loyalty and discussions of the question of Indian aspirations and the right of Indians to help in the prosecution of the war. As the press grew accustomed to the state of affairs occasioned by the war, certain sections of the Muslim press began to discuss the attitude of the Indian Muslims about Turkey. The Turkish question, arising out of the mobilisation of the Turkish army and the harbouring of the Goeben and Breslau in Turkish waters, became more and more acute. The "Comrade" of Delhi openly espoused the cause of Turkey and ridiculed the idea that Turkey could be considered an enemy by the Musalman of India in the event of its espousing the cause of Germany, while the Zamindar, which had earlier in the war boldly declared that Indians were loyal subjects of the Crown, so far as the war was concerned, treated the Turkish problem after Maulana Zafar Ali's return from England, like "Comrade", and published Turkish accounts of German and Austrian successes. Although, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was interned under the Ingress into India ordinance,
but the example "Zamindar" had set continued to be followed by a number of Muslim journals.

In 1916, an attempt was made by Muslim journalists in Punjab to evade the restrictions imposed on the publication of war news in the province by transferring their offices into other provinces where such restrictions were not imposed. The new publications started in pursuance of this policy were the "Tarjuman", the "Iqdam" and the "Risalat", all daily newspapers published in Calcutta. All the three newspapers were established primarily for circulation in Punjab and N.W.F.P.21

As the great was continued the tone of the Muslim press gradually became loyal to the British Government and its desire to see the British army crowned with victory was as sincere as that of the Hindu press, although, the interest of the Muslim press in Turkey, led them to publish war news from the enemy sources also. The impending fate of Turkey caused anxiety to most of the Muslim press and England was asked to end her troubles by offering her advantageous terms of Peace. The press as a whole showed greater concern for the duties of the Indian Muslims to their rulers at this juncture than for the fortunes of the Turkish Empire.22 The difficulties of Turkey, according to Muslim press, were due to the short-sighted policy of the Young Turk Party, which was disapproved by the majority of the Turkish people,
Hindu - Muslim Relations

After the partition of Bengal was undone, and Punjab was partitioned into the provinces of N.W.F.P. and Punjab in 1910, already strained relations between the two communities worsened and the breach widened to a considerable extent. At one time, in 1911, it appeared that there was a prospect of an entente over Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill and other educational matters; but the chances of this were diminished by the bigoted and separatist policy of the "Hindu Elementary Education League" founded by Lajpat Rai in August 1911. On the other hand the vigorous anti-cow slaughter agitation carried on by Hindu press with no less vigorous retaliation by the Muslim papers; the bitter campaign against the Agha Khan in certain Hindu papers under the leadership of the "Hindustan"; the consistent demand of the Muslim press for separate representation even in the smallest municipalities; the movement by the Muslim press for the boycott of Hindu confectioners and "Halwais"; the continued complaints from each party of the partiality and biased attitude of the officials belonging to the rival community and all such matters and practice, common to both sections of the press, of giving a Hindu-Muslim Colour to even local and trivial matters, served to exacerbate religious and racial animosities to the extent of becoming dangerous for communal peace and harmony.

In 1911, the situation became so serious that the officiating Lieutenant Governor had to issue a Press Communiqué in August, urging
all sections of the press to refrain from fomenting communal discords. The same warning was repeated by the Governor of Punjab in stronger and more definite terms a few weeks later.

After the partition of Punjab and creation of a new N.W.F.P. Tribal raids into British territory continued. There was a general consensus of opinion amongst Hindu papers that the trouble was not unconnected with the partition of the Punjab. The Hindu press suggested that the Peshawar should again be subordinated to the local Government at Lahore. The Hindu papers described these tribal raids mostly against moneyed class and government official as "Jehad" by the Muslims and considered these attacks as an "unpleasant aspect of the Hindu-Muslim relations".

The "Jhang Sial" insisted that, whenever Muslims have had political importance conferred upon them (this appears to be a reference to both the working of the Reform Scheme and the separation of the Frontier Province), Hindus have had to put up with "Assasination and Plunder"; and the succession of outrages during the past few years constituted positive proof of the fact that "Pathans" and other Muslims, regarded the looting and harassing of Hindus as their hereditary right. The "Akhbar-i-Aam" detected a strong undercurrent of religious fanaticism running through these incidences. Even the "Tribune" a paper that had hitherto refused to allow the importation of racial and communal aspects into a political problem, eventually questioned the
propriety of entrusting the duties of protecting Hindus to an agency drawn from the religious community to which the offenders belonged.

The other Muslim journals rejected the suggestion of "Jehad", and strove to show that, as Muslims and Hindu victims of the raiders were about equal in number, these outrages were prompted purely by a desire for loot. It was, therefore, according to a large section of the Muslim press, a matter for surprise that the Hindu press should have had the insolence to blame Islam for the "unholy spirit that was actuating Frontier brigands". Some militant papers, like the "Haq" and "Islam", criticised Hindus and reflected that they lack manliness, and conveyed the idea that these wealthy timorous people were born to be looted. The "Islam", went so far as to defend the conduct of the tribal raiders, and described them as poor tribesmen, anxious only to maintain themselves and their families, and in the habit, therefore, of occasionally looting Hindu money-lenders.

The Chief Commissioner took action personally at Charsadda, and compelled local Muslims to protect their Hindu neighbours from raiders. His action was met with warm approval from the Hindu press. This section of the press also expressed concern for the prestige of the British Government; and thus provided an opportunity to the Muslim press of pointing out the strange in consistency between this uncompromising attitude towards Muslim raiders and the weak and merciful policy that
the Hindu press was never tired of urging upon the Government about the
"far more dangerous" anarchists of Bengal, overwhelmingly Hindus, who
aimed at nothing less than the subversion of British Rule in India. In
dealing with this subject generally, the Muslim press expressed the
opinion that the government was behaving with undue severity; and this
line of action might make Muslims think that they were being oppressed for
the sake of Hindus.

The Hindus press also saw a visible connection between the
raids in the N.W.F Province and the series of raids that occurred in the
Northern Punjab during 1911 and 1912. The "Hindustan", in an article
headed "Dakaitis by Kablis In the Jhelum District" remarked that the
"plague of Kabuli Pathans" had broken out even in the Punjab, and hoped
that Sir Louis Dane would move the Government of Indis to enact a law
restricting the entry of Pathans into "peaceful India". The "Jhang Sial"
in a note on "dakaitis" in the Sialkot and Hazara districts, passed
similar remarks; while the "Punjab Advocate", referring to a dakaiti
at Kalarkot in the Mianwall district, declared that tribal raids on the
N.W. Frontier had stirred Punjab so much that the Muslims had become
inspired with a wish to convert it into a second Frontier Province.

It was quite evident that the sympathy of Hindu journalists,
especially from Punjab, with their co-religionists in the Frontier
Province was not entirely disinterested, but was to some extent inspired
by the fear that unless raiders could be checked in that province, Hindus,
especially in Punjab, would be harassed by the "Punjabi Badmashes", as well as by the more venturesome Frontier brigands.

After the Khilafat Movement was called off, the atmosphere of Hindu-Muslim unity and cooperation also vanished. The announcement of Communal Award and 1937 elections further contributed to increasing the tension between the two major communities. During this charged atmosphere the Sikh community from Punjab sided with Hindus against Muslims. It was in the later thirties that the name of Muslim League started appearing in the press. Earlier, the Muslim press denounced the National Congress, but Muslim League was seldom mentioned as an alternate for the Muslims.

After the Muslim League adopted the historical Lahore resolution in 1940, the Muslim press started a campaign to popularise the idea of Pakistan. The closing years of the Indian Independence Movement saw a remarkable performance by the Muslim press as far as the moulding of and projection of Muslim public opinion was concerned in India.
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CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

Few events in the history of India have a greater influence on the political destiny of the people of subcontinent than the great uprising of 1857. Its origin, its causes and its nature have pre-occupied many historians till today. All these historians and researchers differ in their conclusions of this important event, due, partly, to the complexity and the personal approach in studying the event. But all of them agree on one point; the failure of the armed struggle against the British rule in India made way for the complete subjugation of the subcontinent by the British. The victory gained by East India Company at Plassey in 1757 opening the road to British political supremacy, at first in Bengal and subsequently throughout India in 1857 by annexation of Delhi when the Mughal rule ended in south Asia. Bahadur Shah II (Zafar) was the last of the Muslim rulers of India, who ruled this vast and heterogenous country for about eight centuries preceding the British rule. The English had come to India for trade. But soon after the death of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb the Indian civilization saw its worst political, social and cultural crisis and the British colonialists extended their sway all over India by force. The first part of India to come under British rule was Bengal followed by Madras and Bombay. The English grabbed Bengal acting as the Chief Revenue Officer for the Delhi Emperor. Although the English won the appointment by sword, however, their legal
title was that of the Emperor's "Dtwan" or Chief Revenue Officer. Subsequently they usurped the functions of those for merely incharge of the administration. The armed struggle of 1857 against the British colonialists was the last of the united efforts of the religiously, culturally and socially heterogenous population of India. Before 1857, several other such efforts had failed most important of them being by Nawab Sirajuddulla of Bengal and Sultan Haider Ali and his son Sultan Tipu of Mysore. After the military defeat by the British, with help of Indian soldiers recruited from Punjab (including present N.W.F.P) Company's rule ended in India and the sub-continent became a part of the British Empire.

Since Muslims were ruling the sub-continent when British came, therefore, military leadership in most of the armed struggles uptill 1857 was mostly with the Muslims. The uprising of 1857 too was considered a Muslim mutiny by the British, though Hindus and Muslims took part in it without any discrimination of religion, cast or creed. A fact, which is very significant if one goes through the files of the press pertaining to that period is, that the only religious group which did not take part in the armed struggle as a community was that of the Sikhs from Punjab. Only one incident of a Sikh soldier disobeying the orders of the English Commander in Ambala has been reported throughout the events of uprising from May 1857 to October 1857 when the company forces completely subjugated India. As a consequence of the events of
1857, the Muslim community was regarded the arch-rival of the British rule, both by the colonialists as well as by the Muslims themselves. This discriminatory attitude of the rulers towards Muslims gave rise to the communal feelings in the political field for the first time. During Muslim rule over India for several centuries there was a consciousness among both the largest communities about their cultural and social differences but since the Muslims belonged to the ruling elite therefore, despite the fact that they had always been in minority they seldom felt the necessity to stress upon these differences.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the first Indian Muslim to project the Muslim case to the rulers almost immediately after the failure of 1857 struggle. He cited eight different socio-economic causes, which according to him, were responsible for the uprising of these at least two were referred to be discriminatory specially to the Muslims as a community; a section of the Indian population which was considered different from the Hindus by the rulers. To stress his point, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan went all the way to write a book "Loyal Mohammadans of India", in which he described the role of those Muslims, who gave full assistance to the rulers during that period of struggle. His struggle along with his colleagues aimed, basically, at the cultural renaissance, social regeneration and the political rehabilitation of the Muslims in the sub-continent. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also wanted Muslims to remain aloof from politics and to remain loyal to the British government.
It was in 1835, after the National Congress was organised, that the Muslim elite felt the need to project the Muslim point of view on various political issues.

After the organisation of National Congress, whose declared policy was to help British rule in the discharge of its duties and to convince the government that the majority of the people were loyal to the government, communal feelings grew more rapidly among Hindus and Muslims. Along the Muslim Intelligentsia, Syed Amir Ali was the first known personality to oppose Muslim participation in the activities of the Congress. In June 1883, Akmal-ul-Akhbar, Delhi published Syed Amir Ali's appeal to Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress. Muharram Ali Chishti, a well-known journalist, followed the line given by Syed Amir Ali and organised a Muslim body named "Central National Mohammadan Association", in July, 1883. The President of this association was Faqir Jamaluddin, an Honorary Magistrate of Lahore. Meetings of this association were held at Masjid Wazir Khan in Lahore. In one of the meetings, the association formed "Namaz Committees", to propagate the merits of "Namaz" and inspire Muslims to say their prayers regularly. The Hindu press criticised the formation of this association and described the formation of "Namaz Committees" as an hostile act towards their community. The Hindu press criticising the stand taken by Syed Amir Ali and Muharram Ali Chishti defended National Congress. Congress policy declared in 1883, was that the Congress believed in the
"permanence of British rule with so many blessings was necessary for
the progress of India"

Prominent journals and newspapers till the end of the
nineteenth century which supported the stand taken by Syed Amir Ali
and Muharram Ali Chishti included "Delhi Punch", Lahore, "Azad",
Lucknow, "Akmal-ul-Akhbar", Delhi, "Mohammadan Observer",
"Akbar-ul-Akhbar", Delhi, "Saheefa-i-Qudsi", Delhi, "Imperial
Paper", Lahore and "Wazir-ul-Mulk", Sialkot. Besides these journals,
many other newspapers and periodicals appeared in the different parts
of the country, which was divided into five major administrative units
comprising Bengal, Oudh, Punjab, Bombay presidency and Madras
presidency. In Bengal a large number of periodicals and journals in
Bengali performed a useful service in acquainting the Muslims with
their traditions and boosted up their morale. Among these "Sudhakar"
from Calcutta and "Islam Parcharak" also from Calcutta started
respectively by Sheikh Abdur Rahim, and Munshi Riaz-ud-Din Ahmad
were important organs of Muslim public opinion. It was under the
impact of these journals that Muslim writers started using Arabic and
Persian expressions instead of Sanskrit like "Allah" and "Rasul" in place
of "Ishwar" and "Autar" and "Pani" instead of "Jal". This apparently a
harmless and unimportant change in language and expression went a
long way with the passage of time and consequently a large number of
cultural and social differences were stressed upon to identify the Muslims as a separate community in India. Soon after the National Congress was organised, there were some influential Muslims who took part whole heartedly in the activities of the congress and these Muslims under the leadership of Badaruddin Tyabji of Bombay tried very hard to convince muslims of the sub-continent to join Congress. Tyabji on January 13, 1888 wrote to Syed Ameer Ali".... But it does seem to me to be a great pity that on matters affecting all India as a whole, any section of the Mussalman community should keep aloof from the Hindus and thus retard the national progress of India as a whole....."

After a few days on January 24, 1888, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan gave a rejoinder to Badaruddin Tyabji and said ...."The fact that you took a leading part in the Congress at Madras has pleased our Hindu fellow subjects no doubt but as to ourselves it has grieved us much. I do not understand what the words "National Congress" mean. Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, or can become one nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible there can be no such thing as a national congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples...

"... You regard the doings of the mis named National Congress as beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large.
I object to every Congress - in any shape or form whatever - which regards India as one nation, on account of its being based on wrong principles, viz. that it regards the whole India as one nation...."

Akhbar-ul-Akhbar, Delhi and Saheefa-i-Qudsi also from Delhi repeated the same arguments put forward by Syed Ameer Ali and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1888 and launched a campaign that India does not consist of one nation. Akhbar-ul-Akhbar wrote in one of its issues that there were four requirements to form a nation; common religion, common language, common origin of the people and one single ruler from the same people. India lacked all these four elements, it said.

Apart from opposition to Congress, Muslim press kept itself aloof from politics and generally considered that the British rule was fundamentally benevolent for the Muslims and once apprised of Muslim grievances, the British would swiftly remedy them. It was only when the interests of the Caliph-Sultan of Turkey were threatened, then the Muslim press would criticise the British rule. It was because of the Khilafat Movement that the Muslim press turned, after 1911, from east-while loyalty to militancy, and to an uneasy collaboration with the Congress, as a result of British hostilities against Turkey. However, after the collapse of Khilafat Movement in 1924, Muslim relations with Congress became, on the whole, as suspicious and as spiteful, as they had been before 1911. That attitude of cooperation with the Congress
during Khilafat Movement and than the atmosphere of rift and rivalry with it was also reflected in the Muslim press.

It was only during Khilafat Movement, since the establishment of the British rule in India in 1857, that the Muslim press acted aggressive as an organ of moulding and expressing anti-colonial public opinion of the Muslim society. But by 1924 Muslim society was consciously in a greater state of uncertainty and political confusion. The Muslim society was clearly divided into three factors. The main bulk of the Muslim leadership till than consisted of "Ulema". For these men Islam was everything, and "everything" meant the understanding of "Shariyat" and they believed in Pan-Islamism, that is the universal brotherhood of the Muslims. Then there was a class of western educated Muslims who held much in common with educated Hindus but seldom accepted as equal in the political, social and economic fields by the Hindus. The third group consisted of those educated Muslims who were the product of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's reformatory movement. These were the opinion leaders who considered Hindus and Muslims to be two such communities which were different in their basic nature religiously, culturally, linguistically, socially and politically. This section of the Muslim society though, very loyal to the British rule, regarded those Muslims, who believed that Hindus and Muslims could live together thus they should cooperate with National Congress, as "Congressite touts" and "Hindu-bootlickers". It was to educated Muslims like these that a section of Muslim press in various local languages appealed.
The loyalty of Muslims towards the British is particularly evident from their comments in the press over various wars, except against Turkey, which the British Empire fought from Boer War (1899-1902) to World War II. Victory for the British flag used to be the desire of the Muslim press. The Muslim press especially the Bangali press, believed that British and Muslim interests were interwoven. According to this section of the press at that time a quarter of the Muslims in the world were the subject of the British government. They were proud to proclaim that wherever the British had penetrated, the Muslims followed like shadows. Wherever the British commanded their most loyal soldiers, according to this section of the press, were Muslims. They, therefore, rejoiced over the foundation of the British empire in India, because of the protection, they believed, it had afforded to Indian Muslims. These newspapers and journals believed that had not the British assumed the sceptre of India, Muslims would have suffered at the hand of Marathas and Sikhs, and in many regions of India, Muslims would have ceased to exist. There were very few exceptions to this policy of loyalty to the British rule. The first Muslim paper to deviate visibly from this general policy was "Zamindar" of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and then "Comerade" and "Hamdard" by Maulana Mohammad Ali. These two militant Muslim journalists were the pioneers of the anti-colonial stand taken by the Muslim press in general much later in nineteen thirties, especially during the World War II.
The Muslim press had adopted a distinct character of opposing Hinduism and the National Congress soon after Sir Syed started his campaign of rebuilding the morale of the Muslim society. Hindu-Muslim relations were not cordial. Though some Muslim leaders constantly sought compromise in the hope of improving relations, Muslims on the whole were suspicious of Hindu motives. They objected to Hindu influence with their religious observances. For example, they saw no reason to abandon cow-slaughter. Among various irritants in Hindu-Muslim relations cow-slaughter and processions on "Muharram" and "Dasehra" occupied an important place in the political atmosphere in India, and in establishing separate identities of Hindu and Muslim communities. Other important differences included coercion of Muslims into buying "Swadesi" commodities, the playing of musical instruments before mosques, the maligning of historical Muslim personages in Hindu literature, the exclusion from literature of Persian and Arabic diction and forcible intrusion of Sanskrit terminology, the secular orientation of the western educational system which was adopted by the Hindus more enthusiastically which ultimately turned into Hindu oriented education, the exploitation of Muslims by the Hindu Zamindars and money-lenders. Both the sections of the press, Hindu and the Muslim, were full of various controversies on such religious, social and cultural differences during period between 1908 to 1911, when an uneasy collaboration of Hindu-Muslim politics was arranged during Khilafat
Movement, which lasted till 1924. At different times attempts were made to play down these irritants, but with the political differences between Muslim League and National Congress they were intensified. The obsession of Hindus with ritual purity was seen as a constant insult to Muslims. The "Sudhi" and "Sangathan" movements by extremist Hindus to "reabsorb" Muslims into Hinduism infuriated Muslims. Insults to Islam and the holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in Hindu books and the press were regarded as deliberate provocation by the Muslim press, and invariably resulted in not only protest to the authorities but generally in communal riots.

After going through the writings in both the Hindu press and the Muslim press, one interesting and very significant fact about the Muslim identity or separatism is evident. Which is, that the concept of Muslim identity has two aspects, positive and the negative. The positive aspects of separate Muslim identity were stressed by the Muslim press and especially by the orthodox Muslim Ulema in their tendency to associate themselves closely with the Muslims of the Middle East, in the social, cultural and political fields. The negative aspects of Muslim separatism were stressed by the orthodox and extremist Hindus in their tendency to disassociate Muslims from the culture of India. The Hindu press contributed a lot, by opposing and criticising every thing done or said by Muslims, in establishing Muslims as something different from the
Hindu majority in the Indian sub-continent. These complimentary tendencies resulted in Muslim separatism and consequently in the creation of the Muslim state of Pakistan.

Muslim separatism in India, has, of course, a long historical background. Most of the Muslim rulers of India came from outside India as invaders and conquered and established their empires in different periods and in all ruled India for about more than eight centuries before the British rule in India was established. Ideologically Muslim believe in separatism on religious grounds from all other religious. Islam differentiates between Muslims and non-Muslims or infidels. Nevertheless, Muslim rulers of India, especially the Mughals, had overcome this discrimination and had managed to rule large empires where the large majority of subjects was not of Muslims. The result of this tolerance was a cross-cultural communication among various communities in India especially, Hindus and Muslims. New converts to Islam retained non-Muslim attitudes and were completely merged in the local culture. Muslim religious elite constantly strived hard to eradicate Hindu influence from the lives of the Muslims in India. The adherence to caste system by the Muslims of Sub-continent, their customs and various rituals at the occasion like, birth, wedding and death and in other social fields are the result of Hindu influence. At the same time Hindus had also assimilated Muslim culture and traditions. They had acquired knowledge of Persian and Arabic in Maktabs and Madrassas, their Vaishnavism had tinge of
sufism. Their architecture, their literary taste, their language vocabulary, clothing and many social customs had assumed a Muslim character.

It were these manifestations of cross-cultural influence, which gave rise to the negative and the positive aspects of Muslim separatism, as the press, after assuming an important place as a medium of public opinion formation in the life of the Indian people started criticising these influences over each other. Therefore, the press, whether Hindu or Muslim, after 1857 onwards is full of criticism and attack on each other.

It was during the beginning of the 20th century that some Muslim editors and writers started writing about and commenting on the British rule in India and the status of the Muslim community in society. Sheikh (Later Sir) Abdul Qadir, who was the editor of "Punjab Observer" from 1899 to 1904, and Mian Fazl-i-Husain wrote frequently on the problems faced by Muslims in various walks of life. Sir Mohammad Shafi was another contributor of the same paper who suggested a common Muslim political platform for the whole of India in 1901. The first English language daily by a Muslim in India was started in 1922 when Maulv Nur-u-Haq started "Muslim Outlook". It remained an exponent of Muslim views for ten years, and outspoken in the expression of Muslim viewpoint could not win official patronage. In the early part of the 20th century Muslims, by and large, tried to cooperate with the National Congress on various national issues including the non-cooperation
movement started by Mr. Mohan Das Gandhi, popularly known as Gandhi ji. But, the gesture from the Muslim community found little response from the Hindu majority in the wake of long prevailing atmosphere of communal distrust among the two distinct political and religious groups of India. "Muslim Cutlook" and Urdu daily "Ingilab" played an important role in creating a separatist tendency among the Muslims of the sub-continent. By their consistent writings they also succeeded in meaning away some prominent Muslim leaders from Congress and contributed to the presentation of Muslim public opinion at the first round table conference held in London in 1930. The role of the Muslim press and the Hindu press both till the third decade of the 20th century was mostly limited to project the point of views of their respective communities. They seldom indulged in, what could be called an anti-imperialist activity against the British. Though after the World War I, the press had started agitating in a mild fashion for Home Rule, which was described by the Anglo-Indian press as an attempt to secure some political advantage in return for India's loyalty. This description of the character of Indian press gave rise to a lengthy controversy in a section of the Indian press. The controversy was important in the sense that it showed the essentially loyal character of the Indian press.

The uneasy cooperation and the flirtation between Congress and Muslim League came to an end in 1924. After that the communal politics dominated the political arena for the rest of the period till the day of
Independence: The number of newspaper readers had increased a great deal, mostly because of the communal politics and spicy matter and illustrations and cartoons which the press had started printing. The value of illustrations for propaganda purposes was quickly recognised, and the anti-government press made good use of illustrations and cartoons. Hindu papers were generally more advanced in the display of news and illustrations than the Muslim press, which stressed more on leading articles of a high literary standards. After the failure of the All-Parties conference in 1923, communalism was at its height. Very few papers survived the tide of communal politics. The only exceptions were newspapers devoted entirely to religion and faith. The rest of the press divided into two camps, Hindu and Muslim, was affected by the communal politics. Congress papers, which claimed to represent the whole nation, but this claim was only accepted by the Congressmen, in addition to their communal outlook, were more anti-government than Muslim papers. Among the Muslim papers only "Zamindar" at that time was in the forefront to oppose British rule in India, and at the same time was a supporter of National Congress. The majority of the "moderate" papers were only moderate where government was concerned. On communal and religious issues they were very fiery and spicy.

The communist party of India was organised in October 1917, and since then there appeared certain newspapers, mostly in Bengal and southern parts of the sub-continent which supported communist cause.
most of these papers were owned by the Hindus, and they were not
communal in character. Very few Muslim papers supported the cause
of the labour and trade unionism. The Hindu press during Round Table
Conference elaborately boosted Mr. Ghandhi's activities in England.
The Muslim press on the other hand, confined its attention to what
Mr. Ghandhi and the Mohasabha representatives had to say about the
claims advanced by the Muslim delegation. They concentrated on the
solution of the communal issue as a condition precedent to the Muslims
participation in the discussion in the Federal Structure Committee
relating to the responsibility at the Centre. The Indian press on the
whole absorbed in constitutional and communal problems at home, did
not show any keen interest in foreign affairs. However, the Muslim
press, as in the past, commented on the problems of the Muslim world.
The Muslim papers condemned the League of Nations for sacrificing the
interests of Iraq to please the British. They also demanded the
withdrawal of the Balfour Declaration and attributed the misfortunes
of the Palestinians to the British policy of patronising the Jews. The
Italian aggression against the Muslims of Tripoli (Libya) also
antagonised the Muslim press.

Nationalism to the Hindu, meant control at the Centre or
in other words Hindu rule over India. The Hindu press was never tired
of stressing nationalism while discussing India's future. The Muslim
papers by and large were frankly communal in their outlook and
deprecated nationalism as a mere cloak for the furtherance of "Mahasabhte" aims and objects. They called it "Ram Raj".

The Hindu view, however, received a rude shock in Dr. Mohammad Iqbal's presidential address to the All India Muslim League at Allahabad. Dr. Iqbal maintained that India's problem was to evolve unity out of diversity and that lip-service to so-called nationalism would not help India's cause. His scheme for the establishment of a North-West Muslim State as a sure solution of the difficult Hindu-Muslim question lashed the entire Hindu press into fury, while the Muslims saw for the first time their political ideal in India from a new angle. This idea of a separate North-West Muslim State was the result of a very lengthy controversy over the years on communal matters started soon after the failure of 1857 armed struggle to defeat the British rule in India. After the Allahabad session of the Muslim League communalism in Indian politics assumed a new significance and gave a set-back to the ideals of the nationalist Muslims.

The announcement of the Communal Award in 1932 created a tremendous furore in the Indian press. The concession of a 'defacto' majority to Muslims was received by the Hindu press with a chorus of denunciation and the principle of communal representation and mitted in the Award was described by them as a negation of democracy. However, most of the Muslim papers considered the Award as a workable basis for constitutional progress although it fell short of their demands.
Communal feelings were at their highest after the announcement of the Communal Award in India. A new development was also noticed after the Award that the Sikh community, living mostly in Punjab, also sided with the Hindu majority for the first time against Muslims in Indian politics. There was hardly an issue in Indian politics after this Award and Dr. Iqbal's address at Allahabad, which was not tinged by a strong communal bias. The Hindus called Muslims ultra-communalists and traitors to the country for entering into an "unholy alliance" with the governments and British dis-hards.

In 1935, the introduction of the Government of India Bill in the house of Commons convinced the public and the press that the new constitution was a 'fait accompli', therefore, it would be of no use to call for its total rejection. The "Nationalist" press which had been vehemently advocating a total rejection of the new Reforms, changed its stand and modified its tone and started talking about the "good points" in the new scheme of government. Attention began to be given more and more on its communal implications and there was an onslaught on the Communal Award. The Muslim press repelled the assertions with full force which resulted in the further widening of the gulf between Hindus and Muslims. Even the Congressite Hindu organs of avowed nationalist aims strayed from the path of nationalism and were termed by the Muslim press as "Mahasabhite". The Muslim papers on the other hand were taunted by the Hindu press for their attitude which they called
as "ultra-communalistic" and the pan-Islamic tone of the Muslim press was also criticised by them.

In Punjab, the incident of the Shahidganj Mosque created great tension among the Muslims and Hindus. The Hindu-cum-Sikh press tried to justify the demolition of the mosque while the Muslim press condemned this sacriligious act in the strongest terms. Even the "Zamindar" which supported the Congress in the political sphere supported the rest of the Muslim press of the communalistic character on this issue. The partisan attitude of the press resulted in the communal tension to such an extent that the communal peace of the province was threatened, and the press in Lahore and Amritsar was placed under pre-censorship for one month in July 1935. In September, the same year after the ban was lifted from the press, both, Hindu and the Muslim newspaper started movements of "Buy Muslim" and "By Hindu" consequently, communal riots as the Hindu-cum-Sikh press indulged in provocative and inflammatory writings. The period also witnessed the birth of a large number of mushroom news-sheets in Punjab, which published sensational news and comments. The daily combined circulation of these news-sheets at one time rose to 50 thousand in Lahore alone. The end of 1935 saw the province of Punjab torn by communal riots on account of the Shahidganj Mosque. The movement to recover the mosque continued till 1936, when Mr. M.A. Jinnah (Quaid-i-Azam) visited Lahore and held negotiations with the prominent Muslim and Sikh leaders. Although he
failed in securing an agreement, but his intervention was successful in that the agitation stopped and the Punjab Government released prisoners, who were not quality of serious violence and revoked all actions taken under the press Act against newspapers and printing presses.

In 1936, the press in India was divided into two distinct camps for the coming elections of 1937. The National Congress won in six Hindu majority province and one of the Muslim majority province of N.W. F.P., while Muslim League held sway over Bengal and Sind, while in Punjab Unionist Party formed the government. The Congress did not give offices to the Muslim Leaguers while appointing representative, Muslims League in its majority provinces. As a result the Congress governments were bitterly criticised by the Muslim press which resulted in the adoption of the Lahore Resolution of 1940, by the Muslim League, demanding a separate independent sovereign states in the North-West and North-East of the Sub-continent of the predominant Muslim majority areas. That was the beginning of the "Pakistan Movement" in the press.

After the Lahore Resolution of Muslim League, the press was completely polarized into pro-congress press and pro-Muslim League press. There were very few muslim papers after 1940, which supported the Nationalist movement of the Congress. Even an old supporter of National Congress like Zamindar started supporting the demand of Pakistan by the Muslim League. The closing years of the movement
gave birth to a number of newspapers. The important independent ventures of this period included "Morning News" of Calcutta (previously known as Star of India), "Nawa-i-Waqt" of Lahore, and "Jang" and "Anjum" of Delhi and "Pakistan Times" of Lahore, which appeared six months before the establishment of Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam also founded "Create Muslim Press Fund", and established "Dawn" at Delhi under the auspicious of a Trust with himself as the Managing Trustee and also sponsored an urdu daily "Manshoor" from Delhi, which was the official party paper of the All India Muslim League. These news ventures together with the old newspapers performed the job of mobilising and moulding the Muslim public opinion in the sub-continent to achieve a separate sovereign country named Pakistan.

The salient features of the Muslim Press from 1857 to 1947 were as under:

- During the period prior to the Great Uprising of 1857, the Muslim press was generally critical of the activities and adventures of the East India Company.

- After the defeat of the local forces in 1857 and British occupation of Delhi, the Muslims in general were completely demoralised and the Muslim society was a decaying society and this demoralisation and political, economic and social depression was generally reflected in the press till the end of the 19th century.

- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was responsible for the Reformation Movement among the Muslims, but he urged the Muslims to be loyal to the British. Through his journalistic writings Sir Syed created a consciousness for a separate Muslim identity among the Muslims of the Sub-continent. This separatist tendency continued till independence except for few brief periods of Hindu-Muslim cooperation especially during Khilafat movement.
- Although Muslim League was founded in 1909, but this Muslim political organisation was seldom mentioned in the press. Muslims were asked to remain aloof from the National Congress on the basis of religious and cultural differences but they were not particularly urged to join Muslim League by the Muslim press. Communal feelings between Hindu majority and the Muslim minority, rather than the Muslim organisation resulted in the partitioning of India.

- Almost all the Muslim newspapers, with very few exceptions were loyal to the British rule, through at the same time a very large section of the Muslim press always criticised and rejected everything which had a Hindu label. The most of the energies of both, the Hindu press and the Muslim press, were spent against each other most of the time instead of against British colonialists.

- Muslim newspapers had a maximum total circulation of never exceeding a hundred thousand, yet, they succeeded, in influencing the Muslim public opinion in India to an extent that the sub-continent had to be divided to satisfy the majority of the Muslims in India.

- Muslim press was financially weak and lacked in capital, trained journalists particularly in English language journalism consequently they were badly edited and poorly managed.

- Muslim press thrived on personalities beginning from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and than to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash, Maulana Abdul Majid Salik, Hamid Nizami, Altaf Hussain Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan and Faiz Ahmad Faiz. It was the charm of these literary giants rather than the production and contents that lent lustre to their papers.
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Punjab, Lahore; July 11, 1857
Punjab Punch; Lahore, Sept. 6, 1888
Punjabee Akhbar; Lahore, Feb. 7, 1894
Raftq-i-Hind; Lahore, Dec. 22, 1900
Rampur Akhbar; Rampur, Feb. 7, 1888
Rozana-i-Punjab; Lahore, Nov. 23, 1888
Sahifa-i-Qudsi; Delhi, Oct 18, 1888
Shola-i-Toor; Jan. 7, 1876
Siasat; Lahore. Feb. 24, 1931
Times of India; Bombay, Jan 19, 1935
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Calcutta Monthly Journal; 1822
Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle, 1834
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Lahore Chronicle; 1857
Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore: 1855
1870-71, 1875-76, 1895, 1927, 1938-47
Nawa-i-Waqt; Lahore, 1944-47
Dawn; Delhi, 1945-47
Inqlab; Lahore 1930-48
APPENDIX

Following are the names of important newspapers and periodicals published in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent from 1857 to 1947. The Indian sub-continent was divided into five administrative units during the early period of the British rule after 1857. These units were Bengal Presidency, Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency, Oudh and Punjab. The press in India was periodical for a long time after the birth of the first newspaper in Calcutta in 1784. Most of the papers were weeklies and monthlies. However, some popular journals were Bi-weeklies also. There were very few Dailies till the second decade of the 20th century. Generally the circulation of these publications was small and it ranged between 50 copies to about five hundred or so.

Few popular papers had a circulation of more than a thousand. Akhbar-i-Aam, Paisa Akhbar, Zamindar and Amrit Bazar Patarika started the trend of "large circulations" which usually ranged between four thousand to 12 thousand. However, it can easily be stated that journalism was a popular exercise during 19th and early phase of the 20th century. The number of newspapers and periodicals published was more as compared with the present age. Another significant factor is that a number of papers were published from small towns, places which have no place in modern journalism.

Only those newspapers and journals have been included in the list which had any kind of impact on the contemporary society. Most of the monthly
fortnightly and quarterly publications have not been mentioned here:

1. Nasim-i-Jaunpur - Urdu - Weekly - Jaunpur
2. Moofid-i-Aam - Urdu - Bi-monthly - Agra
4. Karnamah - Urdu - Weekly - Lucknow
5. Matla-i-Nur - Urdu - Weekly - Cawnpur
6. Patiala Akhbar - Urdu - Weekly - Patiala
7. Jalwa-i-Toor - Urdu - Weekly - Meerut
8. Shola-i-Toor - Urdu - Weekly - Cawnpur
9. Oudh Akhbar - Urdu - Bi-weekly - Lucknow
11. Khurshid-i-Jahan Tab - Urdu - Bi-Weekly - Agra
12. Lauh-i-Mahfooz - Urdu - Weekly - Muradabad
13. Rohil Khand Akhbar - Urdu - Bi-Weekly - Muradabad
14. Rozuamcha - Urdu - Daily - Lucknow
15. Majma-ul-Bahrain - Urdu - Weekly - Lodhiana
17. Marwar Gazette - Urdu-Hindi-Weekly - Judhpur
18. Urdu Akhbar - Urdu - Weekly - Delhi
20. Khairkhawah-i-Punjab - Urdu - Weekly - Gujranwala
21. Akhbar-i-Aam - Urdu - Weekly - Lahore
22. Akhbar-i-Alam - Urdu - Weekly - Meerut
23. Aligarh Institute Gazette - Urdu - English - Weekly - Aligarh
24. Shams-ul-Akhbar - Urdu - Bi-monthly - Lucknow
25. Meerut Gazette - Urdu - Weekly - Meerut
27. Mukhbir Sadiq - Urdu - Weekly - Lucknow
29. Lawrence Gazette - Urdu - Weekly - Meerut
30. Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab - Urdu - Weekly - Lahore
32. Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Hind - Urdu - Weekly - Lucknow
33. Gawaliar Gazette - Urdu-Hindi - Weekly - Gawaliar
34. Dhaulpur Gazette - Urdu - Weekly - Dhaulpur
35. Nayyar-i-Akbar - Urdu - Weekly - Bijnour
36. Agra Akbar - Urdu - Tri-monthly - Agra
37. Punjabi Akbar - Urdu - Weekly - Lahore
38. Akmal-ul-Akhbar - Urdu - Weekly - Delhi
40. Rajputana-Social Science Congress Gazette - Urdu - Weekly - Jaipur
41. Dabdaba-i-Sikandari - Urdu - Weekly - Rampur
42. Nur-ul-Absar - Urdu - Bi-monthly - Allahabad
43. Nafa-ul-Azim - Arabic - Weekly - Lahore
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379. West Coast Spectator - English - Bi-Weekly - Calicut (Malabar)
380. Western Star - English - Tri-Weekly - Trivandrum (Travancore)
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383. Hakam - Urdu - Weekly - Qadian
384. Fauji Akhbar - Punjabi - Gurmukhi - Weekly - Lahore
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