

**UTTARA KANNADA DISTRICT (1862 – 1947): A
STUDY IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND
REGIONAL RESPONSE**

A Thesis submitted to Goa University for the Award of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

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December 2014

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Ph.D. thesis entitled "**UTTARA KANNADA DISTRICT (1862-1947): A STUDY IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND REGIONAL RESPONSE,**" submitted to Goa University forms an independent work carried out by me in the Department of History, Goa University, under the supervision of Dr. N. Shyam Bhat, Professor and Head, Department of History, Goa University, and this thesis has not previously formed the basis of award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar titles of this or any other University. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.

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CERTIFICATE

I certify that this thesis entitled "**UTTARA KANNADA DISTRICT (1862-1947): A STUDY IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND REGIONAL RESPONSE**" submitted by Bhagyashree H. Naik for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, Goa University is a record of research work done by her during the period from 2008 to 2014, when she worked under my guidance. The thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship or Fellowship to Bhagyashree H. Naik.

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Date: 5th December 2014

(Bhagyashree H. Naik)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AARBP</i>	:	Annual Administration Report of Bombay Presidency
<i>AFARBP</i>	:	Annual Forest Administrative Report Bombay Presidency
<i>BG</i>	:	Bombay Gazette
<i>BHR</i>	:	Bombay High Court Report
<i>DCC</i>	:	District Congress Committee
<i>FS</i>	:	Forest Settlement
<i>FRS</i>	:	First Revision Settlement
<i>HD</i>	:	Home Department
<i>KPCC</i>	:	Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee
<i>GO</i>	:	Government Order
<i>GRN</i>	:	Government Resolution Number
<i>JD</i>	:	Judicial Department
<i>KSA</i>	:	Karnataka State Archives
<i>MSA</i>	:	Maharashtra State Archives
<i>OSS</i>	:	Original Survey Settlement
<i>RD</i>	:	Revenue Department
<i>RS</i>	:	Revision of Settlement
<i>SD</i>	:	Southern Division
<i>SRS</i>	:	Second Revision Settlement
<i>SMR</i>	:	Southern Maratha Railway
<i>SRBG (NS)</i>	:	Selection from the Record of the Bombay Government (New Series)

GLOSSARY

<i>abkari</i>	the revenue derived from the monopoly of the sale of spirituous and fermented liquor
<i>ain munaf</i>	total profit
<i>anna</i>	unit of currency, 16 <i>anna</i> = 1 (British) Rupee
<i>alemane</i>	sugarcane mill
<i>ardeli</i>	share cropping system on 50-50 basis between landlord and tenant
<i>balaghat</i>	areas above the ghat (in this study, it includes the taluks of Sirsi, Siddapur, Yellapur, Mundgod, and Haliyal)
<i>bagayat land</i>	land where garden crops are cultivated with artificial irrigation facilities
<i>bayalu</i>	rice field in a flat area
<i>betta</i>	land or plot adjoining to spice garden and used to collect green leaf manure for cultivation
<i>bundis</i>	bullock carts
<i>candy</i>	a denomination of weight. One candy is equal to 20 <i>maunds</i> or 260 Kilograms
<i>chavtayi</i>	one-fourth
<i>chataka</i>	5 <i>tola</i> = 60 grams
<i>chappara</i>	temporary or permanent flat structure above the ground constructed with wood on which crops were dried or constructed for shade
<i>chawdi</i>	village revenue office
<i>chalagenidar</i>	tenant-at-will
<i>dalal</i>	intermediary or agent
<i>fusly</i>	a revenue year or financial year. Add 590 to convert a <i>fusly</i> into a Christian era. e.g. <i>fusly</i> 1229 (1819-1820)
<i>gazni</i>	lands located in the salt tracts close to the coast or along the coast
<i>geni</i>	rent paid by the tenant to the landlord
<i>geni –kolaga</i>	a unit of measurement used to measure the rent paid by the tenants to the landlords in Uttara Kannada
<i>goonta</i>	a unit of measurement of land, equal to ¼ of an acre
<i>hartal</i>	strike, picketing
<i>hullubanni</i>	pasture levy or people gathering to collect grass (<i>hullu</i> means grass in Kannada, and <i>hullubanni</i> satyagraha was a campaign to oppose the tax levied by the colonial government for grazing cattle in the state forest)
<i>jama</i>	aggregate revenue payable by a cultivator or estate

<i>jamabandi</i>	the annual revenue settlement or government assessment on lands of a village or of a district or of an individual farmer
<i>kara</i>	tax or revenue
<i>kan</i>	the village forest reserved and protected by the villagers since time immemorial or sacred grove
<i>kartika</i>	a month in hindu calendar
<i>kagga</i>	variety of rice grown in the <i>gazni</i> land
<i>kar</i>	rice field near to small streams, river and other water bodies
<i>kasba</i>	a small town or large village, the chief or market town of the district
<i>kacheri</i>	Office
<i>karkun</i>	a village accountant
<i>koleroga</i>	fungal disease which affects arecanut
<i>katteroga</i>	fungal disease which affects cardamom crops
<i>kunbi</i>	genetic term for a member of the agricultural class
<i>khatedar</i>	landowner
<i>kuski</i>	dry-crop land in Konkan region
<i>lati</i>	stick, usually bamboo used by the police for beating
<i>makki gadde</i>	high level land especially on the hill sides
<i>mahal</i>	a subdivision of <i>taluk</i> placed in the hands of <i>mahalkari</i>
<i>mahalkari</i>	an officer in charge of <i>mahal</i>
<i>mitagar</i>	land used for producing salt or salt pan
<i>mulagenidar</i>	a hereditary permanent tenant
<i>moray</i>	1 <i>moray</i> = 1.2224 bushels
<i>patel</i>	headman of the village
<i>payanghat</i>	areas below the ghat (in this study it consists of the taluks of Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honnavar and Bhatkal <i>peta</i>)
<i>patta</i>	title deed
<i>peta</i>	sub-division of taluk
<i>pulan</i>	rice land reclaimed from the sandy areas of the coast
<i>ryots</i>	cultivators, peasants, Persian term from <i>riya</i> meaning subjects of the ruler
<i>satyagraha</i>	holding on to truth. Total self-giving integral to Mahatma Gandhi's whole concept of victory achieved through non-violence.
<i>satyagrahi</i>	participant in <i>satyagraha</i>
<i>sawkar</i>	any rich person, rich ryot, moneylender, landlord or contractor.
<i>Seer</i>	a unit of measurement for grain
<i>shanbhogue</i>	village accountant
<i>suggi</i>	Harvest
<i>supari</i>	Arecanut
<i>tagavi/taccavi</i>	a loan given by the state to the ryot for agricultural purpose

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The historiography of colonial India is a cornucopia. The imperialist, nationalist, Marxist, Cambridge and subaltern scholars have contributed immensely to the understanding of the British colonial working in India, its impact on India and Indians, and the manner in which Indians had responded to the colonial challenge. However, the British colonial working in Uttara Kannada had received scant attention by the scholars. Uttara Kannada a small region of Karnataka State, well-known for forest resources, spices and ports from ancient times, experienced transformation due to the colonial policies and played a significant role during the anti-colonial movement.

This thesis is a study on the British colonial administration and policies in Uttara Kannada, their impact on the society and economy of the region and the regional response that they evoked. The period of the study is from 1862 to 1947. The year 1862 is taken as the starting point because it marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of the region. This study is up to 1947, the year which saw the dawn of independence in India, including the British ruled Kanara.

Traditionally the southern tip of the Kanara region, from Chandragiri river in Kasaragod taluk to Bhatkal was called as Tuluva, and the region from Bhatkal to Ganagavali river was called Haive or Haiga as testified by Francis H. Buchanan and other earlier records, and the territory to the north of the Gangavali was part of Konkan.¹ Early Indian dynasties like Mouryas, Satavahanas, Kadambas, Bhojas, Kekayas, Chalukyas, Rastrakutas, Kalyana Chalukyas, and Vijayanagara rulers ruled over the region either

directly or through their feudatories.² The Portuguese called the Kanara region (North and South together) as Canara. The Dutch called the people of this region as "Canarins". When the British occupied the region in 1799 they called it as Canara, and it was a part of the Province of Kanara and Sonda under the Madras Presidency. The whole province of Kanara and Sonda in 1799 included the regions presently covered by Dakshina Kannada, Udupi and Uttara Kannada of Karnataka State, and the Kasaragod region which is now in Kerala State. It also included the northern group of the Laccadives known as Amindivi Island on the Arabian Sea.³ The Province of Kanara and Sonda seemed unwieldy for administrative purpose, and as such, in December 1800, it was divided into the Southern and Northern Division.⁴ In 1805 these divisions were again reunited into a single Collectorate. On 16th December 1859⁵ the Kanara Province was again divided into two separate Provinces. According to Srinivas Havanur, the division of Kanara province was done in 1862 because of the economic compulsions of England. It required export of cotton grown in Dharwad and Bijapur regions from Karwar, when it had suffered cotton scarcity as it was not imported from America during the American Civil War. The Madras Government did not show any interest in the development of Karwar port, as it already had good harbours in Mangalore and Cochin on the West Coast of India. The British traders used to transport the cotton from the up ghat regions to Kumta on bullock carts and then shipped to Bombay by the country boats for exporting to England. However, this was found to be inconvenient and less profitable. Therefore, The British government decided to divide Kanara, and transfer the northern part to Bombay Government which showed interest in developing the port of Karwar as it would facilitate export of cotton directly to England. As the work of developing Karwar port picked up momentum, the American Civil War ended, and there was restoration of regular cotton supply from America to

England.⁶ Thereafter, the British did not take interest in the development of the Karwar port.

The northern part of Kanara which was known as North Kanara was transferred to Bombay Presidency on 28th February 1862.⁷ After India's Independence in 1947, Bombay Presidency was reconstituted as Bombay State. In 1956 the Southern portion of Bombay State was added to Mysore State, and the Kasaragod district was merged with Kerala State. The Mysore State was renamed as Karnataka in 1972 and North Kanara was renamed as Uttara Kannada. The present Uttara Kannada district consists of eleven taluks, namely Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honnavar, Bhatkal, Sirsi, Siddapur, Yellapur, Mundgod, Haliyal, and Supa.

As presently the region is called as Uttara Kannada, in this study the same nomenclature is used and geographically the present Uttara Kannada and the northern part of the Province of Kanara and Sonda or North Kanara were the same. It is bounded on the north-west by Goa state, on the north by Belgaum district, on the north-east by Dharwad district, on the east by Haveri district, on the south-east by Shivamogga district, on the south by Udupi district, and on the west by the Arabian Sea. The district has an area of 10291 Km², out of which 6502 Km² is under dense forest. Only 13% of the district's land is under cultivation. Uttara Kannada is a combination of two distinct regions as widely differing from each other with regard to external physical features and also the customs and habits of their respective inhabitants.⁸ The main geographic feature of the district is the Western Ghats or Sahyadri range, which runs from north to south through the district. Between the Sahyadri and the Arabian Sea is a narrow coastal strip, known as *Payanghat*, which varies from 8 to 23 kilometres, in width. Behind the coastal plain area lay the flat

topped hills from 60 to 100 meters in height, and behind the hills are the ridges and peaks of the Sahyadri. East of the Sahyadri is the *Balaghat* upland, part of the vast Deccan Plateau.⁹ The moisture bearing winds come from the west, and the region receives an annual rainfall in the range of 2000mm-6000mm, largely concentrated in the monsoon months from June to October.¹⁰ The forest of Uttara Kannada is extensive. The most valuable and useful timbers are found in these forests, mention may be made of sandalwood, blackwood, ebony, teak, etc.

Uttara Kannada district has several rivers such as Kali, Ganagavali, Agahnashini, Varada and Bedti. All the rivers of this district are often heavily flooded during the monsoon. These rivers form numerous waterfalls, the most famous of which is Jog fall, on the upper reaches of the Sharavati in neighbouring Shivamogga district. The other famous waterfalls include Unchalli fall, Shivaganga fall, Lalguli fall and Mailmane fall. Uttara Kannada is also called as the district of waterfalls. In the lowlands, these rivers form wide estuaries, extending several kilometres inland from the coast. Uttara Kannada district has five reservoirs across Kali and Sharavati rivers. Nature's beauty in this region is displayed in the alluvial soil, extensive forest, and abundant vegetation, the availability of laterite and iron ore. It was the extensive sea board dotted with ports, and the rice and spice produce that secured Uttara Kannada an identity in the map of the coastal trade in the early medieval times.¹¹

The main languages of the district are Kannada, Konkani, Marathi, and Urdu. The population is predominantly Hindu comprising of many communities called as Havyaks, Gouda Saraswat Brahmans, Daivajna Brahmans, Vokkaligas, Sherugars, Nador¹² Vaishyas, Namadaris, Bhandaris and Gamvokkals. There are also Muslim, Christian and

Jain inhabitants in the region. Muslims in the district are mainly of Navayat descent. They live mostly in taluks of Bhatkal and Honnavar.

Historiographical Survey:

In the last few decades, the historians have shown interest in the study of regions and localities in India. Some attempts were made by Indian and foreign writers to study about the region of Uttara Kannada. However much of the work undertaken is on the freedom movement of the district and less attention is paid to the study of colonial administration under the British, and its impact on the region. The travel account of Buchanan¹³ constitutes a valuable source for the transitionary period following the death of Tipu Sultan in the IVth Anglo-Mysore war and the initial years of the British take-over. Baden-Powell¹⁴ has produced a monumental work on the land-systems during the British rule in India. However, it furnishes no much information on Uttara Kannada. *The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Kanara Collectorate*, edited by James M. Campbell¹⁵ and the same gazetteer re-edited by R. E. Einthoven¹⁶ provide valuable data on this region. *The Karnataka State Gazetteer, Uttara Kannada District* edited by Suryanath U. Kamath¹⁷ furnishes considerable secondary data on the history of the district. Works such as *Karwar Jilla Darshana* by M. N. Bhandarkar and S. Silva,¹⁸ *Chittakula - Karwar* by Desai and Madhava Anant,¹⁹ and *The March of Patriots* by Raj Gaonkar and Sita Gaonkar²⁰ are useful for this study. Writings on Karnataka State also refer to the history of Uttara Kannada to some extent. The *Keladi Polity* by K. N. Chitnis throws light on the history of the region during the Keladi rule.²¹ Ganapati Gouda's thesis on "The Minor Dynasties of Uttara Kannada"²² and S. Y. Mugali's²³ thesis on "Freedom Movement in Bombay Karnataka: Role of Intellectuals" may be noted in this context. However, the former work

is on the pre-British period. The latter work furnishes some insights into the role of intellectuals of the region like Timmappa Nayak, a poet and teacher. It is observed that the poems and writings of Timmappa Nayak helped in spreading the nationalist feelings among the local people during the freedom struggle.

A few writers have published on the freedom struggle in Uttara Kannada. Among them edited works of Suryanath U. Kamath titled *Quit India Movement*,²⁴ *The Documents on No- Tax Campaign in Uttara Kannada District (1930-1934)*²⁵ and *Swatantra Sangramada Smrutigalu*²⁶ are based on the memoirs of the freedom fighters. *Swatantra Chaluvaliya Karapatragalu* compiled by V.S.Hegde²⁷, *Swatantra Horatada Horalu Nota* by Shantaram Nayak Hichkad,²⁸ *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe* by R. R. Diwakar²⁹ and *Freedom Movement in Karnataka* by G. S. Halappa³⁰ are based on the memoirs and leaflets of freedom fighters, and are extremely useful for the present study. However, in very few works archival sources are used. Further, the colonial administration and its impact on the region are not much explored by these historians.

Scientists like M. D. Subash Chandran,³¹ Madhav Gadgil³² and Sharachchandra Lele³³ have published numerous books and articles on forest management and its impact on environment during the colonial time. Their concern has been to highlight the colonial forest management and its impact on the ecology of the Western Ghats. The colonial forest policy and management should be analysed in the larger context of the British colonial policy of exploiting Indian resources. Marlene Buchy's work titled *Teak and Arecanut*³⁴ is a study on the colonial state, forest administration and its impact in the Western ghats with special reference to Uttara Kannada.

“The Agrarian Structure and Tenancy Reform - A Case Study of Uttara Kannada”, by G. V. Joshi³⁵ contains some details on the land revenue administration under the British rule, but the thrust of the work is more on the land revenue administration and tenancy movement after independence.

Sources:

The British administrative records are very important primary source materials for reconstructing the history of Uttara Kannada during the colonial period. This study is largely based on such sources collected from the Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai and Karnataka State Archives, Bangalore. They include the official documents and reports related to political, revenue, judicial and other branches of the administration. The important documents consulted are files of the Revenue Department, Forest Department, Judicial Department and Public Works Department which provide information about the decisions taken, rules and regulations passed and details of the administration. Other documents such as Revenue Survey, and Settlement Reports, Forest Survey Reports, Forest Working Plan and Bombay Government Selection files are consulted. The printed documents like annual administrative reports of Revenue Department, Forest Department, and *Abkari* Department are consulted. Besides, official publications like *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual*³⁶ and *Bombay Forest Manual*³⁷ are used here. These official documents and reports furnish details on the land revenue system, land tenure, revenue collection, revenue expenditure, socio-economic condition of the people, rural indebtedness, trade and industries, and political and movements related to the region of Uttara Kannada. However, it is pertinent to note that these sources reveal the standpoint of the colonial government on major issues like rate of land revenue assessment, tenancy,

socio-economic condition and other such matters. One has to view and examine these data critically along with other corroboratory evidences like the views of the ryots and local leaders expressed in native literature, vernacular newspapers and also in the large context of the nature of the colonial working in India to arrive at a more objective evaluation. The locally published weekly newspaper named *Kanadavritta*, *Samyukta Karnataka* a daily newspaper published from Hubli and *Bombay Chronicle*, an English newspaper are consulted. These publications contain valuable information on the general political, economic and social condition of the region and the resultant resistance movements. They reproduced the grievances of the peasants, made caustic criticism of the forest policy and certain unpopular officials and denounced cases of harassment of the natives by the British revenue and police official and corruption by the government servants. Further they conveyed information about meetings, demonstrations and other actions of the locals against the administration and thus helped disseminate news and mobilise support for the anti-colonial movement. The autocratic behaviour of the forest officials, their biased attitude towards the inhabitants and atrocities of police officers were time-to-time published in these newspapers. In fact these newspapers mirrored the true nature of colonial working in the region. They played a significant role in creating awareness among the inhabitants about the use of swadeshi goods, ill-effect of consuming liquor and unfavourable consequences of child marriage on the society.

The personalities involved in the political, social or ecological movements of their contemporary time have first hand information about their involvement in them and their interviews provide considerable useful data. Discussion³⁸ with Hammanna Mani Nayak Shetgeri, a freedom fighter of the region, provided valuable information about his participation in the Non-cooperation movement. Meetings with the descendants of

freedom fighters like Late Parvati Hammanna Nayak, Hoskeri,³⁹ Ganapati Bommayya Nayak, Bole,⁴⁰ and Shantaram Nayak Hichkad⁴¹ all from Ankola taluk, provided valuable ideas about the sufferings of their parents, and families including the first two members mentioned here. They informed that their families faced utter poverty due to forfeiture of their properties to the government. These bits of evidence help us to understand the mass participation in freedom movement and the government attitude towards the people. These details are complementary to the information available in official records, and aid us in examining the colonial policies from the Indian perspective.

Apart from the primary sources mentioned above, many secondary sources or published works are consulted from the libraries of Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai; Karnataka State Archives, Bangalore; Goa University; Karnatak University, Dharwad; and Mumbai University to understand the topic of research and its scope in a broader historical perspective. Published works are used to comprehend the working of colonialism, and dynamics and dimensions of nationalism.

Aims and objectives:

The present study aims to fill in a noticeable gap in the historiography of modern Uttara Kannada district. It is done mainly by collecting the primary sources relating to the theme of the study. Therefore, the intention is to present an original work. However, for interpretation of data, this study has used ideas presented by historians on colonialism and nationalism, mainly in the Indian context. The main purpose is not to study political history, but to examine the colonial administrative policies and their impact on economy, society and polity of the region and the way in which the indigenous people reacted to

them. The land revenue system and forest administration were given priority by the colonial state as they could earn much revenue. The impact of the forest policy resulted in discontent among the inhabitants and thereby facilitated their participation in the anti-colonial movements in this region. The objective is to use interdisciplinary approach in analysing the data. The thesis examines not only the role of the colonial state, elite classes and organisations, but also the part played by the masses like peasants, artisans and women. Thus the objective is to consider the role of the subaltern classes as well during the period of study.

Methodology:

The methodology used is both empirical and analytical. The empirical data are collected from original sources relating to the British administration, contemporary newspapers, and secondary works. Besides, interviews of three families are also conducted to gather information. The study basically adopts the challenge and response paradigm in analysing the historical data collected by utilising the works of well-known authors on modern India. In fact the works available on modern history of India provide a model for this study. The best examples are that of *Nationalism and Colonialism in India* by Bipan Chandra⁴² and *Modern India* by Sumit Sarkar⁴³. The major policies of colonial administration like maximisation of land revenue, exploitation of forest resources, and suppression of the indigenous people in various spheres of life are analysed. The responses that these colonial policies evoked are also critically examined.

Scope of the Study:

This thesis analyses the nature of colonial administrative aspects in the region of Uttara Kannada (1862-1947). The revenue, particularly land revenue, police, judicial and forest administration are emphasised as they figured prominently in this region. Besides, the colonial socio-economic policies are also considered. Further the thesis deals with the effects of the colonial administration and policies over the region and its inhabitants. In fact the colonial rule transformed Uttara Kannada in many ways, and such changes were seen in polity, economy and society. It was a great challenge for the inhabitants and major problems or issues like ownership of land and forest rights and privileges emerged and became cause of friction between the rulers and the ruled. The changed environment was responsible for the rise of nationalist spirit and nationalist movement. The region witnessed both primary and secondary types of movements against the British and they are also examined here.

This thesis consists of eight chapters.

Chapter - I, Introduction: This chapter includes the introductory details about the region of Uttara Kannada, historiography, sources, aims and objectives, methodology and scope of the study including chapterisation.

Chapter - II, Historical Background: This provides a brief survey of the history of Uttara Kannada before the advent of the British, and the British administration in its early stage, that is up to 1862. The rule of the Satavahanas, Kadambas of Banavasi, Bhojas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Badami, Alupas, Vijayanagara and Keladi rulers are covered. The Maratha and Adil Shahi invasions and their influence on the region are highlighted.

The local chieftains like Bilgi and Sonda, and their administration are sketched. In the second part, the acquisition of Uttara Kannada by the British in 1799 by overthrowing Tipu Sultan, and the establishment of the British colonial government are highlighted. The working of the colonial government in Uttara Kannada up to 1862 is briefly examined.

Chapter - III, The Revenue System: The third chapter deals with revenue administration under the British colonial rule in Uttara Kannada. The maximisation of land revenue through various survey settlements, methods used to collect land revenue and arrears, landowning classes, tenancy system and different sources of revenues like *abkari*, and municipality revenues are discussed.

Chapter - IV, Judiciary and Police: This chapter contains details about the judicial and police administration. The manner in which these two major branches of administration worked as the arms of the state is discussed. The discrimination towards the inhabitants and the laws enacted to suppress them are investigated.

Chapter - V, The Forest Policy: The British colonial rule formed a watershed in the environmental history of India. The forest acts, regulations and the colonial control over the forest resources of Uttara Kannada and the loss of the agriculturists, peasants, artisans and the masses are analysed here.

Chapter - VI, Economic and Social Policies: This chapter deals with the impact of colonial administration on the region. The nature of the colonial government, its policies and programmes towards revenue, agriculture, industry, trade and society and the consequent changes in agrarian and social structure are discussed.

Chapter - VII, Emergence of Political Consciousness and Regional Response: Early resistance to colonial government, rise of nationalist feelings, local organisations and their contribution to spread nationalist feelings are discussed. The participation of the inhabitants in the national movement with special reference to Home Rule League Movement and Quit India movement is discussed.

Chapter -VIII, Conclusion: In this chapter, an evaluation of the British rule in Uttara Kannada and the responses that it evoked are summarised based on this study.

¹ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Karnataka State Gazetteer, Uttara Kannada District*, Bangalore, 1985, p.2.

² I. M. Muthanna, *History of Karnataka*, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 30-45.

³ N. Shyam Bhat, *South Kanara (1799-1860): A Study in Colonial Administration and Regional Response*, New-Delhi, 1998, p. 4.

⁴ Proceedings of the Madras Board of Revenue, 22-12-1800, Vol. No. 269, p.10,681 ; Letter from, R.E. Candy, Acting Assistant Collector, Canara to M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara, 15th March 1871, *RD*. Vol. No. 14 of 1871, *MSA*, p.12.

⁵ James M. Campbell, (Ed.), *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Kanara District (Vol. XV, Part I & II)*, Bombay, 1883. p. IX.

⁶ Srinivas Havanur, "Bifurcation in 1862 A Strange Reality", in M. Mukunda Prabhu (Ed.), *POLI, A commemorative volume for Canara 200*, Mangalore, 2000, pp.63-66.

⁷ Section VI of Bombay Act of 1862, *MSA* ; The *JD* proceedings, file No. 4149 of 1865, dated 20th December 1865, *MSA*; Suryanath U Kamath, *Karnataka State Gazetteer, Uttara Kannada District*, Bangalore, 1985, p. 162.

⁸ C. J. Panse, Collector of Kanara, dated 25th August 1904, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, for the year 1903-04, *RD*. Vol. No. 148, Part - I, *MSA*.

⁹ Anii R. Naik, Report sent to Natural Resource Management and Rural Development Planning , Bangalore, 2008-09, Karwar, p.3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*,

¹¹ *Uttara Kannada District Census Report 2001*, District Statistical Department, Karwar, Uttara Kannada.

¹² Nadors are referred to as Nadavas, Nadwar, Nadavaru etc., and in this thesis, the term Nador is used to have consistency.

¹³ Francis H. Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, in 3 Vols, Madras, 1870.

¹⁴ B. H. Baden Powell (Ed.), *The Land-Systems of British India*, in 3 Vols, Oxford, 1892.

¹⁵ James M. Campbell, (Ed.), *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Kanara District (Vol. XV, Part I & II)*, Bombay, 1883.

¹⁶ R. E. Enthoven (Re-edited), *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Kanara District*, Bombay, 1917.

¹⁷ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Karnataka State Gazetteer, Uttara Kannada District*, 1985.

¹⁸ M. N. Bhandarkar. and Silvas, *Karwar Jilla Darshana*, Karwar.

¹⁹ Madhava Anant and Desai, *Chittakula – Karwar* , Bombay, 1969.

²⁰ Raj Gaonkar and Sita Gaonkar, *March of Patriots - Brief History of Nadavas Once the Valiant Cavalryman of Vjayanagara*. New York, 2013.

²¹ K. N. Chitnis , *Keladi Polity*, Dharwad, 1974.

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- ²² Ganapati Gouda, “The Minor Dynasties of Uttara Kannada” unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1993.
- ²³ S. Y. Mugali, “Freedom Movement in Bombay Karnataka: Role of Intellectuals” unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 2004.
- ²⁴ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Quit India Movement*, Bangalore, 1987.
- ²⁵ Suryanath U. Kamath, *The Documents on No-Tax Campaign in Uttara Kannada District (1930-1934)*, Bangalore, 1983.
- ²⁶ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Swatantra Sangramada Smrutigalu, 3 vols, in Kannada*, Mysore, 1974-1980.
- ²⁷ V. S. Hegde (Compiled), *Swatantra Chaluvaliya Karapatragalu*, Bangalore, 2005.
- ²⁸ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, *Swatantrya Horatada Horalu Nota*, Ankola, 2009.
- ²⁹ R. R. Diwakar, *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe*, Hubli, 1955.
- ³⁰ G. S. Halappa, *Freedom Movement in Karnataka*, Mysore, 1965.
- ³¹ M. D. Subash Chandran, “Halkar Village, Uttara Kannada”, in [http:// www.kalpavriksh.org/images/CCA/Directory/Karnataka Case Study Halkar VegUttaraKannada.pdf](http://www.kalpavriksh.org/images/CCA/Directory/Karnataka%20Case%20Study%20Halkar%20VegUttaraKannada.pdf), (2-3-2011); M. D. Subash Chandran and Madahv Gadgil, “State forestry and decline of food resources in tropical forests of Uttara Kannada, Southern India” in Haldik *Et.al.* (Eds.), *Tropical forest, people and food: Bio culture Interactions and Applications to Development*, MBA Series Vol.15 (Paris Parthenon), pp 734-44, (2-3-2011) ; M. D. Subash Chandran, Talipot: “ A Forgotten Palm of Western Ghats”, in [http:// WWW. environment and society.org/sites/default/files/key docs/chandran-huges-6-2.pdf](http://WWW.environmentandsociety.org/sites/default/files/key_docs/chandran-huges-6-2.pdf) ; M. D. Subash Chandran, “Shifting Cultivation, Sacred Groves and Conflicts in Colonial Forest Policy inthe WesternGhats”, http://wgbis.ces.iisc.ernet.in/biodiversity/sahyadri_eneews/newsletter/issue30/M%20D%20S%20Chandran.pdf, pp. 674-707, (2-3-2011).

³² Madhav Gadgil, *This Fissured Land : An Ecological History of India*, New-Delhi, 1992 ; Madhav Gadgil, “Uttara Kannada: A case Study in Hill Area Development”, in [http:// WWW, isa.ac.in/resonance/volumes/1/11/0069-0075, pdf](http://www.isa.ac.in/resonance/volumes/1/11/0069-0075.pdf), (11-7-2011).

³³ Sharachchandra Lele and Vasant Saberwal, “Locating Local Elites in Negotiating Access to Forests : Havik Brahmins and the Colonial State 1860-1920” in *Studies in History*, 20, 2, n.s., New Delhi, 2004, pp.273-303.

³⁴ Marlene Buchy, *Teak and Arecanut, Colonial Forest and People in the Western Ghats South India (1800-1947)*, Pondicherry, 1996.

³⁵ G. V. Joshi “Agrarian Structure and Tenancy Reform - A case study of Uttara Kannada”, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Karnatak Dharwad, 1987.

³⁶ Jordan (Ed.), *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual*, Bombay, 1917.

³⁷ S. S. Chandawarkar (Compiled), *Forest Settlement Manual*, in 2 Vols., Bombay, 1927.

³⁸ I met Hammanna Mani Nayak Shetgeri, at his residence in Shetgeri, Ankola Taluk, on 2-10-2009 and discussed with him about his role in the freedom movement. He informed me that he had resigned from the post of *Patel* and participated in the No-tax campaign.

³⁹ Met on 2-10-2009 and 2-3-2010.

⁴⁰ Met on 2-7-2009, 6-9-2010 and 14-11-2010.

⁴¹ Met on 29-12-2008, 2-10-2012, 11-7-2013, and 13-8-2014.

⁴² Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1979.

⁴³ Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*. Delhi, reprint 2012.

CHAPTER - II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Myths and Uttara Kannada:

As in many other parts of India, in the case of Uttara Kannada too we come across references to historical traditions. According to Hindu tradition, the origin of Kanara along with the other regions of western coast is ascribed to the great warrior Parashurama, who defeated the Kshatriyas twenty-one times. When their power was utterly destroyed, Parashurama was anxious to settle in the lands from which his enemies had been driven. But the Brahmans did not allow their blood-stained champion Parashurama to live with them. He came to the Sahyadris and threw his axe from a point on the western ghat and made the ocean to recede back to the extent of the distance covered by his axe.¹ Thus the western coastal land of Peninsular India is considered as the Parashurama Srushti or Parashurama Kshetra. The Sahyadrikhanda of Skandapurana bears testimony to this belief. The Uttara Kannada district being a part of the western coast shares this legendary beginning in history. Lord Rama (Sixth incarnation of Vishnu) is said to have stayed for sometime at the Kavala caves near Dandeli during his fourteen years exile. It is also believed that in Kavala caves, lord Shiva performed penance when affected by Saturn (Shani).²

F.H. Buchanan has observed that Gokarna is a significant place in India.³ It is one of the holy places in South India. According to the popular legend, at Gokarna, the Mahabaleshwara Linga is described as the very Atma Linga of Lord Shiva secured by

Ravana after severe penance, as per the wishes of his mother. But Lord Ganapati, son of Lord Shiva made Ravana leave the Linga at Gokarna.⁴

The hindu mythology links Yana with an event in the life of the demon king Bhasmasura. Bhasmasura, by austere penance, obtained a boon from Lord Shiva. The boon was such that when Bhasmasura placed his hand over any one's head, it would burn the latter and turn into ashes (*bhasma*). It is further narrated that in order to test his powers, Bhasmasura wanted to place his hands on his patron Lord Shiva's head. He chased Lord Shiva, which unnerved Lord Shiva and prompted him to move from his heavenly abode to earth to seek the help of Lord Vishnu. Vishnu transformed himself to help Shiva, adopting the form of a beautiful lady named Mohini who enticed Bhasmasura with her beauty. Bhasmasura was quite infatuated by Mohini, and agreed to a challenge of a dance competition. During the dance competition, Mohini cleverly performed a dance pose with hand over her head. Without realising the gravity of this act, the demon king also placed his hand over his head. Soon he perished by the fire of his own hand and was converted into ashes. It is believed that the fire that emanated during this act was so intense that the limestone formations in the Yana area were blackened. The loose black soil or ash seen around the two large rock formations in the area is cited as proof of this legend by devotees. They see these formations as the result of fire produced by Bhasmasura and ashes produced by his death. The two hillocks are also named to commemorate this event: the tall peak being Bhairaveshwara Shikhara "Shiva's hill", and the smaller peak, a few steps down below, being Mohini Shikhara "Mohini's hill".⁵ Some other places in the district are also related with mythological stories.⁶

The Dravidan words like Arishi (rice), Marichi (Chilly), Sandan (spice) etc., were found in the Old Testament of Greek and Latin languages and this established the existence of trade contact of the west coast with the Mediterranean region. The places like Banavasi Bhatkal were famous in those times.

The maritime connections with the people of Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine etc., continued and Ptolemy and Pliny gave detailed account of vast the maritime trade of Karnataka with the western countries. In support of this, Dravidian words and ancient harbours of the west coast like Bhatkal and Honnavar were frequently mentioned in their works.⁷

The Mauryas in Kanara:

The Srilankan chronicles mention the Mauryan contact with the Vanavasa region during the time of Ashoka (273-232 B.C.).⁸ These sources refer to the sending of Rakkita, a learned Buddhist monk, to propagate Buddhism in Vanavasa country as a part of Ashokan policy after the third Buddhist Council. Whether or not Vanavasa region formed the part of Mauryan empire is a question yet to be settled.⁹ The Buddhism introduced by Ashoka at Banavasi, Karwar and other places continued to exist till about the 10th century A.D. The commercial contact between China and South India is evident from the records of a Chinese mission to Kanchi. The coastal districts were famous for pepper, spices, sandalwood, betelnut, rice and other products.¹⁰

The Satavahana Rule in Kanara:

The decline and fall of the Mauryan empire paved for the establishment of independent rule of the Satavahanas in the Deccan. At least later rulers of this dynasty during the 2nd century A.D. were known to have exercised their sway in the Vanavasa region. One of the inscriptions in Banavasi gives testimony to this. The Satavahana administration was a continuation of the administrative traditions established by their masters. The Satavahanas supported Vedic religion and claimed to have restored *Varnashramadharm*.¹¹

The Satavahanas were succeeded in this region by the Chuta-Anandas. They ruled from Banavasi. Four Prakrit inscriptions and some coins found in these areas bear testimony to their rule. The Chutas were soon overpowered by the Pallavas of Kanchi.¹² The Kadambas established their power in this region by subjugating the Pallavas.

The Kadambas of Banavasi (3rd Century A.D. to 7th Century):

The Kadambas formed the first imperial native dynasty of Karnataka. They laid down the foundation for the political, cultural and architectural legacy of Karnataka. Under the Kadambas, Karnataka culture reached a new mile stone. Mayuravarma was the founder of this dynasty. Their capital was Banavasi in Uttara Kannada.¹³ The origin of Kadambas is very controversial. Up to the 7th century they ruled Karnataka. After their defeat in the hands of Chalukyas of Badami in the 7th century A.D., they totally disappeared from history for a period of three centuries. However, they emerged in the 10th century A.D., as Kadambas of Banavasi, Kadambas of Hanagal and some minor branches of Kadambas.¹⁴

The Kadambas followed the administrative system of the Satavahanas. They maintained formal council of ministers, and a central secretariat. They appointed officials like *rahasyadhikari*, secret policy framers, *mahamatras*, *rajjukas* or officers in charge of revenue and *lekhakas* or writers. They also maintained provincial administrative set-up; the empire was divided into western, northern and eastern parts. The viceroys were appointed to look after the divisions. Below these were the district and villages. The districts and villages were headed by the *manneyas* and *gramikas* respectively. The King was supreme head of justice and he was the final court of appeal. Below the king, there were courts and punishments were dependent on the gravity of the offences committed. The land administration was based upon *smritis*. The land revenue was the major source of revenue to the state. Taxes were imposed upon oil manufacturing, beasts of burden, betel leaf and salt. The lands were classified under different categories based on their fertility. The *Sarvanamasya*, the *Tribhoga*, and the *Talavritti* were the three types of tenures.¹⁵ The Lands were surveyed and measured. A noteworthy feature of the Kadamba administration was the role played by Village Panchayats. They were autonomous units free from the interference of the state. Though agriculture was the primary sector of the economy, there were flourishing industries in Banavasi, Halasi and other parts of the Kadamba kingdom. Some of the artisanal activities of the period were spinning, weaving, stone-work, brass and iron work, jewellery, basket making and oil pressing. The society was caste-based, and Hindu, Jaina and Bhuddhist educational institutions imparted education.¹⁶

The Bhoja Rule in Uttara Kannada:

One of the early families of western Deccan was that of the Bhojas. Two inscriptions of the Bhojas of Chandrapur (Chandor in Goa) were found in Hiregutti and

Arga. The Bhojas were mentioned in the traditional Sanskrit literature as belonging to the Haihaya sub-divisions of the Yadavas. They ruled from North Konkan and they were the contemporaries of the Satavahans. The Bhojas of Chandor ruled parts of Khanapur-Haliyal in the up-ghat region and in the coastal strip, till Kumta. The elephant was their royal emblem.¹⁷

The Kaikeyas:

One of the minor dynasties that ruled in Uttara Kannada was that of the Kaikeyas. Only very few inscriptions were found relating to them. They appear to have been the feudatories of the Bhojas earlier and accepted the over lordship of the Kadambas. They maintained matrimonial relationship with the other rulers of Karnataka.¹⁸

The Chalukyas of Badami:

The role of the Chalukyas of Badami constitutes a brilliant epoch in the history of Karnataka in particular and Indian history in general. They overthrew the Kadambas of Banavasi in about 570 A.D. The Chalukyas under Pulakesi-I established their sphere of activity in and around Badami in Karnataka. When Kakusta Varma I came to power, he fought with the Kadambas. Later Pulakesi-II assumed the reins of the kingdom and Kadambas were actually ousted from political power and Kadamba *mandala* was transformed to Alupa control for more than a century. The Alupas retained their authority over this region until Aluvarasa II (730-765 A.D.) shifted his allegiance to the Pallavas.¹⁹

The Rashtrakutas (700-1000 A.D.):

The Rashtrakutas took over the reins by defeating the Chalukyas of Badami. During the 8th century, the Uttara Kannada region, particularly Banavasi *mandala* was ruled by petty governors appointed by the Rashtrakutas. At the end of their rule, they appointed a member of the Kadamba family to rule over Banavasi *mandala*.²⁰

The Kalyana Chalukyas:

In the History of Karnataka the rule of Kalyana Chalukyas was very significant. The polity, economy and society of the whole of Deccan were influenced by them. The Uttara Kannada region was ruled by the minor dynasties and they accepted the overlordship of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. Their authority in Uttara Kannada extended over Yellapur, Mundgod, Sirsi, and Siddapur taluks. The taluks of Supa, Haliyal and part of Yellapur and Mundgod were under the Kadambas of Goa. The below ghat region comprising of Ankola, Kumta, and Honnavar taluk was under the Pandyas of Shiraguli. Vikramaditya VI led an expedition along the coast with the help of Jayakeshi I, the Kadamba ruler of Goa. It was during this campaign, Honnavar was forfeited by Jayakesi I, after defeating Pandyan ruler.²¹

In the middle of the 13th century, the Kalachuris usurped the Chalukyan throne at Kalyana. In the last quarter of the 13th century, the Hoysalas under Ballala II conquered the areas of Bhatkal region and this was perhaps for the first time that a major dynasty from outside the district tried to establish direct political power in this region along with South Kanara.²²

The Vijayanagara Rule in Kanara:

Throughout the course of Vijayanagara history, the coastal area of this region assumed great importance. The Vijayanagara rulers succeeded in bringing the whole of Uttara Kannada under their control. Then Uttara Kannada was ruled by the local chieftains like those of Nagara, Haduvalli, Bilgi and Sonda. An interesting aspect of the Vijayanagara rule in this region was that in spite of the minor feudal ruling families being present in the region, the emperors appointed and stationed officers in certain centres like Honnavar, Bhatkal and Banavasi, to retain their hold uninterruptedly in the coastal track. From Kanara, they carried out horse trade, first with the Arabs and later on with the Portuguese. The rivers in Kanara served as the natural channels for the transportation of the products of the interior coast and from coast to interiors.²³

In 1663, Baladaeus, the Dutch traveller observed Kanara was rich in products and had a healthy and strong people capable of any kind of work. The rich products of pepper and rice attracted the European traders and it marked the commencement of trade activities on coast subsequently influencing the political events of Kanara.²⁴

The entire Kanara came under the control of Vijayanagara in the middle of the 14th century. The period saw the advent of the Portuguese, and they tried to secure Bhatkal port and commence their trade activities in the region. Towards the beginning of the 16th century, the Vijayanagara rulers lost control on extremely northern portion of Kanara to Bahamani and then it went under the control of Adilshahis.²⁵

Harihararaya, who acquired the region in A.D. 1343, made a new assessment of that province purporting to be in accordance with the principles laid down in the *shastras*. The settlement of Harihararaya was referred in all subsequent assessments, and thus formed the foundation of all the land tax in Kanara. This was not made from any actual measurement, but merely from the rough estimate of the quantity of seed sown in each fields.²⁶ This system was called as *Bijawari* system. From 1348 to 1366, more than 20 per cent addition was made to the *jama*. This continued unaltered till the Keladi ruler Sivappa Nayaka introduced some alterations in the land revenue system. John Fryer who visited Karwar at the end of the year 1675 provides a detailed account of Kanara territory and stated that under the Vijayanagara kings, the taxation was very milder and they (people) lived with great comfort.²⁷ Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism were the popular religions that existed during this period.

Keladi or Bidanur or Ikkeri Rule in Kanara:

The defeat of the Vijayanagara ruler in the battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi (1565) paved the way for the rise of new ruling families. The extreme portions of the Vijayanagara empire were occupied by the Adilshahi rulers. In the southern region, the Nayakas of Keladi occupied prominent position in Kanara and influenced its political and commercial activities. The Keladi kingdom comprised the areas of Shivamogga, Chikkamagaluru, Gokarna, Ankola, South Kanara, and Dharwad. Their land revenue system, particularly the changes introduced by Shivappa Nayaka were historically significant. His system of land revenue assessment came to be called as Shivappa Nayaka's *Shist*.²⁸

The Keladi rulers made no addition to the land revenue collected from the region till 1618. In that year, they levied an assessment of 50% on the whole of *jama*, except in the *Hoblee* of Mangalore. Additional tax was imposed by the Bidanur ruler on coconut and other fruit trees. Earlier dynasties levied tax only on the lands, and trees were exempted from the tax.²⁹ The Vijayanagara assessment along with these new additions was called *Rekah* or *Shist* (*Shist* literally means a line) or Standard rent in Kanara. The *shist* comprised of two parts, first seven and a half parts out of 30 parts of gross produce the original *rekha* or Vijayanagara assessment and an addition of 50% on this assessment by the Bidanur government. On the whole the assessment, constituted 11¼th parts out of 30 parts of the gross produce was called as *shist*.³⁰

Subsequent additions were made to the land revenue of Kanara in the year 1711. The *Pagdi* or extra assessment was imposed by the wife of Raja, who was regent, during the madness of her husband $\frac{1}{6}$ of the *shist* was increased and in the initial years it was levied as *Nuzza*, but soon came to be considered as a part of the *jama*.³¹

The assessment of Basavappa Nayak was made in 1723 at the rate of $\frac{1}{10}$ of an *anna* or hundred and sixteen part of standard rent in order to erect *chhatras* and feed pilgrims on account of the death of his father.³²

The trade that existed between this region and the Arabian countries and also the Portuguese during the Vijayanagra period continued even during the Keladi rule.³³

Adilshahi Rule in Kanara:

The conquest of Goa by the Bahamani Sultan in 1472 A.D.³⁴ led to the expansion of that kingdom to the border of Kanara. Gradually the region from Kudal (Ratnagiri) to Chittakula (Uttara Kannada) came under the authority of Bahamani rulers. The Adilshahis of Bijapur who succeeded the Bahamanis in this region in 1490 A.D., held their sway over this territory.³⁵ The unexpected victory of the five Deccan Sultans over Vijayanagara in 1565 A.D. marked a turning point in the history of Adilshahi kingdom. Ali Adilshah I, who had earlier acknowledged the authority of Vijayanagara declared himself as independent after the battle of Rakkasa–Tangadi in 1565. Between 1556 A.D. to 1614, the sultan of Bijapur often came to conflict with some of the chiefs in Kanara. Ibrahim Adilshah II, concluded an alliance in 1569 A.D. with the queen of Gersoppa in order to check the influence of the Portuguese.³⁶

The Bilgi Chiefs:

The chiefs of Bilgi played their own role in the political and cultural history of Uttara Kannada. They rose to power in the late 14th century and reached their zenith in the latter half of the 16th and early part of the 17th century. *Bilgi Arasurugala Vamsavali*, *Bilgi Arasara Charitre*, and some copper plate inscriptions talk about their rule. The chieftaincy had lost power towards the end of the 18th century. They acknowledged the authority of the Vijayanagara rulers and had friendly contact with Sonda rulers, but they, often had conflict with the Nayakas of Keladi. Gouda Saraswats from Goa were invited to Bilgi and were provided with land and other facilities with a view to encourage trade and scholarship.³⁷

The Sonda Chiefs:

The Sonda chiefs came to power in the early part of the 14th century and attained their zenith in the middle of the 17th century. Their headquarters was at Sonda in Sirsi taluk. They called themselves as *Swadi Puravaradhiswara*. In the course of three centuries of its existence, the Sonda ruling family had contact with the contemporary rulers like Vijayanagra, Keladi, Adilshais, Marathas and the Europeans. After the battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi, they continued for a long time as feudatories of the Vijyanagara emperors and gradually rose to prominence in Uttara Kannada. It is difficult to trace the land revenue administration followed by the Rajas of Sonda. According to Harris, the Collector of Kanara, in some parts of Sonda, the assessment was levied in kind as late as 1770. It amounted to $\frac{2}{3}$ rd the gross produce and the settlement was made based on villages and village-groups or *maganes*. The headmen and accountants divided the total assessment among under-renters. All land belonged to the government. It is said that the gardens were considered as private property, but it appeared that only the trees belonged to the owners. The ownership of the land vested in the government.³⁸ Extra assessment or *patti* was imposed in the year 1718 by the Rajas of Sonda for the purpose of discharging the Moghal *peshkash* (tribute) at the rate of 30% upon all gardens and from 2 ½ to 12 ½ upon all rice fields.³⁹

The Maratha Incursion in Kanara:

The Marathas appeared on the political scene of Kanara with the commencement of the activities of Shivaji from 1646 A.D. Shivaji and his successors raided Kanara many times with the intention of extracting tributes from the local chiefs and also to have some territorial gains. Actually Shivaji did not have much contact with Kanara in the early years

of his career. His first attempt of raid on Bhatkal port in the year 1664 A.D. was unsuccessful. He was stopped on the way itself by the armies of the Sultan of Bijapur and Shivaji had to retreat. The raid was meant to acquaint himself with the topography and politics of Kanara. The Maratha soldiers frequently attacked the boundary areas of Kanara to collect booty. The British got trade privileges from Adilshahis of Bijapur and established a factory at Karwar in 1638 A.D. They subsequently increased their position due to the trade activities in this region. The British in Karwar gradually increased their influence in such a way that the Adilshahi officers very often sought military and financial help from the British against the Sultan of Bijapur and Marathas. At the same time, the British successfully consolidated their commercial hold on that region by siding one against the other. As a result, the native rulers lost their commercial hold on the region. Shivaji wanted to have control over the Kanara ports, and in 1673 A.D. he sent a navel expedition to Karwar and conquered it. In 1675 A.D., he again invaded Kanara and this time he established a good hold on the portion of North Kanara. The British could not withstand this menace and ultimately suspended their trade activities in Karwar.

The death of Shivaji in the month of April, 1680 A.D., resulted in the decline of Maratha hold on this region. His son Sambhaji, tried to regain it, but he was not much successful. He attempted to acquire the Anjadiv Island near Karwar, but strong opposition from the Portuguese forced him to withdraw his plan. He was successful in the abolition of slave trade in Karwar area.⁴⁰ A treaty concluded by him with the English at Karwar prohibited the English from buying any of his people belonging to his territory to be used either as slaves or to be converted into Christianity.”⁴¹

During the heydays of their glory, the Peshwas regarded the chiefs of Sonda and Keladi as their tributaries. But these chiefs constantly faced the raids of the Marathas under the Peshwas as they could not pay the stipulated tribute to them.⁴²

The Mysore Sultans in Kanara:

In 1761 A.D., Haider Ali came to power in the politics of Karnataka as the ruler of Mysore. This event had considerable impact on the surrounding regions. As he was a shrewd diplomat and a military genius, he soon launched an expansionist programme. He was attracted towards Kanara due to its rich natural resources, and brisk trade activities of the Europeans.⁴³ As a coastal region with ports, Kanara was a strategic area from the point of view of politics and trade. He wished to have control on the trade activities and acquire wealth by pushing away the foreigners. The Bidanur capital of Keladi kingdom became the first victim in 1763.⁴⁴ With 5000 sepoys and 300 Europeans he marched towards the Kanara coast and captured Mangalore. Then he marched towards Honnavar, the port was almost handed over to him without much opposition in 1763 A.D. In the same year, he invaded the on Sonda chieftaincy, the chief of Sonda escaped to Goa and sought help from the Portuguese.⁴⁵ The conquest of Kanara was completed by Haider Ali in the beginning of 1764 A.D., and the vast area stretching from the Kali river to Chandragiri river came under his possession.⁴⁶ This conquest strengthened the position of Haider Ali considerably. Thomas Munro said: "Haider received Kanara which slightly improved the country, filled with industrious inhabitants enjoying a greater portion of the produce of the soil and living more comfortably under any native powers in India."⁴⁷ The conquest had a considerable impact on the foreign traders also. The English did not want to lose their prosperous trade in this part of Kanara which was under the control of Haider Ali.⁴⁸

In 1762, Haider Ali was defeated by Madhav Rao Peshwa who exhibited interest in Sonda. But Haider Ali had realised the danger to the country that might emerge from the British, and therefore tried for an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas to drive the British out of the territory. But by the treaty of Salbai, the Marathas and the Nizam had succumbed to the British diplomacy and Haider Ali had to fight alone.⁴⁹

In the year 1782 Haider Ali died and his son Tipu Sultan succeeded him. The British sent General Mathew from Bombay to capture Bidanur territory. On his way to Bidanur, he captured Mirjan, Honnavar, Ankola and Sadashivgad territories; finally he captured Bidanur in the year 1783.⁵⁰ But Tipu soon regained all these territories in the same year and signed a treaty with the British. After the treaty, Tipu resorted to retaliatory action against the local Christians. They were forced to move to Srirangapattana and on the way they faced inhuman cruelties. Many churches were destroyed. During the IV Anglo-Mysore war, the British laid seize to Srirangapattana and Tipu was killed on 4th May 1799, ending thereby the last hurdle to the colonial conquest of southern India and thereby Mysore came under the British control.⁵¹

When Haider Ali came to power in Mysore, he ordered an investigation into every source of revenue for the purpose of augmenting the income of the State. He ordered to re-impose an extra assessment of 1711 upon the lands held by the *patels* and other head ryots, who were exempted from that and an additional assessment of 12,000 *pagodas* to be laid upon the Mangalore *Hoblee*, because it was partially subjected to the additional 50% in the year 1618. When the Haider Ali conquered the Bidanur in 1763 and he ordered to make an investigation into every source of revenue for the purpose of augmenting it.⁵²

Haider appointed an officer called Shaik Ayaz who was the Diwan of Kanara and Nuggur (Nagara) provinces. He conducted land survey assessment of Kanara and Sonda. He restored to the standard rent to charge in respect of *tunkas* to peons which had been previously remitted and raised the rent of all coconut plantations in his region. He also calculated the amount of all *rasams* and services usually extracted from the Amildars and Killadars and added them to the land rent.⁵³ In the early 1780's Haider Ali ordered an investigation to be made into every source of revenue. Haider Ali was succeeded by his son Tipu Sultan, made total resumption of all *inams*. He ordered to increase the tax upon coconut trees. He increased the land tax to 30% by raising the prices of tobacco and *shroffs*.⁵⁴ In 1792, 50% of *nuzzzerana* was increased. The *shamil* was introduced during the time of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, which was the aggregate of the various cesses or *patti*, that amounted roughly at least 30%.⁵⁵

Tipu was not only a brave warrior, but also an equally good administrator. He divided his kingdom into 37 provinces called as *asofis* each of which was administered by a provincial Governor. The provinces were further divided into taluks called *amilis*, which functioned under a taluk official called *Amildar*. The lowest administrative unit was a village called *simpt* administrated by a headman called *Patel*. The kingdom of Tipu comprised an area of 62000 square miles. Tipu introduced six departments which looked after different branches of administration, such as land revenue, military, commerce, marine, ordinance, and treasury. These ministers were assisted by the advisers and officials. Tipu established an efficient and highly disciplined army which comprised of cavalry and infantry.⁵⁶ Mangalore was Tipu's naval headquarters.⁵⁷ He took steps for the development of agriculture by the construction of irrigational project; fallow land was

brought under cultivation through exemption from revenue payment for the first year, and by advancing *Taccavi*.⁵⁸

Tipu introduced postal system for royal correspondence. For the first time, the department of census was opened. A new system of weights and measures and currencies came into existence. Coins were called by different names like *Hyderi*, *Inami*, and *Osmani*. Tipu also replaced Kannada with Persian as the administrative language.⁵⁹

The most important aspect of Tipu's administration was the establishment of state monopoly over trade. Trade and commerce became the exclusive prerogative of the state. Trading centres were established abroad in China, Masqat and some industries were also brought under state control. The benefits from these were reaped by the state.⁶⁰

The above details provide a brief history of Uttara Kannada prior to the advent of the British. The region was famous for its ports, internal and external trade. The spices grown in this region were famous, and exported to other regions in India and abroad. The native rulers ruled the region according to *dharmashastras*. Though there were followers of different religions like Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, there existed religious harmony. The society was caste-based. The primary sector of economy was that of agriculture and several castes and groups undertook artisanal works. Though there existed private property, there were lands which belonged to the state. The revenue administration saw changes over the centuries. The revenue share of the state was enhanced from the period of Vijayanagara. The Nayakas of Keladi and the Sultans of

Mysore also contributed to the enhancement of land revenue which formed the main source of revenue for the state.

European Activities in Kanara:

The advent of Europeans in India is a significant event in Indian history. It inaugurated a new phase in the political, economic and social life of the country. The ships of Vasco da Gama landed at Anjadiv islands off Karwar in 1498 A.D. The accidental landing of Vasco da Gama and the Portuguese in 1498 A.D. provided the scope for trade and commerce between India and the west. After him, a number of Portuguese sailors came to the Kanara coast and involved in trading activities. In the course of time, they slowly interfered in the local politics by siding with one chief against another and tried to strengthen their position in Kanara.⁶¹ In the 16th century, they carried out thriving trade with India, including the west coast. The situation gradually changed from the middle of the 17th century, when the other Europeans also entered India and Kanara for trading activities. Consequently, this led to the commercial rivalries and European incursions in Indian politics. A good number of ports were constructed for defence of the strategic places, there was a marked change in the method of warfare, and guns were used during the war. The sea trade received a considerable impetus. Side by side Christianity was also spread. The chief concern of the Portuguese was to safeguard their commercial interest in this region. Prior to 1747 A.D., the Portuguese received tributes from several ports in Kanara stretching from Chittakula to Kumbale. They used every opportunity to spread Christianity in the region. In the course of time, the Portuguese influence and prestige declined considerably on account of their inhuman actions in the field of religious conversion, and due to their weakness in relation to the Dutch and the English.⁶²

The Dutch:

The Dutch activities in Kanara coast commenced in the early part of the 17th century and they made considerable progress in the second half of that century. The fame of Karwar pepper which they heard in the accounts of the travellers induced them to come to Karwar. They, like the Portuguese, were jealous of the British trade in Kanara. They continued their trade activities in Kanara till 1757 A.D., and thereafter they completely eclipsed because of the increasing activities of the English on the one hand, and the Marathas on the other. They were not so much intensive and eager in spreading Christianity like the Portuguese. Their activities were purely commercial. They entered Kanara as competitors in the field of trade and competition resulted in rivalry. They tried to establish some sort of friendship with Nayakas of Keladi and the Sulatn of Bijapur. However they did not succeed.⁶³

The French:

The French like other Europeans entered Kanara for securing pepper trade and started their activities in the second half of the 17th century. They established a factory at Mirjan in 1669 A.D. They did not dominate in Kanara because of the opposition from the English⁶⁴.

The British in Kanara:

In the early part of the 17th century, some of the coastal towns in Kanara witnessed the commencement of the British activities like the other Europeans. The British too came to Kanara for trade and confined their activities only to trade and their involvement in local politics was motivated by commercial interest. The establishment of

English East India Company, and their factory at Surat enabled the British to know more about the wealth of Kanara, especially its prosperous pepper trade. Captain William Hoarse was the first Englishman who made an attempt to trade in Kanara in 1619 A.D.⁶⁵ They got support and permission from Virabhadra Nayaka of Keladi and build a factory at Bhatkal. With the friendship of Adilshahis of Bijapur, they established a factory at Kadwad in 1638 A.D. and at Honnavar in 1717 A.D. Due to the local opposition in Bhatkal, the factory was closed in the year 1670. The British factory at Karwar was closed because of Shivaji's frequent attacks on the bordering areas of Karwar. The British failed to stop these attacks and ultimately suspended their trade activities in Karwar. In the initial stage, the British maintained a cordial relationship with the Sonda chiefs. But in the later stage, they had to clash with the Sonda chiefs. The British wanted to settle themselves in Kanara, and finally they settled in Honnavar, and had a hold on pepper, and sandalwood trade. The fourth Anglo-Mysore war, which was fought in the year 1799 resulted in the final overthrow of Tipu's power and the victorious British acquired the coastal district after signing the treaty of Srirangapattana on 22nd June, 1799.⁶⁶

Working of British Colonialism and Its Impact on Uttara Kannada up to 1862:

After the acquisition of the Province of Kanara and Sonda in 1799 by the British, they consolidated their hold over the region by setting up a strong government. As regards administration, various departments were set up. The departments relating to revenue, judiciary, police, and public works were significant. Administrative officials like The Collector, Sub-Collector, Tahsildar, Shanbogues, *manegars* etc., were appointed by the colonial government.⁶⁷ In the beginning of the British rule, Kanara Province was divided

into two divisions, Southern division and Northern divisions. The Province had only one Collector at Mangalore. The Province was divided into *taluks*, *taluks* into *maganes*, *maganes* into villages and villages into estates or *wargs*. The *huzoor* or collector's office at Mangalore consisted of the various offices like that of *sheristadar*, *naib* or deputy *sheristadar*, *gumastha*, *moonshee*, English head accountant, deputy accountant, English writer, English record keepers, *jamadar*, *delayat*, *ructwan*, *dufter-bund*, treasurer, *shroff*, *duffedar*, peon, *mussagies*, sweeper, *toti*, book binder and ink-maker.⁶⁸ The offices of the sub-collector, additional sub-collector and head assistant collector at Mangalore also consisted of various officials.⁶⁹ Each taluk establishment had offices of tahsildar, deputy tahsildar, *peshcar*, *sheristadar*, *gumastha*, *moonshee*, *shrof*, *gollar*, *duffedar*, peon, *cutwal* and *muttsuddy*. Each village establishment consisted of *mangegars*, *shanbogue* and *oograni*. The remittance department included *duffedar*, peon and revenue *tappal* peons. The police department included English writer, *moonshee*, *gumasta*, police *ammen*, *cutwal*, *shanbogue*, *dufterbund*, *duffedar* and peon. The judicial department or the district court consisted of civil judges, sessions judge, another subordinate judge and other lower officials.⁷⁰

During the early years of the British rule in Kanara, there was anti-British uprising in the district as in other parts of Karnataka. Dondiya Wagh of Chennagiri rebelled from Karnataka. He unfurled the flag of revolt from Shikaripura and his allies and supporters also were active in many areas of Karnataka. There were disturbances in Banavasi, Sonda and Ankola. Some of the insurgents coming from Mangalore, and some others from Shikaripura were supported by the local people and they captured Banavasi and took possession of the British stores where a huge quantity of pepper had been stocked in

around June 1800. Another group which rebelled from Ankola not only secured control over the town, but also marched till Bilgi. The Prince of Bilgi also revolted against the British and declared his freedom. A descendant of the Sonda royal family was declared to be the ruler of Sonda, and all the regions in the area were surrounded by these insurgents. But Dhondiya escaped towards Gadag, and the British killed him in a war in September 1800 and it quelled the movement. The Bilgi prince was also killed in the war against the British.⁷¹

Sir Thomas Munro, the first Collector of the Province followed the Bidanur assessment along with Haider Ali's additions as a standard for his revenue settlement in the region. Consequently, this was approved by the Madras Government and revenue was collected in the name of *kadim beriz* which was the fixed amount of assessment on the land. Thus the Munro System of land revenue assessment was introduced in Kanara in 1799-1800.⁷² In the initial stage of British administration, Munro wanted to conciliate the people by granting partial remission from the extractions imposed on them by their former native ruler to enable them overcome the pressure of old assessment. Munro, after his first settlement made certain reductions in the demand of land revenue amounting to Rupees 14,351-10-3 for collection, and Rupees 5,805-6-10 in abeyance and a total of Rupees 20,157-1-1.⁷³ Munro also proposed a great reduction on the *halut* (export duty) on pepper, *supari*, cardamom, and sandalwood. But it was abolished when there was great reduction in collection of land revenue.⁷⁴

The land revenue system introduced by Murno was largely Ryotwari in nature. It was an arrangement made between the government and the ryots or cultivators of land with

the complete exclusion of intermediaries. Under this agreement, the government usually sought to receive its due in the form of money value fixed upon the actual fields under cultivation. The ryotwari system allowed the ryots to alter their holdings, and the ryots could transfer, relinquish, and take up available waste or fields relinquished by others. The ryots were also allowed certain remissions, both fixed and casual. The land revenue settlement under the ryotwari system was not permanent. It was revised periodically, after 20 to 30 years the revenue was usually raised.⁷⁵ The Court of Directors in London ordered to implement the ryotwari system of land revenue all over Madras Presidency after 1819.⁷⁶ An official report by John Stuart Mill in the year 1857, explained the Ryotwari system of land revenue system as follows: “Under the Ryotwari System every registered holder of land is recognised as its proprietor, and pays direct to Government. He is at liberty to sublet his property, or to transfer it by gift, sale, or mortgage. He cannot be ejected by Government so long as he pays the fixed assessment, and has the option annually of increasing or diminishing his holding, or of entirely abandoning it. In unfavourable seasons remissions of assessment are granted for entire or partial loss of produce. The assessment is fixed in money, and does not vary from year to year, in those cases where water is drawn from a Government source of irrigation to convert dry land into wet, or into two-crop land, when an extra rent is paid to Government for the water so appropriated; nor is any addition made to the assessment for improvements effected at the Ryot's own expense. The Ryot under this system is virtually a Proprietor on a simple and perfect title, and has all the benefits of a perpetual lease without its responsibilities, inasmuch as he can at any time throw up his lands, but cannot be ejected so long as he pays his dues; he receives assistance in difficult seasons, and is irresponsible for the payment of his neighbours. The Annual Settlements under Ryotwari are often misunderstood, and it is necessary to explain that

they are rendered necessary by the right accorded to the Ryot of diminishing or extending his cultivation from year to year. Their object is to determine how much of the assessment due on his holding the Ryot shall pay, and not to reassess the land. In these cases where no change occurs in the Ryots holding a fresh Potta or lease is not issued, and such parties are in no way affected by the Annual Settlement, which they are not required to attend.”⁷⁷

Though Munro was critical of the land revenue assessment collected before 1799, he did not depart widely from the system which he found established in the region. He made no other reduction in the assessment of Tipu Sultan beyond such as was absolutely necessary to ensure the collection of the rest of the revenue.⁷⁸ Munro’s settlement was the basis of the revenue administration till about 1814. But overassessment and frequent arrears in the payment of land revenue by the ryots forced the government to alter the system of Munro.

In the year 1819-20 a revision was made by Harris, the then Collector of Kanara. That was known as *tarao* (fixed) or *sarasari* (average) settlement. The word *tarao* meant in Hindi, to fix, determine, or settle. H.H. Wilson gives it as a Hindi and Marathi word meaning fixed or determining. It was called as *sarasari* because the assessment was based upon the average collections of the revenue since the British occupation of Kanara. Under this system a fixed assessment was laid on each *warg* or estate. Harris ordered for the survey of the region, and accordingly along with Sirsi taluk five other *maganes* or village groups of Yellapur taluk were surveyed and assessed.⁷⁹

The taluk of Ankola below the ghats, and Yellapur, Supa and *Mamlatdar's* division of Sirsi above the ghats, were surveyed and measured under the orders of Madras Government in the year 1822-23. But with the exception of a few *maganes*, none of them were surveyed and assessed. Honnavar and part of Sirsi which formed the Bilgi *mahal*, remained unmeasured and the survey operation was abandoned.⁸⁰

In 1825, some partial steps were undertaken and carried out above the ghats to survey the lands. Measurement of 50 villages in above the ghats and some villages of old Ankola taluk was undertaken. It was represented, however, that the principle of assessing all lands alike at one third of the gross produce was unfair, as the cost of working garden land was much greater in some parts than in other, and assessment varying from 25% to 35% of the gross produce was suggested. The Revenue Board approved the plan of ascertaining the gross produce and classing the lands accordingly, and the Collector was directed to assess a few village groups upon these principles.⁸¹

In the year 1831, tumultuous assemblies of the ryots were held in the southern division of Kanara. The Madras government commissioned H. Stokes to enquire into the causes and happening of the resistance. Stock, in his report dated 12th January 1833, after discussing the inequality of the distribution of assessment, and the cause of it, recommended as a temporary measure, the extension of the *tarao* principle to Ankola, Sonda and Supa. Stokes' report is very useful to comprehend the complexities of the land revenue system in Kanara.⁸²

At the time of Nagara uprising of 1830-31 in the Mysore state, there were also disturbances in undivided Kanara, mostly led by the peasants. This was due to depression in trade during the 1820s on the coast and the peasants found it difficult to pay the revenue. First, there was trouble at Haliyal when people from Dharwad area attacked the treasury at Haliyal on 22nd January 1930. However, this unrest was suppressed by the government. The movement became acute in South Kanara region and its echoes were felt in the Uttara Kannada region too. There were riotous proceedings in Sonda taluk and serious disturbance in Sirsi in April, 1831.⁸³

In the year 1832-33, Viveash, the Collector recommended certain changes to *tarao* settlement.⁸⁴ A distinction was subsequently made between the estates which could afford to pay the full assessment, and those which could not; the first one was called as *Bharti*, no annual inspection was made on these *Bharti wargs*, and the second was *Kambharti* on which *wargs* every year inspection was made by *Shanbogues* which was checked by a *Kacheri* Karkoon, in order to ascertain if the reason for the reduction of assessment still existed.⁸⁵ Subsequently, a resettlement was made of the *Kambharti* estates which were divided into three classes as below:

First - *Vaida* or those for which a gradually ascending rate of assessment was fixed until the full demand was reached.

Second - Board *Sifarish* or those the assessment of which was permanently reduced by order of the revenue board.

Third - *Tanki* or those left for assessment from time to time. This *tarao* settlement was continued until the new survey was conducted in Uttara Kannada.⁸⁶

In 1847, the Governor in Council came to the conclusion that a survey was the only way to correct fraud and inequality in assessment. But nothing was done up to transfer of Uttara Kannada to Bombay Presidency in 1862. The settlement and remission were based upon *bijawari* and *hootawali* measures.⁸⁷

The newly introduced judicial administration and police system helped the colonial government to establish its supremacy over the region. In 1773 three courts were established in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Under the Regulating Act of 1773, a High Court at Calcutta was established. The British laid the foundation of a new system of dispensing justice through a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. However, there was no major progress towards simplifying and systematising the law until 1858.⁸⁸

The District Court was established at Honnavar in 1807 under Regulation II of 1806 with jurisdiction over both the divisions of Kanara then known as North Kanara and South Kanara. This resulted in only one judicial establishment for the entire Province of Kanara and Sonda with headquarters at Honnavar. However, in 1810 the District Court was moved to Mangalore. The District Judge was subjected to the supervision of Circuit Court at Tellichery which was established in 1802 under Madras Regulation IV, and was known as Provincial Circuit Court consisting of 3 Judges with power to hear appeals and try cases committed by the District Court of Kanara.⁸⁹ However, in 1843, by Madras Act VII of 1843, the Circuit Court of Tellichery was abrogated and simultaneously the northern

division of Kanara was separated from southern division for judicial matters. In 1855, the Acting Magistrate of Kanara proposed to transfer the judicial headquarters from Honnavar to Karwar.⁹⁰

The Police system introduced by the British through the Madras Regulation XXXV of 1802 replaced the traditional system of maintaining law and order. The police system of Munro as far as possible made use of the earlier officials like the village headmen and watchmen. However, new rules and regulations and bureaucracy came into being. It was under the authority of the Collector of the Province. The Darogha system was introduced. A thoroughly recognised police system came to be established only in 1859-60. However, the changes introduced were to the local inhabitants and were disliked by them.⁹¹

The colonial government introduced tobacco monopoly in the region. In 1804, the British government introduced tobacco monopoly in Kanara. Earlier to the introduction of the monopoly the ryots used to cultivate and sell tobacco by themselves, and thus enjoyed the full share of the profit. The introduction of monopoly in 1804 deprived them of this profit and naturally they resented the monopoly. During the unrest of 1830-31, the peasants did criticise the policy of tobacco monopoly and regarded it as one of the important cause of their economic evils. The government however continued the monopoly until its abolition in 1853.⁹²

In the year 1807, the British government introduced salt monopoly in the Kanara region. The inhabitants had to depend upon the government for the supply of salt. Even the licenced manufacturers were unable to meet the demand of the region, and as such, a large

quantity of salt was imported from Goa by land route on payment of custom duty of 12 *annas per maund*. It was considered to be equal to the profit made in manufacturing of the salt in the district.⁹³ The salt monopoly of the government resulted in inconvenience to the subjects in many ways. Besides, the restrictions imposed on the use of forest resources made the life of the ryots artisans and other inhabitants of the region miserable.

The British occupation of Kanara and their trade policies had their impact on the trade and commerce of the region. Rice was staple export of the district. Pepper, sandalwood, timber, coir, coconut and other items were also exported. Raw silk, sugar tea, chinaware, dry grains, cotton, etc. were imported to the district. These were imported from the neighbouring regions including the up-ghat areas, and the export was to neighbouring regions and also outside, including China and Arabia. Mangalore port played a major role in the trading activities of Kanara.⁹⁴ Heavy Custom duty was levied on the export of rice betelnut and pepper.⁹⁵ Inland and transit duties were collected. Kanara was under the Madras Customs Regulations. The sea custom department was set up. The colonial government introduced currency reform also.⁹⁶

The East India Company's rule in the region from 1799 to 1862 transformed the revenue system, judiciary, police, trade and commerce, and the society. The British administration changed the traditional system by introducing the bureaucracy, rules and regulations, law courts, maximisation of land revenue, tobacco and salt monopoly etc. The colonial domination suppressed the indigenous people in all walks of life. The peasants and artisans suffered. The new social classes like moneylenders and landlords emerged, and the traditional socio-economic relations changed. This scenario continued in the region after

1862 also. In fact the day-to-day life of the inhabitants worsened due to the colonial policies in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

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 - ³ Francis H. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. 3, Madras, 1870, p.147.
 - ⁴ I. M. Muthanna, *Op.Cit.*, p.6 ; B. Vasantha Shetty, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 7-8.
 - ⁵ I. M. Muthanna, *Op.Cit.*, p.6.
 - ⁶ *Ibid.* ,p.9.
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 - ⁸ B. Vasantha Shetty, *Op.Cit.*, p.9.
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 - ¹⁴ S. G. Kadamb, *The Kadambas of Uttara Kannada*, Panaji, 2000, p. 23; John Faithful Fleet, *Op.Cit.*, p.25.
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 - ¹⁷ V. R. Mitragotri, *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*, Panaji, 1999, p. 34.
 - ¹⁸ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Uttara Kannada District Gazetteer, Op.Cit.*, pp.110-111
 - ¹⁹ K. V. Ramesh, “*History of South Kanara*” Dharwad, 1970, pp. 63-64.
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 - ²¹ Ganapati Gouda, *Op.Cit* , p.168; V.T. Gune (Ed.), *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu, Part I: Goa*, Panaji, 1979, p. 98.

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- ²⁵ B. S. Shastry, *Studies in Indo- Portuguese History*, Bangalore, 1891, p. 39 and p. 209. ; K.G., Vasantha Madhava *Op.Cit.*, p. 9.
- ²⁶ Robert Sewell, *Op.Cit.*, p.65.
- ²⁷ Quoted in W. C. Anderson's letter to Chief Secretary to Government 28th February 1873, Kumta Settlement, *SRBG(NS)*, 1883, pp. 67-69.
- ²⁸ K. N. Chitnis, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 135-38.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Memorandum by W. C. Anderson No. 333 of 1871, *RD*, Vol. No. 47 Of 1871, *MSA*, p. 324; Sir Thomas Munro's Letter to William Petrie, 31-5-1800, *PMBR*, 28-8-1800, Vol. No.261; pp.7439-440; William Thackeray's Report on Malabar, Kanara and Ceded Districts, 8-9-1807, *PMBR*, 3-1-1814, Vol..No. 628, p.115; *PMBR*, 15-9-1831, Vol No. 1300, pp. 9635-36.
- ³¹ *BHR*, *The Canara Land Assessment Case, 1st May 1875*, *MSA*, p.85.
- ³² K. N. Chitnis, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 139-40.
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- ³⁴ V. T. Gune, (Ed.), *Op.Cit.*, p.130.
- ³⁵ K. G. Vasantha Madhava, *Op.Cit.*, p.162.
- ³⁶ *BHR*, *Op.Cit.*, p.98 ; B.S. Shastry, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 55-54.
- ³⁷ Suryanath U. Kamath, (Ed.), *Karnataka State Gazetteer, Uttara Kannada District*, Bangalore, 1985, p.138; Chandrakanta Keni has stated that there were large settlements of Saraswat families, who had moved in pursuit of trade, in Mangalore and Bhatkal and smaller ones in other coastal towns. see Chandrakant Keni, *The Saraswats a compilation of facts and documents from various sources*, Panaji, 2008, p.127.
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- ⁴³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyder_Ali, Accessed on 5-11-1014.
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- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,
- ⁴⁹ I. M. Muthanna, *Op.Cit.* , 222-223; N.K. Sinha, *Op.Cit.*, p. 54.
- ⁵⁰ Mohibbul Hasan, *Op.Cit.*, p.27.
- ⁵¹ Mohibbul Hasan, *Op.Cit.* , p. 316-19.
- ⁵² *BHR*, *Op.Cit.*, p.87.
- ⁵³ Munro's statement quoted in the *BHR*, *Kanara Land Assessment Case*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.
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- ⁵⁷ I. M. Muthanna, *Op.Cit.*, p. 248 ; Mohibbul Hasan, *Op.Cit.*, p.355.
- ⁵⁸ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Op.Cit.*, p.613; Mohibbul Hasan, *Op.Cit.*, pp.339-40.
- ⁵⁹ Mohibbul Hasan, *Op.Cit.*, pp.344-47.
- ⁶⁰ I. M. Muthanna, *Op.Cit.*, p.250.
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- ⁶² K. G. Vasantha Madhava, *Op.Cit.*, p.388.
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- ⁸² *BHR, Op.Cit.*, pp.190-91.
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- ⁸⁴ *BHR, OP.Cit.*, p.177.
- ⁸⁵ Letter from W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner to the Chief Secretary to Government, *RD*. 28th February 1873, Talguppi, No 309 of 1873, Survey Commissioner's Office, Mysore territory, para 41.
- ⁸⁶ Letter from T. H. Stewart, Survey and Settlement Commissioner to The Secretary to Government, *RD*. No. 1055 of 1884, Survey Commissioner's Office, Bombay, 22nd May 1884, D.C. Office Karwar.
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⁹¹ N. Shyam Bhat, *Judiciary and Police in Early Colonial South Kanara, Op.Cit.*, p. 52-69.

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⁹³ Rita Braganza, “Goa - Karnataka Relations (1763-1857) A Political and Economic Study” unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Goa University, 2001, p. 165.

⁹⁴ Malathi K. Moorthy, “Trade and Commerce in Colonial South Kanara (1799-1862)”, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Mangalore University, 1991, pp. 119-21 and p.141.

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CHAPTER – III

THE REVENUE SYSTEM

In the ancient and medieval periods and for several decades after the establishment of British power in India, land revenue was the most important source of government revenues. Till the end of the British rule in India it remained as the single biggest source of income.¹ The assessment and collection of land revenue was one of the most important functions of the colonial government.

The establishment of the English East India Company worked as a tool of colonial plunder which operated through monopoly of trade in India. After 1757, it acquired political power and the same was used for the realisation of land revenue. To annihilate the traditional mode of production, the British Moneyocracy had converted India into its landed estates and hastened the process of commercial revolution in India.² They unleashed far reaching changes in Indian agrarian structure in order to maximise land revenue exaction which slowed down the country's progressive development and raised the burden on the Indian peasantry. To consolidate the political power, the English East India Company used the institutional form of agrarian system inherited from the Mughals. The British superimposed a system over the existing land settlement pattern in tune with the British customs and laws relating to land. Accordingly, the government sponsored the cooperative movement through different land revenue experiments and brought several changes in land tenure, property relation, agrarian productivity, food supply, marketing, agricultural indebtedness and cultivated land in British India.³ The British policies in India were decided in London and obviously the interests of the Home Government were protected. Gradually, all changes transformed Indian economic history from a mercantile

phase to industrial capitalist phase and finally to the finance capitalism.⁴ After gaining *diwani* right over Bengal in 1765, the Company followed the traditional land assessment system, but gradually modified the existing land settlement from time to time to collect maximum possible land revenue which was a major objective of the colonial administration.⁵ They initiated action based farming system as the first experiment in 1772, where land revenue collection rights had been allotted on contract basis.⁶ This farming system slowly developed into three major land settlements, namely, Zamindari in Bengal, Ryotwari in Madras and Bombay, and Mahalwari in the North Western Provinces. These exposed the ‘colonial character of the British rule’ and became the basis of primary accumulation of capital. The basic characteristic of each system was the attempt to incorporate elements of the preceding agrarian structure. The existing system under the colonial policy produced widely different local results and hybrid forms.⁷ The land revenue under the British, whether directly imposed on the ryots or assessed on the zamindars, was a true tax on land. The assessment was on the basis of what and how much it ought to produce, not on what crop it actually raised.⁸

In the year 1799 after defeating Tipu Sultan in the fourth Anglo-Mysore War, the British annexed the Kanara Province to Madras Presidency. The British land revenue administration had considerably changed the traditional economic and social setup of Uttara Kannada as it did in other parts of Karnataka as well as in the rest of India. The ryots from the beginning showed dissatisfaction with the British land revenue system. The revenue policies of the colonial government were not accepted in this region without opposition. Further, this dissatisfaction sparked the patriotism of the inhabitants during the time of the national movement, and they actively participated in the freedom movement even though they knew that it would be suppressed by the British Raj. This chapter

analyses the revenue administration under the British colonial rule in Uttara Kannada. The maximisation of land revenue through survey and settlements, methods used to collect land revenue and arrears, landowning classes, tenancy system and different sources of revenues like *abkari* and municipality revenues are discussed.

Landholding System in Uttara Kannada:

One of the unique characteristics of land ownership in Uttara Kannada was private property or hereditary ownership over the soil⁹. The proprietor had the right of inheritance and unrestricted privilege to transfer it by gift, sale or lease etc.¹⁰ Sir Thomas Munro, the first Collector of undivided Kanara, in the beginning of his career, was much influenced by the Zamindari system of land revenue administration and recommended the introduction of the same in Kanara. But later, much impressed by the private property system in the region, he wrote to the Madras Board of Revenue that “In Kanara, where almost all land is private property derived from gift or purchase or descent from any antiquity too remote to be traced, where there are more title-deeds, and where the validity of these deeds have probably stood more trials than all the estates in England, great proprietors cannot be established without annihilating all the rights of the present landlords; nor do I believe that, by any arrangement for placing a number of small estates under the collection of one head landlord, any facility in the collection, or any security could be obtained that may not be obtained from letting the estates remain as they now stand.”¹¹

He came to the conclusion that it was not worthwhile to initiate any process that would hamper the system of private property in land which was well-maintained in the region. So the district remained as a classic ryotwari area with almost total absence of any alienated holdings such as *inam* lands found in the neighbouring districts like Belgaum and

Dharwad. Even the lands attached to temples were registered in the name of the deity. The temple lands were also fully assessed to show that there was no difference at all between the temple land and private property. Private property in this region was prevalent as *muliwarg* and its owner was known as *muliwargdar* or *mulgar*. Some connected it with Sanskrit *mulaya* meaning price. *Mula* is derived from Sanskrit word *mul*, signifying literally a root, and figuratively the root of a tree or origin of a family.¹²

Warg or *warga* meant registered holding and *wargdar* meant the registered holder. The word *warg* is derived from the Sanskrit *warg*, a leaf, having been originally used for the leaf accounts kept by the revenue authorities; in the course of time the term came to denote the holding for which the account was kept.¹³ The holder had to pay revenue assessment to *wargs*, which was synonymous with the common Bombay revenue term *khata*¹⁴ or account in other districts of Bombay Presidency. The entire holding may be situated in one village and sometime in different villages or even taluks.¹⁵ After introduction of the Bombay Survey and Settlement in Uttara Kannada, every landholder was ordered to inform what he considered as his boundary. That was accepted without question or enquiry, except in the cases of disputes between two landholders with regard to boundary line with each other.¹⁶ Before the Bombay survey and settlement, the assessment was fixed on the *wargs* or holdings and lands belonging to the same *wargs* were often situated in more than one village. But according to the new survey system, the lands were divided into survey numbers of convenient size at the time of survey and separate assessment was fixed on each survey number or plot number.¹⁷ For the convenience of survey, *wargs* or holdings were divided into survey fields. The maximum area allotted for each survey field was as below:

- i. 20 acre for dry-crop

- ii. 10 acre for the rice lands, and
- iii. 5 acres for garden.

Each survey field was separately defined by the boundary marks. But the land of two separate holdings or *wargs* was never included into the single survey field. In densely populated areas like the coast, land was sub-divided into many plots or survey fields. Here one *warg* comprised of many plots separated from one another. In the coastal area, the survey fields never attained the maximum area allotted for one survey field. In thinly populated areas, one or two *wargs* comprised all the holdings in the village and here the survey field frequently attained the maximum area.¹⁸ In Kanara, from the beginning of the British rule, strict rules were followed not to resign part of the *wargs*. The ryots had to accept resignation of the whole *warg*. If they fail to resign their whole *warg* they had to pay full revenue even though it was cultivated or not.¹⁹ H. Wilson, in his Glossary, says that : In Karnata (Kannada) *mulawarga* signifies an ancestral hereditary estate, and that *mulawarga* means original proprietary right in land, and that *mulawarga* is the proprietor of an ancestral hereditary estates, *mula* is derived from the Sanskrit *mul*, signifying literally a root and figuratively, inter alia, the root of a tree or origin of a family. Hence, arises the character of performance or perpetuity which we find in it when used in composition as in *mulawarga* and *mulawargadar*.²⁰

The *mulawargadar*, enjoyed hereditary and transferable property in the soil, and could not be ousted so long as he paid the land revenue assessed upon his lands.²¹ The *mulawargadars* were original and hereditary proprietors of the *wargs* and could transfer the lands to other persons for a term of years or forever at a fixed rent through a paper document called *mulagenipatta*. The person who received the land was called as

mulagenidar.²² The private property over the soil or *muliwarg* could be compared with *mirasi* tenure in Tamil, *kaniyatchi* in Kerala, *janmakari* tenure in Malabar, and *upari* tenure in Konkan.²³

Apart from the private property, there were also lands owned by the government. In the initial stage of British rule, the practice was to offer waste lands annually to the highest bidder. They were called *sarkar-geni* or rented from government and the cultivators were mere tenants-at-will holding directly from the government.²⁴ According to H. H. Wilson, the *gaini* or *geni* was rent paid to the landlord or proprietor. He further observed that the word itself was very doubtful, probably it originated from the Sanskrit word *geha*, and Kannada *graha* or a house. Brown sated that the word might be taken from the Sanskrit root *graham*, in the sense of taking or receiving. From the same root the Marathas obtained their verb *ghene*, to take.²⁵ The same system continued even after transfer of the district to Bombay Presidency, the government leased out the land to the cultivators.

Land Tenure System:

The land tenure may be defined as the system in which land is held by an individual or the actual tiller of the land. It determines his rights and responsibilities in connection with his holding. Obviously, the land tenure system refers to rules and regulations which confer ownership rights upon an individual or actual tiller of the soil. It determines the status of the actual tiller of the land and his relations with the actual owner of the land that is either the ryots (zamindar) or the state. If the actual tiller is not owner of the land, it determines the relation between the owner and the actual tiller of the land. It specifies rent to be realised from the tiller, duration of the holding and the instalments of

rent. It specifies the conditions under which the actual tiller can sell transfer or mortgage his holding. In the Uttara Kannada district, Thomas Munro introduced the ryotwari land revenue system. The ryots were the owners of the land, and the assessment fixed very high initially, and was made subject to periodic revision. The government had the right to auction the land owned by the ryot in case of failure to pay the government demand. But in due course of time many changes were introduced in the ryotwari system. The relations between the landlord and tenant changed gradually.

The lands were held by private ryots or landlords, the government and also by the religious institutions and were leased on certain terms and conditions to the tenants or under-cultivators for the purpose of cultivation. In the district, many cultivators did not hold the land directly from the government, but from the superior land holders, and such cultivators were called as tenants or *genigars*. The tenancy system was deep-rooted in the district. Sir Thomas Munro himself had reported that the tenancy system was a dominant feature of agricultural undertaking in the district.²⁶ In the thirteenth century itself the land holding was divided into three distinct groups namely, *mulawargdar* or original proprietor, *mulagenidar* or permanent tenant and *chalgenidar* or yearly tenant.²⁷ Francis Buchanan, who travelled in this part of the country and wrote his diary in 1801, noted that parts of holdings were cultivated by the *genicaras*.²⁸ The land tenure system of Kanara was very complicated. M. J. Desai, Enquiry Officer for Garden Lands, had the opinion that in the year 1935 half of the lands in Uttara Kannada were held by the tenants.²⁹ The leaseholds consisted of rice, garden, and *khuski* lands. The common feature of all these tenancies was that the tenant had to pay a net rent (*ain munafe*) after paying revenue.³⁰ The different types of tenancies which existed in the region were *mulageni*, *chalageni*, *nadagi*, *sulgi*, and

palu. The *mulageni* and *chalageni* were fixed rent tenancy; while *nadagi*, *sulagi* and *palu* were share-cropping tenancies.

The first and foremost was *mulageni* tenure, according to which the tenants had a hereditary right to cultivate the land at the fixed rent. The *mulageni* right was inalienable. The *mulageni* tenants could throw up the lands, but could not be deprived of them by the landlord. The tenant who held lands under the *mulageni* was called *mulagenidar* or tenant by purchase.³¹ *Mulageni* tenure was hereditary by nature. Though the *mulagenidar* did not have the right to sell his lands, he could mortgage, lease and bequeath his lands in default of children, could adopt and pass them to his adopted son. The lessee or the heir stands in every way in the same respect towards landlord as the original tenant did.³² The spice gardens required the labour of about twelve years to raise them well. The cultivators had to plant new plants every year to replace the old ones. Besides, the cultivators had to replace *agte mannu* or fresh earth once in six years. In the garden cultivation, the yield of a particular year represented the labour of the past several years, the fruit of the labour of a year or period could be reaped during the next several years. So the *mulageni* tenure was well suited for garden cultivation as much care was required there. C. F. S. Collins also found that the *mulageni* was particularly suitable for garden cultivation.³³ In the *mulageni* tenancy, if any lands were uncultivated due to the shortage of labour and some other reason, the *mulageni* tenant could not relinquish that particular land as the *mulageni* tenant had to pay the land revenue on the entire leasehold. The *mulageni* tenant had to either relinquish the entire leasehold to the landlord or continue to pay the land revenue on all the lands. Whether the land was good or bad, he had to pay the revenue. According to the *mulageni* contract, the tenant could not surrender his leasehold land without the consent of the landlord. In case the lands were not worth for the rent fixed upon them, the landlord

never gave his consent.³⁴ In some cases, the *mulageni* rents were fixed on produce, in some other cases it was fixed in cash. Yet, the security of the tenure and fixity of rent were the privileges enjoyed by all *mulagenidars*.

In the *Kraya Mulageni* tenure, the tenants used to give a lump sum amount in advance as part payment of land rent to the landlords, and used to pay the remaining balance by annual instalment in cash or kind as per the agreement.³⁵

The temporary tenants or tenant-at-will were called as *chalagenidars*.³⁶ A *chalagenidar* might hold land under the original proprietors or *mulagenidar*. The right of the *chalagenidar* was sometimes in a written document, and in some cases it was a mere oral agreement.³⁷ The occupancy was generally for one year.³⁸ Though the *mulageni* tenure was the predominant form of lease in the case of garden land, a few cases of *chalageni* leases also existed in the garden lands of above ghat regions. In *chalageni* tenure, the tenant experimented for few a months to know the income that he would get if he held the garden on *mulageni* tenure.³⁹ However, there were some cases where the garden lands were leased on an annual basis to the same tenants. But in many cases, the *chalagenidar* only reaped the annual crops and did not do anything for the improvement of the garden for future years. In the district, the most common form of lease in the case of paddy lands was that of *chalageni*. The short term lease was well-suited in the case of seasonal crops like paddy where no long term investment was required. In the cases of annual *chalageni* tenancies in garden cultivation, the rents were high as the landowners had to recoup themselves for their investments.⁴⁰ In the coastal areas, most of the lands were leased out for cultivation under the *chalageni* tenure.⁴¹

The nadagi or ardheli tenancy was quasi-permanent in nature, and it was popular only in the garden cultivation of the coastal areas, especially in Kumta and Honnavar taluks.⁴² The tenant of this kind was popularly called as *nadagidar*. In this type of tenancy, the landlords bore the expenses of plantation, but the tenants watered the trees, looked after them and received a stated share usually a 1/3 or ¼ of the produce.⁴³ In the case of a garden, in which the full grown trees were given to a tenant, the tenure was called as *sulgi*. In this case the tenant received 1/3 of the produce for his labour. In both the cases, the landlord paid the revenue assessment. The lease was terminable only at the will of the tenant, but he could not be ousted by the landlord.⁴⁴

In some places of the district, there existed a form of tenancy known as *palu geni*. According to this system, the tenants had to incur all the expenses of cultivation and give a fixed share of the produce, generally ½ in the rice land produce and 1/3 produce in the garden land to the landlord.⁴⁵

One more tenancy which was practiced in the region was *korpalu*, or share-cropping tenancy which was popular only in Haliyal taluk. Much is not known about this type of tenancy.⁴⁶

Revenue Administration in the Uttara Kannada District:

After the revolt of 1857, the British government wanted to introduce a systematic land revenue administration throughout India. The Bombay survey system had certain drawbacks and to overcome from the defects of the previous survey, it became necessary to introduce a New Survey system.⁴⁷ In Bombay Presidency, the Bombay government passed the resolution to survey the land, and for fixing the assessment on a clearer and

more scientific basis in 1862.⁴⁸ It came to be called as the New Settlement or Bombay Survey in the Bombay Presidency.⁴⁹ A notable feature of this survey was the systematic classification of lands into various categories on the basis of certain criteria such as fertility of soil, availability of water resources, communication facilities and some other factors.⁵⁰ The assessment rates varied from district to district and even from taluk to taluk within the same district as there was a considerable variation in the nature of soil, availability of water sources and prices of food grains.⁵¹ In the mean time, the Northern Division of Kanara was transferred to Bombay Presidency, under the Section VI of Bombay Act of 1862; all its laws and regulations were made applicable to North Kanara from 16th April 1862. The Bombay Government decided to have the New Settlement in newly added Kanara too. The British government undertook considerable work with regard to the codification of law in India. In the year 1864 a bill was introduced in the Legislative Council to provide the survey, demarcation, assessment and administration of lands held under the government in the districts belonging to Bombay Presidency, for the registration of the rights and interest of the occupants of the same.⁵² This bill was approved and came to be called as Bombay Survey and Settlement Act (Act I of 1865). This Act empowered the Bombay government to direct the extension of the survey to any part of the Presidency. It defined the powers and duties of survey officers, provided for the demarcation of fields and village boundaries and for the erection and repair of boundary marks. The survey officers were authorised to settle disputes related to demarcation of fields and village boundaries. The Act also empowered the survey officers to assess government and alienated lands. While settling the land revenue, the survey officers were required to prepare a record showing all rights and interests in the land, and provide all other necessary information. It also provided for the administration of survey settlements, and empowered the government to direct a fresh survey, and to revise assessment on expiry of the term of a settlement.⁵³ Colonel Anderson

was appointed as the Commissioner of the Southern Division.⁵⁴ In matters of detail and some of the principles, the Bombay ryotwari system was dissimilar to that of Madras ryotwari system. In the Bombay system there was a Land Revenue Code, which was as good a specimen of clear and logical expansion of land law. The survey operations were governed by the Bombay Survey Act of 1865, but in 1879 the Act was replaced and the provisions therein contained were re-enacted in the Bombay Land Revenue Code of 1879.⁵⁵ In this Code, all the provisions of Bombay Act I of 1865 relating to assessment in revision were re-enacted without any change. Further, a new provision was inserted whereby the government had the right to take into consideration the improvements made by the owners or occupants in their lands from private capital in fixing the revised rates of assessment. This Land Revenue Code was amended many a time by the government of Bombay. *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual* edited by R. J. Jordan provides us the detailed description of classification rules, measurement rules and assessment rules for each type of land.⁵⁶

In its geographical features, the Uttara Kannada district resembled the Southern Maratha (Dharwad and Belgaum) and Konkan (Ratnagiri and Thana) regions. Therefore, a separate system of classification rule was formed in the *Survey and Settlement Manual of 1882*. This was known as Kanara System of Classification Rule. It was implemented in the district from 1877.⁵⁷ For the purpose of classification, the Uttara Kannada district was divided into two parts, one was consisting of above the ghat taluks of Supa, Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur and the other consisting of below the ghat taluks of Ankola, Karwar, Honnavar with its *peta* Bhatkal. A separate system of classification was used for the taluks above and below the ghat region.

The Kanara System of Classification Rule:

According to the Kanara System of Classification Rule, lands in Kanara were divided into rice land, *khuski* land, *bagayat* and *mitagar*. The cultivating lands were categorised into a particular group based on soil, water and trees.⁵⁸

Rice land:

The rice land was divided into two types, sweet rice field and salt rice field. The sweet rice field was again classified into two, *makki* and *bayalu*. *Makki* consisted of high level lands especially on the hill sides and these lands were entirely dependent upon rainfall and were capable of growing only inferior variety of rice due to their incapacity to retain moisture. The *bayalu* lands were good quality rice plots in the lower valleys which were watered by the small streams. They yielded two crops every year, one of rice and the other of pulse. The first or rain crop was called as *kartika*, because it was reaped in the month of *kartika* (October-November), and the second or dry season crop was called as *suggi* in Kannada and *vaingun* in Marathi and Konkani, both words meaning harvest.⁵⁹ The greater portion of the rice lands in *bayalu* produced no second crop. Only in *kar* or *haiga*, that is, rice fields near to small streams, river and other small water resources, pulses and vegetables were grown. However, both these kinds of rice lands were classed by the same scales. Soil, water and trees were considered for fixing value of sweet rice fields.⁶⁰

Salt Rice Land:

The *gazni* and *pulan* lands were the two varieties of salt rice lands in the district. The *gazni* of Uttara Kannada was the *kharapat* of the Konkan. The *gazni* lands located in the salt tracts close to the coast and along the coast yielded only one crop per year. The variety of rice grown in this land was known locally as *kagga*. The *gazni* lands were not

ploughed but hoed. They were not manured as they had sufficient silt brought down by the flood water from the river. The factors of value taken into account in the classification of this land were soil and water.⁶¹ *Pulan* was a rice land reclaimed from the sandy areas on the coast.⁶²

Khuski:

The *Khuski* land means dry-crop land in Kannada and this class of land corresponds to the *rabi* and *varkas* of the Konkan. In this case, soil was the only factor that was taken for classification value.⁶³

Bagayat:

The garden land of Uttara Kannada was the same as that of the Konkan region. On this land garden crops like *supari* (arecanut) coconut, plantain, mixed crops and vegetables were cultivated. In Konkan, the garden lands were divided into two classes, *Agri* and *Dongri* with separate maximum rates. But in Uttara Kannada there was no such kind of classifications and both the types were classed under the same scale. The factors of value taken into account at classification were soil, water and position.⁶⁴

Mitagar:

The land which was used to produce salt was classified under this category. Salt pans were located at Sanikatta, Gokarna, Kumta and other places. The Ager community of the district was mainly dependent on salt-pan work.⁶⁵

Revenue Establishment:

After the transfer of the district to Bombay Presidency, the Bombay administrative systems were applied to North Kanara.⁶⁶ The Bombay government created new departments and appointed officials to administer the North Kanara district. The Bombay administrative set up was slightly different from the Madras administrative system. The government of Bombay was administered by a Governor in Council consisting of the Governor as President and two ordinary members. The Governor was appointed from England; the Council was appointed by the Crown, and selected from the Indian Civil Service. These are the executive members of the government. For making laws there was a legislative council, consisting of the Governor and his Executive Council, with certain other persons, not fewer than eight or more than twenty, at least half of them being non-officials. Each of the members of the Executive Council had in his charge one or two departments of the government; and each department had a Secretary, an Under-Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, with a numerous staff of clerks. Bombay Presidency was divided into four divisions; Central division, Northern division, Southern division, and Sind as a separate division. The Central division included Ahmednagar, Kandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara and Solapur. The Northern division consisted of Ahmedabad, Kair, Panchmahal, Broach, Surat and Thane districts. The Southern division consisted of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwad, Uttara Kannada, Kolaba and Ratnagiri.⁶⁷ Each division was placed in the hands of a Commissioner who was directly responsible for Governor in Council in Bombay. For the purpose of administration also the Uttara Kannada district was divided into two parts; above the ghats and below the ghats, consisting of the same areas as indicated above in relation to the classification. Collector was appointed as the executive of the district and he was responsible to the Commissioner for Southern Division.⁶⁸

A strong and well established revenue department structure was formed by J. B. Peile in 1868. The numbers of officials varied from time to time according to the necessity of the department, but the basic structure remained the same.

Collector's Establishment:

The Collector was the Chief Magistrate and Executive head of the district. He was directly under the control of the Commissioner for Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency. He was an European or British officer⁶⁹ and his salary was Rupees 21,000 to 27,000 per year. The Collector's establishment included the accounts department of the district also.⁷⁰ In the Collector's office there were two branches; the English branch which was under the head clerk and the vernacular branch which was under the *chitnis*, both of these officers were of Mamlatdar's grade. The head clerk was responsible for municipal, local board, health and other matters.⁷¹ The *chitnis* looked after all revenue, *watan*, inspection and establishment matters.

Table 3:1

The Collector's Establishment in North Kanara in 1862⁷²

No. of posts	Designation	Salary (per month) in rupees
9	English clerk	51-0-0
22	Vernacular clerk	29-0-0
9	Treasury staff	41-0-0
32	Manials and peon	7-0-0

Assistant Collector's Establishment:

In the revenue establishment, the subordinate officer next to the Collector was Assistant Collector. For administrative purpose, the land under the Collector's charge was divided into two sub-divisions; namely, Sirsi and Karwar, and each sub-division had four

taluks. The Sirsi sub-division consisted of four taluks and a *peta*. The administration of Sirsi and Siddapur taluks located above the ghat, and the taluks of Kumta and Honnavar with *peta* Bhatkal situated below the ghats was assisted by a first grade Assistant Collector. The Karwar sub-division consisted of four taluks with two *petas*. It consisted of Karwar, Ankola, Yellapur and Haliyal taluks with its Mundgod *peta* and Supa *peta* under a second grade Assistant Collector.⁷³ The chief work of these Assistant Collectors was to administer the different administrative bodies, local funds, municipal committees, within the limits of their respective revenue jurisdiction. They performed revenue works as well as magisterial works of their respective subdivision.⁷⁴

Table 3:2

The Establishment of Assistant Collector, North Kanara, in the year 1862⁷⁵

Assistant Collector's Establishment		
No. of staff	Designation	Salary (per month)
1	I st Assistant Collector II nd Assistant Collector	457-0-0
1	Revenue Munce	35-0-0
1	Magistrate	21-0-0
1	English writer	35-0-0
1	Record keeper	21-0-0
1	<i>Gumasta</i>	16-0-0
1	„	21-0-0
1	<i>Dufterbund</i>	6-0-0
2	Hands from the taluka	10-0-0
1	<i>Dufterbund</i>	10-0-0
3	<i>Deloyets</i> @ 6 Rs. each	18-0-0
6	Peon @ 5 Rs. each	30-0-0
1	<i>Mussalehee</i>	5-0-0
4	<i>Deloyets</i> from Collectors establishment @ 7 Rs. each	28-0-0

Huzoor Deputy Collector and Sub-Magistrate:

The Huzoor Deputy Collector and the Sub-Magistrate of the district resided at the district headquarters. He assisted the Collector in the work of revenue settlement. The Deputy Collector was entrusted with the supervision of the treasury.⁷⁶ He also performed the magisterial work at Karwar.⁷⁷ To assist him in the treasury department, the Treasury accountant, *Sharoff* and *Golla* were appointed. To help him in the Printing department, the head compositor, compositor, pressman and bellman were appointed. There were also office servants in each department like *Munce*, *Deffedar*, Peon, lamp-lighter and sweeper.

Table 3:3

Deputy Collector's Establishment in North Kanara in 1862⁷⁸

No. of posts	Posts	Salary (per month) Rs.
1	Superintendent and Deputy Collector, Sub-Magistrate	700-0-0
1	Clerk	40-0-0
1	<i>Karkoon</i>	40-0-0
1	„	15-0-0
1	Dufterbund	10-0-0
4	Peon @ 7 Rs. each	28-0-0

Mamlatdar:

Under the supervision of the Collector and his assistants, the revenue charge of each sub-division or taluk of the district was placed in the hands of an officer named *Mamlatdar*. In the Madras presidency the taluk was headed by *tahsildar*, but in the Bombay Presidency it was headed by *Mamlatdar* and the sub-division of the taluk was held by *Mahalkaries*.⁷⁹ The *Mamlatdar's* offices were set up in Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honnavar, Sirsi, Siddapur and Haliyal. He was given manifold works, however, the revenue duties were considered important. He was also given the power of Magistrate, and

he had the authority to file cases against people. He used to direct village accountants with regard to the collection of revenues, and he was responsible for the collection of revenue punctually. In cases of crop failures or natural calamities and losses to the ryots, he had to submit reports on the extent of remission and suspension of revenue for that financial year in his taluk to the Collector. He had to perform all the revenue duties prescribed in the Land Revenue Code.⁸⁰

Table 3:4

Mamlatdar's Establishment at Haliyal in the year 1862⁸¹

Number of posts	Designation	Salary (proposed in the year 1862) in Rupees per month
1	<i>Mamlatdar</i> (Sub-magistrate)	50-0-0
1	<i>Gumasta</i>	12-0-0
1	<i>Dufterbund</i>	7-0-0
2	Peon (at Rs. 5 each)	10-0-0
1	<i>Mussaljee</i>	5-0-0
Total		84-0-0

Mahalkari:

The three taluks of the district were huge in area, and therefore, for the convenience of administration, they were further sub-divided into *petas* or *mahals* and placed in the hands of *Mahalkaries*. The Honnavar taluk had a sub-division called Bhatkal *peta*; Haliyal taluk had a sub-division known as Supa *peta*; and Yellapur taluk had a sub-division named Mundgod *peta*. A *mahal* consisted of 30 to 80 villages. Generally no treasury was maintained in the *mahals*.⁸²

Table 3:5***Mahalkari's Establishment in North Kanara in 1862***⁸³

Number of posts	Designation	Salary (proposed in the year 1862)
1	<i>Mahalkari</i>	60-0-0
1	<i>Karkoon</i>	25-0-0
1	„	18-0-0
1	„	14-0-0
1	„	12-0-0
1	<i>Shroff</i>	10-0-0
1	<i>Dufterbund</i>	7-0-0
1	<i>Dufterbund</i>	8-0-0
8	Peon (at Rs.5 each)	40-0-0
1	<i>Mussaljee</i>	5-0-0
Total		199-0-0

Village Establishment:

After transfer of the Uttara Kannada district to the Bombay presidency, a new village establishment was formed as per the proposal of W. A. Goldfish, the Collector of Kanara, which was approved by W. Hart, Commissioner for Southern Division. The post of *Patel* or *Manikaran* and *Karnum* or *Shanbhogue* of Madras Presidency continued in the transferred part of Kanara too. But the post of *manegar* similar to that of *sheikdar* of Deccan was abolished.⁸⁴

Patel and Shanbhogue:

The *Patel* and *Shanbhogue* were principal officers of the village. The Bombay government ordered to appoint a *patel* in every village where survey and settlement were undertaken. The Bombay government wanted to have complete surveillance on the inhabitants. The *patels* were appointed to perform police duties in the villages irrespective of dwelling or cultivation.⁸⁵ There was no system of *watan* in the district, so there was no *watandar* with hereditary claim to this post. The *patels* were stipendiary appointed for a

period of five years. There were many quasi-magisterial functions appertaining to the police *patel*. In majority of villages both the police *patel* and the revenue *patel* used to be one and the same official.⁸⁶ The *patel* performed the revenue duties with the *shanbhogue*. The prime duty of both of these officers was to collect revenue dues from the landholders. The *patel* had to warn verbally from time to time of the dates on which landholder's instalments were due. Sometimes these officers tried to collect the dues with their personal influence. The landholders had to pay revenue to the government in the village *chavadi*, at the period fixed for payment of instalment. In the *chavadi*, the village accountant used to issue to the landholder a receipt in printed form for the amount duly paid by him. Under the Bombay Act-I of 1903, keeping records relating to payment of land revenue, audit of alienation of land records, boundary lines and crop failure in the village etc., were the main duties of these officers. The number of village officers was increased considerably in the district as the survey and settlement progressed. These officers were selected from local inhabitants. In the year 1890 there were 895 *patels* and 281 *shanbhogues*. In the year 1905 it was increased to 904 *patels* and 307 *shanbhogues*.⁸⁷

Circle Inspector:

In the year 1893 the post of Circle Inspector was created to have close supervision of the village accountants. 24 Circle inspectors were appointed; three inspectors for each taluks. There were 30 to 40 villages in charge of one circle inspector. Most of them were appointed by taluk establishments. They were instructed by the District Agricultural Inspector to conduct survey of an area of 1½ miles during the monsoon season. They had to clear the examination prescribed for circle inspectors. It was held Karwar under the supervision of the District Deputy Collector.⁸⁸

Survey Department:

For the purpose of assessing the land revenue, making the initial enquiry into rights, rents and land customs, a special staff was established known as the Settlement Officer was appointed. He was assisted by one or more assistant settlement officers and various subordinates like superintendent of settlements, inspectors, surveyors etc. The main duties of these officers were that of revising the settlement, preparing the record of rights, and revising the rate of revenue to be collected by the government.⁸⁹ Each land survey was conducted under the direction of a superintendent who in turn was assisted by several officers. In 1863-64, two commissioners were appointed for survey and settlement in the Bombay presidency. Colonel Anderson was appointed as the Survey Commissioner for Southern Division. The office for the survey commissioner was the channel for communication between the survey commissioner and the government, more particularly as regards the settlement proposal sent by the former.⁹⁰

The survey department consisted of the following officials.⁹¹

1. Survey Commissioner.
2. Superintendent of Revenue Survey.
3. Assistant Superintendent.
4. Measurers and Classers.

In the year 1876, an extra establishment of *karkoon*, *shanbhogue* and peon at the cost of Rupees 9,000 was created to assist the survey department in carrying out the survey operation. A temporary establishment was sanctioned to conduct revenue survey in the district under the G.R.No. 7247, 24th October 1887, for Honnavar, Siddapur, Sirsi and Supa.⁹²

Table 3:6

Salary proposed for temporary Survey Settlement Establishment in the year 1887-89⁹³

Existing					Proposed					
Taluk	Establishment	No. of posts	Period		Salary per month in Rupees	Establishment	No. of posts	Period		Salary per month in Rupees
Honnavar	Karkoon	1	1	-	20	Karkoon	1	1 year		20
	-- Do—	1	-	6	15	-- Do—	1	”		15
	----Do—	2	--	6	15	----Do—	1	”		15
	Shanbhogues	5	1	-	10	Shanbhogues	1	”		10
	Peons	5	-	6	6		8	”		
Siddapur	Karkoon	1	1		15	Karkoon	1	1		15
	Shanbhogues	2	1		10	Shanbhogues	2	1	6	10
	”	5	-	6	10	”	5	-	6	10
	Peons	6	-	6	6	Peons	6	-		6
Sirsi	Karkoon	1	1	6	15	Karkoon	1	1	-	15
	-- Do—	1	-	-	15	-- Do—	1	-	6	15
	Shanbhogues	5	1	-	10	Shanbhogues	5	1	-	10
	Peons	6	-	6	6	Peons	6	-	6	6
Supa <i>peta</i>	Shanbhogues	1	1		36	Shanbhogues	1	1		36
	Karkoon	1	1		20					
	”	1	1		15					

In the year 1900 the Survey Department was abolished, and functions of that department were entrusted to the Land Record and Agriculture Department. The Land Record Department and Agriculture Department consisted of following officers.⁹⁴

1. Director for Land records and Agriculture Department.
2. Superintendent of Land Records and Agriculture Department.
3. District Agricultural Inspector.
4. Circle Inspector.

Original Settlement (1863-1891):

In the Uttara Kannada district, no systematic land survey was conducted, until its transfer to Bombay Presidency. Therefore, the survey and settlement introduced in 1863 was named as original settlement. According to the Bombay Survey and Settlement, the land was first classified, measured and assessed. The chief obstacle in the rapid implementation of the revenue survey in the Uttara Kannada district was the nature of its climate and topography. The survey could be carried out combining both the above and below ghat regions for 4 to 5 months in a year. Due to the climatic condition of this region, the original survey and settlement was carried out in a piecemeal manner.⁹⁵ Settlement of a group of villages of one taluk was carried out with the group of villages of another taluk at the same time. Thus the entire work extended over a considerable number of years. During the original settlement, the Uttara Kannada district comprised of eight sub-divisions, namely Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honnavar, Supa, Yellapur, Sirsi and Siddapur. Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur were placed in the hands of *Mamlatdar* and three divisions of *peta* or *mahal* namely Bhatkal, Mundgod and Supa were under the charge of *Mahalkaris*. The original settlement of the district was conducted between 1863 and 1890. In the initial stage, between 1864 and 1867, the revised rates of land revenue assessment, based on the land survey, were introduced in 199 villages and hamlets situated above the Sahyadri range. In the year 1868, the new rates of assessment were applied to 71 villages of Mundgod taluk, 2 villages of Yellapur, and 21 villages of Haliyal taluk. The inhabitants adapted to the new settlement without any opposition or petitioning, like the people of their adjacent villages of the Belgaum and Dharwad Collectorate.⁹⁶

Karwar Settlement (1870-1872):

For the first time, to calculate the assessment, a scientific crop experiment method was adopted by the British in the district. In the initial stage, in Karwar taluk crop experiment was carried out in the year 1864,⁹⁷ to find out the actual produce from the different qualities of rice land. The 18 villages around Karwar were selected for crop experiment. The crop of two *goontas* of the kinds of 'best' 'middling' and 'worst' land was reaped, and the grain carefully collected and valued at the rate of produce per acre.⁹⁸ The revenue rates were fixed based on the findings of this crop experiment. However, it did not help the ryots in any way, and they found the assessment too heavy to be paid.⁹⁹

The Karwar taluk is situated on the coastal belt of Uttara Kannada district. It was the headquarters of the district during the British rule as well. The 61 villages of Karwar taluk were settled in different batches in between 1870 and 1872. It was the first taluk of the coastal region which was surveyed under the New Settlement or Bombay Settlement. The taluk was settled by the then Revenue and Survey Settlement Officer for Southern Division, Colonel W. H. Anderson, and Elphinstone, the Acting Collector of Kanara.¹⁰⁰ It contained rice land, garden land with small patches of coconut groves, here and there with *supari* (arecanut), and dry crop lands. There was also a special kind of land called *Pulun*, meaning land with sandy soil near the sea or river. It was suitable for cashew nut, coconut and *oondie* tree (*Calophyllum inophyllum*). The *oondie* tree was grown extensively, and oil was extracted from its nuts.¹⁰¹ A separate group was made for this kind of lands. Karwar taluk was divided into four categories or classes on the basis of transportation facilities and value of the land. In the first batch 18 villages were settled, and revised rates were implemented under the Government Resolution No.1567, dated 29th March 1870.

W.C. Anderson divided the 18 villages and hamlets into 3 groups, first group with 7 villages including Karwar port and villages immediately adjoining the port. The second group with seven villages a little further from the port and the third group of 4 villages situated in the interior part of the taluk with very poor transport facilities. The new rates of assessment proposed by W.C. Anderson in the 18 villages of Karwar taluk were approved under the Bombay Act I of 1865.¹⁰² There was opposition from the landowners of these 18 villages to pay the land revenue according to the new rates. This is discussed later in this thesis under Chapters - IV and VII.

Table 3:7

Statement of Land Revenue collected from the Seven Villages in the South of Kali river of Karwar taluk for the year 1870-71¹⁰³

NO.	Villages	Old Assessment	New Survey assessment	December and February Instalments	Collected for the two Instalments	Balance to be recovered	No. of ryots	Ryots who have paid Assessment					No. of ryots refusing payment
								regularly paid according to the instalment	Irregularly paid more or less	amount reduced in the present revision	Increased in the revision	Total	
		Rs. a.p.	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	284	Rs. a.p.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Baad	3,038-12-3	7,016- 4- 0	3,50-82-0	1,152- 14-3	2,355-3-9	10	--	183	4	2	6	95
2	Koney	124 -14 -1	228 -13- 0	11-6- 6	72 0- 0-0	42 -6-6	--	--	--	--	--	-	3
3	Baithkol	----- -	314 - 0- 0	-----	-----	314-0-0	97	--	--	--	--	--	-
4	Kodibag	322- 1- 2	1,088- 8- 0	544- 4- 0	165-3- 6	379 -6-0	17	--	55	2	2	4	38
5	Nandangadda	630 -1- 4	1,470 -2- 0	735-1- 0	177-8- 3	557-8- 9	137	--	55	2	7	4	78
6	Katinkone	609 -14 -0	876- 12- 0	438-6- 0	183- 4- 4	255-1-8	125	--	64	2	6	9	52
7	Sunkeri	139 -7 -2	292 -0- 0	146-0-0	75- 7- 8	70 -8- 4	42	1	20	--	6	6	15

Table 3:8
New Rates of Assessment for Karwar taluk¹⁰⁴

Class	Rice Land, per acre		Garden land, per acre		Pulan Land, per acre		Dry-Crop Land, per acre	
	Maximum Rate	Average Rate	Maximum Rate	Average Rate	Maximum Rate	Average Rate	Maximum Rate	Average Rate
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
I	6-8-0	4-1-9	9-0-0	7-14-11	1-15-0	1-7-7		0-4-5
II	6-0-0	3-12-3	9-0-0	7-13-2	1-13-0	1-6-3	{0-12-0}	0-4-9
III	5-0-0	3- 3-3	9-0-0	7- 5-3	1-8-0	1-2-4		0-5-11

W.C. Anderson proposed the new rates for 28 more villages in the year 1871. The villages were divided into five categories. The 15 villages were situated near to the 18 villages which were settled in the year 1870. Remaining 13 villages were situated in the remote areas. The transport system to reach these villages was worse and it was difficult to reach these villages either by road or through navigation. These villages were placed in fourth and fifth groups.

The remaining 15 villages were settled in the year 1872. These 15 villages were divided into four groups and assessment was fixed.¹⁰⁵

The Karwar taluk accounted for a large increase of revenue in every village. From the whole taluk the increase in revenue amounted to 115.5% .¹⁰⁶

Table 3:9
Increase of land revenue in Karwar taluk after the introduction of new survey¹⁰⁷

Year	Villages	Old rates in Rupees	New Rates in Rupees	Increases in Rupees	Percentage of Increase
1870	18	19,354	40,512	21, 158	109.3
1871	28	15,727	39,372	23,645	150.3
1872	15	14,585	27,158	12,573	86.2
Total	61	49,666	1,07,042	57,316	115.5

The next crop experiment was carried out in the year 1872 in the whole Uttara Kannada region, and the result of this crop experiment was considered while fixing the land revenue in the remaining taluks.¹⁰⁸

Table 3:10
Crop experiment conducted in the year 1872¹⁰⁹

No.	District	Taluk	Crop	No. of Experiments	Percentage of the gross produce to the assessment (per acre)		
					Maximum	Minimum	Average
1	Kanara above Ghat	Yellapur Mundgod <i>peta</i> and Supa	Rice	9	12.69	1.77	4.93
2	Do	Do	Dry-crop ragi principally	7	4.87	0.91	2.07
3	Do	Supa	Hot weather rice	4	7.54	3.64	5.70
4	Kanara below Ghat	Karwar and Kumta	Rice	6	13.30	6.58	9.89
5	Do	Do	Salt rice	1	15.62	---	---
6	Do	Do	Hot weather rice	2	18.17	15.10	16.63
7	Above Ghat	Yellapur	Hot weather rice	3	9.78	8.1	8.89

Kumta Settlement (1873-1881):

The survey and settlement of Kumta and Ankola taluks were carried out in batches from 1873 to 1881.¹¹⁰ These taluks were bounded on the north by Karwar and Yellapur taluks, on the east by Sirsi, on the south by Honnavar and Siddapur and on the west by sea. Kumta was the great cotton mart and great port town of import and export for the whole of the Southern Maratha Country. The famous pilgrim centre Gokarna is situated in the Kumta taluk. As regards cultivation, rice was the staple crop in Kumta and Ankola as everywhere on the coast. In some parts of these taluks, second crop rice was obtained. A second crop of pulses and vegetables was grown. In the dry-crop land *nachani* was grown. In the garden land coconut was the principal crop. *Supari* was also grown to a considerable extent either alone or intermixed with coconut. Mango, jackfruit and cashew nut were

grown. The *oondi* tree from which oil was extracted was extensively grown in the taluk.¹¹¹ On the basis of facilities for export of produce, means of transport and the density of population, the villages were divided into six groups of categories. The crop experiment was conducted in Kumta on rice land, salt land and hot weather rice land and assessment was fixed on the basis of experiments.¹¹² The maximum assessment rate of Rupees six was fixed in the highest group of rice land and Rupees 3 in the last group. Rupees 10 was the maximum rate adopted in the garden land for first group, and Rupees 5-8-0 was proposed for the lowest class of garden land. In dry-crop land a uniform rate of 12 *annas* for all the six groups was taken for calculating the assessment. A separate division was made for *pulan* lands as in Karwar taluk, and the maximum rate in the first group under this head was Rupee 1 and in lower group it was 15 *annas*.¹¹³

Table 3:11

The General Result of the New Survey and Settlement in Kumta and Ankola taluks¹¹⁴

Year	Villages	Old assessment in Rupees	New assessment in Rupees	Increase in Rupees	Percentage of Increase
1873	49	48,339	54,220	5,881	12
1874	20	12,474	23,013	10,539	84.4
1877	41	32,997	44,796	11,799	35.7
1878	22	13,689	20,461	6,772	49.4
1880	68	29,218	39,458	10,240	35
1880	8	6,212	10,529	4,317	69.4
1881	6	2,990	5,262	2,272	75
Total	214	1,45,921	1,97,739	51,818	35.5

Honnavar Settlement (1885-1887):

The Honnavar sub-division was bounded on the north by Kumta, on the east by Siddapur sub-division and Mysore, on the west by Arabian Sea, and on the South by

Kundapur taluk. The assessment of the taluk was revised in three batches of 40, 28 and 55 villages respectively, from 1885 to 1887.¹¹⁵ They were grouped and categorised into two classes, with maximum assessment rates for rice from Rupees 6-8-0 to Rupees 4; in dry-crop land from 12 *annas* to 8 *annas*; in garden land from Rupees 12 to Rupees 7 and in *pulan* land from Rupee 1 to 15 *annas*.

Table 3:12
General Result of the Assessment on the land in Occupation.¹¹⁶

Year	Villages	Old rates in Rupees	New assessment in Rupees	Increase in Rupees	Percentage of Increase
1885	40	40,561	56,699	16,138,	39.78
1886	28	21,338	36,089	14,751,	69.13
1887	55	20,915	25,700	4,785,	22.87
Total	123	82,814	1,18,488	35,674	43

Sirsi Settlement (1869-1888):

The Sirsi taluk was bounded on north by Yellapur taluk and Mundgod *peta* of Kanara district, on the east by the Hangal taluk of Dharwad Collectorate and Sorab taluk of the Mysore territory, on the south by Siddapur taluk and south west by Kumta and Ankola taluks of Kanara district.¹¹⁷ Rice, garden crops sugarcane and vegetables were grown in the sub-division. The dry-crop lands of the taluk were of inferior qualities of *ragi* and castor oil seeds. Cultivating lands were divided into five groups, with maximum assessment rate for rice ranging from Rupees 5 to Rupees 3, and for dry-crop from Rupee1 to 10 *annas*. For garden lands uniform rate of Rupees 14 was adopted for the whole taluk.¹¹⁸

Table 3:13
General Result of Survey and Settlement in Sirsi taluk ¹¹⁹

Year	Villages	Old assessment in Rupees	New assessment	Increase in Rupees	Percentage of Increase
1870	64	23,003	33,187	10184	44.27
1872	39	7,523	15,457	7934	105.46
1878	29	2,264	5,222	2958	130.65
1880	16	5,434	8,175	2741	50.44
1881	56	36,805	43,894	7089	19.26
1883	13	1,603	3,026	1422	88.7
1884	21	9,070	13,839	4769	52.57
1886	28	9,833	14,652	4819	49
1887	46	16,483	24,465	7982	48.42
Total	312	112018	161917	49898	44.5 %

Siddapur Settlement :

The original settlement of Siddapur taluk took place from 1888 to 1891. All these villages were categorised into four groups. The maximum rate of assessment for rice land in the first group was Rupees 4-8-0 and for the rice land of lowest group it was Rupees 3-8-0 in lowest group. The assessment rate of 14 *annas* was the maximum rate fixed for the first group of dry-crop land, and 10 *annas* for the lowest group of dry-crop land. For the garden lands an assessment rate of Rupees 14 was fixed in first class garden tracts.¹²⁰

Table 3:14
General Result of Survey and Settlement in Siddapur taluk ¹²¹

Year	Villages	Old rates in Rupees	New assessment in Rupees	Increase in Rupees	Percentage of Increase
1888-89	21	11,075	14802	3637	32.6
1889-90	67	26,051	34,513	8462	32.5
1890-91	81	34,381	48,269	13888	42.4
Total	169	71,597	97,584	25987	36.2

Settlement of Supa Sub-division:

The settlement of sub-division of Supa was carried out in different batches from 1865 to 1886. In the year 1884, 24 villages of Supa taluk were surveyed and villages were divided into two groups.¹²²

Table 3:15
Rates Considered for 24 Villages under Supa *peta*¹²³

Class	No. of villages	Old assessment in Rupees	Survey assessment in Rupees	Increase in Rupees	Percentage of Increase
I	17	4,655	7,917	3,262	70
II	7	1,511	3,043	1,532	101
Total	24	6,166	10,960	4,794	77.74

The maximum assessment rate considered for the first group of rice land was Rupees 4-8-0, and for the lowest group it was Rupees 4-0-0. For garden lands, the same was fixed at Rupees 11. The maximum rate proposed for dry-crop lands was three *annas*.¹²⁴

Yellapur Settlement:

The Yellapur taluk was settled with Mundgod *peta*. The settlement covered 80 villages in Yellapur taluk and 93 villages in Mundgod *peta*. The settlement of these regions was done in between 1871-1881.¹²⁵

Table 3:16
Rates of Assessment Fixed for Yellapur Taluk¹²⁶

Group	Rice Land rate, per acre	Dry-crop Land rate, per acre	Garden land , per acre	No. of Villages
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
I	5 - 0- 0	1-0-0	12 -0-0	4
II	5- 0-0	0-14-0	12-0-0 (arecanut garden) 14-00 (arecanut garden with mixed spices)	10
III	4- 8-0	0-10-0	-----	1
IV	4-8-0	0-12-0	12-0-0 (arecanut garden) 14-0-0 (arecanut garden with mixed spices)	9
V			12-0-0 (arecanut garden) 14-0-0 (arecanut garden with mixed spices)	27
VI	4-0-0	0-8-0	12-0-0 (arecanut garden) 14-0-0 (arecanut garden with mixed spices)	23
VII	3-8-0	0-8-0	14-0-0	6

Mundgod Settlement:

The Villages in this taluk were grouped into four categories and rate of assessment was fixed.

Table 3:17
Rates of Assessment fixed in Mundgod *peta*:¹²⁷

Group	Rice Land rate in Rs. a. p. (per acre)	Dry-crop Land rate in Rs. a. p. (per acre)	Garden in Rs. a.p. (per acre)	No. of Villages
I	5 -0-0	1-0-0	10 -0-0	18
II	5- 0-0	0-14-0	10-0-0	19
III	4- 8-0	0-14-0	10-0-0	41
IV	4-0-0	0-14-0	10-0-0	15

From the above details, it is clear that the original land revenue settlement was carried out for a long time in the district from 1863 to 1891. After the original settlement, the land revenue collected by the colonial government increased considerably. All the lands under cultivation were brought under government records, and the land revenue was fixed according to new rates. Each village was carefully surveyed and assessed. The agricultural stocks, methods used for cultivation, number of crops grown on the agricultural fields, natural and artificial facilities for cultivation etc., were considered for fixing the land revenue.¹²⁸

Table 3:18
Increase in Land Revenue of Uttara Kannada under the New Settlement¹²⁹

Original Settlement	Revenue Collected before the Settlement in Rupees	Revenue collected under the settlement in Rupees	Increase in Rupees	Percentage of increase
Uttara Kannada	6,53,976	9,78,413	3,24,437	49.6 %

Revision of Settlement (1890-1895):

The term of settlement in the ryotwari areas was for about 30 years and periodically the land was resettled or reassessed. This kind of resettlement done in the Bombay Ryotwari system was called as the Revision Settlement.¹³⁰ Due to the considerable delay in the original settlement, the same was not completed before many revision settlements were due. In Uttara Kannada where the first settlement took a very long period to be completed, during the revision of survey the revised rates were not introduced in all the taluks. In some villages the original settlement was continued, and in some other villages the resettlement was introduced. The process of resettlement was begun in the year 1889 in the district. This revision of settlement was carried out by the Land Records and Agricultural Department and Collector of the district, instead of the Survey Department, as the Survey Department was abolished in the year 1890.

The chief factors taken into consideration while revising the assessment were as follows:

- i. Higher prices for crops grown.
- ii. Increased and better communication.
- iii. Value of land.
- iv. Methods of cultivation and
- v. Improvements in agricultural implements and increase in agricultural stocks.

Revision of Settlement of Haliyal taluk and Supa *peta*:

The survey and settlement of Haliyal and Supa division was due in the year 1893-94. J. L. Lushington, Superintendent of Land Records and Agriculture for Southern Division was appointed to assess Haliyal taluk and Supa *peta*. J. L. Lushington with the help of Collector, J. Davidson proposed the new rates of assessment and the government approved that assessment. The last settlements in the taluk proper were conducted between 1863-64 and 1882-83 and in Supa *peta* between 1871-72 and 1886-87.¹³¹ Originally the Haliyal taluk was comprised of 277 villages. Of these, 139 villages came under Haliyal taluk and 138 villages in Supa *peta*, but during the time of settlement, three villages each from the Haliyal taluk and the Supa *peta* were transferred to other taluks.¹³² In the Haliyal taluk and 52 villages of the Supa *peta* the rate of assessment was increased by considering Southern Maratha Railway which connected the Haliyal and Supa region with Mormugao port in Goa, from the year 1888. But in reality the Alnawar railway station was not convenient for the inhabitants of the Haliyal and Supa region and they never used the railway transport for transferring their goods. J. L. Lushington proposed the new rates but he had not suggested any change in the groups which were made during the first survey and settlement. He proposed the government to continue with the proposed rate for a

period of 12 years.¹³³ However, the government re-grouped some villages and the new increased rates were approved by it. The groups of taluk proper were re-numbered as group I to VI and those of Supa *peta* as VII, VIII and IX and the settlement was guaranteed for a period of 30 years.¹³⁴

Table 3:19
Increased rates for Haliyal and Supa is as follows¹³⁵

	Rice land rate per acre in Rs. a. p.	Dry-Crop land per acre Rs. a. p
Haliyal Group I	6-8-0	0-12-0
II	6-0-0	1-0-0
III	5-8-0	0-14-0
IV	5-4-0	0-14-0
V	5-0-0	0-14-0
VI	4-8-0	0-14-0
Supa <i>Peta</i> VII	4-8-0	0-10-0
VIII	4-0-0	0-8-0
IX	3-8-0	0-8-0

Revision of Settlement including Yellapur taluk and Mundgod *Mahal*:

The tenure of original settlement of Yellapur taluk and Mundgod *mahal* expired in the year 1894. During the time of the original settlement, there were 80 villages in Yellapur taluk and 93 villages in Mundgod *peta*. Under the G. R. No. 8193 of 1893, 50 villages and 18 villages of Sirsi taluk were transferred to the Yellapur taluk and Mundgod *peta* respectively.¹³⁶ But the 50 newly added villages of Yellapur taluk and 18 new villages were settled with Sirsi taluk. Due to the difference in the geographical and topographical features both taluks were separately assessed.

The Yellapur taluk had vast forest area with small tracts for cultivation here and there. The chief factors considered while re-settling the rate of land revenue assessment and its increase in both the taluks included the following:

- i. Higher prices for the crops grown.
- ii. Increased and better communication and
- iii. Value of land.

Though the Southern Maratha Railway network was in place, it was not sufficiently close to provide any benefit to Yellapur and Mundgod regions. Alnavar railway station which was in the north of the Yellapur taluk was located at a distance of 32 miles, and the Hubli railway station located in the north-east was at distance of 40 miles. In fact the railway system had harmed the taluk, as formerly commodities including cotton were carried to the coast through the Arabail Ghats from the Dharwad district by bullock carts and the villagers could sell the surplus fodder to cart men, and earn some extra income. But when the Southern Maratha Railway was opened, this business was stopped and the villagers lost the extra source of income for their livelihood.¹³⁷

The Mundgod *peta* was much different from the Yellapur taluk, and was separately assessed during the revision of survey and settlement. In Mundgod, the garden cultivation was very rare and whatever existed was of inferior quality. The forest was not so dense and did not contain any valuable timber. The *peta* was an admixture of forest and patches of cultivation and the climate was unhealthy. The average rainfall, increase in agricultural stocks, implements, improved communication, irrigation facilities, prices of food grains etc, were taken into consideration while fixing the rates of assessment.¹³⁸

But in these two regions there were no real improvements in the area of communications because of the opening of Southern Maratha Railway. In fact, it harmed the large amount of traffic that existed in this belt. The market prices of garden products and rice did not increase, and the ryots or landlords did not get any benefit. Actually the agricultural area decreased since the original settlement in different groups of villages and the same varied from 1 to 15%, due to the strict forest polices of the government and its impact on the ryots. J. L. Lushington, Superintendent of Land Records and Agriculture, Southern Division had proposed to continue the old rates of assessment in these two taluks and it was approved by the government. The government decided to continue with the old rates for another 30 years, that is till 1925-26.¹³⁹ It is pertinent to note that many petitions were sent by the ryots to the government to reduce the rate of assessment in the region. They complained that during the time of original settlement, high rates were imposed in this region by saying that the railway would connect these areas.¹⁴⁰ However, neither did J. L. Lushington recommend reduction in the assessment, nor did the government consider these petitions.

Revision of Settlement in the Siddapur taluk:

The original settlement of Siddapur taluk was completed in 1891, and only 33 villages which were transferred from Sirsi taluk in the year 1893 was due in 1899-1900. J. L. Lushington, conducted settlement of these villages in 1900 and new rates were sanctioned by the Government. The following table gives number of villages in each group and the maximum rates.¹⁴¹

Table 3:20
The Maximum Assessment Rate in each group¹⁴²

Group	No. of villages	Maximum Rate		
		Dry- crop in Rupees per acre	Rice in Rupees per acre	Garden crop in Rupees per acre
II	3	1-0-0	4-12-0	14-0-0
III	19	0-14-0	4-8-0	14-0-0
IV	11	0-12-0	4-0-0	14-0-0
Total	33			

Revision of Settlement in Sirsi taluk (1900):

There were 361 villages in Sirsi taluk during the original settlement. Of these 33 villages were transferred to Siddapur, 50 villages to Yellapur taluk and 18 to Mundgod *peta*, under G.R.No. 8193, dated 8th November 1893. The Revenue department reduced the total number of villages to 260 in Sirsi taluk.¹⁴³ The revenue settlement of all the villages expired in the year 1899-1900. J. L. Lushington was the settlement officer. Improvements in communication systems, rainfall, cultivation and crop, labour facility, market facility, agricultural facilities, increase in population etc., were taken into consideration and the new rates were introduced.¹⁴⁴

Table 3:21
New Maximum and Average Rates fixed for Sirsi Taluk during the Revision of Settlement in 1900¹⁴⁵

Group	No. of Villages	Rice		Dry-crop		Garden	
		Maximum rates per acre	Average rates per acre	Maximum rates per acre	Average rates per acre	Maximum rates per acre	Average rates per acre
		Rs. a. p.					
I	70	5-0-0	2-7-4	1-0-0	0-7-11	12&14	12-0-8
II	21	4-12-0	3-4-0	1-0-0	0-9-2	14	13-2-6
III	116	4-8-0	2-6-10	0-14-0	0-6-8	12&14	13-0-3
IV	137	4-0-0	2-4-8	0-12-0	0-5-4	14	13-0-8
V	17	3-8-0	2-6-2	0-10-0	0-5-2	13&14	13-0-4
VI	5	0-3-0	-----	0-12-0		10&12	----

After the revised settlement the land revenue collected amounted to Rupees 1,86,077 whereas it was only Rupees 1,29,601 earlier, and therefore there existed an increase of Rupees 56,476 or 43.5%. The proposed revised rates were implemented and continued till 1913-14.¹⁴⁶ The revision of settlement of Sirsi taluk was undertaken from 1914 to 1916.¹⁴⁷ Under this settlement only five villages of sixth group were re-assessed. In the above table the rates of group six, exhibits the rates of assessment fixed at the time of revision of settlement of 1914-15.

The above details indicate that the revision of settlement was done in the above ghat taluks of Uttara Kannada during the period 1890-1900. In spite of the difficulties expressed by the ryots with regard to the payment of land revenue through their petitions to the government, the colonial authorities either enhanced the rate of land revenue assessment or continued with the original rates of assessment fixed by them. The condition of the ryots deteriorated due to the maximisation of land revenue collected by the government.

First Revision of Settlement (1909-1917):

The first revision of settlement was carried out during the period from 1909 to 1917. The chief elements which the settlement officer was supposed to take into consideration were laid down in the instructions issued to the settlement officers in a Government Resolution of 22nd October, 1910. They included the profit from cultivation, the state of communications, facility to export goods, vicinity of jungle, the distance of holdings from the market, the trends of prices and wages, the general economic condition and history of the tract, the value of the land as determined by sales and leases, the rents etc.¹⁴⁸

First Revision of Settlement in Karwar taluk (1908):

In the Karwar taluk, the assessment rates were revised and the revenue was enhanced. The following table provides details about both the proposed and old rates during the time of first revision of settlement.¹⁴⁹ As per the government resolution No. 1197 dated 10th February 1910, the following rates were sanctioned for Karwar.¹⁵⁰

Table 3:22
The New and Old Rates per acre in Karwar Taluk¹⁵¹

Proposed grouping No. of Villages in each group		Old grouping and No. of Villages in each group		Maximum rates for per acre			
				Old Rate in Rupees		Proposed Rate in Rupees	
Group	Villages	Group	Villages	Rice	Pulan	Rice	Pulan
I	21	I	13	6-0-0	1-15-0	7-0-0	0-15-0
		II	5	6-0-0	1-13-0		
		III	21	5-0-0	1- 8-0		
II	10	II	5	6-0-0	0-13-0	6-8-0	1-13-0
III	9	II	5	6-0-0	1-13-0	6-0-0	1-13-0
		III	4	5-0-0	1-13-0		
IV	5	III	3	5-0-0	1-13-0	5-0-0	1- 8-0
		IV	2	4-4-0	1-13-0		
V	9	II	1	6-0-0	1-13-0	4-4-0	1- 8-0
		III	1	5-0-0	1- 8-0		
		IV	5	4-4-0	1- 8-0		
		V	2	3-8-0	1- 8-0		
VI	7	IV	2	4-4-0	1- 8-0	3-8-0	1- 8-0
		V	5	3-8-0	1- 8-0		

With the revised rates, the revenue was increased in Karwar taluk from Rupees 1,06,546 to 1, 14,912. The revenue increased amounted to Rupees 8,366 or 7.8%.¹⁵²

First Revision of Settlement in Ankola taluk (1910):

As per the G.R. No. 1550, dated 19th February 1910, the new rates of assessment proposed by Yennemadi, District Deputy Collector of Kanara were approved by the government. The taluk was divided into two divisions. One was the coastal strip, and the other one was the inland tract with forests and hills. In the coastal strip, the population was high when compared to the inland tract, and the climate was healthy. But the cultivators were unaware of the modern methods of cultivation. In the inland tract, the population was sparse and the climatic condition was prone to malaria and other diseases. Most of the villages were adjoined to the forest tracts, and therefore were open to the depredations of wild animals.

The re-arrangement of grouping of villages increased the revenue in some places and decreased in others. The proposal of assessment was based upon the result of the examination of the transactions relating particularly to leases recorded in the record of rights, climate and the situation of the various villages.¹⁵³

Table 3.23
The New and Old Rates per acre in Ankola Taluk¹⁵⁴

Proposed grouping No. of Villages in each group		Old grouping and No. of Villages in each group		Maximum rates per acre										
				Old Rate in Rupees					Proposed Rate in Rupees					
Group	Villages	Group	Villages	Dry--crop	Rice	Pulan	Garden		Dry--crop	Rice	Pulan	Gazni	Garden	
							No. of Villages	rate					No. of Villages	r ate
I	31	I	9	0-12-0	6-8-0	0-12-0	24	10	0-12-0	6-8-0	0-15-0	6-0-0	14	10
		II	22				7	12					17	11
II	15	II	13	0-12-0	6-0-0	0-12-0	7	10	0-12-0	6-0-0	1-13-0	6-0-0	5	1
		III	2				8	12						
III	9	II	2	0-12-0	5-8-0	0-12-0	4	10	0-10-0	5-8-0	1-8-0	5-0-0		10
		III	6				5	12						
		IV	1											
IV	5	IV	5	0-12-0	5-0-0	0-12-0	2	10	0-10-0	5-0-0	1-8-0	-		10
							3	12						
V	7	V	6	0-12-0	4-4-0	0-12-0	4	10	0-10-0	4-0-0	-	-		10
		VI	1				3	12						11
VI	19	IV	1	0-12-0	3-8-0	0-12-0	4	10	0-10-0	3-8-0	1-8-0	-		10
		V	5				15	12						12
		VI	13											
VII	6	IV	1	0-12-0	3-0-0	0-12-0	3	10	0-10-0	3-0-0	-	-		10
		V	1				3	12						
		VI	2											
		VII	2											

The total revenue of the taluk was increased from Rs. 86,459 to Rs. 87, 907.

i.e. to Rs. 1,448 or 1.6%.¹⁵⁵

First Revision of Settlement of Kumta and Honnavar taluks (1910-1913):

In the Kumta and Honnavar taluks the revision of settlement was proposed by R. M. Maxwell during the period from 1910 to 1913.¹⁵⁶ When the new rates were proposed, the taluks were divided into eight groups and the rate of rice lands was almost the same as the rice lands in Ankola taluk. The maximum rate proposed for dry-crop land was 12 *annas*. The garden lands were divided into two, namely, supari garden and coconut garden. For the first four groups of supari garden Rupees 12 was fixed, and Rupees 10 was fixed for coconut garden. For the rest three groups of supari and coconut gardens Rs. 10 and Rs. 8 were fixed respectively.¹⁵⁷ The percentages of increase in the first three groups were as follows:

	I	II	III
Ankola	19.1	13.6	6.1
Kumta	13.4	4.8	2.4
Honnavar	14.4	8.6	2.2
Bhatkal	20.7	14.0	1.8

The total enhancement of revenue due to the revision of settlement in Kumta amounted to 6.3% and in Honnavar including Bhatkal *peta* it was 8.3%.¹⁵⁸

Thus during the time of first revision of settlement, the revenue was increased both by enhancing assessment rates of land revenue and also by shifting the lands of lower groups to upper groups.

G. F. S. Collins' Report (1926):

In 1926 G. F. S. Collins was appointed to give the resettlement proposal for the above ghat region. However, his proposals were kept in abeyance, because the government did not want to take up any revision of settlement before the amendment of Land Revenue Code. In 1931 owing to the general depression and fall in prices of the garden produce, the government under the Resolution (Revenue Department), No. 9230/24 of 28th September 1931 ordered that in the villages in which Collins' proposals would have resulted in reduction of the garden rates, his proposal should be given effect to and the reduction be given in the form of annual rebates of assessment. He divided Sirsi and Siddapur taluks similarly into rice and garden tracts, according to the pre-dominant nature of the cultivation. He formed four groups in the Sirsi taluk with nominal maximum rice rates of Rupees 6, 5, 4 and 3 in dry-crop and garden lands, and he proposed maximum garden rates of Rupees 14, 12, 10 and in last group he proposed Rupees 8. The revised settlement rates were proposed to Yellapur taluk and Mundgod *mahal* also. In these areas, he proposed the maximum rate of Rupees 12 and Rupees 10 per acre. Both Yellapur and Mundgod were divided into three groups with maximum rates of Rupees 5, 4 and 3 in rice lands.¹⁵⁹

Table 3:24

Rebate allowed from 1931 to 1934 in three taluks¹⁶⁰

Year	Sirsi in Rupees	Yellapur in Rupees	Mundgod in Rupees
1931-32	4,735	5,213	36
1932-33	4,548	5,199	31
1933-34	4,417	5,181	36

M. J. Desai Report (1934):

The condition of the gardeners did not change and the pathetic condition of the gardeners continued due to the fall in prices in 1929. Many petitions were sent by the gardeners to the government. In fact *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sammelana* held at Bilgi in 1917¹⁶¹ highlighted the grievances of gardeners. The newspapers¹⁶² like *Kanadavritta* and *Bombay Chronicle* also highlighted the poor condition of the inhabitants and the same influenced the government to appoint a committee to study the miserable condition of the cultivators. The government through the Resolution No. 5387/28 dated 28th September 1934, appointed M. J. Desai to undertake a detailed enquiry into the condition of garden lands in the tracts under resettlement. After examining the economic condition of the garden lands, he gave his report on the garden lands in Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur taluks including the Mundgod Mahal.¹⁶³ He proposed some reductions in the assessment of the garden lands. His assessment was considered as rebate from the assessment because it was not the result of revision of the assessment rates. He recorded reasons for increase in fallow lands in the region located above the ghats.

M. J. Desai suggested for certain remission for the cultivators of these villages. He proposed to continue the then existing rates of rebate for Sirsi taluk as he found it was not necessary to give remission there. The condition of the cultivators was pitiable due to the land revenue policies and the peculiarity of land leases in the district. Therefore, Desai suggested some rebate in revenue assessment which was continued till 1942, when the revision rates were approved by the government.¹⁶⁴

Table 3:25**Remission in Assessment for Siddapur Taluk: Collins' Proposal Compared with Desai's Proposal:¹⁶⁵**

Collins Proposals in 1926	in Rupees	M. J. Desai Proposals in 1942	in Rupees
81 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 14	54,418	81 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 13	50,531
111 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 12	31,534	73 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 12	16,2332
12 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 10	1,782	38 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 11	14,027
		12 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 10	1,782
Total villages 204	87,734	Total villages 204	82,572

Table 3:26**Remission in Assessment for Yellapur Taluk: Collins' Proposal Compared with Desai's Proposal:¹⁶⁶**

Collins Proposals in 1926	in Rupees	M. J. Desai Proposals in 1942	in Rupees
88 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 12	19,609	88 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 11	17,435
51 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 10	7,158	51 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 9	6,990
Total villages 139	26,762	Total villages 139	24,425

Table 3:27**Remission in Assessment for Mundgod Mahal: Collins' Proposal Compared with Desai's Proposal:¹⁶⁷**

Collins Proposals in 1926	in Rupees	M. J. Desai Proposals in 1942	in Rupees
6 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 12	246	6 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 11	226
17 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 10	286	17 villages with Maximum rate of Rs. 9	257
Total villages 23	532	Total villages 23	483

It is observed that Desai proposed more remissions than Collins. Desai's proposal for remissions in assessment were approved by the government in the form of annual remission under the government resolution (R.D.), No. 5387/28, dated 27th May 1936 and continued in these villages till 1942.

Second Revision of Settlement 1942:

The second revision of settlement was implemented in some parts of the district in 1942.¹⁶⁸ As per the Government Resolution, (R.D.), No. 1016/39 dated 16th January 1940, K. P. Mathrani, Settlement Officer, Southern Division had ordered to submit the proposals for the second revision settlement for Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur taluks with Mundgod mahal. His proposal was based upon the extent of deterioration faced by the villagers during the period of the existing settlement. The grouping was based upon geographical contiguity between villages and it was supported by rental statistics.¹⁶⁹ Mathrani estimated and analysed the statistics like population, supply of labour and their wages, agricultural resources, principal crops cultivated and prices, expenses of agriculture, rental statistics on which the landholders leased lands etc., and re-grouped the lands.¹⁷⁰

Table 3:28
The Proposed Rates for Sirsi taluk in 1942¹⁷¹

Previous settlement				Proposed in 1942			
Group	No. of Villages	Standard rates per acre		Group	No. of Villages	Standard rates per acre	
		Dry-Crop	Rice			Dry-Crop	Rice
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Rice tract							
I	18	1-0-0	5-0-0	I	25	0-12-0	5-8-0
III	7	0-14-0	4-8-0				
Rice tract							
I	30	1-0-0	5-0-0	II			
III	16	0-14-0	4-8-0	Rice tract	47	0-8-0	4-8-0
IV	1	0-12-0	4-0-0				
Garden tract							
I	7	1-0-0	5-0-0				
II	18	1-0-0	4-12-0	Garden tract	68	0-8-0	4-8-0
III	32	0-14-0	4-8-0				
IV	11	0-10-0	4-0-0				
Rice tract							
I	16	1-0-0	5-0-0	III			
III	15	0-14-0	4-8-0	Rice tract	31	0-8-0	3-8-0
Garden tract							
I	1	1-0-0	5-0-0	Garden tract			
III	23	0-14-0	4-8-0		62	0-8-0	3-8-0
IV	38	0-12-0	4-0-0				
Garden tract							
III	3	0-14-0	4-8-0	IV			
IV	7	0-12-0	4-0-0	Garden	20	0-8-0	3-0-0
V	10	0-10-0	3-8-0	Tract			
Garden tract							
IV	1	0-12-0	4-0-0	III			
V	7	0-10-0	3-8-0	Garden tract	13	0-8-0	2-8-0
VI	5	0-12-0	3-0-0				
Total	266			Total	266		

The above table shows that when the re-grouping was done in this settlement, some of the lower group lands were shifted to the higher groups.

Table 3:29
Financial Effect of the Second Revision Settlement¹⁷²

Class	Existing in Rupees	Proposed	Increase or Decrease in Rupees	Percentage of Increase or decrease in Rupees
Dry-crop	9,234	5,800	-3,434	-37.2
Rice	62,257	59,659	-2,598	-4.2
Garden	73,535	66,129	-7,406	-10.1
Total	145,026	131,588	-13,438	-9.3

Table 3:30
The Proposed Rates for Siddapur taluk in 1942¹⁷³

Previous settlement				Proposed in 1942			
Group	No. of Villages	Standard rates per acre		Group	No. of Villages	Standard rates per acre	
		Dry-Crop	Rice			Dry-Crop	Rice
Rice tract I	16	Rs. a. p. 0-14-0	Rs. a. p. 4-8-0	I	21	Rs. a. p. 0-8-0	Rs. a. p. 5-0-0
III	5	0-12-0	4-0-0				
Rice tract II	24	0-12-0	4-0-0	II	24	0-8-0	4-0-0
Garden Tract II	25	0-12-0	4-0-0				
III Sirsi	4	0-14-0	4-8-0	Garden tract	30	0-8-0	4-0-0
IV Sirsi	1	0-12-0	4-0-0				
Garden tract II	69	0-12-0	5-0-0	III	110	0-8-0	3-0-0
II Sirsi	3	0-14-0	4-8-0				
III Sirsi	13	0-10-0	4-0-0	Garden tract	Garden Tract	0-8-0	3-0-0
IV Sirsi	15	0-14-0	4-8-0				
III Sirsi	10	0-12-0	4-0-0	IV	17	0-8-0	2-8-0
Garden Tract III	17	0-10-0	3-8-0				
Total	202			Total	202		

Table 3:31
Financial Effect of the Second Revision Settlement¹⁷⁴

Class	Existing rates in Rupees	Proposed rates in Rupees	Increase or Decrease rates in Rupees	Percentage of Increase or decrease in Rupees
Dry-crop	4,441	2,868	-1,573	-35.42
Rice	43, 177	41,120	-2,057	- 4.76
Garden	35,909	66,825	-19,084	-22.21
Total	1,33,527	1,10,81	-22,714	-17.01

Table 3:32
The Proposed Rates for Yellapur taluk in 1942¹⁷⁵

Group	No. of Villages	Standard rates per acre		Group	No. of Villages	Standard rates per acre	
		Dry-Crop	Rice			Dry-Crop	Rice
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
II	7	0-14-0	5-0-0	I	16	0-8-0	4-4-0
III	2	0-12-0	4-8-0				
IV	7	0-10-0	4-8-0				
I	4	1-0-0	5-0-0	II	81	0-8-0	3-10-0
II	3	0-14-0	5-0-0				
IV	5	0-12-0	4-8-0				
IV	33	0-12-0	4-0-0				
V	18	0-10-0	4-8-0				
VI	18	0-8-0	4-0-0				
II	1	0-14-0	5-0-0	III	38	0-8-0	3-0-0
III	1	1-0-0	4-8-0				
IV	3	0-12-0	4-8-0				
IV	18	0-12-0	4-0-0				
Sirsi	3	0-10-0	4-8-0				
V	6	0-8-0	4-0-0				
VI	6	0-8-0	3-8-0				
VII							
Total	135			Total	135		

Table 3:33
Financial effect of the Second Revision Settlement¹⁷⁶

Class	Existing rates in rupees	Proposed	Increase or Decrease	Percentage Increase or decrease
Dry-crop	1,581	1,134	- 447	-28.27
Rice	27, 631	23,247	-4,384	- 15.87
Garden	30,273	16,870	-13,403	-44.28
Total	59,485	41,251	-18,234	-30.65

Thus during this period of about a century, there were four cycles of settlements as given below:

- Original Settlement from 1863 to 1890.
- Revision of Settlement from 1891 to 1900.
- First Revision of Settlement 1910 to 1917 and
- Second Revision of Settlement 1942.

Revenue Settlement (*Jamabandi* Settlement):

The ryotwari land revenue system always required an annual inspection of lands to ascertain the extent of fields in actual cultivation. Under this system every field had its own assessment,¹⁷⁷ and ryots were given the right to relinquish, sell or mortgage their lands. As a result, the lands occupied by the ryots for which they were liable to pay the revenue were sold or transferred to somebody else. Therefore in the ryotwari system, the system of annual settlement was fixed. In the district which was under the Bombay Land Revenue Code (1879), under Section 45 and 137, all the lands were liable to pay the land revenue, whether used to agricultural purpose or not, unless specially exempted. The revenue was paid in two instalments. In the Uttara Kannada district the *jamabandi* was completed by the 15th February, or at least by the 15th March of each financial year. The

jamabandi was ordinarily made by the Assistant Collector in the taluks in his charge,¹⁷⁸ but in some cases the *jamabandi* settlement was conducted personally by the Collector.

The land revenue was collected on the basis of survey and values fixed during the time of various surveys and settlements. The following two tables provide the details about land revenue to be collected, deductions allowed, revenue collected and the collected arrears from 1893 to 1945.¹⁷⁹

Table 3:34
Revenue Demand, Deduction, Collection and Balance¹⁸⁰

	1893- 1894 In Rupees	1899- 1900 In Rupees	1901- 1902 In Rupees	1911- 1912 In Rupees	1920- 1921 In Rupees
I. Net land revenue					
a) arrears	88	241	4,951	1,00,189	50,000
b) current	10,09,590	10,13,825	10,14,540	10,06,035	10,24,827
c) total	10,09,678	10,14,066	10,19,491	11,06,224	10,74,827
II. Deduction					
a) remission	576	1,099	801	3,702	37,431
b) arrears written off irrecoverable	1	43	679	--	----
c) total	577	1,142	1,480	3,702	37,431
III. Net demand					
a) arrears	87	198	4,272	1,00,189	12,569
b) current	10,09,014	10,12,726	10,13,739	10,02,333	10,24,827
c) total	10,09,101	10,12,924	10,18,011	11,02,522	10,37,396
IV. Collection					
a) arrears	87	198	2,777	98,397	2,569
b) collection	10,08,922	10,12,654	10,10,144	8,77,880	10,07,593
c) total	10,09,009	10,12,852	10,12,921	9,86,277	10,10,162
V. Balance					
a) arrears	--	--	1,495	1,792	10,000
b) collection	92	72	3,595	1,14,453	17,234
c) total	92	72	5,090	1,16,245	27,234

Table 3:35
Revenue Demand, Remission, Suspension and Collection from 1930 to 1945¹⁸¹

	1930-31	1937-38	1942-43	1944-45
Past arrears	---	5,480	378	----
Current consolidated demand	10,84,420	10,30,291	10,50,562	10,53,524
Total consolidated demand	10,84,420	10,35,771	10,50,940	10,53,524
Remission	10,561	86,602	30,074	28,247
Suspension	19,847	1,099	---	---
Collection	10,52,502	9,48,070	10,20,845	10,24,977
Balance	--		----	---

Coercive Process:

The government fixed maximum or excessive revenue during the land revenue settlement with the ryots. As a result, most of the ryots were unable to meet the revenue demand of the government. When they fell in arrears, the government adopted very harsh measures to collect their share. They were never consulted in fixing the land revenue assessment during the time of land revenue settlement and they did not have the right to question the government on this matter in law courts. It is stated that R. C. Dutt had complained in his open letters to Viceroy, Curzon about the rigidity of the land revenue collection. The Famine Commission of 1881, 1882, and 1901 recommended for the grant of suspension of land revenue during the natural calamities such as floods, famine, forest fires etc. For the recovery of the amount not paid by the due date, the government used extensive powers confined by law.¹⁸² The sale of moveable and immovable properties of the ryots was often attached with good effects. The British government knew very well that the Indians would never like the sale or transfer of their properties to others. Notices were issued for the forfeiture of lands to those who failed to pay the revenue. In many cases, the arrears were realised by the government after the orders for the forfeiture of the lands of the ryots were issued.¹⁸³ In the year 1871, when the new rates of survey and settlement were introduced in the 18 villages of Karwar taluk, the ryots opposed to pay the land

revenue according to the new survey rates. Whenever the peasants failed to pay the land revenue, notices of warrants were issued against them. It was an irony that the notice fee had to be paid by the persons to whom the notice was issued.¹⁸⁴ The government then issued notices to 6756 ryots and cases were filed on 4250 ryots. Consequently, the due amount of Rupees 3240-4-10 was collected. Because of the fear of notices, many ryots withdrew the cases which they had earlier filed against the government.¹⁸⁵ In 1873-74, 6765 notices were issued to those who delayed the payment of revenue.¹⁸⁶ In fact, the notice fee was one of the heads of income for the colonial government, and in the annual administrative reports of the Bombay Presidency, a column was kept under the heading – revenue from the notice fees. In the year 1875, new rules were formulated to collect the revenue. The fines were superseded by the levy of interest.¹⁸⁷ The movable properties of the ryots or landholders who failed to pay the revenue were detained.

After the enactment of the Land Revenue Code of 1879 in the region, as per Section 148 a penalty was imposed on the ryot who failed to pay revenue to the government. Further, Section 153 gave privilege to the government to sell the movable properties of the ryot who fell in arrears. Besides, under Section 155, the ryot who failed to pay the revenue could imprison.¹⁸⁸ In some cases, when the ryots failed to pay the revenue due to financial difficulties, the Land Revenue Code was applied and properties were confiscated.¹⁸⁹ In the year 1889 there was a great loss of crops by flood in Honnavar and Kumta taluks. However, no remission was granted on land revenue for failure of crops. Instead, to collect revenue arrears, notices were issued to forfeit the lands, and thus forcibly the same was collected.¹⁹⁰ The coercive methods followed for the collection of revenue demand from the Sirsi taluk from the year 1894 to 1897 evident from the following table.¹⁹¹

Table 3:36**Coercive Methods used to Collect Revenue Demand from Sirsi Taluk.¹⁹²**

Years	No. of cases in which				
	Notices issued	1/4 th fine levied	Distrain	Land sold	Other measures
1894-95	52	4	-	1	--
1895-96	124	6	1	-	--
1896-97	381	3	9	1	--

During the time of re-settlement in the Mundgod *peta* of Yellapur taluk coercive processes were followed and the same is provided below.

Table 3:37**Coercive Methods used to Collect Revenue Demand from Mundgod *peta*¹⁹³**

Years	No. Of cases in which				
	Notices issued	1/4 th fine levied	Distrain	Land sold	Other measures
1891-92	52	4	1	1	--
1892-93	11	2	1	1	--
1896-97	9	4	2	-	--

In the year 1914-15, many landowners of Karwar and Honnavar withheld the revenue. In reaction to this, a large area of land from these taluks was attached by the government as recovery of land revenue.¹⁹⁴

The non-payment of land revenue resulted in considerable suffering of the ryots. Towards the end of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century, their problem increased further and reached its peak. As a result, the government confiscated the movable properties of the ryots such as food grains, copper and bronze vessels, jewellery and livestock to pressurise them to pay the revenue dues. Consequently, many nador families, who involved in cultivation as also in the satyagraha programme or the national movement were without their normal household utensils. They were forced to use only

earthen vessels for cooking and eating, and coconut shells for drinking liquid items which were generally followed by the poor people in the society.

In addition to the movable properties, in some cases the immovable properties like houses, lands and arecanut plantations were also confiscated from the ryots for non-payment of revenue. During the satyagraha the government returned to repression, and arrested the satyagrahis. When the satyagrahis, who were the heads of the families, went to jail, other family members were thrown out of their houses by the authorities.¹⁹⁵ It is stated that the women were forcibly pulled out of the houses with their toddlers. The sick persons, pregnant women or those who had just given birth to children were forcibly evacuated from the houses. Not only people were forced out of the houses, but the pots on the hearth were lifted and thrown out together with the uncooked food in them.¹⁹⁶ This did not deter the peasant folk. The heroic raders of Ankola taluk, known for their self-esteem, faced the government atrocities on their wives, mothers and children non-violently till the end. The satyagrahis faced the atrocities silently as they were wedded to ahimsa. There was no physical protest from the satyagrahis during the time of civil disobedience movement. To buy back the confiscated items, members of the satyagrahis. It is stated that nearly hundred families lost everything in the early stage of no-tax campaign in 1930.¹⁹⁷ During the time of no-tax campaign the land revenue balance was nil, because all the revenue dues were recovered from confiscation of property.¹⁹⁸ In the year 1930, in Siddapur taluk the lands of 180 families were forfeited. The arecanut crop was reaped by the government, and all the available movable properties were attached and sold. Many of the ryots who refused to pay revenue were evicted from their houses. It is reported that more than 25 families migrated to the neighbouring territories.¹⁹⁹ In the year 1932, when the ryots of Ankola taluk refused to pay revenue huge quantities of paddy, pots, and a large number of cattle

were attached and sold for paltry amounts. The coconut and standing crops for the year were attached and sold. Even the chickens were taken to taluka *kacheri* and sold. The ryots who refused to pay revenue were deprived of their means of livelihood. The peasants evicted from their houses and made to live in small improvised huts.²⁰⁰ During the time of no-tax campaign, 450 families lost their movables and cattle due to attachments and the same valued more than one lakh rupees. Many other families lost their lands by forfeiture and also movable properties and cattle worth Rs. 20,000. One hundred and sixty-six families had their houses confiscated. More than 2025 acres of land were forfeited during the time of no-tax campaign.²⁰¹ Many peasants were imprisoned for not paying the tax. In the middle of 1932, when their lands were forfeited the peasants were prevented from reaping the crops for the next year. On some occasions, when the cultivated lands of the ryots were confiscated by the government, the ryots burnt the standing crops grown by them to prevent the government from realising the revenue by reaping them. However, many of them did not harvest the crop at all, because they knew that after reaping, government would confiscate their entire yield as revenue dues.²⁰²

Suspensions and Remissions:

In some cases and on certain occasions, the British government used to provide remissions of revenue to the ryots. In the initial years of transfer of the Uttara Kannada district to Bombay presidency, the remission was granted to the widow of Raja of Bilgi, and on the minor estates, and also on the lands damaged due to wild elephants, fire, and floods. Only in limited cases remission was granted due to failure of crops. There were very few cases wherein the remission was granted for poverty.²⁰³ There were fluctuations in the amount of revenue remissions granted during the annual settlements. The Collector of North Kanara who submitted his annual administrative report in the year 1875, had the

opinion that the remission granted in the district was small in amount. He reported that the district was under-populated and unhealthy and there was a need to give remission every year for submersion of crops, failure of crops and sickness. He also opined that the land which was available for cultivation was very less and recommended that the agricultural undertaking had to be encouraged.²⁰⁴

Table 3:38
Remission granted in 1906-07 and 1909-10²⁰⁵

Description	1906-07	1909-10
	In Rupees	In Rupees
Damage made by wild Elephants.	68-0-0	202-0-0
Fire	114-0-0	121-0-0
Flood	-----	49-0-0
Written off as irrecoverable	-----	5,408-0-0
Total remittance	15407-0-0	-----
Total		5,780-0-0

Record of Rights:

The record of right was one of the major changes introduced by the British in the beginning of the 20th century in the revenue administration of Bombay Presidency. In the year 1903 the revenue department introduced the record of rights by Bombay Act IV of 1903.²⁰⁶ The record prepared by the Survey Department was necessarily a fiscal record, the object of which was to show from whom the assessment was due and also the amount of assessment that was due. It was not a record of rights or title. In the course of time, it was found that a record of right based on possession, if not on title, was indispensable for the needs of the administration, especially because the occupants in this presidency, unlike tenants elsewhere, to whom in status they correspond, had an unrestricted right to transfer. The record was intended to show every right from that of a registered occupant to an annual tenant-at-will. The experiment was started in the Uttara Kannada district. It is stated

in the administrative records that in the initial stage, there were some mistaken notions against this record of rights, but gradually they disappeared and the people willingly participated in this.²⁰⁷ Under the record of rights, all varieties of right in the land were prepared by the village accountants, and the same were examined and checked by officers of the Revenue and Land Records Department and announced to the ryots. The records which were prepared in all villages of the Bombay Presidency were maintained and kept up to date by Mutation Register.²⁰⁸

Other Sources of Revenue:

Apart from land revenue, the colonial government collected revenue from other sources like *abkari* and several taxes collected by the municipalities.

***Abkari* Revenue:**

The next important head of revenue under the colonial rule was that of *abkari*. The amount of revenue collected under this head was next only to that of land revenue. The *abkari* revenue or revenue on intoxicating liquors and drugs was mainly derived from arrack (distilled as a rule from palm-juice, coconut-juice and jaggery) and toddy (fermented palm juice).²⁰⁹ The manufacture of liquor yielded revenue in two ways; licence was granted to the makers and sellers of spirits and of toddy, and the licence was also granted to the person who wished to tap the palm trees. The licence fees were collected by the government.

Under the head of *abkari* revenue, the following items were covered:

- (i) Manufacture and sale of country liquor.

- (ii) Manufacture and sale of malt liquors of certain special descriptions of country liquors exercised at the rate leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, on liquors imported from foreign countries.
- (iii) Sale of foreign imported liquors, and
- (iv) Manufacture and sale of intoxicating drugs other than opium or preparation of opium.²¹⁰

In addition to the above, two types of country liquors were also taxed; (i) Distilled spirits, and (ii) Toddy or the sap of palm tree.²¹¹

To enforce monopoly over the liquor, the government formulated many rules to control the tapping and selling of liquor. In the district, liquor was extracted from the coconut trees in coastal taluks, and from wild palm trees and jaggery in the above ghat region. Up to the year 1892, the farmers could not sell the raw-toddy to any merchant, but they had to sell it to the merchants who were authorised by the Collector through an annual auction held in every taluks. The period of auctioning was revised in 1890, and it was done once in two years instead of the annual auction. The tree tax was imposed and for selling the raw-toddy licence was issued. In a few cases, free licence was granted for domestic consumption. In these cases, the licencees could tap not more than 10 trees.²¹² The rates of tree tax were increased for coconut and wild palm from Rupees 4 and Rupees 2 to Rupees 6 and Rupees 3 respectively in the year 1874.²¹³

The tenders were invited through a notification in the government gazette, for *abkari* shop contracts, and the contract was given to the highest bidders. The cultivator could also sell country spirit.²¹⁴

Table 3:39**The *Abkari* Revenue collected for the years 1873-74 and 1874-75.²¹⁵**

Year	Europe (foreign spirits)		Farms		Licences			
	No. Licences	Amount of fees in Rupees	No. of shops	Spirits and Toddy amount in Rupees	Opium		Drugs	
					No. of Shops	Amount in Rupees	No. of shops	Amount in Rupees
1873-74	7	350	204	1,12,110	5	496	13	1745
1874-75	6	300	183	99,915	5	455	14	1380

In the revenue year 1876-77 an amount of Rupees 1,08,600 was collected as revenue from licence fees of European liquor shops, toddy shops, licence to toddy and wild palm trees, and licences for opium and drug shops.²¹⁶

In the year 1892, many changes were introduced with regard to the selling of liquor. The contractors or merchants could bring jaggery liquor only from the public distillery at Dharwad by paying the head duty of Rupees 3 and Rupees 2-6-4 for 25⁰ up and 40⁰ up respectively. The merchants had to distill the toddy spirit only at the three public distilleries in the district at Kodibag (Karwar), Gangavali (Ankola) and Hebbal (Ankola). The tapping fee was increased to Rupees 6 per tree, and head duty was charged at the rate of 7 *annas* and 5 *annas*, 7 *paisa* for 25⁰ up and 40⁰ up respectively²¹⁷. The tapping fee of coconut trees was raised under the G.R. No. 5370, from Rupees 6 to Rupees 8. This led to a decrease in the number of licence aspirants for distillation at Kumta and Honnavar. No person came forward to take the bid of distillery at Hebble in Bhatkal *peta*. The government levied very high prices for granting licence for toddy shops.

In the year 1890, the revenue collected from the licences for the sale of opium and *ganga bhang* amounted to Rupees 654 and Rupees 4091 respectively. In the year 1892, these items constituted revenue worth Rupees 592 and Rupees 3446 respectively. The

consumption of opium and *ganja* was very limited in the district. The following table provides data on the *abkari* revenue collected from the district in the year 1890-91.²¹⁸

Table 3:40
***Abkari* Revenue for the year 1890-91²¹⁹**

Particulars	Amount
Still head duty	Rs.
Above ghats	10,500
Below ghats	12,545
Tax on tree tapped for distillation on coast	20,238
Sale of raw toddy only	24,755
Toddy sale from above ghats	12627
Toddy shops licence for coast	15,679
Total	(sic) 1,90844

The toddy farmers experienced difficulties in paying the tax and faced the problem of revenue arrears. In the year 1891, the government took steps to collect the arrears from the farmers.²²⁰ In order to protect the government monopoly over the *abkari* revenue, maximum selling prices were fixed.²²¹

***Abkari* Establishment:**

There was a *abkari* establishment to prevent smuggling and illegal tapping of toddy. In the year 1891 the total strength of the *abkari* department was with two additional inspectors, 14 sub inspectors, two head constables and 36 constables at the monthly aggregate cost of Rupees 955. In the year 1889 the *abkari* establishment was strengthened with the appointment of one additional inspector, four sub-inspector, and one head constable under the G.R. No. 5749 of 9th August 1889.²²²

Municipality Revenue:

The colonial government introduced administrative changes and created new institutions. Such a change was seen in Karwar when the Municipality Act was introduced in the taluk on 1st July 1864.²²³ The municipality had to raise income for its activities. Therefore it levied import and export duties and house tax.

The taxes imposed on the import and export of goods in to Karwar in the year 1862 was as follows ²²⁴

Table 3:41
Import Duty imposed in Karwar in the year 1862²²⁵

No.	Articles	Rates (Rs. a. p.)
1	Bricks	0 1 0
2	Cadjans	0 6 0
3	Charcoal	0 0 3
4	Coconuts	0 6 0
5	Firewood	0 4 0
		0 2 0
		0 0 1
6	Ghee	0 6 0
7	Grains and seeds of sort	0 6 0
8	Malt Liquor	0 1 0
9	Oil of sort	0 4 0
10	Stones, laterite	2 0 0
11	Sprits, Europe	0 2 0
12	Sprit Country Manufacture	0 6 0
13	Sugar and sugar candy	0 4 0
14	Timber	0 4 0
15	Tobacco and snuff	0 8 0
16	Wines	0 2 0

The rate of export duty collected in Karwar for the year 1862 was as below:²²⁶

Cotton bales----- 1 *anna* each

Cotton *dokras*----6 paisa each.

The Municipal authorities collected house tax based on the value of the houses. The classification of the houses based on their values and corresponding taxes collected for the year 1862 are given below:²²⁷

Houses which valued from Rupees	25 to 50	Rs. a. p. 0-8-0
„	50 to 100	1-0-0
„	100 to 2000	2-0-0
„	200 to 300	3-0-0

In the year 1862, Rupees 1,500 was collected as house tax from Karwar taluk.

By 1875, municipalities were established at Kumta, Sirsi, Gokarn, Yellapur and Haliyal.²²⁸ All these municipalities not only imposed the above duties on import and export, but also the house tax.

In the year 1915, a law was passed to collect taxes on the goods imported into Honnavar municipality and exported from it. The following table shows the names of the articles and rates of taxes imposed on them.²²⁹

Table 3:42

Taxes Imposed by the Honnavar Municipality in the year 1915 ²³⁰

Sl. No.	Name of Article	Calculation / unit of measurement	Proposed rate
I	All articles of food and drink for man and animals.	Indian maund	0-0-6
1	Rice	"	0-0-3
2	Ragi	"	0-0-3
3	Paddy	15 Kolagas Magi	0-0-3
4	Udid, wheat, gram, dal and grain of sorts and flour of the same	Indian maund	0-0-9
5	Ghee	Cwt.	0-8-0
6	Coconut	Cent	0-1-0
7	Veggies of sort	Head load	0-6-0
8	Fruits of all sort	Indian maund	0-0-9
9	Potato	"	0-1-0
10	Onion	"	0-0-6
11	All sorts of oil seeds	"	0-0-4
12	Honey	"	0-3-0
13	Jaggery	"	0-1-6
14	Sugar, Sugar candy	"	0-3-0
15	Tea	Per lb.	0-0-3
16	Tamarind of all sort	Indian maund	0-1-0
17	Dried fish	Cwt.	0-1-0
18	Cotton seeds	I.M.	0-0-6
19	Coffee	Per lb.	0-0-1
20	Ground nut	I.M.	0-0-6
21	Garlic	"	0-1-6
22	Sugar cane	Cent.	0-4-0
23	Pound rice	Khandi of 20 kolagas	0-0-10
II	Lighting and washing		
24	Oil of all sort except Kerosene oil	I.M.	0-4-0
25	Fire wood	100 I.M.	0-0-10
26	Kernel of coconuts and oil seeds of all sort	I.M.	0-3-0
27	Bidi leaves	100 bundles each of 100 leaves	0-10-0
28	Washing nuts of all sort	I.M.	0-2-0
			0-4-0
			0-3-0
III	Building materials		
29	Bricks and tiles (country)	1000	0-4-0
30	Mangalore tiles and bricks	"	1-4-0
31	Bamboos	1000	0-4-0
32	Bamboo canes	Cent.	0-4-0
33	Timber	Khandi	0-4-0
34	Laterite stones	Cent.	0-1-0
35	Chunnam	I.M.	0-1-0
IV	Drugs and gums and spices		
36	Chillies	I.M.	0-1-0
37	Betal nuts (raw and fresh)	1000	0-0-10
38	Betal leaves	1000	0-0-3
39	Turmeric	I.M.	0-0-8
40	Ajwan	"	0-1-0
41	Coriander	"	0-1-0
42	Mustard seeds	"	0-1-0
43	Methi seeds	"	0-1-0
44	Cardamom	"	0-1-0
45	Cloves	"	0-1-0
46	Ginger and dry-ginger	Per lb.	0-1-6
47	Gulal and other perfumes	I.M.	0-1-6
48	Udbatti	I.M.	0-0-6
49	Sandal and other perfume oils	Worth Rs. 1.	0-0-3
V	Tobacco		0-6-0
50	Tobacco	I.M.	
VI	Cloths	On price worth Rs. 100-00	1-0-0
51	Piece goods		
52	Silk piece goods		
53	Woollen piece goods		
54	Kamabali or country		0-12-0
VII	Metal	On price worth Rs.	
55	Copper, brass, iron, zinc		0-8-0

Other than the land revenue, and *abkari* revenue, import and export duties and house tax, revenue was also collected from ferry tolls, stamp duties, forest products, sea custom duties, irrigation, administration of justice, education and industries. The main intention of the colonial government was to collect as much revenue as possible. During the period of colonial rule, the revenue administration was oppressive and its objectives were to meet the administrative expenses of the foreign regime to earn profit. The welfare of the people, social justice and planned economic development were not considered by the British rule in its administration in the region as in the rest of India. Agriculture constituted the primary sector of the economy in this area as in many other parts of India. Thus the colonial government concentrated in the maximisation of land revenue and its realisation through the land revenue system which was renewed periodically. The measurers used for collecting revenue were very harsh and the ryots were forced to pay the revenue even during the time of failure of crops. Thus during the British rule, Uttara Kannada experienced suppression, exploitation and underdevelopment.

¹ Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947*, New Delhi, reprint 2012, p.17.

² Karl Marx, "The Future Result of British In India", *New York Daily Tribune*, June 1853. No. 3840, in Marx and Engels, *on Colonialism*, Moscow 1960, p.85.

³ A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, 1948, pp.41-47

⁴ R. P. Dutt, *India To-Day*, Calcutta, reprint, 1987, pp. 128-189.

⁵ Sekhar Bandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, New Delhi, reprint 2013, p.82.

⁶ Firoj High Salwar, "A Comparative Study of Zamindari, Raitwari and Mahalwari land Revenue Settlements : the Colonial Mechanism of Surplus Extraction in 19th Century British India", in *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (JHSS)*, Vol. 2, 4, Sep-Oct. 2012, p.16.

⁷ R. C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India: In the Victorian Age, (1837-1900)*, Vol. II. p.xiiv.

⁸ Irfan Habib, *Essays in Indian History towards a Marxist perception*, New Delhi, 1995, p.309.

⁹ *BHR, Op. Cit.*, p.13.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.51 p. 132, p. 136, and p. 156.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 132.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 156 p. 159.

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- ¹³ H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, 1855; *BHR, Op. Cit.*, p 3; N. Shaym Bhat, *South Kanara (1799-1860): A Study in Colonial Administration and Regional Response*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 85.
- ¹⁴ *SRBG(NS)*, No.DXXXII, papers relating to the joint report of 1847, with the measurement and classification rule for the Deccan Gujarat, Konkan and North Kanara survey, 1917, *MSA*, p. 176; Letter from W. C. Anderson to Collector of North Canara No. 168 of 1871, Brumeshwur Survey Commissioner's Office, Mysore Territory, 21st February 1871, *RD* Vol. No.47of 1871, *MSA*, p.8.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.11.
- ¹⁵ Memorandum from W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner, *SD.*, No. 1194 of 1875, Vol No. 135 of 1876, *MSA*, Para 4.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid*, Para 5.
- ¹⁷ *SRBG (BG)*, No.DLV, Papers relating to the *FRS* of Ankola taluk, Bombay, 1917, *MSA*, p.20.
- ¹⁸ Memorandum from W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner, *SD.*, No. 1194 of 1875, Vol. No. 135 of 1876, *MSA*, Para 5.
- ¹⁹ Letter from W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner, *SD*, to Secretary to Government, No.23 of 1873, Survey Commissioner's Office, Kaladgi District, 21st January 1873, *RD*, Vol. No. 65, *MSA*, Para, 5.
- ²⁰ N. Shaym Bhat, *South Kanara (1799-1860), Op. Cit.*, p.85.
- ²¹ *BHR, The Canara Land Assessment Case*, 1st May 1875, *MSA*, p.1.
- ²² *Ibid*, p. 177.
- ²³ Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India: Agricultural Labour In The Madras Presidency During The Nineteenth Century*, Delhi, 1998, pp. 77-80 ; *BHR, Op. Cit.*, p. 210.
- ²⁴ James Campbell (Ed.), *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. XV, Part II, Kanara, Op. Cit.*, p.184.
- ²⁵ Quoted in *BHR, Op. Cit.*, p.20.
- ²⁶ *BHR, Op. Cit.*, p. 85.
- ²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 78.
- ²⁸ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. II, p.298.
- ²⁹ M. J. Desai Report *on the Economic condition of the garden lands in Sirsi, Siddapur, Yellapur taluks including Mundgod Mahal*, Bombay, 1935, *MSA*, p.13.
- ³⁰ *Ibid*.
- ³¹ *BHR, Op. Cit.*, p.78; Letter from M.J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara to Revenue Commissioner S.D. No. 703 of 1871, Canara Collector's Office, Carwar, 3rd March 1871, p.3, *RD*, Vol. No.47 of 1871, *MSA*, p.3 ; *Kanadavritta*, dated 9th May 1938, *KSA*, p.3.
- ³² N. Shyam Bhat., *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.
- ³³ G. F. S. Collins, Introductory Report to the Re-Settlement Reports of the Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur taluks and the Mundgod *mahal* of the Kanara Collectorate, Bombay, 1926, p. 52.
- ³⁴ M. J. Desai, *Report, Op. Cit.*, p.7.
- ³⁵ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1905, *RD.*, Vol. No. 24, *MSA*, p. 151.

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- ³⁶ *Kanadavritta*, 9th May 1938, *KSA*, p.3.
- ³⁷ G. V. Joshi. *Op. Cit.*, p.103.
- ³⁸ *FRS* of Ankola taluk, 1917, Bombay, 1917, *MSA*, P.24.
- ³⁹ Desai Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid*,
- ⁴¹ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1908, 1911, 1916.
- ⁴² James Campbell (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.168.
- ⁴³ *AARBP* Kanara Collectorate, 1905, *RD*, Vol. No. 24, p. 151.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid*.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁴⁷ Neil Charlesworth, *Peasants and Imperial Rule : Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency (1850-1935)*, Cambridge, (reprint), 2002, p. 44
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid* ; R.G. Jordan, (Ed.), *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual, Bombay Presidency*, 1917.
- ⁴⁹ Neil Charlesworth, *Op. Cit.*, p. 44.
- ⁵⁰ D. N. Dhanagare, *Peasant Movements in India (1920-1935)*, p.33.
- ⁵¹ R.C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age (1837-1900)*, Vol. II, p.230.
- ⁵² *Ibid*; P.R. Brahma Nand (Ed.), *Village Communities and Land Tenures in Western India Under Colonial Rule*, pp.142-143.
- ⁵³ R. G. Jordon (Ed.), *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual, Bombay Presidency*, Bombay, 1917.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*; *SRBG (NS)*, No. DXXIV, Character of the Land Tenure systems of the Survey and Settlement in the Bombay Presidency, 1914, p.3.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁵⁶ R. G. Jordon (Ed.), *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual, Bombay Presidency*, Bombay, 1917.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid*,
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid* , p.380; *The Survey and Settlement Manual of 1882*, Bombay, 1882, *MSA*. p.15.
- ⁵⁹ James Campbell (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, part.II, p. 16.
- ⁶⁰ R.G. Jordon (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.37
- ⁶¹ *Ibid*.
- ⁶² *Ibid*, p.18
- ⁶³ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁶ Alexander Rogers, *The Land Revenue of Bombay*, Vol. 2, *Op. Cit.*, p.410 ; *BHR, Op. Cit.*, p.3.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.12.
- ⁶⁸ Letter from M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to Mr. Hart, Commissioner for Southern Division, 3rd October 1863, No.1592 *RD*. Vol. No. 37 of 1862-64; Proceedings of the Government of Bombay, dated 8th January 1862, *MSA*.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid*

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

⁷¹ Modak, *Bombay Land System*, Bombay, 1919, *MSA*. p.211.

⁷² Letter from M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to W. Hart, Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, No. 81 of 1862, 3rd October 1863, *RD*, Vol. No. 37 of 1862-64, *MSA*, para 8.

⁷³ Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of Bombay in the *RD*, dated 20th July 1862; *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1864 to 1820, *MSA*.

⁷⁴ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1890-91, *MSA*, para 27.

⁷⁵ Letter from W.A. Goldfish Collector of North Kanara to W. Hart, Revenue Commissioner *SD*. 7th June 1862, No.602, *RD*. Vol.37 of 1862-64, *MSA*, Para. 11.

⁷⁶ Letter from Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to W. Hart, Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, Poona, No. 2049 of 1864, Carwar, 26th August 1864. *RD*, Vol. No. 25, *MSA*.

⁷⁷ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1890-91, *MSA*.

⁷⁸ Letter from Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to W. Hart, Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, Poona, No. 2049 of 1864, Carwar, 26th August 1864. *RD*, Vol. No. 25, *MSA*.

⁷⁹ Baden Powell, *The Land Systems of British India*, Vol.III, Oxford, 1892, p.25.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*,

⁸¹ Letter from W.A. Goldfish Collector of North Kanara to W. Hart, Revenue Commissioner *SD*. 7th June 1862, No.602, *RD*. Vol. No.37 of 1862-64, *MSA*.

⁸² *Ibid*.

⁸³ *Ibid*.

⁸⁴ Letter from Hart, Commissioner for Southern Division to Collector of Kanara, No. 23 of 1863, *RD*. Vol. 37 of 1862-64, *MSA*.

⁸⁵ Letter from Collector of Kanara to Revenue Commissioner *SD*, Collector's Office Karwar, 31st July 1873, *RD*, Vol. No. 48 of 1873, *MSA*, pp. 369-372.

⁸⁶ *A Review of Administration of the Bombay Presidency 1942-43*, *MSA*, p.40,

⁸⁷ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, of 1890, para 23 ; *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, of 1905, p.30.

⁸⁸ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1893, *MSA*, para 44.

⁸⁹ B. H. Powell, *A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India : with sketch of the land tenures*, www. Open Archives. Com. p.23.

⁹⁰ *Charter of Land Tenure and system of survey and settlement in the Bombay Presidency*, *SRBG(NS)*, No. DXXIV, *MSA*.

⁹¹ *Ibid*.

⁹² Memorandum to Revenue Commissioner *SD*, dated 24th October, 1887, *RD*. Vol. No.97 of 1887, *MSA*. p.129.

⁹³ *Ibid*.

⁹⁴ *ARARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1902, *MSA*, para 25.

⁹⁵ Memorandum from Kanara Collector's Office, No.1223 of 1876 Camp Sirsi 12th April 1867 R.D. Vol.43 (A), *MSA*.

⁹⁶ Alexander Rogers, *Op. Cit.*, p. 404.

⁹⁷ Letter from the Collector of Kanara to the Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No. 703 of 1871, Karwar, 3 March 1871, *SRBG (NS)*, No. CLVIII, Correspondence to the *OSS*, Karwar taluk, Bombay, 1883, *MSA*, p.18 ; Memorandum by W.C. Anderson, No. 333 of 1871, dated 1 April 1871, *RD*, Vol. No. 47 of 1871, *MSA*, p. 29.

⁹⁸ Letter from W.C. Anderson, Survey & Settlement Commissioner, *SD*, to Collector of Kanara, Brumeshwur, Survey Commissioner's Office, Mysore Territory, 21st February 1871, *RD*, Vol. No., 47 of 1871, *MSA*, P.25.

⁹⁹ No.1721, Bombay Castle, 10th April 1871, by F.S. Chapman, Chief Secretary to Government, *SRBG (NS)*, No. CIVIII, Kanara Collectorate, Survey Assessment Karwar taluk, Bombay, 1883, *MSA*, p.63.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara to Revenue Commissioner *SD*. No. 703 of 1871, Canara Collector's Office, Carwar, 3rd March 1871, *RD*, Vol. No.47 of 1871, *MSA*, p.3.

¹⁰¹ Letter from W. C. Anderson to Collector of North Canara No. 168 of 1871, Brumeshwur Survey Commissioner's Office, Mysore Territory, 21st February 1871, *RD* Vol. No.47of 1871, *MSA*, p.8.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p.9.

¹⁰³ Letter from H. Ingle Superintendent of Karwar to M. J. Shaw Stewart Collector of Canara, No. 92 of 1871, Carwar, 17th March 1871, 17th March 1871, *RD*, Vol. No.47 of 1871, *MSA*, P. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from W.C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner for *SD*, to Collector of Kanara, No. 63 of 1872, Survey Commissioner's Office, Bombay, 20th January 1872, *SRBG(NS)* No.CLVIII, Correspondence to the *OSS*, Karwar taluk, Bombay, 1883, *MSA*, p. .66.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁰⁶ Letter from A. R. Macdonald, Acting Collector of Kanara to W.H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No.379 of 1872, Kanara Collector's Office, Camp Karwar, 4th February 1872, *SRBG (NS)* No.CLVIII, Correspondence to the *OSS*, Karwar taluk, Bombay, 1883, *MSA*, p.74.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p.75; The Percentage of increase is calculated by me.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Collector of Kanara to Survey Commissioner S.D., No 96 of 1873, Karwar Collector's Office, 10th June, 1873, *RD*. Vol. No. 96 of 1874, *MSA* ; Letter from W.C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner *SD* to Chief Secretary to Government *RD*., No.307 of 1873, *SRBG (NS)*, No.CLXIII, Correspondence to the *OSS*, Kumta and Ankola taluks, Bombay, 1883, *MSA*, P.18.

¹⁰⁹ W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner *SD* to Chief Secretary to Government *RD*., No.307 of 1873, *SRBG (NS)*, No.CLXIII, Correspondence to the *OSS*, Kumta and Ankola taluks, Bombay, 1883, *MSA*, p.42.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.37.

¹¹¹ Letter from W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Commissioner *SD*, to Chief Secretary to Government *RD*, No.309 of 1873, Talaguppi, 28 February 1873, *SRBG (NS)* No. CLXIII, Correspondence to the *OSS*, Kumta and Ankola taluks, 1883, *MSA*, pp.1-6.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p.42.

¹¹³ Memorandum of 248 of 1881, Survey Commissioner Office Poona, 18th March 1881, *SRBG (NS)* No. CLXIII, Correspondence to the *OSS*, Kumta and Ankola taluks, 1883, *MSA*, p. 132.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.135. The Increase in percentage is calculated by me.

¹¹⁵ Letter from T. M. Ward, Acting Superintendent, Revenue Survey, SMC, to Collector of Kanara, , Survey Superintendents Office Camp, Bijapur, 9th March 1885, *SRBG (NS)*, No CLXIX, Papers Relating to OSS of Honnavar Taluk, *MSA*, pp. 1-10.

¹¹⁶

¹¹⁷ Letter from J. L. Lushington, superintendent, Land Records and Agriculture for *SD*, to Collector of Kanara, *SRBG(NS)*, No. CCCVII, *RSS*, Sirsi taluk, Kanara Collectorate Bombay,1905, *MSA*, p.4.

¹¹⁸ Letter from W. C. Anderson to Chief Secretary to Government, No. 93 of 1873, Survey Commissioner's Office, Kaladgi, 21st July 1873, *SRBG (NS)*, No. CCCCVI, *RSS* of 361 villages of Sirsi taluk, Government Central Press, 1902,

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, The increase in Rupees and Percentage of increase are calculated by me.

¹²⁰ Letter from T. H. Stewart, Survey Commissioner, Kanara to Collector of Kanara, Assistant Settlement Officers' camp, Kumta, dated 28th January, 1889, *RD*. Vol. No. 320, *MSA* ; Letter from Wingate, Assistant Settlement Officers report on *OSS* of Siddapur taluk, Numbers No. CCXIX, (1888) CCXXVIII, (1889) CCXXVI, (1890) , *SRBG (NS)*, Bombay. *MSA*.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, The increase in Rupees and Percentage of increase are calculated by me; percentage of increase in 1890-91 should be 41.3.

¹²² Letter from G. L. Macgregor to Survey Commissioner *SD*, No. 31, Karwar, 9th January , 1889, *SRBG(NS)*, No CCCCLXXX, Second Revision of Settlement of Haliyal taluk, Bombay, 1890, pp.1-17.

¹²³ Letter from J. Davidson, Collector of Kanara, to Commissioner *SD*, Karwar 18th April 1893, No. 4355 of 1893, *SRBG(NS)*, No CCCCLXXX, Second Revision of Settlement of Haliyal taluk, Bombay, 1890, p.39.

¹²⁴ Revenue Survey Assessment: Introduction of revision of Survey Settlement into Haliyal taluk of Kanara district No.5121, *RD*, Bombay Castle, 14th June 1894, *SRBG(NS)*, No. CCCCLXXX, Second Revision of Settlement of Haliyal taluk, Bombay, 1890, *MSA*, pp.59-60.

¹²⁵ Letter from J. L. Lushington, Superintendent of Land Revenue and Agriculture, *SD*. to Collector of Kanara, No.813 of 1895, Belgaum, 18th October 1885, *SRBG(NS)*, No. CCCLXIV, papers relating to *RSS* of the Yellapur taluk and Mundgod *mahal* of the Canara Collectorate, Bombay,1898, *MSA*, p.7.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*,

¹²⁷ Letter from J. L. Lushington, Superintendent of Land Revenue and Agriculture, S.D. to Collector of Kanara, No.813 of 1895, Belgaum,18 October 1885, *SRBG(NS)*, No. CCCLXIV, *Op. Cit.*, *MSA*, p.18.

¹²⁸ Letter from W. C. Anderson , Survey and Settlement Commissioner to Chief Secretary to Government, *RD*, No.2169 of 1873, Survey Commissioner's Office, Poona, 31st December 1873, *SRBG (NS)* , Bombay,1883, *MSA*,P.45.

¹²⁹ Alexander Rogers, *Op. Cit.*, p.410. The increase in Rupees is calculated by me.

¹³⁰ Baden-Powell, *The Land-Systems of British India*, Vol. III, Oxford, 1892, p.238.

¹³¹ Resolution passed by government on 14th June 1894, No. 5121, *SRBG (NS)*, *RSS* of Haliyal Taluk and Supa *peta*,1884, Bombay, *MSA*.

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CHAPTER – IV

JUDICIARY AND POLICE

The Indian subcontinent was ruled by the British colonial rulers for over two centuries. To administer the large country and its diverse population, the British designed a legal administrative system and law courts which played a key role in serving their interest and dominance. Along with the legal administration, they also developed the police system, and these were used as important instruments of colonial dominance, utilising advancement in the mechanism of public control and disciplining of society. Thus law, judiciary and police constituted the arms of the state, and these organs of the colonial government played a crucial role in administering justice and maintaining law and order.¹ A detailed analysis of the nature and functions of the judiciary and the police and their dimensions and dynamics provide a better perspective regarding the working of British colonialism in this region.

Judiciary:

The British introduced and implemented the codification of law, the code of civil procedure, which was applicable to all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed and religion.² The British laid the foundation of a new system of dispensing justice through a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. These courts were established for trial of the petty and heinous crime with the right to appeal at the High Court and an appeal to a committee of Privy Council in civil suits.³ The making of law was the central concern of the European colonisers in the colonies. In fact, law is described as the ‘cutting edge of colonialism’ and also as ‘central to the civilising mission of the British imperialism’.⁴ On 28th February

1862, North Kanara was detached from the Presidency of Fort St. George and annexed to the Bombay Presidency. Under the Proclamation dated 15th April 1862, the Governor General of India in Council was appointed to enact the Indian Council Act in the region.⁵

In 1860, North Kanara with the sub-division of Kundapur came under the separate charge of a district judge who held his court at Honnavar till 1866.⁶ In 1862 there were 9 civil courts in the district. In 1866 the District Court was transferred from Honnavar to Karwar.⁷ In 1870, the numbers of Civil Courts were reduced to five and were situated at Karwar, Kumta, Honnavar, Sirsi, and Siddapur.⁸ In 1881 the district was provided with the services of four subordinate judges.⁹ The Bombay High Court was the Supreme Court for the district.¹⁰ The High Court consisted of a chief justice and nine puisne judges. The chief justice had ordinary and extraordinary, civil and criminal jurisdiction and exercised both original as well as appellate functions. The appellate judges supervised the administration of justice by subordinate civil and criminal courts.¹¹

The revenue authorities were invested with powers of criminal judicature ranging as 1st class, 2nd class and 3rd class Magistrates with powers of passing sentences. The District Magistrate, *Mamlatdars* and the Assistant Collectors were also given the responsibility of Criminal Courts and they could hold their courts at camps the villages during the circuit programme.¹² The Collector was the District Magistrate and also heard criminal appeals. The power to revise Magistrate's decision was given to the session's court judge who presided over the district sessions court at Karwar. In addition to these, there was a court of the Town Magistrate at Karwar. The Town Magistrate simultaneously worked as a *Huzur* or Deputy Collector having supervision over the district treasury office.¹³ In order to help him in the administration, Sub-Magistrate's establishment was set

up at Haliyal, Siddapur, Ankola, Bhatkal and Mundgod.¹⁴ The *Mamlatdars* were given the magisterial responsibility of sub-divisions under the Act V of 1864.¹⁵ Subsequently, this Act was superseded by the Bombay Act of 1876.¹⁶

Table 4 : 1
Establishment of Sub-Magistrate at Haliyal in the year 1862¹⁷

Number of posts	Officials	Salary per Month in Rupees
1	Sub-Magistrate	50-0-0
1	<i>Gumasta</i>	12-0-0
1	Dufterbund	7-0-0
2	Peon @ Rs. 5	10-0-0
1	<i>Mussaljee</i> (Sweeper)	5-0-0

The highest court in each district was the District Court. The District Court at Karwar was created around 1866 in the pattern of county courts in England. Ever since the creation of the District Court, the Presiding Officers of the Courts were all British till 1947, except for a few instances. Satyendranath Tagore, the elder brother of Poet laureate Rabindranath Tagore presided over this Court between 1881 and 1884.¹⁸ These judges used to be mainly from the Indian Civil Service cadre who chose to accept the judicial assignments. They had the right of seeking necessary advice or explanation from Hindu *pundits* regarding Hindu Law and from *Kazis* regarding the Muslim personal law. The judgements were written by the judges in their own handwriting were generally short.¹⁹

In 1881, the First Class Sub-Judge of Karwar, besides having special jurisdiction of above Rupees 5,000 over the whole district, had ordinary jurisdiction over Karwar and Ankola taluks except some villages.²⁰

The Sessions Court at Karwar had jurisdiction over the entire district. The District Judge himself was the Sessions Judge under the Criminal Procedure Code.²¹ The sessions Judge conducted trials of cases committed to the sessions court and also heard appeals over orders from the subordinate Magistrate in the district.²²

Codes and Acts:

The Civil Procedure Code, the Penal Procedure Code and the Criminal Procedure Code were passed in the year 1859, 1860 and 1861 respectively.²³ The British Judicial System in India played a vital role in sustaining the colonial state by maintaining law and order, controlling crime and surveillance of its subjects. The British rule saw the transformation of the judicial system from a formal social control mechanism based on local tradition and religion to an instrument of colonial ideas and colonial subjection.²⁴ Through the criminal laws, many restrictions were imposed on the rights and privileges of the Inhabitants. In 1860, the colonial government passed the rule prohibiting cutting of green leaves and dead wood for burning purposes.²⁵ Initially, for violation of this rule the inhabitants were punished under the Madras Code, but after implementation of the Criminal Procedure Code, the offenders were punished under the criminal law.²⁶ About 1300 cases were filed under the Indian Penal Code for very minor offences in the year 1895.²⁷ Further these laws were extended to the ryots who failed to pay the land revenue to the government.²⁸ In the year 1908, the Criminal Procedure Code was amended and it was used to suppress the anti-governmental attitudes of the subjects. Many cases were filed against those who participated in the anti-British activities. Many Acts like the Bombay Survey Act I of 1865 which was later amended as Bombay Land Revenue Code (Act V. of 1879) in 1879, Village Police Act (Bombay) VII of 1867, District Police Act II of 1867,

Cattle Trespass Act I of 1871, *Abkari* Act V of 1878, District Municipality Act II of 1884, Gambling Act IV of 1887, Bombay Salt Act II of 1890, and Indian Forest Acts (1865, 1878, and 1927), were implemented in the district. Besides, separate forest rules were framed by the British government to control the Kanara Forests. Whenever the inhabitants violated any of these laws, cases were filed under one clause or the other and they were subjected to various types of punishments. Sometimes penalties were put, lands were forfeited, movable and immovable properties were sold to the highest bidder, and in some cases they were sentenced with imprisonment.

As per the Cattle Trespassing Act I of 1871, if any cattle passed through a reserved forest or in any position of a protected forest which was lawfully closed off for grazing, the cattle could be seized by the forest or police officers. In addition to this, under Section 24 of the Act, a fine of five Rupees and in addition two Rupees were collected from the owners of the cattle for the damage done to the forest. The fines and compensations were credited to the government account.²⁹ In the year 1881 a tax of two *annas* was imposed on each head of cattle including cows and calves. The tax was imposed on the cattle which were reared by the ryots at their houses. The authorities were harsh and followed severe method in collecting the tax. If grazing tax was not paid, the cattle which were grazed at *bettas*, *beenas* and such other lands were driven into cattle pounds and fines were imposed.³⁰ Many cattle pounds were set up to impound the cattle which crossed the restricted areas. In the year 1888-89, 14,285 cattle were impounded and 137 cattle were sold to the highest bidder,³¹ and in the year 1888-90, 11,580 cattle were impounded and 128 cattle were sold.³² Fifty-four inhabitants were prosecuted under the Act in the year 1895.³³

It was through the *Abakari* Act (1878) that the government established its monopoly over the manufacture and sale of liquor, and one who violated it was prosecuted. Any person could sell liquor only with a licence. Those ryots who removed toddy or palm liquor without paying tree tax and without licence to remove toddy or palm liquor were punished by the government.³⁴ Thirty inhabitants were prosecuted under the Act in the year 1895.³⁵ Through the Indian Forest Acts and Kanara Rules, the government consolidated its hegemony over forest and sale of forest resources. The Forest laws were framed to impose the government monopoly over the forest resources. Those who violated the Forest Laws were prosecuted. The forest officials acted as autocrats in implementing and protecting the forest laws with the assistance of the legal system. Many false cases were filed against the inhabitants by forest officers and the judicial system upheld these cases against the inhabitants.³⁶ Sometimes even for simple violation of law, the inhabitants were given harsh punishments. For example, in 1880 fifteen days confinement was the punishment prescribed for illegal felling of one teak tree.³⁷ At Sirsi, five persons who were found guilty of felling young trees were sentenced to twenty-five days of imprisonment and a fine of Rupees 25 or convertible to seven days of additional imprisonment. An illiterate peasant whose cattle were grazed in a reserved forest area where grazing was prohibited was led directly before a Magistrate and sentenced to pay a fine equivalent to Rupees 59.³⁸

The District Collector was given the right under the British legal system to impose collective punishments on whole village, where the forest officials were unable to find the actual culprits for causing forest fire.³⁹ In some cases, the villagers who lived far away from the forest areas, and who were totally unaware of the break out of fire were punished. In a few cases, the Lingayats who bury their dead bodies were also made responsible for forest fires and sentenced with imprisonment.⁴⁰ Often the families which lost their family

members were made responsible forest fires. If the villagers inhabiting near to the forests failed to bring to the notice of forest officials about the outbreak of forest fires, they were liable for penalty. In case of infringement under the Kanara Forest Privilege Rules, the Collector had given every right to suspend all the privileges and right to usage of community forest.⁴¹ In the year 1895, 70 inhabitants were prosecuted under the Indian Forest Act of 1878.⁴² Those who violated the Forest Acts were prosecuted under the provision of Criminal Law.⁴³

Case filed against James London (1880-81):

The case filed against James London is the best example to evaluate the contradictory and complex nature of the British judicial system in India. James London was a shoemaker and police constable at Karwar. He owned some land in Shirwad village of Karwar taluk which was under *mulageni* tenure. He spent more than Rupees 400 to convert the land into cultivable area. In this process, he had cut down many jungle wood trees except royalties which was according to the privileges granted to every occupant during that time.⁴⁴ In the process of developing the land, he had felled six trees of inferior quality from the government lands with the belief that the same belonged to him. When the land came into his possession on *mulageni*, there was no boundary stone to bifurcate his land and government land on the eastern side of his land. The survey stone which was placed during the time of survey and settlement disappeared. As he was in the process of transporting all the woods of inferior quality for firewood purpose, the cart was stopped by the *patel* and *sarkarkoon* of Shirwad village. They seized the cart loaded with wood and report was sent to the Collector by *sarkarkoon* and *patel*. They gave the report that there was no boundary stone to mark the boundary between the land of James London and that

of the government, and that James London had taken permission to cut the trees four years back.⁴⁵ The forest ranger filed the case of theft on London and they decided to seize the cart and add the amount of fine and wood to government treasury.⁴⁶ On 26th October 1880, suddenly a warrant was issued against London. The police constable arrested London and he was kept in the taluk office cell at Karwar. He was taken to Sadashivgad, where the Collector had camped till the sentence was ordered. At the time of hearing, only the *patel* and *sarkarkoon* of Shirwad were asked some questions by the Collector or Magistrate. Nothing was asked to London, no clarifications were sought from him and he was sentenced for ten days rigorous punishment with non-appealable verdict in any court of law.⁴⁷ Thus London was found guilty of theft by the Magistrate and was prosecuted under criminal law. According to London, the trees were cut with the belief that they were standing on his land and proper permission was sought before felling them. As per the petition sent by London to the government, the trees valued not more than two rupees. London with his influence in the police department sent a petition to the government against the Collector, and it was forwarded by the Jailer. But the government upheld the decision of the Collector and London was forced for conviction.⁴⁸ Thus London was punished for no fault of his in this case, and was not even provided with the usual principle of appeal.

The Land Revenue Cases:

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, land survey was carried out in Karwar taluk in 1871, and revenue settlement was done. The landowners of villagers of 18 villages of the Karwar taluk opposed it and filed the case against the government. They questioned the right of Bombay government to revise the assessment. Cases were filed by denying the right of the government to effect a general revision of assessment and asserting the

permanency of their existing rates of land revenue for ever.⁴⁹ More than 500 cases were filed against the revenue authorities.⁵⁰ The government proceeded with legal action against the landholders who protested against the new assessment. A notice of action was issued through the Civil Court at Karwar. Hearings of these cases were decided upon at various dates from 16th November to 10th January 1872 in the Civil Court of Karwar.⁵¹ The cases were decided on the ground of the constitutional and legal right of the government under the provisions of Regulations XVII of 1827 and Bombay Act I of 1865 to order a general revision of assessment of lands to fix the land revenue. The government officials were asked for their opinion about this incident; they said that it is the inherent right of the government to increase the land revenue in Uttara Kannada too as in other Provinces of the Presidency. All these cases were decided at the Civil Court of Karwar.⁵² The judgement was given in favour of the government.

Pundalik Marta Shenvi and Seven Others Versus Secretary of State in Council:

In the year 1877, decision was passed at the District court in the case of Pundalik Marta Shenvi and seven others versus Secretary of State in Council.⁵³ In this suit the plaintiff claimed the site of an old tank called Bamantale and some adjoining forest land which had been refused to them by the Collector in 1862-64. The case was filed in the District Court by the plaintiff and seven others, the decision was kept pending for more than 12 years and finally the decision was given in favour of Collector.⁵⁴ This case provides evidence for the directory nature of the British judiciary system.

Case of Vaikunta Bapuji:

One of the major cases filed at the Civil Court of Karwar was that of Vaikunta Bapuji of Baad *kasba* of Karwar taluk against W.C. Anderson, Revenue Survey and Settlement Commissioner, Southern Division, and Elphinstone, Acting Collector of Kanara.⁵⁵ His *wargs* were situated in the Baad *kasba* with *muli* numbers 31 and 16, in Katinkon village with *muli* number 203, and in Kodibag village with *muli* number 64.⁵⁶ These *wargs* were enjoyed by him as his hereditary proprietary right from the remote past. In his plaint, Vaikunta Bapuji asserted that from time immemorial he was paying the fixed amount of Rs. 200-7-5 on his lands. He pointed that it was through an order dated 29th March 1870 passed by the Governor in Council that Act I of 1865 of Bombay Legislature was improperly applied to his land, and assessment of land revenue was increased to Rs. 468-14-0. He requested the court that his old assessment should be made permanent and his right over the land was to be considered as perpetual.⁵⁷

Further, he claimed that the government by implementing the Act and levying the revised assessment violated his traditional proprietary right. He insisted that the Bombay Act I of 1865 was not applicable to his lands. He questioned the right of the government to reassess and fix new rates of assessment on his lands. The date fixed for hearing of this case was 16th November 1871. Oral statement of the plaintiff was taken in the first hearing.⁵⁸ This was an important case for both the government and plaintiff. The case which was initially filed in the Civil Court of Karwar was transferred by the government to the Bombay High Court stating that it had original jurisdiction over it.⁵⁹ Though this was projected as the official reason to transfer the case, the real factors were far different. The Judge of Karwar Court was a junior having insufficient experience, and the government

did not want to take risk and lose the case. Further, there was a great excitement among the people of Karwar about this case and the government desired to keep the local people away from it.⁶⁰ The case was transferred to Bombay High Court on 18th January 1872. A further order of Bombay High Court dated 9th April 1873 permitted the plaintiff to amend his plaint by substituting the Government of Bombay as defendants in lieu of the Revenue Survey and Settlement Commissioner Southern Division and the Collector of Kanara.⁶¹ On 17th February 1872, the plaintiff was successful to obtain an injunction which restrained the defendants from levying the enhanced rate of land revenue until the hearing of the suit.⁶²

Defending the case, the defendants gave their written statement to the Court on 20th April 1872, that the British government had not given any assurance to keep the old assessment on a permanent basis. Therefore, the revised assessment of Rs. 468-14-0 was fixed for plaintiff's land should be paid by him to the government and the Court should not give any relief to his prayer.⁶³

Finally this case came up for hearing on 18th January 1875 before Sir Michael Roberts Westropp, Chief Justice, and Justice West in High Court under its Extraordinary jurisdiction. The argument of counsel was too elaborate and took 14 sitting days (18th, 19th, 21st, 22nd, 25th, 26th, 28th, 29th of January, and 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, and 9th of February 1875). The members of counsel who argued in favour of the plaintiff were Farran, Branson and Badruddin Tyabji. The members of the Counsel appointed for the defendants were A.R. Scoble (Advocate General), Latham, Tyrrell Leith and Hart.⁶⁴

Once again the oral statement of the plaintiff was taken by Spens, member of the Commission appointed by the High Court to enquire about this case. Shaw Stewart, formerly the Collector of North Kanara, had already given his report from government side before *prothonotary* (principal clerk of the court).⁶⁵

The main objective of the plaintiff in this case was to challenge the right of the government to enhance the land revenue on his *muli* lands. The counsel including Farran and others argued in his favour and tried to prove that the Bombay Act I of 1865 was not applicable to Kanara. They emphasised on the system of private property and the hereditary proprietary right over the soil. The feelings and opinions of the ryots were added in the argument by the counsel in favour of the plaintiff. The ryots said that the survey and settlement measures were illegal and unjust, and they did not accept them. They argued that the government forced them to participate in the settlement by issuing summons on their names. They had a doubt about the authority of the government to reassess the land revenue and therefore, only some of them filed the case against the government.⁶⁶ Probably more number of ryots wanted to file the complaint against the government. The suppressive policies of the colonial government would have forced the illiterate and unorganised ryots not to file the suits.

The counsel of the plaintiff produced before the courts some letters and proclamation issued by the British officials and the Queen. Among them, one was issued by Thomas Munro which stated that when the British took possession of Kanara, many ryots ran away from their houses leaving their lands waste. To remedy this, he issued a proclamation on 26th March 1800, entreating the ryots to return by promising that the

government would lower the assessment and would not impose any extra assessment, if only people would come and cultivate the fields.⁶⁷

Another one was the assurance given to the people of Ankola on 6th June of *fusly* 1229 (1819-1820) by Harris, the Collector of Kanara. He stated that the ryots interested in proprietary occupation of government waste lands or *sirkar geni* lands should apply for the same and the government would grant *mulpattas* for the permanent enjoyment of the land by such ryots. Besides, he assured that the land revenue assessment would be fixed without any increase later.⁶⁸

Thirdly, the counsel for the plaintiff produced another circular sent by Viveash in *fusly* 1244 (1834-35). According to it the ryots were hesitating to cultivate the lands on the government lease, and to overcome this problem he ordered that the *geni* right would be considered as *muli* right. *Mulapatta* would be given for each ryots. As a result many lands were brought under cultivation.⁶⁹

Fourthly, the plaintiff's counsel drew the attention of the court to the famous proclamation of Queen Victoria (1858) made by her soon after the transfer of power in India from the Company to the Crown. In her proclamation she desired to protect the natives of India in all rights connected with their lands.⁷⁰ So the counsel argued that the present government has no authority to change the rent of the lands.

The ryots claimed that by trusting all these official announcements about security of tenure and land ownership, many waste lands were brought under cultivation by them with their own expenses. There was a kind of land called *gaznee* which was liable to an

overflow of salt water. Much money was spent in constructing *bunds* to prevent the salt water from entering this land. But due to the Act I of 1865 the plaintiff had to pay more than double the old assessment to the government.⁷¹ His proprietary right over the land, and the amount of land revenue paid by him earlier for several decades were not considered by this Act.

Vaikunta Bapuji claimed that in his name there were 23 *wargs* in Baad *kasba* and four *wargs* in Kodibag and Katinkone villages. Out of these, he asserted that 17 *wargs* in Baad *kasba*, two *wargs* Kodibag and two *wargs* in Katinkon villages were his *muliwargs*. He insisted that the *muliwarga* meant hereditary and alienable estates, of which the *mulwargadar* was the sole proprietor in perpetuity, subject to fixed land revenue or quit-rent, payable to the sovereign, and which could not be lawfully enhanced. He claimed that the remaining six *wargs* in Baad *Kasba* were held by him as *geniwarg*. This meant that the land was originally land held by the sovereign and he was liable to pay revenue to the government. The counsel argued that according to the assurance given by Harris, the Collector of Kanara, in *fusly* 1229 (1819-20) the *geniwarg* was considered in all respects equal to *muliwarg*.⁷²

The counsel also argued that to change the rules relating to private property, an Imperial Act was necessary. The Bombay Act I of 1865 could not have interfered with the existing rights and increase the land revenue.⁷³ In the discussion carried out before implementing the Act I of 1865, the region of Kanara did not figure. Therefore, the sudden application of this act in Kanara was an *ultra vires* act of the Bombay government.⁷⁴ Thus the counsel to the plaintiff pointed out in his argument that the British government failed to

implement its own proclamation and promises to the people of India in general and Kanara in particular.

The counsel who argued in favour of the defendants or the government successfully proved that all the proclamations provided by the plaintiff were not genuine and oral statement should not be recognised by the court. The counsel reasoned out that the Bombay Act I of 1865 was applicable to Kanara. According to Section XXV and XXVI of this Act, the government had the inherent right to decide on the tax of its people. Sections XXX of the Bombay Act empowered the government to revise the assessment on all the lands whether they belonged to government or not, and impose a thirty years' settlement. Forty-ninth Section of this Act considered the term "alienated village" as including the *muli* land.⁷⁵ Therefore, the counsel for the government argued that the plaintiff simply denied this right of the government and asserted that existing revenue assessment paid by him as everlasting.

The government's counsel further argued that there was no force in the argument of the plaintiff that the nature of land tenure in Kanara made Bombay Act I of 1865 inoperative in Kanara. There was no provision in the Act to exclude the superior holder, occupant, owner, absolute owner, *inamdar* or *mulgar* from the payment of the land revenue to the government. The *mulgars* were admittedly holders of the land bound to make certain payments to the government and by default they acquired the right to sell their lands, but they were never exempted from paying the tax.⁷⁶

The counsel in defence of the government said that Munro, the first Collector had great power but it was not absolute. His policies were never followed by his successors.

According to Munro the term private property did not mean absolute freehold from payment of revenue to the government. By the term “fixed,” Munro did not mean that the land revenue could not be enhanced at all, and it only meant that it would not fluctuate frequently. The counsel further argued that when Munro took charge of Kanara, the British government had two aims: first to get the best from him, and secondly to conciliate the people by granting them partial remissions from the exactions imposed on them by their former native rulers. However, such remissions were purely temporary in nature and were for smooth administration. Even if the word ‘fixed’ meant ‘permanent’ for Munro, it was not adopted by the government as permanent settlement. If Munro had given any promise to the landholders that their assessments would never increase, he would have definitely written a report to the government, but no such letter was found.⁷⁷ The government’s counsel argued that according to the regulations XXV and XXXI of 1802 passed after the departure of Munro, his successors were not bound by his act. The Regulation XXV, provided for permanent settlement, but was never implemented in Kanara and Sonda. According to the Regulation XXXI which was implemented in Kanara, the government had the right to increase the revenue from time to time. Thus the counsel emphasised that these two regulations were enough to prove that the Madras government never ordered for permanent settlement in Kanara.⁷⁸

The Judgement:

In this suit obviously the decision was given in favour of the government. The court came to the conclusion that the argument of the plaintiff was illegal and impracticable. All his evidences were considered in the court as unauthorised and fake.

The court upheld the arguments made by the counsel of the government and proved that the plaintiff had failed to produce any original *patta*, *sanads* and title of document.⁷⁹

The court observed that from the ancient times in India, the assessment of land revenue was always in the direction of increase. The Adil Shahis, Vijayanagara emperors, Keladi rulers, Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan who ruled the Kanara region before the British had regularly increased the land revenue from time to time. The plaintiff had failed to prove that the permanency of the rate or amount of assessment, or partial exemption from liability to payment of land revenue was an element in the *muli* tenure in Kanara for some centuries before the British conquest of the province. The court held that Vaikunta Bapuji relied on the promises and oral orders or statements given by the former British officials for which there was no authenticity. The court gave its final verdict on 9th February 1875 by saying that the Bombay government had total authority to increase the land revenue on all the lands under its jurisdiction.⁸⁰

The final verdict was given in favour of the government. The colonial government at Bombay and its Court could prove that they had the right to increase the land revenue to be paid by a *mulawargadar* to the government. But this in no way reduced the significance of the legal suit of the plaintiff. Along with him several other ryots had petitioned to the government. However, Vaikunta Bapuji contributed to the process and language of protest of the ryots in Kanara which evolved in a big way subsequently. The present case brought to light the importance attached to *mulawarga* in Kanara. The arguments of the plaintiff's counsel highlighted the contradictions that existed in the colonial rule by pointing out that the British did not implement their proclamations in India. In fact such colonial contradictions were later exposed by early Indian nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji and

others, as well as M. K. Gandhi from the early decades of the twentieth century. Even after this case, the die-hard government did not decrease the land revenue and collected it as per the revised assessment. Further the government decided to increase it after thirty years. An appeal to the Privy Council was never prosecuted. The agitation in Kanara waned away. Thus the well-known fact that the British government was after the maximisation of land revenue in India was vindicated in this case also.

Case of Pandurang Krishna Shanbhag:

As in other parts of British India, in Uttara Kannada also the press was effectively used by the nationalists to expose the colonial character of the British rule in Kanara. The news of atrocities on women satyagrahis were reported by Akadas on 25th April 1932 in *Kanadavritta*, a weekly newspaper published from Kumta. It was edited by Pandurang Krishna Shanbhag. The women from the district used to organise strike in front of the houses of the villagers or ryots who had purchased the property forfeited and sold on account of arrears of land revenue. In one such incident, women in the district were guided by Gouramma, wife of a well-known Congress agitator, Venkataramayya from Bangalore. On 17th April 1932, the district women headed by Gouramma were on hunger strike in front of a bidder's house that purchased the forfeited goods.⁸¹ Gouramma and three or four women associates and two men associates were arrested by the police and sent to Siddapur police *kacheri*, where the police tortured them. They were abused with ugly words, they were pulled like cattle, and their saris were dragged. They were severely pounced with gun stocks and *lathis*.⁸² Though the other women were released, Gouramma was sent to Sirsi where she was examined by the doctors. In the administrative report, it is stated that the doctors certified that Gouramma suffered no injuries. However, it has to be noted that this

was completely contradictory to the report that appeared in the public press about her condition. The news of this incident was published in *Kanadavritta* dated on 25th April 1932, *Kannadiga* of Bagalkot and *Vishwa Karnataka* of Bangalore. Consequently, she was sentenced for six months rigorous punishment. In response to this harsh action taken by the government on Gouramma, *hartal* was observed in Sirsi and Siddapur villages. The police threatened shopkeepers if they resorted to *hartal*, they would be punished with imprisonment for one year and a fine of Rupees 100 fine. The District Magistrate sent a memo to the editor to appear before him at Belekeri where he had camped.⁸³ The editor was accompanied by the pleader, Narasinha Govind Shanbhag who was also the legal adviser of the newspaper. When they approached the District Magistrate, they were ill-treated by the Magistrate. The Magistrate argued that the news published was totally untrue and even the legal adviser was responsible for publishing the news. When they produced the copies of the newspapers, the Magistrate argued that the news was reported by the same reporter, and his intention was to spread false propaganda against the police and the government. The editor and legal adviser were insulted by the Magistrate, saying that they were unfit to be editors. The editor was ordered not to publish such anti-government news, and if he published such news items his newspaper would be banned.⁸⁴ Finally, the editor was sentenced with fine by the Magistrate. But on 29th June 1932, a case was filed against the editor of *Kanadavritta* under the Section 17 of Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 at the Special Magistrate of Karwar town, and the case was prolonged for more than one year. The request of the accused to pass the case to the High Court, or produce Gouramma to the court was never allowed. On 8th November 1932, two more cases were filed on the editor for publishing the news with the heading “Congress Work being carried on at Ankola by 5th Dictator Bhagirathi Ganesh Kamat.”⁸⁵ The District Magistrate under Section (17) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, booked the case for publishing the news of

activities of unlawful associations, and a fine of Rupees 200 was imposed, and the publication was banned. But when the editor appealed for revision of the District Magistrate's decision at the High Court, the High Court gave decisions in favour of the editor on 24th November 1932.⁸⁶ The High Court arrived at such a decision by holding that the names of the unlawful associations were not used in the news, and it was just the report of the programme which would be held at Ankola taluk. The High Court also ordered to refund the fine back to the editor. However, the original case against Pandurang Krishna Shanbhag filed for publishing the news of police atrocities was still pending in the First Magisterial Court at Karwar, and was finally decided on 6th November 1933, and the editor was convicted and sentenced to pay fine of Rupees 100 or in default to undergo rigorous imprisonment for one month. But against this decision, Pandurang Krishna Shanbhag appealed before the Sessions Court at Karwar. The court finally acquitted him on 23rd January 1934.⁸⁷

The legal system introduced by the British in India had several shortcomings. Fighting a legal case was very expensive and only the rich could approach the advocate and the court. The poor and uneducated were practically out of it. In the British legal system the cases were delayed and prolonged, and they favoured the clients who could afford to pay them. Both judiciary and law were not favourable to the inhabitants of the region. In fact, they proved to be a burden for them.

Police:

The police force was an important apparatus in maintaining law and order in the society. However, the colonial police used repressive policies. The establishment of police

system included two tasks: the first involved the establishment of an organisation disciplined to perform the tasks to control, and second involved in positioning and penetration of society to enable it to further colonial hegemony. This was very much necessary in a colony like India which was large in terms of population and area. India was located far away from Britain that hindered the direct control by solely using the strength of the British army. In the mid-19th century army was replaced by the police as the primary instrument of maintaining order and controlling crime in India. After the Revolt of 1857 in India the administrative strategy of the British government had changed. It passed many laws and codes to administer India. In 1860, the Government of India appointed a Commission to enquire into the police administration in India.⁸⁸ It recommended the establishment of a well-organised civil constabulary, supervised by European officers. At the head of the police organisation in the province, there was an Inspector-General. The Deputy Inspector-General was placed in each range (the province was divided into ranges), and at the head of each district, there was a Superintendent of Police. These recommendations formed the basis of the Police Act of 1861. The Police Act of 1861 was the legal backbone of the police system. The act stipulated the organisational structure and hierarchy of the police force.⁸⁹

The police force in the district of Uttara Kannada consisted of two distinct bodies, the stipendiary and the village police. The member of stipendiary force could begin as constables on a monthly pay of rupees 20, had the opportunity of becoming head constable, inspector or even deputy superintendent.⁹⁰ In the *mofussil*, the sub-inspector had the charge of the police station. The inspector had the charge of sub-division comprising of several police stations or large towns. The pay of sub-inspector ranged from Rupees 75 to Rupees 160 and that of Inspector from Rupees 180 to Rupees 300 per month,⁹¹ and the Assistant

Superintendent of Police or Deputy Superintendent had charge of the sub-division of a district.⁹² The executive management of the police in each district was vested under the general direction of the Magistrate of the district assisted by Superintendent of Police.⁹³ In 1881 the total strength of the district police was 663. There was one district superintendent with salary of Rupees 12000 per year and he was a European officer. The salary of subordinate officers was not less than Rupees 1200 per year and the inferior subordinate officers on yearly salaries of less than Rupees 1200.⁹⁴ The proportion of police to area varied greatly according to the nature of the country. It was based on the density and the character of the population and neighbourhood of the Indian states. The police were recruited from Ratnagiri, Sawantwadi and Konkan Marathas of Karwar.

The following statement shows the average proportion of police to an area in the year 1879.⁹⁵

- Area - 4,235 square miles.
- Population Census (1872) - 398,406.
- Strength of Police on 1st June 1880 - 666.
- Police to Area - 1 to 6.
- Police to Population - 1 to 598.

This average reached in southern division of Bombay presidency to 1 to 5.27 square miles and 1 to 63 inhabitants in the year 1930.⁹⁶

The police force was also employed during the time of fairs held in the various parts of the district. The police stations were established in Karwar, Chittakula, Ankola, Gokarna, Kumta, Honnavar, Bhatkal, Siddapur, Sirsi, Banavasi, Mundgod, Yellapur,

Haliyal and Supa. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the police force was of considerable size.⁹⁷

Table 4:2
Total Strength of Police in the District

	1903	1910	1921
Police Inspector	3	4	3
Sub- Inspector	12	20	19
Head Constable	138	137	165
Constable	496	496	449
Total	649	657	636

Village Police:

As per the provision of Bombay Act VII of 1867, the system of village police was subjected to the control and direction of the Commissioner administered by the different district Magistrates. In each village, the village police was under the charge of police *patel*, who was often, but not always the person performing the duties of revenue *patel*. His duties as police *patel* were furnished to the Magistrate of the district, with any returns of information called for and to keep him constantly informed as to the state of crime, and all matters connected with the village police, health, and general condition of the community in his village. The village police had the duty to prevent crime, and public nuisances and to detect and arrest offenders within their village limits. They were not stipendiary, but received perquisites from the inhabitants of the village or rent lands or sums of money from the government.⁹⁸ Under a form of administration which preserved the village as the unit of collection, in the revenue matter, the village police naturally held an important place in the administration.⁹⁹ When the new survey and settlement were introduced in the district, the number of villages was increased and the salary of police *patel* was also

increased. In the year 1873, the the number of village police was 554,¹⁰⁰ and it was raised to 760 in the year 1876.¹⁰¹

Jail:

The District Jail at Karwar was established in the year 1874. It was a district lock-up in the beginning. Gradually its status was raised to that of a special sub-jail to confine hundreds of convicts of Bombay presidency. During the freedom movement, very prominent leaders were locked up in this jail. A separate ward was reserved for prisoners in the District Hospital Karwar. There were three subordinate jails at Kumta, Honnavar and Sirsi, each with the capacity of 20 prisoners in the year 1875. The prisoners could be confined for periods not exceeding three months in this jail.¹⁰² In the subordinate jails, *Mamlatdar* was the superintendent of jail, and next to him was the Jailer of subordinate jails.¹⁰³ Under the Amended Jail Act (Section II) of 1874, the transfer of prisoner from subordinate jails to district jail was entrusted to the Inspector General of Prisons. But in later years, the transfer of prisoners under certain condition was left with District Magistrate. For appointing jailer, District Magistrate was always consulted by Inspector General of Prisons. The sanitary condition of the district jail was very bad in the year 1875.¹⁰⁴ The chief jail industries were carpentry, cane works and weaving. In 1882 some alterations were made in the jail administration, formerly the Jailer was appointed by the Superintendents, and subsequently after some changes in jail administration, he was appointed by the Inspector General. The Jailer's pay was increased to graduate scale which helped him for quicker promotions. The pay of the jail warden and peon was also increased.

There were lock-ups at each *Mamlatdar's* office and one district jail at Karwar. The political prisoners were not kept for a long time in the district. They were sent to jail in Belgaum.¹⁰⁵

The colonial government used its police force for its own benefits. Whenever the colonial laws were broken by the natives, the police force was sent to take actions against them. The police force was of great help to the colonial government in enforcing the forest laws in Uttara Kannada district. Sometimes, even false cases were filed against the peasants accusing them of violation of laws. Whenever a forest fire broke out in the forest, the police officers used to send the report that it was deliberately spread by the villagers. This kind of harassment reached its peak during the freedom struggle.

Conducting surprise raids, catching hold of persons at work in the fields or collecting wood in the forest and returning home tired and hungry were common. The peasants were taken to police station, and they were tortured to reveal the secret places of the Congress workers. Pulling a woman out of her house during the nights and threatening to strip her naked if the endeavour of her husband was not revealed was also an inhuman act of the police. Snatching the babies from their mothers and threatening the latter that if the men on whom warrants were issued were not brought and produced they would not get back their babies. Repressive measures of the police became routine affairs in the region. The women who endeavoured to break and open the seal of the forfeited houses were pushed, kicked, beaten up and jailed. At Vasare village in Ankola, Manudevi, a lady entered the house forfeited to the government after breaking the seal, but was pulled out by the police; she was slapped and kicked till she fell unconscious. Not content with this, the police threw chilly powder in her eyes, and left her for dead.¹⁰⁶

The police system was very harsh towards the natives. It was through the use of the police that the British held India and exercised control over it, and met continued successive challenges to colonial control.

¹ Bipan Chandra, *Op. Cit.*, p. 114-15.

² Sankar Ghose, *Political Ideas and Movements in India*, Madras, 1975, p.75.

³ Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of Raj*, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 37-39; Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, Delhi, 1998, p.35; T. K. Vinod Kumar and Arvind Verma, "Hegemony, Discipline and Control in the Administration of Police in Colonial India" in *Asian Criminology*, 2009, [http://demo.sheruyasodha.com.np/uploads/Asian_criminology_4_\(2009\)_6178.pdf](http://demo.sheruyasodha.com.np/uploads/Asian_criminology_4_(2009)_6178.pdf). 12-10-2013, p.2.

⁴ WWW. Indianelzone.com/25/British-impact-onIndian-law-administration. accessed on 23-11-2013.

⁵ The *JD* Proceedings, file No. 419 of 1865, dated 20th December 1865, *JD, MSA*, p.112.

⁶ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Uttara Kannada District Gazetteer, Op.Cit.*, pp. 672-73; N. Shyam Bhat, *Judiciary and Police, Op.Cit.*, p. 41.

⁷ Letter from Acting Collector of Kanara No. 2072 dated 30th August 1855, quoted in the *JD*, file No. 4149 of 1865, dated 20th December 1865, *JD, MSA*, p.5.

⁸ <http://kar.distcourts.kar.in/about-court-kar>, accessed on 27-9-2013.

⁹ James M Campbell, (Ed) *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Kanara District (Vol. II)*, Bangalore, reprint 2003, p.196.

¹⁰ *BHR*, The Kanara Land Assessment Case of 1st May 1875, *Appendix to Volume XII, MSA*, p.2.

¹¹ *AARBP*, 1930-31, *MSA*, p.28.

¹² Extract from Proceedings of the Government of Bombay in the Revenue Department dated 20th July 1862, *MSA*.

¹³ Letter from Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to W. Hart, Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, Poona, No. 2049 of 1864, Carwar, 26th August 1864. *RD*, Vol. No. 25, *MSA*.

¹⁴ Extract from Proceedings of the Government of Bombay in the Revenue Department dated 20th July 1862, *MSA*.

¹⁵ A. R. Macdonald, Collector of Kanara to W.H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No 2697 of 1876, Karwar Collector's Office, 28th July 1875, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1875-76, *MSA*, p.187.

¹⁶ A. R. Macdonald, Collector of Kanara to W. H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No 2567 of 1877, Karwar Collector's Office, 24th July 1876, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1876-77, *MSA*, p.35.

¹⁷ Letter from W. A. Goldfish, Collector of North Kanara to W. Hart, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, 7th June 1862, No.602, *RD*. Vol. No.37 of 1862-64, *MSA*.

¹⁸ <http://kar.distcourts.kar.in/about-court-kar>, accessed on 27-9-2013.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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- ²⁰ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Uttara Kannada District Gazetteer*, p.674.
- ²¹ <http://kar.distcourts,kar.in/about-court-kar>, 27-9-2013.
- ²² Suryanath U. Kamath, *Uttara Kannada District Gazetteer*, 1985, p.675.
- ²³ N. Shyam Bhat, *Judiciary and Police, Op.Cit.*, p. 74.
- ²⁴ T. K. Vinod Kumar and Arvind Verma, “Hegemony, Discipline and Control in the Administration of Police in Colonial India”, *Op.Cit.* p.10.
- ²⁵ Letter from W. Wedderburn, Assistant Collector of Kanara to the Collector of Kanara, 7th May 1864, *RD*. Vol. 45 of 1864, *MSA*, para.4.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ I. Davidson, Collector of Kanara to Commissioner *SD*, No. 3726 of 1895, Karwar, 31st July 1894, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1895, *MSA*, p.189.
- ²⁸ Ranganath Diwakar, *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe*, Hubli, 1955, pp. XIV-XV.
- ²⁹ S.S. Chandawarkar (compiled), *Bombay Forest Manual, Vol.II*, Bombay, 1921, *MSA*, p. 79.
- ³⁰ *Kanara Vanadhukka Nivarana Sabha*, Inward No. 3239, Petition sent and signed by 38 ryots of Sirsi taluk, Exhibit -19, *MSA*.
- ³¹ Collector of Kanara to Revenue Commissioner *SD*, Collector’s Office, No.2317 of 1889, Karwar, 8th August 1889, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1889-90, *MSA*, p. 82.
- ³² H. Woodward, Acting Collector of Kanara to Alfred Kryesor, Acting Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, No. 3619 of 1890, Karwar, 12th August 1890, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1888-89, *MSA*, p. 84.
- ³³ I. Davidson, Collector of Kanara to Commissioner *SD*, No. 3726 of 1895, Karwar, 31st July 1894, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1895, *MSA*, pp.199-200.
- ³⁴ A. R. Macdonald, Collector of Kanara to W. H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No 2567 of 1876, Karwar Collector’s Office, 24th July 1876, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1876-77, *MSA*, p. 56.
- ³⁵ I. Davidson, Collector of Kanara to Commissioner *SD*, No. 3726 of 1895, Karwar, 31st July 1894, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1895, *MSA*, pp. 199-200.
- ³⁶ Quoted By Narayan Chandavarkar at First District Congress Session held in Karwar from 14 to 17th May 1920, *Kanadavritta*, Dated, 20th May 1920, *KSA*.
- ³⁷ *AFARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1881-82, *MSA*, p.45.
- ³⁸ Bombay Native Newspapers reports, dated, 11/ 1920, *MSA*.
- ³⁹ *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 6/8/1927.
- ⁴⁰ Ranganath Diwakar, *Karnirakarneya Veera Kathe, Op.Cit.* p. IX ; Jogi Beeranna Nayak, *Shatayushi Sahitya*, Ankola, 2006, p.34.
- ⁴¹ Amendment to Kanara Forest Privilege Rules, *RD*. File No. 779/24, A class, Kanara Forest Privilege Rule, *MSA*.
- ⁴² I. Davidson, Collector of Kanara to Commissioner *SD*, No. 3726 of 1895, Karwar, 31st July 1894, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1895, *MSA*, p. 198.

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- ⁴³ Rules for the grant of permits to cut timber and bamboos etc., in Kanara Collectorate, *RD*. Vol. 109 of 1900, *MSA*.
- ⁴⁴ Letter from James London, Police Constable and a convict in Karwar Jail, dated 8th November 1880, *JD*, Vol. No.49 of 1881, *MSA*, para, 35.
- ⁴⁵ Report of Shirwad Village *patel* and *sarkarkoon* to the Collector of Kanara on illegal cut of trees in Government lands in the year 1879, *JD*, Vol.49 of 1881, *MSA*.
- ⁴⁶ Letter from R. E. Candy, District Magistrate, Kanara to G. F. Sheppard, Commissioner *SD*, Camp, Murudeshwara, 22nd December 1880, No. 4599 of 1880, *JD*, Vol.49 of 1881, *MSA*.
- ⁴⁷ Letter from James London, Police Constable and a convict in Karwar Jail, dated 8th November 1880, *Op.Cit.*, para 65.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ Memorandum from W. C. Anderson, No. 1070 of 1871 Survey Commissioner's Office, Poona 9th October 1871, *RD*, Vol. No.47 of 1871, *MSA*, pp.337-38.
- ⁵⁰ Letter From M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara to Revenue Commissioner *SD.*, No. 703 of 1871, Canara Collector's Office, Carwar, 3rd March 1871, *RD*, Vol. No.47of 1871, *MSA*, p.3.
- ⁵¹ Letter from Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara to W. H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, Carwar Collector's Office, 4th August 1871, No. 2191 of 1871, *RD*, Vol. No.47of 1871, *MSA*, p.395.
- ⁵² *Ibid*, p.396.
- ⁵³ *JD*, file Vol.45, of 1878, *MSA*, p.115.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ *BHR*, The Kanara Land Assessment Case of 1st May 1875, *Op.Cit.*, *MSA.*,p.2; N. Shyam Bhat and Bhagyashree Naik, "The Kanara Land Assessment Case of 1875: A Forgotten Chapter in the Revenue History of Colonial India", *Indica*, Vol. 50, No. 1 & 2, pp. 350-367.
- ⁵⁶ Suit No. 1 of 1871, filed in the Civil Court, Carwar, *RD*, *MSA*, Vol. No.47of 1871, pp.609-612.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.610.
- ⁵⁹ Letter from Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara to W.H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, *Op. Cit.*, p.396.
- ⁶⁰ Letter from Colonel W. C. Anderson, Survey and Settlement Officer to Chief Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, Survey Commissioner's Office, Bombay, 20th November 1871, *RD*, *MSA*, Vol. No. 47 of 1871, pp. 377-379.
- ⁶¹ *BHR*, The Canara Land Assessment Case, 1st May 1875, *Op.Cit.*, *MSA*, p.2
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid* ; Tyabji's role as a pleader here reminds us of the role of nationalist leaders like Bhulabhai Desai, Tej Bahaddur Sapru, K. N. Katju, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Asaf Ali in defending the Indian National Army Prisoners in the court at the historic Red Fort trials in the year 1945. See Bipan Chandra and others, *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi, reprint, 2013, pp.475-76. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947*, New Delhi, reprint 2013, p.418.

⁶⁵ *BHR, Op. Cit., MSA*, p.2.

⁶⁶ *BHR, Op.Cit., MSA*, p.10 ; Memorandum from W. C. Anderson, No. 1070 of 1871, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 337-338.

⁶⁷ Translation of Marathi Petition of Ryots of Kadwad village of Karwar taluk to Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, 15th March, 1871, *RD*, Vol.14 of 1871, *MSA*, pp. 309-310.

⁶⁸ *BHR, Op.Cit., MSA*, pp. 2-5.

⁶⁹ Letter from, R. E. Candy, Acting Assistant Collector, Canara to M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara, 15th March, *RD*. Vol.14 of 1871, *MSA*, p. 12.

⁷⁰ Letter from H. Ingle, Superintendent of Karwar to M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara, 17th March 1871, with attached copy of petition of ryots, *RD*. Vol.14 of 1871, *MSA*, PP.19-21.

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

⁷² *BHR, Op. Cit., MSA*, p.3.

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp.13-14.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.18.

⁷⁹ *BHR, Op. Cit., MSA*, p.18.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p.2..

⁸¹ Telegram from Kaveramma Kallal, dated 22nd April 1932 to Home Member, Bombay Government, Bombay, Home Special, 800(41)D,1931-33, p.1 ; Home Department Special Files, No. 800(41) D, 1932-34 ; *Kanadavritta*, dated 25th April 1932; *Kannadiga* ,Bagalkot dated 28th April 1932.

⁸² Telegram fom Kaveramma Kallal, dated 22nd April 1932 to Home Member, Home Special, 800(41)D,1931-33, p.1; Home Department special files, No. 800(41) D, 1932-34 ; *Kanadavritta* news paper, dated 25th April, 1932.

⁸³ of 5118, Camp Siddapur 5th May 1932, duplicate, signed by C. B.B. Clee, District Magistrate, Kanara, Home Special File No.800(41)D, 1932-33, p. 67.

⁸⁴ *Kanadavritta* dated 25th April, 1932; Appeal by Pandurang Krishna Shanbhag, editor of *Kanadavritta* Home Special File No.800(41)D, 1932-33,p.207.

⁸⁵ Home Special File No.800(41)D, 1932-33, p.121.

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- ⁸⁶ The Government Pleader, Bombay High Court to Secretary to Government, No. 3579 of 1932, Bombay 5th December 1932, Criminal application number 323 of 1932, Home Special File No.800(41) D, 1932-33, pp. 137-147
- ⁸⁷ Home Special File No. 800 (41) D. 1932-33.
- ⁸⁸ *AARBP*, 1861, *MSA*, p.45.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ A Review of Administration of the Bombay Presidency 1942-43, Bombay, 1950, *MSA*, p.39.
- ⁹¹ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1930-31, *MSA*.
- ⁹² A Review of Administration of the Bombay Presidency 1942-43, Bombay, 1950, *MSA*, p.35.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ James Campbell (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.200.
- ⁹⁵ Annual Police Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency, including the Province of Sindh, Bombay, 1880, *MSA*, p.17.
- ⁹⁶ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1930-31, *MSA*.
- ⁹⁷ Annual Police Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency (1903, 1910, and 1921) including the Province of Sindh, *MSA*.
- ⁹⁸ A Review of Administration of the Bombay Presidency 1942-43, Bombay, 1950, *MSA*, p.40.
- ⁹⁹ H. H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge History of the British Empire: British India, 1497-1858*, p.115.
- ¹⁰⁰ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate , 1872-73, *MSA*.
- ¹⁰¹ A. R. Macdonald, Collector of Kanara to W. H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No. 2567 of 1876, Karwar Collector's Office, 24th July 1876, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1876-77, *MSA*, p.35.
- ¹⁰² A. R. Macdonald, Collector of Kanara to W. H. Havlock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No. 2697 of 1876, Karwar Collector's Office, 28th July 1875, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1875-76, *MSA*, p.187.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p.81.
- ¹⁰⁴ A. R. Macdonald, Collector of Kanara to W. H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No.2567 of 1876, Karwar Collector's Office, 24th July 1876, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1876-77, *MSA*, p.35.
- ¹⁰⁵ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 670-71.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ranganath Diwakar, *Karnirakarneya Veera Kathe*, Hubli, 1995, p. 119 ; Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, *Swatantrya Horatada Horalu Nota*, Ankola, 2009, p.123.

CHAPTER – V

THE FOREST POLICY

The forest acts, policies and management introduced by the British in India have been a subject of considerable debate among the historians and ecologists both in India and abroad. In the 1980s and 1990s two important questions kept the environmental historians on their toes: firstly, what was the real history of protest against State forestry in India and in what ways was it connected to the broad history of nationalist protest? And secondly, what was the ideological history of the State agency that was threatening the ecology of India?¹ The researchers in India concentrated on the history of resistance to colonial forest policy and the ideological content of that policy.² Representing the Western approach, Richard H. Grove through his writings, propounded the idea of Green Imperialism and popularised it.³

Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha in their articles and books asserted that in the pre-British period there was little or no interference with the customary use of forest and forest produce. They viewed colonial forest policy and conservation as primarily driven by materialistic considerations—that of serving the strategic and revenue interest of the British Empire. Further they argued that imperial needs for timber and shipbuilding propelled scientific forestry with its associated bureaucracy.⁴ Ramachandra Guha wrote that the thesis (propounded by himself and Gadgil) that the coming of British rule was a watershed in the ecological history of India has not gone uncontested. Perhaps the most vigorous denial can be found in the writings of the Cambridge scholar Richard Grove.⁵

Grove argued that the British forest officials were not as vulgarly commercial as some Indian scholars suggest. In fact, quite a few of them demonstrated a precocious environmental consciousness, alerting their superior authorities to the impact on soil erosion and climate change of the massive clearing of forests in the early face of colonial rule.⁶ Grove further held that colonial conservationism was based on humanist concerns motivated by growing deforestation and drought. In his view, it was desiccationism that promoted the idea of forest conservancy in the colonies. Desiccationism draws on the connection between deforestation and drought, shrinking water resources, soil erosion, and productivity.⁷ Officials of the European trading companies were able to take note of them. These people systematically developed desiccationist discourses and sought State intervention in the protection of forests. In the process Grove played down the importance of imperialist or colonialist greed behind the forest policy and focuses on other considerations, which were more humane.⁸

Grove also argued that state intervention and environmental destruction were not the monopoly of the British alone. The clearing of the forest in pre-colonial period shows that the Indians were not exactly incapable of ecological profligacy. He also pointed out that state control over woodlands was a feature of many Indian political regimes.⁹ Grove rejected the idea that colonialism was an ecological watershed in India's environmental history.

It is pertinent to note that Grove, like the other Cambridge historians who upheld the continuity thesis with regard to the second half of the eighteenth century, held that what the British did in the area of forestry was to continue with the forest practices which existed in Pre-British India.

Mahesh Rangarajan did not see simple polarities between the two sets of ideas and suggested that a convergence of ideas was indeed the case. He argued that the desiccationist fear had only a limited impact and was only one of the influences that shaped the course of the early nineteenth century Indian forestry. Ajay Skaria viewed forest conservancy which emerged out of the desiccationist discourses also as a part of the broader 'civilising mission' of imperialism. Skaria disagreed with Grove and said that the agenda of forest conservancy was not 'innocent of colonial domination'.¹⁰

D. D. Dangwal followed up the view of Skaria and showed how desiccationism was frequently used by the State to extend control over the central Himalayan forests or the Uttarakhand region.¹¹

Ranjan Chakrabarti says: "I see the problem essentially an integral part of a broader strategy of power which was geared primarily to ensure the domination of the Indian colony by its white rulers. To the British rulers, the colonisation of India seemed to be incomplete without the pacification of the jungle. To them the Indian jungle alone had the wilderness to match the valour of the masculine occident".¹²

The Forest Acts, in a single stroke, made government's claim over the forests legitimate, and hunting, food gathering, or cutting trees became illegitimate. The main group of offences was that of hunting, wounding or stealing of animals, and poaching or fishing. In this manner was created a whole new legal category of forest crimes. The boundaries of forest crimes extended, and what constituted forest crime remained fluid. The new forest policy was geared to generate a new sensibility as to the use of forests. There is no disagreement on the point that the forests were destroyed due to the policy of

ruthless commercial exploitation adopted by the colonial government. The British first destroyed the forests and then became the self-styled protectors of the same forests. Ranjan Chakrabarti has argued that the English were the real poachers but they used the game law to brand the indigenous forest people, who earned their livelihood from the forest, as 'poachers'. Thus, having destroyed the animals the European hunters later emerged as self-styled conservationists and went flat out to romanticise the tropical rain forest and its animals.¹³

Grove rejects the Guha thesis as "a golden age" approach to South Asian environmental history and questions the assumptions about the existence of pre-colonial common property and communal customary forest use. The recent research of Rangarajan, Skaria, Damodaran and others certainly takes some of its cues from the early works of Tucker and the subalternists. But it has been also influenced by the globalist approach of Alfred Crosby and the revisionism of Christopher Bayly. Bayly has encouraged environmental historians to treat colonial rule not as a watershed but as a period in which continuities with the pre-colonial period were to be regarded as important. Grove also sees the bias in South Asian environmental history caused by an overemphasis on the post-1857 period. Both Rangarajan and Grove rightly point to the significance of the forest policies pursued by the successor states to the Mughals. Grove in particular draws our attention to the need of a comprehensive history of drought, famine, and climatic changes.¹⁴

Jacques Pouchepadass exhorted historians not to contrast the colonial forestry and its effects on environment with the nationalist myth of the pre-colonial "golden age" of equilibrium between society and nature in India. Further Pouchepadass pointed out that this is because independence has not put a stop anywhere to the

exploitation of forests and environmental destruction. Thus, to Pouchepadass the need of the hour is a radical critique of capitalist expansionism, of which the colonisation of nature has been one of the major objectives. The observations of Pouchepadass are crucial, for he does not mean that one should systematically minimise the importance of the colonial impact on natural environments.¹⁵ He asserted that from many points of view, it represented a radically new phenomenon. In this study, we follow the approach of Gadgil and Guha with regard to colonial forest policy and its impact on the forests, economy, people and the environment.

The imperial needs dictated the British interest in the Indian forest resources, which resulted in the establishment of control over the forest resources. In this context, an attempt is made to review the colonial forest policies in Uttara Kannada and their impact on the inhabitants of the region.

Use of Forest Resources:

In the pre-British India, the forest played a vital role in the well being of the people. The inhabitants settled on the banks of the rivers or small valleys, where they cultivated rice, sugarcane and in some cases garden crops that were surrounded by the thick forest.¹⁶ The agricultural activity was highly dependent upon the forest. The ryots depended upon the forest to build ordinary houses of inferior kind, huts and cottages for their residence, to prepare agricultural implements and to carry out several works in connection with the cultivation. To watch and supervise the cultivation, they built watch houses near the cultivated areas. The cattle sheds were constructed close to their houses for their own convenience and for the safety of the cattle. The ryots had to erect sheds in the

summer season in front of their residences to protect themselves from the heat. In the rainy season they had to make temporary additions to their roofs to protect their mud walls from the heavy rains. The garden cultivators had to erect *chappara* to dry their garden produce. To manufacture the *alemane*, they required woods.¹⁷ Other than the ryots or agriculturists, fishermen, cobblers, potters, professional grazers and artisans were highly dependent upon the forest for their raw materials. From the leaf of *tali* palm, palm umbrellas were prepared, and canes were used for making baskets, and other goods used for agricultural purposes. The fishermen depended upon forest to prepare small boats and other implements from woods. The tanners were using *matti* wood for preparing tanning materials, and the *kumri* cultivators used to extract minor forest products and sell them to the villagers. The interior villagers depended upon the forest for constructing bridges and boats in the rainy season. Thus the inhabitants for one or the other purposes, highly depended upon the forest and its products for their day-to-day life.¹⁸ W. Wedderburn, who gave a report on the *betta* land in 1862, recognised that the gardeners used the leaves of the trees surrounding their gardens from time immemorial.¹⁹ Prior to the *British* rule in India, the inhabitants relied upon the forest resources as an essential element of their survival. Traditionally the cultivators enjoyed the forest produce, obtained timber, firewood and foliage without any cost in such quantities as they required for house building and agriculture. The gardeners and cultivators enjoyed the liberty of cutting leaves and pollarding trees for manure. Further, in times of necessity, the trees were also cut.²⁰ All these enabled the agriculturists to cultivate not only rice and food crops, but also garden crops like arecanut, coconut and variety of spices. In the meantime, they managed the ecological balance by reserving huge areas of the forest in each village as *kan* forest.²¹

By around 1800, Britain had emerged as the world leader in deforestation, devastating its own woods and the forests in Ireland, South Africa and North-Eastern United States to draw timber for shipbuilding, iron-smelting and farming. Occasionally, it is said that the destruction of forests was used by the British to symbolise political victory. The onslaught on the forest was primarily because of the increasing demand for military purposes, for the British navy, for local construction (such as roads and railways), supply of teak and sandalwood for export trade an extension of agriculture in order to supplement revenue.²²

It took about three quarters of a century for the British government to create a forest administration which was independent of the Revenue Department. The British government began to control the forest resources in the year 1806. On 10th November 1806, Captain Joseph Watson was appointed as the first Conservator of Forest in India to facilitate the extraction of teak, a timber noted for its superior quality and available in the southern region of Malabar and Travancore.²³ By the Proclamation of 1807, the British government vested authority in the hands of the conservator over the forests of Malabar and Travancore, and thus teak monopoly was in place. Eventually, this monopoly was spread to other species as their commercial value was recognised. During the time from 1820 to 1865, blackwood, ebony, anjili, and sandalwood were added to the list of species reserved for extraction and use by the colonial government.²⁴ Immediately after taking over the administration of the Uttara Kannada district in 1799, the colonial government made an attempt to increase the revenue from the forest.

Forest Establishment:

In order to secure monopoly over the forest resources, the British government established a well-organised forest department. The establishment of the forest department in the district was done as suggested by Dietrich Brandis, Inspector General of Forest, in his letter No. 209 of 18th June 1870 to the Government of Bombay, and approved by the British Government in the R. No. 637 F. of 21st October 1870.²⁵ The entire executive responsibility in connection with the forest management in each district vested in the hands of the Collector. The officers under him included the Assistant Conservator, who helped him in the forest management. The duties of Conservator were confined to a General Inspector. He was required to give advice on all forest matters regarding which he might be consulted by the government or the Revenue Collector. The Conservator did not exercise any control or supervision over the executive management of the forest.²⁶ The subordinate forest establishment was attached to each taluk. One inspector and number of foresters were appointed to each taluk. These subordinate officers were under the orders of the *Mamlatdar*.²⁷ The new forest establishment was formed in the year 1873-74²⁸

Table 5:1
Forest Establishment in the year 1882:²⁹

Number of officers	Forest Department	Salary (per month)
		Rs. a p
1	Deputy Conservator	850-0-0
2	Assistant Conservator	1 st grade- 550-0-0 2 nd grade- 450-0-0
3	Sub-Assistant Conservator	1 st grade-975-0-0 2 nd grade-260-0-0 3 rd grade-235-0-0
1	Accountant	70-0-0
3	Clerk	1 with-40-0-0 1 with-30-0-0 1 with-20-0-0
3	Forest Rangers	1 on- 80-0-0 1 on -60-0-0 1 on-50-0-0
5	Forester	4 on -40-0-0 1 on 30-0-0
60	Forest Guards	20 on-14-0-0 40 on-9-0-0
1	English Writer	25-0-0

There was a separate establishment for the Forest Depot. The following tables show details about coastal depot and inland depot.

Table 5:2
Coastal Depot Establishment in the year 1873-74³⁰

	Coastal Depot	Salary in rupees per month
1	Superintendent	100-0-0
1	Store keeper	100-0-0
1	Clerk	25-0-0
1	Measurer	25-0-0
2	Peons at Rs. 7 each	14-0-0
4	Peons at Rs. 5 ½ each	22-0-0

Table 5:3
Inland Depot Establishment in the year 1873-74³¹

Number of posts	Inland Depot	Salary in rupees per month
3	Store keepers at Rs. 30 each	90-0-0
3	Store keepers at Rs. 20 each	60-0-0
6	Foresters at Rs 8 each	48-0-0

Further, in order to enforce the Forest Act of 1878, which was amended in 1890, extra temporary establishment was created.³²

Table 5: 4
Extra Establishment to implement Forest Act of 1890:³³

Number of posts	Designation	Salary per month in rupees
2	Inspector	20-0-0
1	Inspector	25-0-0
1	Inspector	40-0-0
6	Peons	10-0-0

Kanara Forest Permit Rule (1864) and Indian Forest Act of 1865:

The first nation-wide forest regulation was introduced in India when the British government passed the Indian Forest Act of 1865.³⁴ It was the first attempt towards the legalisation and bureaucratisation of the forest landscape to meet the timber requirements of the colonial state in India. One of the important features of the Forest Act of 1865 was that it categorised the Indian forest landscape into reserved forests and unreserved forests. Under this scheme, the reserved forests were declared as state property, wherein people's access was prohibited. In the unreserved forests too people were allowed to access forest produce with certain restrictions.³⁵ The object of this categorisation was to impose state monopoly on the forest resources in India. However, the Forest Act of 1865 had initiated a new policy in the history of forest management in India. The Forest Act aimed at regulating the community control over the forest and reducing the extraction of timber.³⁶ In the Uttara Kannada district, the forest laws were framed even before the enactment of Indian Forest Act of 1865. The colonial government framed the rules for granting of permit to cut timber, bamboos etc in the Kanara Collectorate in the year 1864 with these rules, the Bombay Government tried to cut timber through the forest officials, and supply timber through the government depots from time to time through public auction. At the same time, the inhabitants were given right to take bamboos and woods for personal use and not for sale.³⁷ The same were published in the Government Gazette, and included the following: The ryots according to the customary usage could cut and collect wood from the government forest except in the cases specially reserved for the growth of timber or other conservancy purpose. The following sorts of forest produce could be used.

1. Bamboos of sort.
2. Jungle wood for small houses, huts, *chappara*, cattle sheds etc.,

3. Dry-wood for fuel.
4. Leaves and grass for manure.
5. Thorns and brushwood and stakes for hedges and dams, woods for agricultural implements.
6. Dead sago and other palm trees for water courses etc.
7. To clear away brushwood within 50 feet of cultivated lands, and
8. The brushwood so cleared may be made use of by the people.

The last two rules needed *mamlatdar's* permission. The ryots were prohibited from taking squared timber for houses of a superior description, planks for solid wheels of carts, and wood for rice mills. If anyone was found clearing wood of any description without the written permission of *mamlatdar*, he was prosecuted by law. In the requisition for permission, the ryots had to mention the reason for what purpose they needed wood. In some cases, cutting of trees like sandalwood, teak, blackwood, ebony, *honnay*, *sirhony*, *mutty*, *bulghay*, *korrymottol* and *sawnee* special permission of the Collector was required, and special rates were fixed to cut such trees. The permission was not granted to cut trees from 31st May to 31st October. No person was permitted to cut trees after expiry of his permit rules, but he could apply for the extension of permit. The permissions were not given to the ryots to cut the woods from government forest, who were able to purchase the timber and other articles required from the depots by paying the prescribed fees. The cultivators who had suitable trees to cut, other than fruit trees, standing in their own estates were not permitted to cut trees from the government forests. If any inhabitant failed to follow these rules, he was prosecuted under the criminal laws.³⁸ The ryots could cut and collect leaves and grass for manure as per customary usage. They could use jungle wood for constructing small houses like cattle shed. The inhabitants could take fuel including

firewood for preparing jaggery, stakes for hedges and wood for agricultural implements. Grazing was permitted in the open forests on payment of fee.³⁹

When the survey officers reached the district in 1871 they saw the free use of forest and wanted to curtail the privileges of the ryots. A resolution was passed by the government in the year 1871 (No.5114, dated 13th October 1871), and the Kanara Permit Rules were amended and published in 1871.⁴⁰ It restricted the inhabitants from looping of trees from definite areas known as *betta* lands.⁴¹ These rules prohibited the inhabitants from enjoying many privileges which were in vogue from time immemorial. This act empowered the government to declare the land covered with trees or jungles as government forest by notification.⁴² Before passing of Indian Forest Act of 1878, attempts were made to introduce the forest settlement in Uttara Kannada. The district forest was divided into special reserve, ordinary reserve and district reserve.⁴³ The first two categories were opened to commercial exploitation, while the district reserve was open to the local inhabitants.⁴⁴

Indian Forest Act of 1878 and Kanara Protected Forest Rule:

As the forest Act of 1865 was introduced hurriedly, it failed to meet the needs of the British government. Therefore, a more detailed Indian Forest Act of 1878 was passed.⁴⁵ It is claimed that it facilitated the development of scientific forestry in India. It provided for the construction of the reserved and protected forests. The reserved forests were considered as state property. Before declaring any area as reserved forest, it was surveyed, demarcated and subjected to a regular settlement carried out by a Forest Settlement Officer. Accesses to these forests were restricted, and one could use their products only

through the official privilege granted by the government. These forests could only be exploited commercially by the Forest Department itself. These forests were temporarily left open to public use with certain restrictions.⁴⁶ The reserved forests that were established in the areas already owned by the government was intended to provide ecological stability and maintain the supplies of commercial timber to fulfil the British strategic and development goals. The reserved forests established in areas with large compact stands of commercially valuable species could sustain long-term exploitation. Moreover, the primary objective of these forests was to fulfil the British strategic and development goals.⁴⁷

The second category was that of the protected forests, which could be converted into reserved forests in the future, once they were demarcated and covered by the working plans. The protected forests were controlled by the colonial government through provisions that reserved access to the inhabitants to commercially valuable species, and imposition of restrictions on the activities such as grazing.⁴⁸

The Indian Forest Act of 1878 provided the Forest Department with an authority to effectively control the cultivators' access to the forest lands.⁴⁹ The act increased the number of species listed as reserved, 19 kinds of trees were declared as reserved under the G.R.No.19, dated 1st March 1879.⁵⁰ These species could not be used by the cultivators even when they were located within their own *betta* lands.⁵¹ The act had the provision for trail of the offences of breaking the forest rules instead of the Panel Code.⁵² This act provided the legislation that would enable the forest department to establish forest reserves within which cultivator's activity could be curtailed. Under section 4 of the Indian Forest Act of 1878, certain lands in Kumta,⁵³ Supa *Peta*,⁵⁴ Yellapur taluk,⁵⁵ Ankola taluk,⁵⁶ Karwar taluk,⁵⁷ Honnavar, Sirsi and Siddapur taluks⁵⁸ were included into reserved forest.

After the promulgation of the Act of 1878, the customary usage of forest was not recognised. The fallen dead woods of unreserved trees could be collected only by head loads. The villagers could use forest only if special provision was prescribed in the forest settlement. The more durable kinds of woods used for preparing agricultural implements and all other better class trees were reserved. The people of Ankola, Kumta, Bhatkal and Honnavar taluks complained to the Conservator of Forest, Southern Circle, that they were not allowed to cut the *kajara* tree (*Sutrychnosnux-voomica*) which was used for making of ploughs, and green leaves for manuring the rice fields. After the passage of this act, minor forest products could be used except soap nuts or *shigekai*, honey, wax, minerals and myrobalans or *hirdas* only for personal use and not for sale. In the year 1883, to remove the conflict of interest between forest officers and ryots, some new rules were framed by Pyton, the Conservator of Forest in consultation with Candy, the Collector of North Kanara. They included the following:

1. The ryots could cut and use certain kinds of shrubs, jungle wood and prickly trees either for hedges or firewood.
2. They might cut and remove leaves for manure from trees of any kind except of the six reserved kinds.
3. They could use dead woods lying in their *betta* lands for firewood. But they could not prepare firewood from fallen dead trees which were fit to use as timber or which could be converted into square timber. They could not use those timbers for house building, if they wanted timber they could purchase it from auctions held from time to time by forest department.
4. The ryots could use the twigs as fuel which they could cut and remove for manure, but they could not cut large branches of trees for fuel.

5. Only the *betta* lands which were allotted by the survey department could be used for grazing cattle, and
6. The ryots were banned from removing *hirdas* and *shigekai* and other fruits grown in *betta* lands for trade and exportation, they had to pay 1/8 or 1/4 per *maund* tax for house use.⁵⁹

In the year 1883, order was issued prohibiting the ryots from cutting the green leaves of trees not only in reserved forests, but also in the protected forests. These rules restricted the ryots from collecting thorns and brushwood which were required for hedges and dams.⁶⁰

The implementation of the various provisions of the 1878 Act in Uttara Kannada resulted in confusion. According to the permit rules, the cultivators could lop trees for manure and remove *jungle* wood, whereas the Indian Forest Act of 1878 considered these actions as an offence.⁶¹ Section 31 of the Indian Forest Act (VII) of 1878 dealt with the privileges in the protected forests of Kanara district and it was amended under the G.R.No. 5652, dated 13th August 1890.⁶² The draft rules were framed by the Conservator of Forest, Kanara and sent to the Under Secretary to Government of Bombay, and were published in the government gazette.⁶³ As these proposed rules were not translated into the vernacular languages, it became difficult for the uneducated ryots to understand the same and send their objections on them to the government. With this amendment, many lands were listed under the reserved forest.⁶⁴ The *Betta* lands which formed protected forest were brought under the orbit of the Act of 1878.⁶⁵ The reserved kinds of trees were raised from six to nineteen in the *betta* lands which were assigned as auxiliary land. It was said in this draft rule (a) that any tree above 32 inches in girth at the base would not be cut by the

cultivators. According to the new rule 5 (1), some rights were excluded in the allotted *betta* lands. The same are stated below.⁶⁶

1. Loop of unreserved trees and shrubs on the *betta* lands was disallowed
2. The grazing on the *betta* lands was prohibited, and
3. Use of minor forest produce on such lands was also prohibited.

According to the new rules, the forest products could not be used for the purposes of trade or for the manufacture or preparation of any products for sale and barter. The cultivators who were accompanying the cattle for pasturing were forbidden from carrying an axe or any other cutting instrument in the forest.⁶⁷ The inhabitants were informed to send their objections before 3rd January 1891. Many petitions were sent to the government from all the taluks of the district, stating that the ryots of Kanara had become liable to a variety of untold oppression and incontinence due to the introduction of the stricter forest rules. They had the opinion that the proposed draft rules were more oppressive and would lead to more inconvenience and loss to the ryots. They observed that the proposed rules had the intentions to bring more misery to the agriculturists and horticulturists of Kanara. Subsequently, the government introduced some modifications in the draft rules, and were implemented in 1901 and named as Kanara Protected Forest Rules. These rules came into effect on 1st January 1903.⁶⁸

In the year 1905, the government decided to amend the Kanara Protected Forest Rules when there was an illicit cutting of the trees in the Pala village of Mundgod *peta*. The government felt that the privileges granted under the Protected Forest Rules were liberal in nature and were extremely liable to abuse without much chance of control by the

forest department. Therefore, the government decided to grant the Collector with power to order temporary suspensions of privileges. ⁶⁹

The Kanara Forest Privilege Rule and Forest Act of 1927:

Horsley was appointed as the First Forest Settlement Officer in 1879 and he divided the forests of the District into two categories; protected and reserved.⁷⁰ In due course of time, all the forests in the Uttara Kannada district were considered as Reserved forests, excepting the *betta* lands.⁷¹ Therefore, the existing Kanara Protected Forest Rules became unsuitable for reserved forest. It became necessary to revise the new rules to impose the sanctions on the minor forests and legalise them as in the protected forests. The Kanara Protected Forest Rules were revised in the year 1910. It was sanctioned under the G. N. No. 779 of 16th April 1924.⁷² But several residents of the district complained that the existing rules had minor defects, and prevented some agriculturists from availing themselves of the full benefits intended to be conferred. Therefore, certain privileges were sanctioned. Under these rules the rice cultivators of coastal region were granted permission to remove leaf for manure from the minor forests. These rules excluded 41 species from cutting for the purposes of fencing. ⁷³

The Forest Act of 1927 was passed by the government and made applicable to the whole of India. It divided the forests into Reserved forest, Protected forest and Village forest. This act was also made applicable to the Kanara district. This act resulted in the misery of the inhabitants. Therefore, they sent many petitions to the government. Consequently, government appointed a committee under the G.R. No. 3449/33 dated 22nd February 1935. The committee had official and non official members and A.W.W. Mackie,

was the chairman.⁷⁴ The committee met twice in the year 1935. It drew up a list of grievances which came to its notice, and submitted its recommendations on each grievance.⁷⁵ The principal recommendation of the committee was concerned with the reduction in grazing fees. The committee recommended cutting green leaves for manure from minor forests throughout the district. The committee also recommended carrying cart in the forest to bring earth, stones and leaves for agricultural purpose throughout the province. As per this amendment, the rice cultivators of above ghat regions were allowed to collect green leaves for manure. But those cultivators with *betta* allotments were not allowed to take green leaves from the forests for the cultivation of rice. They could use the green leaves of *betta* lands for their rice fields.⁷⁶ The cultivators were given certain privileges to collect and remove dead leaves for manure. The cultivators could remove grass for the fodder. The existing privileges to take barren sago, and other palms for water courses and other agricultural purposes with the prior permission of *Mamlatdar* from any reserved forests in their villages or in the neighbourhood of their villages were continued.⁷⁷ Except, such species especially reserved from time to time by the forest department with the approval of the Collectors. The Kanara forest Privilege Rule was amended in the year 1939, and permission was granted to use *shige* for domestic use, which was used as a substitute for soap by poor villagers of the district.⁷⁸

The Indian Forest Acts were implemented through special rules prescribed for Kanara. From time to time restrictions on the inhabitants of the district through its forest rules specially promulgated for Kanara. Many acres in the Uttara Kannada district were converted into reserved forest. Only limited privileges were granted to the inhabitants in the case of *betta* lands. It is said that the *betta* land sanctioned for the cultivators was not sufficient to fulfil their daily needs. There was always demand from the cultivators to

section more areas as *betta* lands. The life of the cultivators, artisans and the masses in the villages became miserable due to the strict implementation of the Indian Forest Acts, and the special forest rules framed for the region.

Forest Divisions:

For the purpose of administration, the Kanara forests were divided into two divisions, *Balaghat* and *Payenghat*, with reference to the upper and lower ghats.⁷⁹ These divisions corresponded to those used by the revenue department. In 1864, when the only Assistant Conservator of Forest was posted, the district was divided into three zones :

1. The upper ghats – north of Yellapur-Mundgod line, including Supa and Haliyal.
2. The Southern taluks of the upper ghats (Sirsi, Siddapur), and
3. The coastal zone, below ghats region.⁸⁰

Table 5:5
Forest Divisions in the District:⁸¹

Year	Divisions	Taluks
1883	Northern	Haliyal, Supa, Karwar
	Central	Yellapur, Mundgod, Ankola
	Southern	Sirsi, Siddapur, Honnavar, Kumta
1895	Northern	Haliyal, Supa
	Southern	Yellapur, Mundgod, Sirsi, Siddapur
	Western	Karwar, Ankola, Honnavar, Kumta
1907	Northern	Haliyal, Supa
	Southern	Sirsi, Siddapur, Honnavar, Bhatkal
	Eastern	Yellapur, Mundgod
	Western	Karwar, Ankola, Kumta
1915	Northern	Haliyal
	Southern	Sirsi, Siddapur, Honnavar, Bhatkal
	Eastern	Yellapur, Mundgod
	Western	Gudi and Supa range
	Central	Ankola, Kumta, Sirsi,
1924	Northern	Haliyal
	Southern	Sirsi, Siddapur, Honnavar
	Eastern	Yellapur Mundgod
	Western	Gudi and Supa range
	Costal	Karwar, Ankola, Kumta Bhatkal
1933	Northern	Haliyal, Supa
	Eastern	Yellapur, Mundgod, Sirsi, Siddapr
	Western	Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honnavar, Bhatkal

Forest Settlement:

The forest settlement was the major surveying enterprise whereby each plot of state forest was surveyed, mapped and classified. In these settlements, strict rules were framed to use and access of forest resources. Unless individuals could prove their private ownership on the forests, the forests were considered as state forest. The previous rights were transformed into privileges, and the forest officials had the authority to terminate privileges, in case of any violation. Although attempts have made to demarcate the forest zones in the initial years, it was only after passing of the Forest Act of 1878 that the forest settlement was systematised with clear objectives and procedures of application precisely defined by law. The purpose of forest settlement was two-fold:⁸²

1. To ascertain and define the extent of the state's proprietary rights over the forest lands and clearings, as well as over forest produce as defined in the Forest Act of 1878.
2. To enquire into and record the existence of eventual private rights which interfered with those of the state and subsequently, to negotiate the prerogative of the latter to ensure that the property would be managed in the general interest so as to obtain the best possible yield presently and in future.

The greater part of the first phase of forest settlement, was carried out by various officers between 1888 and 1907. All the best forests with high value of timber were classified as reserved forest, which could be harvested only by the government. In the protected forest, all the *betta* lands and the forests which could hardly classify as reserved forest were included.⁸³ Much of the lands were converted into forest lands during the time of original forest settlement. From 1892 to 1897, the district forest was not simply reserved,

but sub-divided into forest proper, fuel and fodder reserves and pasture reserves. These different categories created confusion and promoted the occurrence of disputes between officials and inhabitants. Therefore, these were discarded in 1897 and the following two classifications were made:

1. Reserved Forest⁸⁴
 - i. Forest Proper
 - ii. Minor Forest

The following rights were considered during the time of forest settlement:⁸⁵

- i. Right of way from village to village
- ii. Right of way to place of public resort in the forest (temple), to tanks and water courses.

The minor forests represented the areas in which villagers were allowed to cut the trees for their domestic and agricultural requirements. In these forests, privileges were granted to collect thorns and fallen dead wood for fuel and graze the cattle as per the Kanara Forest Privilege Rules.⁸⁶

2. Protected Forest⁸⁷
 - i. *Betta*
 - ii. *Kumri* or *Hakkal*.

A special category was made for sacred groves. A sacred grove is a grove of trees of great religious importance to a particular culture. There were many sacred groves in the Uttara Kannada district during the colonial period. The groves were present in varied ecosystems like evergreen and deciduous forests, hill tops, valleys, mangroves, swamps and even in agricultural fields.⁸⁸ But simultaneously the government introduced a

deplorable contract system for collection of non-wood products, particularly spices, from the *Kans* as observed by Wingate in 1889. Wingate said: “I am still of the opinion that the system of annually selling by auction the produce of *kans* is a pernicious one. The contractor sends forth his sub-contractors and coolies who hack about the *kans* just as they please: the peppier [sic, pepper] vines are cut from the roots, dragged from the trees and the fruit then gathered, while cinnamon trees.. are all but destroyed. I was greatly struck with the general destruction which has taken place of late year’s amongst Kumta evergreens. They were in a far finer state of preservation 12 or 15 years ago.”⁸⁹ The colonial forest policies and actions destroyed many *kans* of the district. The British government permitted felling trees from these *kans*. Under the Kanara Permit Rules, the ryots could cut and hack the large areas of the *kan* forests as they did in their own *betta* lands.⁹⁰ More than 769 hectares of *kans* from Sirsi taluk was converted into *soppinabetta* lands. The forest based industries, and the forest department itself exploited a large quantity of timber. All these led to decline of *kans* in large numbers during the British period.⁹¹ In some of the *kan* forests, permission was granted to cut trees for leaf manure which adversely affected the *kan* forests in further years. In the view of these developments the conservator of forest, Macgregor had opined that “speaking generally, it appears desirable that the exercise of privileges should be confined to special portions of the forests, so as to ensure the better portion of the rest of the forest.”⁹² The Bombay government treated these sacred groves as state reserved forests primarily on an ecological basis in the year 1923⁹³.

From the above, it is clear that the British government classified the forests into different categories such as reserved, protected, village, *kans* etc. Certain areas were limited for grazing only. The colonial government had not provided sufficient grazing

grounds for each village and sufficient leaf manure for each garden. Most of the forests in the district were declared as reserved, and the forest settlement officers provided grazing facilities in the reserved forests with many restrictions.⁹⁴ All the hereditary forest rights enjoyed by the inhabitants were converted into privileges under the new forest rules and settlements. The government could withdraw these privileges whenever the violation of rules occurred.

Working Plan:

The colonial government introduced Forest Working Plans to deal with the forests and from time to time such plans were prepared. References to plans of Honnavar Tali Palm Forest Working Plan of 1906, Kalinadi Slopes WP, Block XXVI of 1908, The Ankola Kumta Coast Working Plan of 1908, WP report of Ankola high forests, Block XXIV and XXV of 1910, WP for the Karwar Fuel Reserves, and WP for Casuarina plantation in WD of 1910 are available in the records of forest departments. In these WPs, objects of the plan, agricultural wants of the people near to these forests, the privileges granted for the nearby inhabitants in these forests, the works of forest staffs, market, timber depots, export of wood, place of export etc. were mentioned. Most of the WPs explicitly stated their chief objectives to be the extraction of all valuable marketable timber, firewood and bamboo from the forests and the clear felling of areas for replanting with teak. Honnavar, Ankola and Sadashivgad in Coastal Uttara Kannada were chosen by Colonel Gilbert for teak plantations.⁹⁵

The government paid much attention for developing firewood plantation in the district. The firewood from the district was exported to Bombay which was a good source

of revenue for the government. In the year 1868-69 some places of coastal belt of the district namely Karwar, Ankola, Kumta and Honnavar were chosen for planting casuarinas (*Casuarinas equisetifolia*) from which firewood was extracted.⁹⁶ Gradually this plantation was extended to Honnavar areas and the firewood was exported to Mangalore.

Forest Revenue:

The British government extracted maximum revenue from different areas in Indian economy. Apart from land revenue, another area where they could extract surplus revenue was the forest department. This was done through the effective control that they had established on the forest resources; major forest products and minor forest products.⁹⁷ The trade in these forests contributed considerably to their exchequer.

Table 5:6
Revenue Extraction by Forest Department in North Kanara:⁹⁸

Year	Bombay Presidency (in Rupees)	Kanara (in Rupees)
1871	1110215	4064406
1881	1828117	329063
1891	3288220	571101
1901	23799729	922456
1911	433569	1112004
1921	7493563	2015904
1931	5673847	1930933
1941	4452748	2446074

***Kumri* Cultivation:**

Shifting cultivation is commonly known as slash and burn agriculture and is a system persuaded by the people living in hilly regions of India. It is popularly known as

kumri cultivation in the Kanara region. It is also known by different names in different parts of India. It is known as *jhum* in Madhya Pradesh and other areas, *pannam* in Malabar, *punakad* in Salem and so on.⁹⁹ As per this system, a certain tract of forest was cut down and burnt and the same ground was used for cultivating crops for one or two years, after which a new tract of forest was similarly treated. Regular agricultural field was not suitable for this kind of cultivation. A hill side was always selected on the slopes of which a space was cleared during the months of November, December and January. The fallen trees were left to dry until the months of March and April. Hot sun and easterly winds which prevailed during the season made the dead branches and brushwood highly combustible. When they were burnt, they generated fierce fire, from which varying depth of three to six inches ashes formed on the soil.¹⁰⁰

In most part of the district, seed was sown in the ashes. Only in Bekal taluk of South Kanara (now in Kerala State) the ground was ploughed before seed was sown. When the young plants began to appear after rainfall, the *kumri* field was fenced. *Kumri* cultivation needed less capital and little skilled labour. But the *kumri* cultivators had to watch their clearings day and night to protect from wild animals, which required long continued hard labour. In South Kanara, crops like paddy, cotton, and castor oil plants were grown. In North Kanara crops like *ragi* and paddy were grown. Francis H. Buchanan who travelled through North Kanara in the year 1800 found that *ragi* (*cynorsurus*), *tovary* (*cytisisus cajan*) and *haralu* (*ricinus*) were grown by *kumri* cultivators in the first season after burning woods.¹⁰¹

In South Kanara, *kumri* cultivation was carried out, in the same plot up to 7, 10 or 12 years. In contrast to this, the system adopted in the North Kanara district was that each year a fresh forest was selected for *kumri* cultivation.¹⁰²

The Marathas were professionals in *kumri* cultivation in North Kanara (both above and below the Ghats) and also in Goa. Kunbis and Karevakkals were also involved in this profession. F. H. Buchanan found that in the hilly parts of the country, many people of Maratha origin used the *kumri* or *cotu-cadu* cultivation.¹⁰³ It is difficult to ascertain the extent of area under *kumri* cultivation and the number of inhabitants who depended on it. In the *Supa peta* of Haliyal taluk, V. D. Yennemadi, the Special District Deputy Collector of Kanara in 1899, proposed allotting lands specifically for *kumri* cultivation not only to distressed *Kunbis* and Marathas, but also to small numbers of Delvis, Mahars, Hanbars, Madivals, Kumbars, Bhandaris, Gowlis, Bandis, Bavas, Sattarkars and Ghadis, who were all dependent on *kumri* cultivation, though their traditional occupations were quite different.¹⁰⁴

In North Kanara, crops were reaped in the months of November and December. In almost all the taluks of North Kanara, the *kumri* cultivators were always under the mercy of the landlords living in the immediate neighbourhood. The *kumri* cultivators had to depend on these rich or influential people for their immediate needs like clothes, beads which decorated their women and children, and for the money required for marriages and other religious ceremonies. These factors invariably kept the cultivating class under the subjection of the rich. The isolation of the *kumri* cultivators kept them ignorant about the market value of their products, and those articles furnished to them in exchange or loan. This resulted in the abuse of the *kumri* cultivators by wealthy and influential families, who gave very less amount to the *kumri* cultivators' articles, and charged very high price for

supplies needed by them.¹⁰⁵ This affected the livelihood of the *kumri* cultivators to such an extent which made them to live with financial difficulties and die in debt. This practice continued for generations hereditarily from father to son, and consequently made them the slaves. The landholders residing in the Ghats encouraged *kumri* cultivation which increased their local influence by placing additional men at their command that helped them to bring more waste lands under cultivation.¹⁰⁶

The regular agricultural practice was not palatable for these people, who always migrated from one place to another. When the British government tried to ban the *kumri* cultivation from 1847 onwards, the *kumri* Marathas were forced to work either as tenants or as labourers in agricultural estates. Eventually, some of them had to give up *kumri* cultivation.¹⁰⁷

Tax on *Kumri* Cultivation:

All the *kumri* cultivators had to pay tax for their produce. F. H. Buchanan did mention about the *kumri* tax. He said that the hills were not private property, and pay no land tax; but those who sow them paid, for the right of cultivation, a poll-tax of half a *pagoda*.¹⁰⁸ On account of poverty, many of them were exempted from this tax. The *kumri* tax paid in the year 1847 was as below:¹⁰⁹

- A man and his wife = Rs. 2.
- A single able bodied man = Rs. 1 ½ .
- An old man or a lad = Re. 1.

However, the government rent was increased to Rs. 17 per acre in the year 1863.¹¹⁰

Restrictions on *Kumri* Cultivation:

The British forest policy affected the practice of shifting cultivation. The colonial government felt that the land which was used for *kumri* cultivation could not grow trees of valuable timber for railways and their royal navy.¹¹¹ The British tried to achieve this feat through massive clear felling of species, and rich natural forest for raising teak plantations. Monoculture of deciduous teak along the evergreen forest belt dates back to the very beginning of the British occupation of Uttara Kannada. In 1804, small teak plantations were raised in Honnavar, Ankola, Sadashivgad in coastal Uttara Kannada by Colonel Gilbert.¹¹² These plantations were revisited by Cleghorn in 1861, and were found to be utter failure. The great demand for teak timber for ship-building, and later for expansion of railways, encouraged the British to initiate large-scale vegetation changes in favour of teak. Most of the forest working plans explicitly stated their chief objectives to be the extraction of all marketable timbers, firewood and bamboos from the forest and the clear-felling of areas for replanting with teak.¹¹³ The *kumri* cultivation also made it harder for the government to calculate taxes as it was shifting in nature. The colonial government was also against *kumri* cultivation as it involved burning of dry leaves, etc. and polluted the environment. The forest tracts with much valuable timber were prohibited from *kumri* cultivation in the district. The Supa and Yellapur taluks had much valuable timber tracts which provided good revenue for the government, and therefore *kumri* cultivation was banned there.¹¹⁴ According to M. D. Subash Chandran, most of the hardwood which sustained in the British forestry was unrecognised contribution of the *kumri* cultivators as a result of vegetation changes through ages of *kumri*.¹¹⁵ However, the government perceived it as a wasteful system. As a result of the government policy towards *kumri*, many communities were forcibly displaced from their habitations.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, the coffee, tea

and rubber plantations came up in the Southern Western Ghats during the 19th century, and they required large number of labourers. The government by banning *kumri* cultivation wanted to introduce these *kumri* cultivators into plantations which were more profitable for them than the *kumri* cultivation. The Order passed on 3rd December 1847, authorised the then Collector to restrict *kumri* cultivation in North Kanara. The restrictions were first imposed in *fusly* 1259 (1849-50). According to the circular, the felling of the *jungle* for *kumri* cultivation within nine miles from the sea shore, or within three miles from the banks of any river was restricted. Since then, the Madras government continued the effort to reduce the extent of forest clearing for tillage.¹¹⁷ In the year 1860, all kinds of clearings were prohibited.¹¹⁸ When the district was transferred to Bombay Presidency in the year 1862, this rule was relaxed to some extent, and *kumri* cultivation was permitted under certain restrictions.¹¹⁹ The lands which were not cultivated for eight years were granted for *kumri* cultivation.¹²⁰ The *kumri* cultivation was strictly prohibited in the forest area. The peasants who cultivated other lands that were under the government or other proprietors were prohibited from *kumri* cultivation. Those peasants who paid land revenue of more than Rupees 20 were also restricted from practicing *kumri* cultivation.¹²¹ The regions above the ghats, places with useless forest, and areas where there were no wood of any kind were granted for *kumri* cultivation. In the region below the ghats, *kumri* cultivation was limited to certain distances from sea, highroads, and large rivers, to make it impossible for *kumri* cultivators to bring any kind of wood from the jungle.¹²² The result of these restrictions was that there was reduction in the extent of land brought under *kumri* cultivation. The following two tables reflect the same.

Table 5:7**Extent of *Kumri* in North Kanara for the year 1862¹²³**

Name of Caste or Tribe	Number of applicants	Total Number of these families	Number of acres granted
Kunbi	2,308	19,920	5.880 ½
Maratha	2,034	12,216	4.709 ½
Other Tribes	257	2,979	761
Total	4,599	35,115	11.351

Table 5:8**Extent of Land used and not used for *Kumri* Cultivation in the year 1862¹²⁴**

Name of the taluks	Number of acres granted	Area of land (in acres) where <i>kumri</i> was carried out	Area of land (in acres) where <i>kumri</i> was not carried out
Supa	5,222	4858	364
Yellapur	201	138	63
Sirsi	359	239 ½	65 ½
Ankola	33700	31536 ½	216 ½
Honnavar	2,199	2157 ½	41½
Total	11,351	10600 ½	750 ½

The *kumri* cultivation was banned in Aversa village of Ankola *peta* of Kumta taluk in the year 1862. The peasants had no other means of livelihood to support their large families and themselves. Many petitions were sent by the peasants to the Collector but were of no use.¹²⁵ M. J. Shaw Stewart, the Collector of Kanara found that they were very poor and had no inherited land, and therefore, recommended to allot *kumri* cultivation. However, it was not implemented. The government prohibited peasants from *kumri* cultivation by saying that their villages were situated near the main highway, and they lived near to the coast. It also viewed that in these villages, the labourers were highly paid and one could easily obtain labour. It was of the view the *kumri* cultivators could cultivate the uncultivated field for low assessment with the help of *taccavi* grants or loans which

were given to purchase agricultural implements.¹²⁶ However, in reality no one stood security for them to borrow the loan. Also, the amount paid was meagre.¹²⁷ Besides they were not used to the requirements of field work. They were neither capable of paying money for occupancy price of waste land nor to purchase cattle and agricultural implements.¹²⁸

In the year 1869, the forests with inferior timber tract and of less economic importance were granted for *kumri* cultivation. The permission was granted only to those who habitually depended only upon the *kumri* cultivation for their livelihood. The distribution of land for *kumri* cultivation was granted by the government to afford the people with bare means of subsistence only. It allotted $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre or 20 *guntas* to each adult male or female member of the family, and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre or 10 *guntas* to each child in the family.¹²⁹ Subsequently, the family which engaged in other modes of subsistence was completely banned from *kumri* cultivation.¹³⁰ The *ragi* which was grown by *kumri* cultivators in Kumta, Bhatkal and Honnavar was not the staple food of *kumriwalas* but they used it to purchase dried fish, salt and other such commodities. The *ragi* so grown was used by the *kumriwalas* in the form of liquidation of debts to their *sawkars*. However, the government did not want to accommodate the needs of the *kumriwalas*, and facilitate them. Therefore, it denied the people of Kumta, Bhatkal and Honnavar taluks the privilege of *kumri* cultivation. In the Supa *peta* of Haliyal taluk, measures were taken by the government to avoid destruction of the forest without causing serious distress to the *kumriwalas*. The measures taken were found to be impracticable which forced the government to stop *kumri* cultivation altogether in Supa *peta* in the year 1887. Some low-lying forest lands near the villages were allowed for *ragi* cultivation, but the result of the cultivation was found to be unsatisfactory in terms of yield by the *kumriwalas*. They thought that during the time of forest settlement, the government would make some

concessions in their favour, but their expectations were not met by the government. For several years, they managed to carry out *kumri* cultivation in the Goa territory, but the Portuguese government in Goa passed the rule in 1894 that none, but those domiciled in Goa should be allowed to carry on *kumri* cultivation.¹³¹

***Kumri* Agitation:**

Many petitions were sent by the *kumri* cultivators to the Collector stating their poor condition. When the *kumri* cultivation was completely banned by the government in the Supa *peta* it is reported that many inhabitants of the region died of starvation. When the *kumriwalas* had no other means of livelihood, they got frustrated with the colonial policies, and took the law in their own hands and cut the jungles in several villages of Supa *peta*. More than 450 acres of forest was cut down by the agitators. They were prosecuted by the government, 63 cases in Supa *peta* and 4 cases in Karwar taluk, were decided. Hugh Murray, Divisional Forest Officer of Northern Division, Kanara, who visited the region during the agitation of *kumri* cultivators in 1895 reported : “I paid a hurried visit to the scene of operations and was so much impressed by the poverty of the inhabitants and the straits they were put to owing to the want of land for the cultivation of their staple food *ragi*, that I made my strong representations on the subject to the Collector, Mr. Davidson, subjecting that forest land should be given out to them with a view to ameliorating their miserable condition.”¹³² An enquiry was held by the government which suggested the assignment of forest land for dry-crop cultivation. A special officer, Rao Bahaddur Yennemadi was appointed to assign forest land for dry-crop cultivation. This type of dry-crop cultivation was termed as *hakkal* land in Kanara. Under the G.R.No. 4709 dated 27th July 1900, Supa *peta* was selected for assignment of *hakkal* land, and under the G.R. No.

8454 dated 1st November 1904 Bhatkal *peta* was sanctioned for the allotment of *hakkal* land. However 3 villages of Bhatkal *peta* were omitted from the concession of *hakkal* land by saying that they could obtain the work of labourers and were not in need of special attention. In Bhatkal *peta*, 381 families of whom 565 were men, 408 women and 242 children, were selected and registered by the local authorities and were allotted *hakkal* lands.¹³³ Supa *peta* contained 136 villages, of which V.D. Yennemadi had made assignment of *hakkal* lands for dry-crop cultivation in 49 villages consisting of 200 hamlets.¹³⁴ These families had obtained the lands in each hamlet or group of hamlets, equal to five times the annual requirements of *kumriwalas*. The plots assigned abound in tangled brushwood and karvi contained the trees of which *kumri* cultivators could use as *rab* materials. Only in few cases, the *matti* and *bayani* trees which had no capacity to produce timber were found.¹³⁵ These plots were divided into five blocks of equal area. Each block was marked with boundary lines. According to this system, the lands cultivated for one year were kept uncultivated for four years, and they were again cultivated in the sixth year. By the end of the year 1905, the *kumriwalas* gradually overcame their predilection for *kumri* and tried to adopt regular agricultural practice.¹³⁶ The *kumriwalas* of the Honnavar taluk were considered as the same as three exempted villagers of Bhatkal *peta*, but their condition was very bad. The *kumri* Marathas of Honnavar were denied from any concession as the authorities considered them lazy and isolated. Further, the conservator of forest had the opinion that they did not suffer from starvation, and had many opportunities for getting labour and earning livelihood.¹³⁷

A meeting of *kumriwalas* residing on the southern side of Gersoppa river was held at Sympolli on or about 10th April 1908. It was decided to cut *kumri* without permission for three days, that is, from 13th to 15th April 1908. Approximately more than

200 people participated. The news reached the villagers residing on the northern side of the Gersoppa (Sharavati) river a week later, and the Kunbis of the region followed the same. The offenders were prosecuted by the government, and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from a week to six weeks.¹³⁸ However, they were not capable of paying the fines. Thus, the movement of the *kumriwalas* was completely suppressed by the government.

The Forest Working Plan of government permitted the *kumriwalas* to cut freely certain number of palm trees, *tali* (*Corypha umbraculifera*), the core of which, converted to flour, was traditionally a nutritional supplement. The leaves were also used in the construction of roofs. When the government observed that these *tali* plants were also used as raw material in the dye factory at Honnavar, the foresters of the government prohibited their felling, and intended to regulate their exploitation with the Forest Working Plan. In the Working Plan, it was said that the palm trees were not indispensable for *kumri* cultivators. Trees of mediocre quality with unusable leaves were allotted to families who had no other option but to wait for the next season or simply violate the forest law.¹³⁹

M. D. Subash Chandran, a botanist, opines that in Uttara Kannada the ban on shifting cultivation was largely motivated by the need to release labour force for the new plantations that were coming up in South India. Further, he states that *kumri* was not really a vagrant form of cultivation involving enormous destruction of timber resources. Instead it amounted to a sophisticated combination of cultivation and conservation. The remains of sacred groves which still enshrine in them considerable biodiversity are believed to be a legacy left behind by *kumri* cultivators of the Western Ghats. These farmers deserve a

prime place in the annals of conservation. They were, on the contrary, not only denied any such honour, but described as uncivilised and barbaric.¹⁴⁰

According to M. D. Subash Chandran, *kumri* was carried out with a great caution and according to a specific land use plan, which reflected a well balanced use of grazing lands, arable fields, and forest bodies. There were conservationist elements also in this plan as every village settlement had sizeable sacred groves (*kan*). The trees were not allowed to cut in these areas. But permission was usually given to collect its produce, either used as fuel wood or medicinal plants. When the colonial government banned *kumri* cultivation, regeneration of evergreen forest was not appreciated by it. The regenerated timber was considered as 'worthless timber' and government wanted to save the teak of evergreen vegetation and completely banned *kumri* cultivation. The rehabilitation measures introduced to alleviate the grievances of the *kumri* cultivators were not satisfactory. In fact they resulted in the distress of *kumri* cultivators.¹⁴¹

The British government discouraged shifting cultivation without any appropriate alternative scheme. To compensate for the losses of source of livelihood, the tribals were forced to explore alternative avenues of engagements. In Kanara too, the younger generation of *kumriwalas* was attracted towards remunerative labour works in garden and rice lands.¹⁴²

After the prohibition of *kumri* cultivation, the *jungle* became so thick and created unhealthy condition to live. As a result people had become prey to innumerable diseases and great many inhabitants became victims of it.¹⁴³ The census reports give testimony to the decrease in population. Many lands were left uncultivated, and the

peasants relinquished their lands. These uncultivated lands were further converted into government waste. Thus the restrictions on *kumri* cultivation, and its ban in certain areas resulted in severe hardship to the *kumriwalas*, poor ryots and inhabitants in and around the forest.

Betta Land:

Betta is a Kannada word meaning a hill. The cultivators of *supari* and pepper gardeners used the leaves of many trees, twigs, plants, etc. from the hill sides near their gardens as manure for plants. Such type of hill was locally called as *soppinabetta*.¹⁴⁴ The branches of the tree with leaves were cut down and laid over the ground some two feet in depth. The branches were not burnt but left to decay and enter in to the soil. The *soppu* (leaves) was renewed for every three years and once in six years soil was placed over it to a depth of six to eight inches.¹⁴⁵ This practice preserved the moisture in the soil, and kept the plant cool, thereby protected the soil from soil erosion, impoverishment and degradation. Even in rice cultivation, the *soppu* was used as manure. In rice cultivation, it was used in different ways. It was used directly as in garden cultivation. Further it was stored in a pond, and cow dung was spread over the leaves and kept for fermentation. The fermented leaves were used as manure during the time of cultivation. Besides the cultivators spread the green leaves under the feet of the cattle, the leaves trodden by the cattle and mixed with urine and cow dung were used as manure. The rice cultivators collected this *soppu* from nearby hills and forests. They used inferior kind of brush leaves, which was also known as *dorku* or *tarku* in local language. The foliage was obtained from the trees, chiefly of *matti* and *kindal*.¹⁴⁶ The *betta* lands were marked by the peculiar appearance of the trees.¹⁴⁷ The colonial government, in the name of conservation, began to impose restrictions on the use of forest resources. W. Wedderburn, Second Assistant

Collector of Kanara was appointed to give report on *betta* land. In 1864, he expressed the opinion that ‘a proper supply of foliage for manure is absolutely indispensable for the cultivators and where a serious obstacle thrown in the way of such supply, the cultivation of areca gardens would have to be abandoned’.¹⁴⁸ The firewood was very much necessary for the garden cultivation in large quantity. The large quantity of firewood was required for boiling the arecanut and also for drying arecanut and cardamom.¹⁴⁹ The gardeners collected soil for their gardens, and woods for agricultural implements and house building from the *betta* lands. Thus the *betta* or *soppinabetta* served as auxiliary land to the cultivators.

As seen earlier, the British government desired to exploit the forest resources, and earn more revenue from the available timber. The timber was extensively grown in *betta* lands, and to exploit timber the government had to control the *betta* lands. In 1864 Shaw Stewart, the Collector instructed enquiries to find the origin of the custom of pollarding trees to manure spice and *supari* gardens.¹⁵⁰ The government appointed W. Wedderburn to send a report on *betta* lands. He reported that the ryots actually used the leaves and branches of the trees for manure, and each acre of garden land annually required 500 coolies’ loads of leaves, and one acre of *betta* produced an average of only 50 loads in the year. Therefore, he opined that for proper cultivation of one acre of garden land in the Sirsi taluk, not less than eight to ten acres of *betta* land was essential.¹⁵¹ He expressed that the garden cultivation required much skill and care, if the foliage of green leaves was not properly supplied for the gardens for one year, it affected the yield of the garden land for the succeeding years.¹⁵² Therefore, he proposed allotment of *betta* lands for each garden, with marked boundary lines. He suggested that for an acre of garden, eight acres of *betta* lands could be allotted with four to eight *annas* assessment.¹⁵³ All the superior quality

timbers were reserved and the gardeners were allowed to use all the other trees for foliage, firewood, and for those minor requirements like manufacturing agricultural instruments. They were also allowed to take earth or mud (soil) from the *betta* lands for their gardens. This proposal was sanctioned under the G.R.No. 5020 dated 17th December 1864. On 8th June 1867, it was recognised and introduced in the taluks of Sirsi and Siddapur. The government recognised that the owners of the gardens enjoyed a prescriptive right to a large extent of *betta*, and this proposal continued till the general survey of lands.¹⁵⁴

Colonel Anderson who was the survey and settlement officer for Kanara, after full local enquiry wrote a letter to the Collector of Kanara in 1868 and proposed certain rules for the guidance of survey officers who were about to commence their work.¹⁵⁵ He said that eight acres of *betta* land was the maximum area that could be allotted to an acre of garden land. If any gardener used more than eight acres of *betta* land, he might be restricted and if any gardener used less than eight acres of *betta* land, he could be permitted to use four more acres of *betta* land.¹⁵⁶ Two classes of *betta* lands were created: one with assessment of eight *annas* per acre as originally proposed, and another at reduced rate of four *annas* per acre. In 1869, the government decided to levy some assessment on the *betta* lands to create a feeling of ownership among the ryots, but later on the government decided to allot certain extent of lands to each gardeners, and include the assessment in garden lands.¹⁵⁷ Under the G.R. NO. 663 of 1869, the gardeners were allowed to cut trees which were unreserved, however, changes were made after the suggestion of local authorities that the occupants could only pollard the trees, if they wanted to cut trees they had to take permission from the *Mamlatdar*.¹⁵⁸ The reserved trees were considered as an absolute property of the government. The government wanted to show that the *betta* lands were allowed for the gardeners as long as they paid revenue of the garden lands. It proved that

the *betta* assignment was granted for occupants only for the improvement of their holdings and house, and not for sale or exportations.¹⁵⁹ Later on the forest department objected to cutting of trees under the orders of *Mamlatdars* in *betta* lands. The government decided under its R. No. 5114 of 13th December 1871 that with the exemption of the reserved kinds of trees, the ryots were permitted to cut the trees within their customary *betta* lands.¹⁶⁰ It was clear that the *betta* lands were inseparable parts of the gardeners, but the gardeners had no right to pollard any reserved kinds of trees, they could use only unreserved kinds of trees from their *betta* lands.

The inhabitants believed that the government controlled the *betta* lands to develop teak plantations on them.¹⁶¹ Though Wedderburn had recommended about eight acres of *betta* land per acre of garden land, at the time of survey settlement, generally only two to three acres of *betta* lands were allotted per acre of garden land. Only in some cases, five to six acres of *betta* lands were allotted to the gardeners. Thus due to reduced size of the *betta* lands, and frequently changing forest rules, the cultivators failed to get sufficient manure for agriculture.¹⁶² Therefore, no improvements were made on cultivable lands. Many lands were left uncultivated, and in some cases ryots began to relinquish their lands.¹⁶³ The general complaint of garden cultivators was that the allotment of *betta* lands made at the survey and settlement was not sufficient.¹⁶⁴

The forest acts and their provisions imposing restriction on the *betta* lands became so intolerable that in 1891 the ryots represented their problems to the government and pointed out that the *betta* land had lost its meaning to the cultivators.¹⁶⁵ They also complained that they were no longer allowed to take soil from the *betta* or from the forest lands in order to sustain the fertility of the gardens. Further, they stated that they were

allowed to take leaves from the government forest that adjoined the *betta* lands, or to clear the land up to 100 yards around the garden lands in order to protect the garden from the wild animals, flood and fire.¹⁶⁶ Besides, they reported that they were prohibited from digging ditches around their *betta* lands in order to prevent the entry of cattle. A new grazing fee of two *anna* per head of cattle was levied.¹⁶⁷ The ryots also sent many petitions to the Assistant Collector at Sirsi. However, the restrictions were relaxed only to six kinds of reserved trees which were listed in 1881 for the *betta* lands.¹⁶⁸ Rules were framed to restrict use of *soppu* manure in the *betta* lands as per the newly amended Kanara Protected Forest rule in 1890. The branches longer than nine inches could not be cut.¹⁶⁹ The government declared that all the forest products were the property of the State. Not contented with the stand of the government the ryots again sent many petitions to it. The petition forced the government to form a Committee of three officers. Consequently, the government constituted a Committee comprising of R. A. Lamb, Acting Collector of Kanara; W. D. Sheppard, Forest Survey Officer, Kanara; and G. K. Bentham, Divisional Forest Officer, Southern Division, Kanara, to investigate into the condition of the garden cultivators.¹⁷⁰ The gardeners suggested an experiment to be conducted whereby half of the garden to be managed using techniques of the ryots, and half according to the notions of the forest officials.¹⁷¹ The final report of the Committee was submitted in the year 1893. The Committee was of the opinion that the gardeners generally required nine to ten acres of *betta* land per acre of garden.¹⁷² The Committee also recommended the assignment of *bona* or grass producing lands for gardeners. The Committee proposed two changes, that is, to clause 5 (a) and (b) of Kanara Protected Forest Rule. The new rules stated thus: “ any garden cultivators may between June 1st and October 31st cut and remove without payment and licence for use as manure or cattle-bedding such green leaves and twigs of all the trees (except teak, sandalwood, blackwood, *matti*, *honi*, *hirda*, *abnus*, *shigekai*, *surhoni* and

karimuttal) as he may require from those portion of the protected forest outside his *betta* assignment which are set aside by the government for this purpose, provided that this privilege shall not be exercised by any individual possessing nine acres and upwards of *betta* land per acre of garden.”¹⁷³ Davidson, the Collector of Kanara approved these rules as a temporary measure until the *betta* assignments were revised and pointed out that the rules only covered the existing practice and were not new.¹⁷⁴

The report of the Committee was discussed by a number of officials over the next two years. R. C. Wroughton, Conservator of the Forest for Southern Circle, expressed his disagreement with the proposal of the committee. Further he said that their proposal to assign 10 acres of tree covered land for each garden was almost preposterous. He also proposed that 5 acre was sufficient for the gardens in Sirsi and Siddapur. He also opposed the assignment of *bona* or grass producing land.¹⁷⁵ Macgregor, the forest officer was also not satisfied with the committee’s recommendation. He was not convinced that 10 acres of forest were needed for an acre of garden land. He recommended that the assignments were to be made with reference to the character of the ground and the quantity of material that it was capable of supplying for garden lands. Both officers had the opinion that the terrible condition of the *betta* lands was entirely due to their being misused by the cultivators.¹⁷⁶

In the year 1894, Nugent, Commissioner for Southern Division, sent a proposal to the government and reiterated that most shortages in *soppu* were direct consequences of the misuse of *betta* lands by the gardeners themselves. In such a situation, the commissioner suggested that the forest department should make up the shortages by allowing cultivators to remove *soppu* from the protected forest, but on payment per-head

load. The commissioner argued that additional *betta* assignment should be granted only where it was proved beyond doubt that the original assignments were insufficient.¹⁷⁷

Nugent thought that such a re-survey could usefully be undertaken in Yellapur, since the earlier survey had been somewhat faulty. In the Sirsi and Siddapur taluks, however, he did not see the need for the revision, as in those taluks, the *betta* lands were allotted with far greater care and more scientifically. In some instances, the average of *betta* given may, as stated by the committee, have been comparatively small- “5, 4 ½ or even only 4 acres per acre of garden, but the quality of the land must be borne in mind as well as the quantity, and I see little ground to doubt that originally the quantity was adequate, and that if it is now sufficient, this is the result of the reckless improvidence and wasteful habits of the garden-holders.¹⁷⁸

The *betta* lands were known as *hadi* lands in the coastal strip. These were the small patches of jungles near to rice fields. The occupants allowed collecting dead woods for fuel and dry-leaves for cattle bedding and graze their cattle freely in these areas.¹⁷⁹ The Kanara Permit Rules (1864) recognised the right to remove leaves and grass for manure purpose from the adjoined forest of rice lands in the coastal taluks. However, as per the R. No. 8205 of 1902, under the Kanara Protected Forest Privilege Rule the word dry leaves was used for the first time and removal of *soppu* or green leaves was prohibited except within 66 feet from the rice field. But the 66 feet adjoined to rice field was not sufficient to provide enough *soppu*. Moreover, many rice fields of coastal taluks did not adjoin the forest. V. D. Yennemadi, District Deputy Collector had the opinion that it was a general belief of the cultivators, that the manure made of green leaves had more fertilising properties than the manure prepared with dry leaves. They collected green leaves during

the months of June to November and the fresh leaves were used as litter. The fresh leaf manure was believed to be more fertile than the artificial manure.¹⁸⁰ The forest resettlement officer for Ankola taluk (1908), Macgregor opined that the rice tract in the coastal area came under the evergreen forest belt and, if the rice cultivators were granted *betta* land, they would ruthlessly cut the forest. He also opined that because of this reason from the beginning of the survey settlement operations, the rice cultivators of coastal lands were not allotted *hadi* or *betta* lands by the forest department and he recommended the suppression of the practice.¹⁸¹ The dry-leaves were universally used by the below ghat region cultivators. In some places the green leaves were not used because the forest was in far distance from the rice fields and in such places cultivators collected sufficient quantity of dead leaves to use in the rainy season.¹⁸² They collected dry leaves from December to May. Dry leaves were brought in nets for cattle bedding, by occupants accompanied by women and children of their family with one or two head load per day. The rich cultivators brought leaves occasionally in carts and the inhabitants near to riversides, used to send fisherman to bring dry-leaves.¹⁸³ He convinced the people of Ankola taluk to take up *hadi* lands on tenure system. In some villages of Ankola taluk, it was impossible to grant *hadi* lands individually, because, the rice lands were not always adjoined to forests. In such places, community *hadi* lands were allowed. In parts of Kumta, Honnavar and Bhatkal taluks, portions of forest lands were allowed to the individual occupants, under *hadi* tenure. In some villages of Ankola and Kumta, the villagers claimed their right on the hillsides adjoining near to their villages. Some villagers combined themselves, and appointed a Muslim man to keep off outside villagers.¹⁸⁴ In spite of many restrictions the cultivators continued with the practice of removing green leaves for manure from their adjoining forests. Therefore, V. D. Yennemadi suggested legalising this practice which could not be prevented by law. He had the view that if this concession which was of great use for the

cultivators, it would help the government to obtain the cooperation of the peasants.¹⁸⁵ However, his proposal was not recommended by H. Murry, the Conservator of Forest, Southern Circle.¹⁸⁶ Though the ryots frequently memorialised to government to allow the use of green leaves for manure purpose from forest, the strenuous opposition of forest department came in the way of granting the concession.

The enforcement of the forest laws had become so unbearable to the inhabitants of the region that they organised themselves and formed *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sabha* in 1886-1887, and *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sammelana* in 1917 and protested against the government. The local press also supported them.¹⁸⁷

Thus from the mid-19th century onwards, there was a dispute between cultivators and government. It was on the matter of rights and privileges of the inhabitants to use forest resources. The ryots always claimed that it was their right to take green leaves for manure from the forest. But the government in the name of conservation tried to curtail the privileges of the cultivators. There was a difference of opinion among the British officials about the *betta* lands and their allotment. However, nothing much was done to alleviate the grievances of the ryots. This dissatisfaction led to the Forest Satyagraha during the time of Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movement. Thus the forest grievances provided the much needed prop for the rise of anti-colonial sentiments in the region. In fact fight against the forest Act became a part of the nationalist movement in the region of Karnataka.

Restriction on the use of *Tali Palm*:

The *talipot* or *talipalm* (*Corypha umbraculifera*), is found in the Uttara Kannada and the Western Coast as in the East Coast of India up to West Bengal, and also in Srilanka and Myanmar.¹⁸⁸ The leaves of the trees were used by the inhabitants for making basket, umbrella, mat, fan, and for thatching the roof. The *talipot* flour was used as food substance by *kumri* cultivators and poor inhabitants. Once *tali* palm was used for writing, the ancient *talipalm* writings are still found in ancient temples, households of the traditional scholars and medicinal men of the district.

When agriculture suffered in the district due to many reasons during the time of colonial rule, the need of *talipalm* starch shot up phenomenally among the forest dwellers as well as poor people of the coast. The pith of *tali* palm traditionally collected by the *kumri* marathas was made into flour and formed subsidiary elements in the diet of the Marathas and of the fishermen of the coast. In the earlier days, the *Kunbis* of Honnavar and Bhatkal did a great business in *tali* flour, used some for their own consumption, and supplied large quantities to the coastal population. For some people, the removal of *tali* palm was the occupation for their livelihood. In Honnavar more than 270 people depended on this occupation. The condition of the *Kumri* Marathas of Bhatkal was worse than that of the *Kunbis* of Supa. Many of the *Kunbis* owned rice lands, but the Marathas of Bhatkal possessed no rice lands of their own except of Supa in one or two cases. They cultivated rice lands which belonged to others, but it is stated that their habit of indolence and poor physique came in the way of efficient cultivation. They lived in the forest and consumed pith of *talipot* palm which was found in the jungles of Honnavar taluk. They also consumed wild roots and fruits, and ragi which they used to get in exchange for their

scanty share of the paddy grown in the rice fields. Lived in poverty, and had insufficient food and clothing.¹⁸⁹ The forest department decided to step in and assumed the control on the species in the name of conservation. To alleviate their miseries, certain concessions were allowed by the British government. In 1903 the *Kumri* Marathas of Bhatkal were allowed to take one palm each every year free of charge. A total of 1477 families of *Kumri* cultivators were granted *tali* palm. But soon the policy was changed, and according to the new rule, one palm to an adult and 1/3 of a palm to every child under 12 years of age was permitted free of charge. If any family wanted extra tree, it was charged at Rupee one per tree, whereas Rupees two was charged to any family other than the *Kumri* Marathas. About 15,000 palms, yielding an estimated 15,000 head loads of pith, were cut down in the Honnavar taluk during 1899-1901. Consequently, the Bombay government appointed a forest officer, R.S. Pearson to prepare a plan for conservation and suitable use of *tali* palm. Pearson commenced his work in 1906, but it was completed by P.E. Aitchison in 1908.¹⁹⁰ Pearson classified *tali* palms of Honnavar into four classes as given below:

Class - I: Palm consisting at least 8 head loads of pith

Class - II: Full grown palm with less than 8 head loads of pith.

Class – III: Half grown palm.

Class – IV: Young palm past the seeding stage.

From many decades or even more than 200 years the inhabitants used *tali* palm to thatch their houses and cattle shed with grown *tali* leaves. 99 % of the houses of the fishermen communities who did not possess their own coconut trees depended upon *tali* palm leaves for thatching. The cattle sheds were also thatched by *tali* palm in the district. These grown *tali palm* fell naturally during hot seasons. But the government started to collect tax on such leaves, 14 *annas* for 100 leaves.¹⁹¹ The forest guards informed the ryots

that if the fee was not paid, their thatched roofs would be removed and *panchanama* would be made during the next rainy season. These palm roofs were thatched much before passing of these regulations, and it was an illegal act by the forest department. The restrictions on the use of *tali* palm by forest department also affected the traditional industries which were based on the same. Due to the strict regulations on the exploitation of *tali palm*, the poor inhabitants suffered from starvation and other inconvenience. It is an irony that the simple *tali* palm leaves which were used by the poor inhabitants from the ancient time was also not spared from the revenue policies of the colonial government. Attempts were made to extract revenue from the *tali* palm with forest rules enforced strictly by the colonial authorities.

Restriction on the use of Gun:

The district was covered with extensive forest, and the agricultural fields were scattered in isolated patches surrounded by forests. It was very necessary for the inhabitants to possess extra means of protection. The mere possession of gun often gave them a feeling of security when they lived in a forest or near the forest with family and a few tenants and servants. In some cases, the houses were located far away from each other, and therefore, nobody was available in the immediate neighbourhood for help in case of emergency. The Arms Act (XXXI of 1860) passed by the Bombay government came into force when the district was transferred to Bombay Presidency in 1862.¹⁹² There was always complaint from the ryots of the district that they were not granted sufficient licences to possess guns to protect their crops and cattle.¹⁹³ The wild animals always destroyed their crops and attacked their cattle. From the commencement of the cultivating season, the wild hog and other animals ate the seeds. As soon as seeds germinated, the deer and antelopes

destroyed them. Even after careful watch and their protection of their crops day and night, they could not save them from pig, monkeys and other animals.¹⁹⁴ Collins, in his report highlighted the destruction of crops by the monkeys and said: “Monkeys are the worst animal pest of the garden area where the big ditches and steep banks of the gardens often keep out other wild animals. In the gardens situated at a distance from the houses, which are now all too numerous, they have the field for themselves. It is not an exaggeration to say that they eat quarter of the plantain crop, and in the coconut gardens in the Western Ghats villages of Yellapur and sirsi, they destroyed the large portion of the nuts, while they throw down large number of small *supari* nuts when they are forming”¹⁹⁵ A very few landholders were given gun licences to protect their crops. There were no sufficient guns to protect their cattle and crops from wild animals. When hunting was prohibited under the Forest Acts, number of wild pigs increased considerably and they destroyed the crops. The arms held without licences were confiscated from time to time, and temporary use of these weapons was granted. The government had the feeling that for cultivators it was not necessary to keep these weapons permanently.¹⁹⁶ M. J. Desai, in his report on the economic condition of the garden lands in Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur taluks including Mundgod *mahal* in 1935, provides some statistical details about the gun licences in the district in the year 1934.

Table 5: 9
Gun Licence granted for Siddapur Taluk¹⁹⁷

Group	No. of Villages in each group	No. of villages with crop licences	No. of licences
I	31	24	109
II	41	32	117
III	120	85	209
IV	10	5	14

Grazing:

The ryots required a large supply of cattle not only for their household needs like milk and its products, but also for their agricultural purposes which needed bullocks for ploughing and cattle for manure. Cattle were considered as the backbone of the agriculture. Before the colonial rule, the ryots allowed to graze their cattle in any jungle without paying any grazing fee. But the colonial government with the colonial forest conservancy rule, many restrictions were imposed on grazing. The Cattle Trespass Act – I of 1871 restricted the cattle grazing in the restricted forest areas. The official reports stated that unrestricted grazing would harm the young trees from growing. In 1881, grazing fee of two *annas* was imposed for grazing. Even though in some places facilities were given for free grazing, they did not help the ryots much, because the areas allotted were stony and less grass producing areas.¹⁹⁸ In some of the cases, such areas were allotted near the protected or reserved forest areas and if, accidentally the cattle passed the boundary lines of the protected or reserved forest areas, the cultivators were prosecuted under the law.¹⁹⁹ The Dhanger Gowlis' were also restricted from grazing their cattle in the forests of the district. The grazing fee was a real burden for the ryots.²⁰⁰ Normally each ryot possessed from 10 to 100 heads of cattle, and it became difficult to pay fees at the rate of 2 annas per head of cattle.²⁰¹ As seen earlier, the ryots prohibited from carrying any cutting instruments while pasturing their cattle in the forest. As a result, it was very difficult for the ryots to protect themselves and their cattle from the sudden attack of wild animals. The cutting instruments were necessary for them to cut veins or thorns particularly when their cattle got entangled with them.²⁰² All these problems and hardships inspired the inhabitants to organise *satyagraha* known as *hullubanni* during the time of national movement. The *hullubanni satyagraha* was one of the unique protest movement against the forest laws enforced in the

district by the colonial authorities. The above discussion reveals that the British colonial forest system aimed at controlling the forest in India by completely excluding the agrarian pollution.²⁰³ This resulted in considerable profit for them. However, the Forest Acts and regulations and their strict enforcement resulted in hardships to the ryots, tribes and masses, and ultimately forced them to oppose the government.

¹ Ranjan Chakrabarti (Ed.), *Situating Environmental History*, New Delhi, 2007, pp.20-21.

² *Ibid*, p.21;The Western approach is best represented by Richard Grove and others. See Richard H. Grove, Vinita Damodaran and Satpal Sangwan (Eds.), *Nature and the Orient, Essays on the Environmental History of South and South-East Asia*, Oxford, 2000, See <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/cweh/people/richardgrove> ;<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/history/people/peoplelists/person/7389>;The Indian point of view is best represented by Guha and Gadgil in their combined as well as individual research works.

³ Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: colonial expansion, tropical island Edens and the origins of environmentalism 1600-1860*, Cambridge, 1995; See <http://www.scribd.com/doc/35383020/Green-Imperialism-R-Grove> For other books and articles of Grove, see <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/cweh/people/richardgrove>

⁴ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India*, Delhi, reprint1887, Chapters IV to VIII.; Gadgil and Guha, “State Forestry and Social Conflict in British India”, in *Past & Present*, No.123 (May 1989), pp. 141-77.

⁵ Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya*, New Delhi, 2001, p.216.

⁶ *Ibid*, p.216.

⁷ Richard H. Grove, *Nature and the Orient, Op. Cit.*

⁸ Ranjan Chakrabarti (Ed.), pp.21-22.

⁹ Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism, Op. Cit.*, as stated in Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods, Op. Cit.*, pp.216-17

¹⁰ Ranjan Chakrabarti (Ed.), p.22.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.22.

¹² *Ibid*, p.22.

¹³ *Ibid*, pp.22-23.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.23.

¹⁵ Jacques Pouchepadass, “Colonialism and Environment in India: Comparative Perspective”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 30, No.33, Aug.19, 1995, pp.2059-2060.

¹⁶ R. S. Pearson, District Conservator of Forest Report on *Working Plan, Ankola High Forest Blocks XXIV and XXV, 1908*, Bombay, 1910, MSA. p. 3.

¹⁷ Letter from W. C. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara to M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara, 7th May 1864, *RD*, Vol. No.45, 1862-64, MSA, para, 5.

¹⁸ Memorial of Kanara *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sabha*, Sirsi, Kanara District signed by 3,600 persons on the day when the memorial passed to His Excellency The Right Honourable Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay in Council, Bombay Dated 17th January 1887, MSA, pp.1-16; R.R. Diwakar, *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe*, in Kannada, Hubli, 1955, p.3.

¹⁹ Letter from W. C. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara to M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara, 7th May 1864, *RD*, Vol. No.45, 1862-64, MSA, Para, 3.

²⁰ Letter from M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to W. C. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara, No. 595, 12th March 1864, *RD*, Vol. No.45, 1862-64, MSA, Para 2.

²¹ M. D. Subash Chandran, “Shifting Cultivation, Sacred Groves and Conflicts in Colonial Forest Policy” in the Western Ghats, http://wgbis.ces.iisc.emet.in/biodiversity/sahyadri_ews/newssettler/issue30/M%20S%20Chandran.pdf. p.678. accessed on, 15-12-2010.

²² Louiza Rodrigues, “Forest Policy of India, Maharashtra (1800-1979): Continuity or Change?” *Indica*, Vol. 48, No.2, Sept 2011, p. 108; <http://www.legalserviceindia.com/articles/brenv.htm> (internet article on Environment protection laws during British Era), accessed on, 22-10-2013.

²³ *Ibid*, p,104.

²⁴ *Ibid* ; Ghosal Somnath, “Pre-Colonial and Colonial Forest Culture in the Presidency of Bengal” *Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography*, Vol.5, No.2, 2011, pp.107-116

²⁵ *Annual Forest Administration Report, 1873-74*, MSA, para, 52.

²⁶ Extracts from the Proceedings of the Government in the *RD*, No. 1247, dated 23rd May, 1869, MSA; Memorandum by Brandis, Inspector General of Forest dated 28th February 1869, Forest Management Bombay Presidency, *RD*, Vol. No. 30 of 1869, MSA; In 1864, there was only one Assistant Conservator of Forest in the Uttara Kannada district. see Letter from Commissioner *SD*, to Secretary to Government, No. 354, dated 31st October 1864, *RD*, Vol. No. 14 of 1862-1865, MSA, p. 92.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁸ *Annual Forest Administrative Report, Bombay Presidency, 1873-74*, MSA, p.12.

²⁹ S. S. Chandrashekhar, *Bombay Forest Manual, Vol. I*, Bombay, 1921, p.79; Campbell, James M. (Ed) *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Kanara District (Vol. I)*, Bangalore, reprint, 2003, p. 23.

³⁰ *Annual Forest Administration Report, 1873-74*, MSA, para, 54.

³¹ *Ibid*.

³² Forest Proceedings, *RD*, Vol. No. 54 of 1865, Shaw Stewart, 28/3/1865, *MSA* ; Letter from Divisional Forest Officer, *SD*, Kanara to Conservator of Forest *SC*, No. 339 of 1889-90, Camp, Sirsi, 15th November 1889, *RD*, Vol. No. 89 of 1890, *MSA*, para, 8.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Vulli Dhanaraju, "Nature of Colonial Forest Polices: Situating Tribals in Andhra Agency" in *International Journal of Social Science Tomorrow*, August 2011, Vol. 1, No.6, p. 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Ajay Singh Rawat, "Evaluation of Scientific Forestry in British India" in Proceedings of *Indian History Congress*, 49th Session, 1988, Karnatak University, Dharwad, p.85.

³⁷ Forest Proceedings, *RD*, Vol.54 of 1865, Shaw Stewart, 28/3/1865, *MSA* ; Letter from Divisional Forest Officer, *SD*, Kanara to Conservator of Forest *SC*, No. 339 of 1889-90, Camp, Sirsi, 15th November 1889, *RD*, Vol. No. 89 of 1890, *MSA*, para, 8; Letter from Forest Settlement Officer of Kanara to Collector of Kanara, No. 254 of 1891-92, Forest Settlement Office Kanara, Camp Karwar, 15th December 1891, *RD*, Vol. No. 129 of 1893, *MSA*, Para. 6.

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³⁹ Letter from M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to W. C. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara, No. 595, 12th March 1864, *RD*, Vol. No.45, 1862-64, *MSA*, para. 2.

⁴⁰ Letter from H. Murray, Conservator of Forest, *SC*, to Commissioner *SD*, No. 2019 of 1909-10, *RD*, Vol. No.11, *MSA*, para. 5.

⁴¹ Letter from Divisional Forest Officer, *SD*, Kanara to Conservator of Forest *SC*, No. 339 of 1889-90, Camp, Sirsi, 15th November 1889, *RD*, Vol. No. 89 of 1890, *MSA*. para. 8.

⁴² Letter from Divisional Forest Officer, *SD*, Kanara to Conservator of Forest *SC*, No. 339 of 1889-90, Camp, Sirsi, 15th November 1889, *RD*, Vol. No.89 of 1890, *MSA*, para. 8.

⁴³ Letter from Conservator of Forest to Chief Secretary to Government, No. 1304 of 1874, *RD*, Vol. No. 47 of 1874, Camp Haliyal, Kanara District, 28th August 1874, *MSA*, Para. 5 ; Collins' *Report on Forest Settlement Work in Kanara*, Poona, 1924, *MSA*, pp.1-3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ [http:// infochangeindia.org](http://infochangeindia.org) > Environment > Backgrounders, accessed on, 8-6-2011 ; Ramachandra Guha "An Early Environmental Debate : The Making of the 1878 Forest Act", in *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 27, 1 (1990), New Delhi, p.123.

⁴⁶ [www.ganesh.co.uk/ colonialism 2htm](http://www.ganesh.co.uk/colonialism2.htm), Date of access, 15-2-2010; Jacques Pouchepadass, "The Ecological History of the Central Western Ghats in the Modern Period: A preliminary Survey", in *Pondy Papers in Social Sciences*, September 1990, p.10.

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- ⁵¹ Letter from Collector of Kanara to Commissioner of SD, Karwar, 25th July 1891, *RD*, Vol. No.89, *MSA*.
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- ⁶⁴ G. R. No. 97 of 1890, Kanara Lands Acquisition Act, X of 1870 of certain villages , *RD*. Vol. 85 of 1891, *MSA*.
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- ¹³⁸ Letter to Commissioner, *SD*. from L.C. Swifte, Collector of Kanara, No.7661, dated 22-26th May 1908, *RD*. Vol. No. 107 of 1910, paras. 1-5 , *MSA*, p.251.

¹³⁹ R. S. Pearson and P. E. Aitchison, *working plan for the Honnavar Tali palm forest* of the Bombay Presidency, 1908.

¹⁴⁰ M. D. Subash Chandran, *Shifting Cultivation, Sacred Groves and Conflicts in Colonial Forest Policy in the Western Ghats*, *Op. Cit.*, P. 707.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Forwarded to Commissioner Southern Division together with correspondence received under No. 2153 dated 29th May 1908, *RD*, Vol. No. 117, 1910, *MSA*, para 10.

¹⁴³ Petition from Vithu Ram Gauda and 20 other inhabitants of Supa *peta* in the Kanara district to His Excellency Right Honourable Governor and President in Council of Bombay Presidency, dated 1st November 1895, *RD*, Vol. No. 116, *MSA*. ; petition sent by Kuyro Barkelo and other inhabitants of Ausu, Nujji, Badpols and other villages to His Excellency Right Honourable Governor and President in Council of Bombay Presidency dated 1st November 1895, *RD*, Vol. No.116, *MSA*.

¹⁴⁴ Letter from W.C. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara to M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara, 7th May 1864, *RD*, Vol. No.45, 1862-64, *MSA*, Para, 3.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from J. L. Lushington, Superintendent of Land Records and Agriculture *SD* to Collector of Canara, Belgaum, 18th October 1885, *RD*, Vol. No116, *MSA*.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from W. C. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara to M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara, 7th May 1864, *RD*, Vol. No.45, 1862-64, *MSA*, Para, 3.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, para, 7.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.3

¹⁵⁰ Letter from Collector of Kanara to W. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara, No. 595, 12th March 1864, *RD*, Vol. No. 45, *MSA*, paras, 2-5; Letter from Collector of Kanara to Collector of Southern Division, Kanara, 6th June 1889. *RD*, Vol. No. 87. *MSA*, para.5; Letter from Collector of Kanara to Commissioner, *SD*, No. 1780 of 1889, *RD*, Vol. No. 87 of 1889, *MSA*, para, 3.

¹⁵¹ Letter from Collector of Kanara to W. Wedderburn, Second Assistant Collector of Kanara, No. 595, 12th March 1864, *RD*, Vol. No. 45, *MSA*, para. 3.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, para, 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Letter from W. C. Anderson, Survey Commissioner *SD*, to Collector of Kanara, No. 639 of 1868, dated 25th December 1868, quoted in Letter from R. C. Wroughton Conservator of Forest, Southern Circle to Commissioner Southern Division, No.568 of 1893-94, dated 27th April 1893, Belgaum, *RD*, Vol. No. 119 of 1895, *MSA*, p. 50.

¹⁵⁶ Letter from R. C. Wroughton Conservator of Forest, Southern Circle to Commissioner *SD*, No.568 of 1893-94, dated 27th April 1893, Belgaum, *RD*, Vol. No. 119 of 1895, *MSA*, p. 51.

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- ¹⁵⁷ Report on the *Betta* lands by J. R. Naylore, Legal Affairs, No.1040 of 1891, 21st July 1891, Poona, *RD*, Vol. No. 119 part II, *MSA*.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid* ; Letter from Acting Collector of Kanara to Revenue Commissioner, *SD*, No. 508 of 1869, March 1869, pp.155-168; Government Resolution No. 663 of 15th February 1869, *RD*, Vol. No. 30 of 1869, *MSA*, para 2 ; Government Resolution No. 2451, 18th June 1869, *RD*, Vol. No.39, *MSA*.
- ¹⁵⁹ Note to accompany the Commissioner's letter to the government, dated 3rd February, 1891, Woodrow's Suggestion, *RD*, Vol. No. 117 part II, *MSA*, p.22.
- ¹⁶⁰ Report on the *Betta* lands by J. R. Naylore, Remembrancer, Legal Affairs, No.1040 of 1891, 21st July 1891, Poona, *RD*, Vol. No. 119 part II, *MSA*.
- ¹⁶¹ Interview with Shantaram Nayak Hichkad (11-7-2013), Ganapati Bommayya Nayak, Bole of Ankola taluk on 23-11-2011.
- ¹⁶² Memorial of ryots of North Kanara to Lord Harris, Governor in Council of Bombay, 14th August 1891, *RD*. Vol. No. 116 of 1895, *MSA*, pp.1-2 ; Petitions sent by Narayan Ganapati Bhat, inhabitant of Sirsi taluk and 605 ryots of North Kanara against the rule of protected forest, No. 145 of 1891, *RD*, Vol. No.116 of 1895, *MSA*, pp. 53-90.
- ¹⁶³ Memorial of ryots of North Kanara to Lord Harris, Governor in Council of Bombay, 14th August 1891, *RD*. Vol. No. 116 of 1895 *MSA*, pp.1-2.
- ¹⁶⁴ J. L. Macgregor, Conservator of Forest, No. 889 of 1892, Camp Sirsi, 12th March, 1892, *RD*, Vol. No.129 of 1893, *MSA*, para. 6.
- ¹⁶⁵ Memorial of ryots of North Kanara to Lord Harris, Governor in Council of Bombay, 14th August 1891, *RD*. Vol. No. 116 of 1895 *MSA*, pp. 1-2 and p. 116.
- ¹⁶⁶ Petitions sent by Narayan Ganapati Bhat, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 53-60.
- ¹⁶⁷ Petition from Umamaheshwar Ganapati Hegde and 100 other ryots of Sirsi to the Collector of Kanara, 30th January 1891, *RD*, Vol. No. 116, *MSA*.
- ¹⁶⁸ Letter from Commissioner *SD* to Collector of Kanara, No. 3637 dated 17th September 1891, *RD*, Vol. No. 190 of 1891.
- ¹⁶⁹ Memorial of ryots of North Kanara to Lord Harris, Governor in Council of Bombay, 14th August 1891, *RD*, Vol. No. 116 of 1895 *MSA*, pp.1-10.
- ¹⁷⁰ J. Macgregor, Conservator of Forests, Southern Commissioner, *SD*, No. 6237, 10th February 1894, *RD* 1895, Vol.117, *MSA*.
- ¹⁷¹ Memorial of ryots of North Kanara to Lord Harris, *Op. Cit.*, pp.1-8.
- ¹⁷² Report of the Committee on Amend Kanara Protected Forest Rule, p.30, *RD*, Vol. No.119 part II of 1895,
- ¹⁷³ Letter from J. Nugent, Commissioner for *SD* to Chief Secretary to Government, *RD*, No. 1242 of 1894, *RD*, Vol. No. 119 part II of 1895, *MSA*, pp.76-77.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

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- ¹⁷⁵ Letter from R. C. Wraughton, Conservator of Forest, Southern Circle to Commissioner of *SD.*, No.568 of 1893-94, Belgaum, 27th April, 1893, *RD*, Vol. No.119 part II, of 1895, pp.50-53.*MSA*.
- ¹⁷⁶ Minute by the Honourable Mr. Trevor, dated 8th April 1895, *RD*, Vol. No. 117 part II of 1895, *MS*, p.225.
- ¹⁷⁷ Letter from J. Nugent, Commissioner for *SD* to Chief Secretary to Government, *RD*, No. 1242 of 1894, *RD*, Vol. No. 119 part II of 1895, *MSA*, p.75.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.78.
- ¹⁷⁹ G. L. Macgregor, Forest Settlement Officer to Collector of Kanara, No. 1097 of 1909, *RD*. Vol. 45, *MSA*, para, 30; L.C. Swifte, Collector of Kanara to Commissioner *SD*, No. 776 of 1909, Camp Malgi, 15th February 1909, *RD*, Vol. 45 of 1910, *MSA*. para. 11.
- ¹⁸⁰ Accompaniments to G.R. Resolutions, *RD*, No. 1550, dated 19th February 1910, V. D. Yennemadi, Deputy Collector of Kanara to Collector of Kanara. *RD*, Vol. No.107 of 1910, *MSA*, pp. 17-18.
- ¹⁸¹ *FSS* of Ankola taluk by Macgregor in the year 1916-17, *MSA*, pp.435-444.
- ¹⁸² Accompaniment to Government Resolution Revenue Department No. 1550 dated 19 April 1910 by H. Murry Conservator of Forest , *RD*, Vol. No. 107, 1910, *MSA*.
- ¹⁸³ Letter from Macgregor, Forest Settlement Officer to Collector of Kanara, Forest Settlement Office, Karwar, 26th February 1908, *RD*, Vol. No.107, 1910, *MSA*, p.438.
- ¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁸⁶ H. Murry, Conservator of Forest Southern Circle, *RD*, Vol. No.107, 1910, *MSA*, p. 23.
- ¹⁸⁷ Suryanath U. Kamath (Ed.), *Karnataka State Gazetteer, Uttara Kannada District, Op. Cit.* p. 78.
- ¹⁸⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corypha_umbraculifera, accessed on 2-12-2014.
- ¹⁸⁹ Letter from V. D. Yennemadi, District Deputy Collector, Karwar Division, Kanara to Collector of Kanara, No. 2335, dated 3rd October 1906, *RD*, Vol. No.122, *MSA*, para, 11.
- ¹⁹⁰ R. S. Pearson and P. E. Aitchison, *working plan for the Honnavar Tali palm forest* of the Bombay Presidency, 1908.
- ¹⁹¹ Petition from Rayappa Dasacharya and other ryots of Mutta, Gundala, Hervale, Karva, Hadinbal of Honnavar and Ankola taluks dated 25th September 1910, *Op. Cit.*
- ¹⁹² *AARB*, Kanara Collectorate, Collector of Kanara, 28th July, 1875, *RD*, 1875, *MSA*, p. 231, para.78.
- ¹⁹³ *Collins' Report on Revision of Settlement of above ghat region, 1926*, Bombay, 1926, *MSA*, p.22.
- ¹⁹⁴ Petition sent by the inhabitants of Chikkankod, Rayappa Dasacharya and other inhabitants of certain villages in the Honnavar taluk, District Kanara, Mutta Gundabala Hervale, Karva, Hadinbal, dated 25th September 1910, *RD*. Vol. 116 of 1911, *MSA*, p.1.
- ¹⁹⁵ *Collins' Report Op. Cit.*, p.24 ; M. J. Desai's *Report on the Economic Condition of the Garden Lands of Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur Including Mundgod mahal*, 1935, *MSA*.
- ¹⁹⁶ Annual Revenue Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency, Kanara Collectorate, *RD.MSA*, 1877, para.

¹⁹⁷ M. J. Desai's *Report on the Economic Condition of the Garden Lands*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ Memorial passed by *Kanara Vana-Dukha Nivaranana Sabha* signed by 3,600 peasants of Kanara district in 1878, *MSA*, pp.1-16.

¹⁹⁹ S.S. Chandawarkar (Ed.), *Bombay Forest Manual*, Vol. 2, p. 79.

²⁰⁰ Memorial passed by *Kanara Vana- Dukha Nivaranana Sabha* signed by 3,600 peasants of Kanara district in 1878, *MSA*, pp.1-16.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Petition from Umamaheshwara Ganapati Hegde and 100 other ryots of Sirsi taluk dated 30th January 1891 to His Excellency the Right Honourable Governor of Bombay in Council, *RD*. Vol. 116 of 1895, *MSA*.

²⁰³ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 42.

CHAPTER – VI

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES

Colonialism by nature is exploitative and oppressive, with the rulers enriching themselves at the expense of those they ruled. Generally speaking, colonisers dominated a foreign territory's resources, people, labour force, and markets. Often, they imposed systems-political, economic and cultural to maintain control over the indigenous population. During the British rule, the Indian administration passed through a phase of rigorous experimentation and continued innovations. Some of the features of the Mughal administration were adopted and adapted by the British rulers in India. With the advent of the British Rule in India, the political, economic and social fields underwent far reaching changes.

The Industrial Revolution in Britain in the mid-18th century compelled them to change their economic policy in India and other colonies. The chief motive of the British to establish political control over India was to exploit the economy and commerce to their advantage. Initially they traded with the spices and finished products of India. After 1813, their concern was to draw agricultural raw material from India and push their industrial products to India. Therefore the British paid less attention for the welfare and development of India and Indians. Their ultimate aim was to raise substantial revenue from the territories which were under their control. The new land revenue policies, trade policies, judiciary and police systems, and social policies drastically changed the traditional setup of the region. The colonial administrative policies had considerable impact on the economy and society of Uttara Kannada district.

Trade:

The region had considerable internal and external trade. Boiled rice from Kumta and Ankola, and salt, coconut, coir, fish and *hirda* were exported from the coastal taluks. Spices, arecanut, cardamom and pepper were brought down to the coast from the interlands and exported. Other than these Uttara Kannada exported a large quantity of forest produce including firewood from the district. In the mid-19th century timber was exported to railway sleepers, and a large quantity of timber was exported to Bombay dockyard.¹ Paddy, rice, coir, chillies, food grains and liquors were imported to the district. Coconut was exported to above ghats and to Bombay. There were numerous petty retail traders in cloth, rice, bronze vessels, etc. The itinerant traders from Goa went from village to village and from house to house buying paddy required for local consumption and sold sundry articles.² Besides, foreign products like sugar, clothes, liquor, umbrellas, bangles etc., were imported into the district by the British and in turn they affected the local village industries.

Trade Centres:

Karwar, Kumta, Honnavar, Sirsi, and Haliyal were the main trade centres of the district. During the time of fairs - Shivaratri fair at Gokarna, Ulvi fair at Ulvi and Marikamba fair at Sirsi - many articles were sold and purchased. In fact, these fairs and festivals provided good markets for trading, and trade centres evolved around these temples. People from outside came to purchase copper and brass items, clothes, cattle and sundry items. During the year 1877, goods worth Rupees 55,000 were sold in Gokarna fair.³ The trade carried out in Ulvi and Gokarna valued Rupees 23,500 and Rupees 62000 respectively in the year 1892.⁴

Sea Ports:

Sadashivgad, Baithkol, Belekeri, Tadri, Kumta and Honnavar were the famous ports of the district.⁵

Sea trade:

During the British period, Kanara ports acted more as a transmitter of trade than a direct feeder to England. The ports of Kanara were the trade links between indigenous, interior lands and foreign dependent markets.⁶ By 1850s cotton trade had taken over as a prominent item of trade. During that time cotton grown in Southern Maratha Countries were exported through Uttara Kannada ports.⁷ The cotton was passed from Dharwad district to the sea board of Kanara. The export of cotton from Kanara was made from the two ports of Karwar and Kumta. The business transacted in these two ports in the year 1876 as below:⁸

From Karwar:

By steamers to Europe direct bales	-	15,9000
By steamers to Bombay ,, ,,	-	21,378
By native crafts to Bombay - Docras (unpressed)		39,932

From Kumta:

By steamers to Europe direct bales	-	3331
By steamers to Bombay ,, ,,	-	431
By native crafts to Bombay- Docras (pressed)		57,201

The cotton was sent both in pressed and unpressed form. The five cotton pressing units were established at Karwar and one at Kumta. The pressed bales were also received

from Gadag, Dharwad, and Hubli.⁹ The cart loaded with cotton used to carry back salt, clothes and other necessary articles available in the coastal region. The cotton exported from Kanara was famous in the European market as “Kumpte (Kumta) Cotton” even though it was not grown in Kumta taluk of North Kanara district. The opening up of Mormugao port in 1881, and connecting Southern Maratha Railway to Mormugao port in 1888 completely ruined the cotton trade of the ports in Uttara Kannada. This was due to the fact that the cotton of the Southern Maratha Country was directly sent to Mormugao port through the railway network. The two railway stations opened at Castle- rock and Alnawar were not convenient for the peasants of the district. The number of steamers visiting to ports to carry the merchandise also decreased considerably.

The garden products of Sirsi and Siddapur were transported by bullock cart to Uppinattana on the bank of Tadri river. From there they were carried to the boats, which took them down the river to Manki at distance of five miles. At Manki they again landed, and transferred in bullock carts to Kumta. At Kumta they were unloaded, and remained for sometimes in the hands of *dalals* and shippers. Next they were again loaded on Bombay Navigation Ships which carried them to Bombay. This kind of transport caused much damage to goods owing to constant handling and possibility of theft, as well as delay and unnecessary expense to cultivators. Much of the profit was carried away by *dalals* or shippers and they achieved much profit than the actual cultivators.¹⁰

The linking of Southern Maratha Country Railway to the Mormugao port affected cotton trade on the Kanara ports and the same can be seen in the following table.¹¹

Table 6: 1
Export From Kanara Ports¹²

Goods	1889-90 (value in rupees)	1890-91 (value value in rupees)	1891-92 (value value in rupees)
Cotton	44913	15221	364
Mayrbolans	43099	52750	44,441
Arecanut	15,26,831	12,32209	14,79756
Cardomom	2,14,366	2,17,447	25,4512
Pepper	4,19,456	3,36,002	3,00,041

Ruin of Trade:

The British economic and commercial policies ruined the growth of trade in Uttara Kannada. The port of Karwar also did not emerge as a major port. During the American Civil War (1860-65), Indian cotton had high demand in the international market. The export of cotton from the Southern Maratha Country was carried out through the district ports, particularly from the ports of Kumta and Karwar. During that time the British showed interest in developing the Karwar port, but soon their plan changed, which proved detrimental to the Karwar port. Instead of gaining profit, the merchants faced heavy losses within 4 to 5 years, due to the sheer mismanagement and discouragement of the British authorities. The basic requirements like jetty, roads, carts etc., were not provided at the ports for the merchants, instead the merchants were heavily taxed. The tax was imposed to provide better sanitation facilities near the port but unfortunately no such works were carried out.¹³ The government did not take any initiative in making Karwar as an all seasonal port and connect it from Gadag to Karwar. In addition to this negligence, the government gave a blow to the business transaction of the region by connecting the Southern Maratha Country with the Mormugao port in 1888 with a railway line. It was a great set back to the trade activities of the district. The trade in Kanara was considerably

affected by the opening of the Southern Maratha Railway line, particularly from Hubli to Mormugao. The proposal to construct railway line between Hubli and Karwar was never carried out. Though Karwar was a natural harbour on the western coast, its development was never considered seriously by the colonial government and the town lost its importance from commercial point of view. Many cotton merchants of the region lost their profession and they migrated to other parts of India. Thus since the mid-19th century, trade in Kanara was limited to export of timber fuel wood and minor forest products. This was also evident from the visit of steamers to the port which decreased almost by 75 percent.¹⁴ It became very difficult for the gardeners and cultivators to export their products outside the district, and as a result they failed to get good value for their products.

Prices of Agricultural Products:

There were tremendous fluctuations in the prices of agricultural commodities during the British rule in India. The prices of paddy were measured in terms of Company *Kahndi* that is weights about 303 lb, and garden products were measured as Indian or local *maund* that is about 28 lb. The period from 1862-1910 recorded about 22 *seers* of paddy per Rupee that is by about 50 % and this level was maintained till the year 1911 with some differences.¹⁵ The average for five years from 1911 to 1915 was Rupees 9-6-0 for a Company *Kahndi*.¹⁶ During the time of First World War, there was a phenomenal increase in the paddy rates. In the year 1919, 7 *seers* and 6 *chataks* of paddy were sold for a Rupee. That was a remarkable figure of Rupees 20-0-0 per *Khandi* or 200% more than the pre-settlement rates. In the next ten years, the prices came down to a more steady figure and for 10 years, from 1921 to 1929 the prevailing price of paddy was about 10 ¼ *seers* for a Rupee or about Rupees 14-12-0 per Company *Khandi*. Average for the years from 1921 to

1925 showed 116% more than the pre-settlement prices. But the year 1929 witnessed the catastrophic slump in prices, and the following three years saw the prices crashing to the year 1895 level. The paddy was not a cash crop, and it was grown mainly for house consumption in the district.

More important than the variations in price of paddy was fluctuations in the prices of garden products. Arecanut was the major garden crop in the district. Its price in five years prior to introduction of the settlement was 2 *seers* and 13 *chataks* for one Rupee that is 5 Rupees for local *maund* of 28 lb. In first five years of the settlement, its prices had increased by 50%. There was a small fall in prices from the year 1901 to 1903. But thereafter prices remained more or less steady at 2 *seers* 5 *chataks* or Rupees 6-4-0 per *maund* (average of years 1910-1915) for 18 years till the year 1921. Unlike paddy, there was no rise in prices of arecanut during the war, but boom came during the period from 1923 to 1925 when prices shot up to 1 *seer* 3 *chataks* per Rupee. The average value was 1 *seer* 8 *chataks* for a Rupee or 9-5-0 per *maund*, i.e., 87% above the pre-settlement prices. The year 1929 slump had, however affected arecanut prices equally badly and the rates had remained fairly constant since year 1942. ¹⁷

Labour and Wage:

Due to sparse population, the district always faced problem of scarcity of labour. The labourers came from Dakshina Kannada and Goa regions in the month of September or October, and stayed till commencement of monsoon. They worked for garden lands. The rice lands faced the problem of scarcity of labour, and rice lands were cultivated through tenants who cultivated with the help of lower caste people. The labour wage at the

commencement of settlement was four *anna* per day and remained constant till 1907 in the district.¹⁸ Thereafter the wage rose to 6 *annas* at which level it remained for the next 12 years with the exception of one year. From 1917, the wage mounted even higher, and in 1925 it reached the unusual figure of 15 *annas* per day for an ordinary field labourer. The average wage a labourer for five years from 1921 to 1925 was 0-12-8. With the sudden fall in price of arecanut in the year 1931, the wages also came down. The wage reached 0-5-6 in the year 1938. In the year 1940, it recorded little rise due to the greater demand for labour by the Mysore government for the Jog hydro electric project. In below ghats and some parts of above ghats where garden cultivation was limited, the labour wage was very less. In smaller villages where much of the land was cultivated by tenants or small holders, the wage was merely nominal, about 2 to 3 *annas* per day. There the ryots generally exchanged their personal labourers. 6 *annas* a day was paid for paddy lands, and some minor operations in garden lands. The women workers from Ankola and Kumta employed for transplantation and weeding were paid at 3 to 4 *annas* a day. A very common method of payment was to give wages partly in cash and partly in kind, especially in the villages where an appreciable amount of paddy was grown. Labourers were paid at the rate of 4 to 5 *annas* per day, and the amount of paddy given was calculated at the rate of 10 *gidnas* that is half a *khandi* of paddy for every four Rupees of wage. In some villages, 8 to 9 *gidnas* of paddy were given. The payment of this kind was called as *bali*. In addition, 4 *annas* were given for salt and spices for every four Rupees of wages. The wages thus worked out at Rupees 0-5-9 to Rupees 0-7-0 per day.¹⁹

For the specialised garden operations, highest wage rate was paid. The *soppu* operations were generally done on contract basis. The amount charged depended upon the nature of *betta* from which the leaves and branches were to be removed and the garden

where they had to be deposited. The amount of Rupees 40 was generally paid per acre of garden. *Agte* and *nitikattu* operations were paid on the average at Rupees 100 per acre. The workers who tied *kottes* and harvested *supari* were almost invariably paid on the basis of the work done. *kotte* tying labour was paid Rupees 7 to Rupees 8 per 1,000 bunches of *supari* with one or two meals per day. A labourer who tied about 150 *kottes* per day in average, used to earn about Rupees 1-3-0 to Rupees 1-6-0. *Supari* plucking labour was paid at Rupees 4 to Rupees 5 per 1,000 bunches of *supari*, plus one or two meals per day, and they earned 12 *annas* to 1 Rupee per day. The wage was very high in the district, and contributed greatly to the increase cost of cultivation.²⁰

Stagnation and Deterioration of Agriculture:

The British introduced the Ryotwari system of land revenue administration in the district. It created a new form of private property which benefited the government. The land was converted into saleable and mortgageable commodity. The British by making land as a commodity which could be freely bought and sold introduced a fundamental change in the existing land system of the country. Further, it resulted in the excessive collection of land revenue. The traditional share of the state was 1/6 of the produce, whereas the colonial state increased it to 60-70% and made an effort to benefit from it.²¹

The farmers had to pay land revenue to the government whether the annual crop was successful or not.²² In the forest district like Uttara Kannada where there was lack of proper irrigation system, guaranteeing security against insufficient rains, the peasants failed to pay the revenue to the government. The divisional and district officials who visited the district after rainy season gave false report to government of fair rainy season.

The land revenue demand of the State was one of the main causes of the growth of poverty, and resultant indebtedness of the farmers. “A system which established fixed revenue assessment in cash, irrespective of harvests or economic changes, may appear convenient to the revenue collector, but to the country man who has to pay from a wildly fluctuating income, ruined him in bad years and inevitably drives him into the hands of the moneylenders...”²³

The ryots who failed to pay the excessive revenue, were compelled to purchase articles of primary necessity which were heavily taxed by the government.²⁴ The ryots were forced to borrow loans from moneylenders. The moneylenders were generally the landlords or merchants or timber contractors of the district.²⁵ The moneylenders extorted high interest from the ryots who were unable to pay interest regularly on the debt. The indebtedness of the overwhelming majority of the ryots further accentuated their poverty and much of the rice lands of Hallakki Vakkals, Namdaries, Komarpaiks and to some extent of Nador were transferred to rich Gouda Saraswats in the coastal taluks.²⁶ The garden lands of Havik Brahmans were transferred to the rich merchants of the Sirsi town.²⁷ The impoverishment of the peasantry had disastrous impact on agriculture. Under the colonial dispensation, the yield per acre steadily diminished, and agriculture stagnated in the district. The fallow areas in garden and rice lands increased considerably. The increase was mainly due to the colonial negligence towards the region. The colonial forest policies also added considerably towards its augmentation. The ban on hunting led to increasing number of wild pigs, which destroyed crops.²⁸

In general, there was decline and deterioration in agriculture and the same is reflected in the following table.

Table 6:2
Decline in Cultivation (1901-1904)²⁹

No.	Taluk	1901-02 (Land cultivated in acres)	1902-03 (Land cultivated in acres)	1903-04 (Land cultivated in acres)	Total difference in acres
1	Karwar	26999	27015	26416	-583
2	Ankola	21083	20980	20686	-397
3	Kumta	25400	25042	24774	-626
4	Honnavar	34256	34183	33522	-734
5	Siddapur	20889	20788	20232	-657
6	Sirsi	29954	29896	28849	-105
7	Yellapur	32036	31609	30844	-1192
8	Haliyal	49366	47189	45043	-4323
Total					-8617

The following tables show details about the lands cultivated, left fallow and the variations in them during the period of one decade. Generally, there was decline in the extent of cultivated land, both rice and garden lands.

Table 6:3
Garden Land³⁰

Taluk	1923-24		1933-34	
	Occupied land (in acres) A. g. a.	Fallow land (in acres) A. g. a.	Occupied land (in acres) A. g. a.	Fallow land (in acres) A. g. a.
Siddapur	7,218-0-0	---	6,530-0-0	-----
Sirsi	5,825 -5 -3 ¼	300- 8- 5 ¼	5,654 -12- 4 ¼	349 -16- 8 ¼
Yellapur	2,976 -26-14	120 -29- 5	2,901-30- 8	102 9-10-0
Mundgodpeta	56-32- 0	26- 20- 0	50 -22- 0	24-27- 0

Table 6:4
Rice Land ³¹

Taluk	1923-24		1933-34	
	Occupied land (in acres) A. g. a.	Fallow land (in acres) A. g. a.	Occupied land (in acres) A. g. a.	Fallow land (in acres) A. g. a.
Siddapur	17,643-0-0	-----	16,753	-----
Sirsi	26,789-22- 1	8847-20-15	25,581 16 6 ½	10710-34-4 ¾
Yellapur	12, 416- 5- 0	4,280 -30- 9 ¾	11,802- 6 -4 ¾	1,160 -32- 2
Mundgod <i>peta</i>	13,654-13- 8	4,228 -33 -8	14,837- 16 -15	4,960 -11 -10

It is reported that in the year 1916-17, the area of agricultural land measuring 44,777 acres situated close to the forest turned fallow, whereas only 36,693 acres of agricultural land located far away from the forest turned fallow.³² The difference could be due to the colonial forest policies, which would have affected the lands in the neighbourhood of forests more than the far way lands. Apart from the colonial land revenue system, there were other reasons also for the decline in cultivation. The district was depopulated due to thick forest, heavy rains and prevalence of fever, and this led to scarcity of labourers. The new job opportunities created during the colonial rule in the coffee and tea plantations, forest industry, railways and mining also absorbed the labourers, and this reduced their supply for agricultural undertaking.

The government had not introduced any measure to bring the government waste lands under cultivable lands. The ryots never came forward to bring the government waste lands under cultivation, because the ryots could never afford to raise garden or rice lands on the government waste lands. The ryots did not have capital and resources to fall back upon for the first twelve years when the income from the garden was meagre.³³ In the inland parts of the coastal taluks, the government had not shown any concern to improve

the condition of cultivable area. The area was unhealthy as the forest reached near the door steps of cultivated area, and there were no facilities like wells and irrigation to carry out the cultivation. There was a constant danger for their crops from the attack of wild animals. Even to get the gun licence, the landlords had to undergo all procedures of the government, and very few licences were issued. The garden lands in above-ghat taluks frequently suffered from fungal diseases like *koleroga* and *katteroga*. During the colonial period, these diseases increased considerably and garden cultivation deteriorated in Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur taluks. Consequently, as per the G.R.No. (RD) 9230/24 of 22nd May 1934, the colonial authorities sanctioned five years programme of spraying operations against the *koleroga* disease in Siddapur taluk. The government ordered to give *taccavi* advances for sprayers, chemicals, and also for paying the professional labourers who carried out these operations.³⁴ By the time these orders were passed, much of the lands were affected by *koleroga*, and the garden cultivators who were already under the debt of *dalals* and moneylenders were further pushed to become the government debtors.

Another factor that had added to the miseries of the gardeners was the import of foreign *supari* from Malaysia. It came via Singapur (Singapore) and was known as Singapur *supari*. Though the *supari* grown in the district was of superior quality, and the Singapur *supari* was of inferior quality, the latter was sold for high price.³⁵

Apart from *koleroga*, the most serious threat to the garden crops was posed by the monkeys. G. F. S. Collins who was appointed in 1926 as the revision settlement officer in above ghat taluks, proposed very liberal rate for garden lands. However, his settlement proposal was not implemented in the district. The government did not want to make any changes in the existing settlement rates till the Land Revenue Code was amended. In the

year 1929, the fall in prices came as a fatal blow to the garden industries. The prices of arecanut, cardamom and pepper went down by 60%. In the year 1926, C. F. S. Collins had estimated Rupees 298 as the expenditure for garden cultivation per acre, whereas he calculated income at Rupees 475. But in January 1931, the calculated income per acre came down to Rupees 227 on account of fall in prices while the expenditure did not come down. M. J. Desai, who was appointed to study the economic condition of Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur gardeners in the year 1934, gave very interesting details that the monkeys used to pull down all the berries from the pepper vine, and open up the main stem of the cardamom plant which was very sweet.³⁶

The figures contained in the Season and Crops Report from 1890 to 1940 indicate a generally declining tendency in the total cultivating area from 2,40,399 acres in 1890 to 24,685 in 1940.³⁷ The extreme poverty of the overwhelming majority of ryots and peasants left them without resource to improve agriculture by using better cattle and seeds, more manure and fertilisers and improved techniques of production. The cultivators were rack-rented by both the government and the landlords. After all, the land that the cultivator cultivated was rarely his property, and the bulk of the benefit which agricultural improvement would bring was likely to be reaped by the absentee landlords. So the peasants never took interest in improving their lands. The British government did not help in improving and modernising agriculture. The government also refused to recognise any such responsibility. The *taccavi* advances which were granted to improve agriculture had many procedures for sanction, these advances were not sanctioned without security of any person. The peasant always felt it easy to borrow the money from moneylenders. The government spent much of its money on roads, railways, post and telegraphs, constructing

government offices, guest houses and in other fields which protected their business interest. Very less money was spent on improvement of agriculture.³⁸

In the name of forest conservancy, many restrictions were imposed on the Dhangar - Gowlis, the cattle breeding community settled in the district. From times immemorial, the Dhangar - Gowlis made it their occupation to breed cattle in the forests and kept the stock of them in reserve for the ryots to buy whenever they wanted. But the colonial forest laws completely drove away this community from the forests of the district. Many restrictions were imposed on them because the colonial authorities considered them as a threat to the forest resources. The provisions of the various Forest Acts harmed the interests of Dhangar-Gowlis. As a result, they had to migrate to the neighbourhood territories in search of better living. All these affected the cattle breeding in the district and reduced the available cattle which indirectly affected the farmers and agriculture.³⁹

Effect of Commercial Plantation:

The imposition of State monopoly on forests prohibited the people of the region from the traditional use of forest. The main aim of the forest department was to produce large quantity of commercial timber and generate revenue for the government. Almost from the beginning of the British rule in the district, the government developed the plantation culture. The great demand for teak timber for shipbuilding, and later for expansion of railways, prompted the British to initiate large scale vegetation changes in favour of teak. The British cleared rich natural species for raising teak plantation in evergreen forests of the district. This development served the material interest of the government, but affected the environment of the district. The teak plantations surrounding

the gardens and residential areas grew into forest which made it difficult for people to cultivate and live. They frequently sent petition to the government by stating their inconveniences, but the government was busy in protecting its teak plantation and declared the same as protected forest. Peasants of Ankola, Supa and Honnavar appealed to clear these forest areas for about 8 to 10 miles from residential areas as well as cultivable areas, but government turned deaf ear towards it.⁴⁰

The casuarina plantations were of great disadvantage to the fishermen of the district who lived near the sea. The *Kanadavritta* highlighted the sufferings of the fishing communities on 20th August, 1928. These plantations affected the cultivation of vegetables and fruit trees near them. The well-water in the areas also got contaminated due to its leaves. It led to the menace of white ants which had spread near their houses and cattle sheds. Earlier, these isolated areas were used by the inhabitants to locate patients affected with epidemics like plague. The peasants on the coast were required to procure firewood from the depots of forest department. The firewood was stocked in Hattikeri village depot, which was not a convenient location for all the villagers. Many a time, the foresters kept green wood for auction, and the dry wood was preserved for better buyers especially for export.⁴¹

As seen earlier the colonial government imposed several restrictions on the use of forest resources. This resulted in the disinterestedness of the dominant ryots or landowners of the district and many of them left cultivation. It is reported that in the above ghat Havik Brahmans who were well-versed in the garden cultivation, deviated themselves from it in the beginning of the 19th century. According to the official reports, they drifted to the habit of laziness, ostentation, litigation and these habits pushed them to poverty and

indebtedness, and not the government policies.⁴² However, this angered them and they organised themselves and participated in the freedom struggle. The inhabitants had to purchase timber for their use from the government depots where it was sold to the highest bidder. This resulted in the considerable hardship to them.

The forest policies created pressure on the inhabitants of the region. The standard of agriculture also lowered.⁴³ The forests and heavy rain also resulted in the outbreak of disease like plague, malaria and decrease in population.⁴⁴ There was decrease in the population of Sirsi taluk during the period from 1901 to 1931⁴⁵ as given below:

1901 - 52, 071

1911- 42, 875

1921- 40,987

1931- 37,000

Decline of Artisanal Activities:

The Industrial policy during the British period was motivated by the supreme consideration of using India as an agricultural raw material producing colony of the British empire. Besides, they needed forest products of India, particularly good quality timber. Therefore, they took no steps to put India on the path of industrial development.⁴⁶ This policy was followed in Uttara Kannada also. The inhabitants produced raw materials and exported them to other markets.⁴⁷ The traditional industries were sandalwood carving, mat making, basket making, box making, umbrella making and metal works.

Wood Work:

The *gudigars* or sandalwood carvers were experts in idol making, box making and wood carving work. They inhabited in Sirsi, Siddapur, Kumta and Honnavar taluks. They were very poor men without any capital. They personally carried out the orders which they had received. They had very limited markets for their goods.⁴⁸ Probably, their industries suffered when the sandalwood trees were kept under government control. No concessions were given for *gudigars*. It became difficult for them to get raw materials, and the British government did not extended patronage to them.

Basket Making:

Basket making was one of the important traditional industries of the district. Cane baskets, agricultural implements, and day-to-day useful articles were prepared in Agsur, Adlur and Sunksal of Ankola taluks, Majali and Bargadde of Karwar taluk. There was a great demand for these articles in Hubli market. The bamboo baskets were prepared in Banavasi,⁴⁹ but they were not manufactured in sufficient quantity due to scarcity of raw materials. In the beginning of the 19th century, fee was collected for removing canes from the forest at eight *annas* per head load of 50 lb.⁵⁰ The baskets of wild creepers were prepared at Bhatkal which were used for carrying soil, manure etc. The Kanara Forests Privilege Rules of 1924 restricted the cutting of many creepers for fencing and other purposes.⁵¹ This created great hardship for the artisans who engaged in these kinds of industries. The colonial government did not want to lose its forest revenue by reducing the fee levied on cane cutting.

Cobblers and Tanners:

The Village tanners and cobblers were the worst sufferers from the economic transformation of the country side. In the pre-British period, they got carcasses of animal gratis from their fellow villagers. After India was linked with the world market due to the British trade, the tanning industries developed in India. The owners of dead animals found it very profitable to sell the hides to the representatives of these industries, Indian and foreign.⁵² In the Beginning of the 20th century, these representatives reached the Uttara Kannada district. A Khoja merchant from outside the district came to Karwar and resided in Karwar taluk.⁵³ The tanners in the district were known as Mahars or Holers (Holeyas) They were very poor and were using very old methods for tanning. The tanning materials were made of strong *Matti* trees. The government had imposed restriction on the use of this tress by adding them in the reserved list. The Khoja merchant, who was the representative of the tanning industry took advantage of these Holeyas, who used to collect skin, and made contract with them to purchase all the available skins. Earlier, they used to sell these skins to the chammars of the district, who were shoemakers mainly located at Ankola *peta* and Aversa Village of Ankola taluk, and Karwar, Kodibag and Mudageri villages of Karwar taluk. The shoes prepared by these chammars were famous for their durability and quality. Gradually, it became difficult for the chammars to get skins directly from the district tanners and they were forced to purchase skins for any price fixed and demanded by the Khoja merchant.⁵⁴ Due to poverty, it became impossible for chammars to purchase skins at a high price and many of them were forced to quit their jobs. The new town tanning industry absorbed only a small section of the village tanners who were thrown out of their hereditary profession. However, a large number of them were constrained to be land labourers.⁵⁵

Potters :

There were potters in many villages of the district, but their products never found their way beyond the distance of a few miles. The best pots were found in Haliyal and Ramanguli of Ankola taluk. The pots made by the potters of these places were superior in terms of workmanship and polish. There was a great demand for these pots in Ankola and Yellpur taluks. The malarious climatic condition created by the over-expanse of the forest obviously affected the potters.⁵⁶ The forest policies which restricted the removal of mud from the forest lands also affected the potters. In course of time, the modern metal vessels were used and gradually replaced the earthen vassels. This trend further reduced the demand for the products of the potter.

Mat and Umbrella:

In the Ankola taluk, bamboo mats, talipot umbrellas and other day-to-day used articles were prepared by the Mahars, who were locally known as Hulswars (Holeyas).⁵⁷ The umbrella prepared by talipot palm was locally used by the inhabitants. The restrictions imposed by the forest department in the late 19th century on the removal of *tali* pot leaves and cutting of bamboos affected these cottage industries.⁵⁸ Further, these umbrellas were replaced to a large extent by the umbrellas of water proof cloth imported from Britain.⁵⁹

Mats were prepared by Kunbi women from the *shindoli* palm leaves which were abundant in the district. They had considerable skill in mat making, and the mats were bought by the traders and cart loads were transported to many places. Even on the removal of these leaves, fee was levied in the year 1893, but it was withdrawn in the year 1905. Later on permission was given to cut canes and sago-palms, but getting permission was

very difficult and it was a prolonged task.⁶⁰ The uneducated and ignorant artisans were totally unaware to all these rules. In the Ankola taluk, the forest areas containing such raw materials were included in the forest proper,⁶¹ where cutting of such articles without permission was very difficult.⁶²

Salt:

In 1878, the salt production by private individuals was prohibited. As a result, the salt pans of Ankola, Bhatkal, Sirali stopped working. Only the Sanikatta salt pan which was under government ownership was continued. It took away the work of many Ager communities who were very poor with no lands in their hands. Consequently, they were forced to become agricultural labourers. There was shortage of salt even in the coastal areas, it became a very rare item and it was not available even on paying money. Within two years from 1878 to 1880, the price of salt for a *mana* (80 pounds) increased from one *anna* to six *anna*.⁶³

Industry Initiatives:

The British government established saw-mills at Dandeli, and Kirvatti of Yellapur taluk to manufacture sleepers for the railways. This was to cater to their needs of transport. Otherwise, the government was not concerned about the industrial development of the region. In fact, the import of foreign goods, forest policies and lack of government support resulted in the decline of artisanal activities in the region as in the rest of India. In spite of unfavourable condition, some enterprising men with capital came forward to establish industries in the district.⁶⁴ In the beginning of the 20th century, a few industries were started by the local people. The *gulal* factory was established by Masur in Honnavar

taluk. He showed remarkable ingenuity of producing *gulal* from the pith of *tali* pot palm. There was a demand for *gulal* in Bombay market, which was used as dye. In 1908-09, it had given employment for 270 persons of the district, but the government's restrictions on the removal of pith of *tali* palm in the name of conservancy in the beginning of 20th century affected the *gulal* industries. Mango-pulp industries, oil pressing industries, weaving industries, soap factory at Sirsi, tile factory at Honnavar were some of the other industries which were opened up in the 20th century. A sugar refining industry ran by steam engine was started in Sirsi taluk in the year 1913. In the same year, a coconut oil factory was opened, but there was no sufficient raw material for it. The kopra cake which was the raw material for this industry was exported to Cochin from where it was sent to Europe by the British government.⁶⁵ There was no encouragement provided by the government to improve the industries. Wheatear existed was due to the local entrepreneurs. On the whole, industrial progress in the district was exceedingly slow and far from satisfactory.

Pressure on Land and Sub-division of Land:

The decline of traditional industries in the district resulted in the loss of employment for many artisans and villagers, and created excessive pressure on land. The overall growth in the population increased that pressure considerably. This pressure of population on agriculture led to the inevitable sub-division and fragmentation of the holdings of the ryots or landowners. In the coastal taluks, the land was much more sub-divided than in the above ghat region. The fragmentation of lands resulted in the limitless growth of uneconomic holdings. This made cultivation uneconomical and led to the growth

of poverty.⁶⁶ The poverty of agriculture and tenants led to increase in the tenancy problems in the district.

High Incidence of Rent:

High rent was one of the problems faced by the peasants after the introduction of the Ryotwari system in the district. It is a general belief that the ryotwari was a revenue system of small proprietors. However, in the district there were ryots who were zamindars, and leased out their lands for cultivation to the tenants. The landlords extracted the highest possible rent from the tenants.⁶⁷ The declining man-land ratio or excessive pressure of the population on land accelerated the process of the transformation of land-reclaiming landlords to rack-renting landlords.⁶⁸ Buchanan reported that the tenants paid, for every *moray* of seed sown, two *moray* of rice for land of the best quality, 1.5 *morays* for average or middling land and 1 *moray* of rice for the worst or the *makki* land.⁶⁹ A study conducted by Dinakar Desai in Uttara Kannada estimated that in the district 60% of the total cultivated land was owned by less than 3% of the holders, and 80% of the cultivators were tenants paying 2/3rd to 3/4th of the gross produce as rent to the absentee-landlords.⁷⁰ The rent was paid in cash and land was cultivated for a fixed rent in the coastal villages.⁷¹ Yennemadi, Settlement Officer in Ankola taluk in the year 1917, estimated the gross produce per acre as 10 to 30 *khandis* of paddy and the yield of the lands yielding two crops was estimated at 40 *khandis*. In the coastal taluks, except in Karwar taluk, rent was paid generally in *kuchagi* rice and very rarely by way of paddy.⁷² The rent per acre of rice land varied from 3 *khandis* to 9 *khandis* of *kuchagi* rice. One *khandi* of *kuchagi* rice was equal to 2 *khandis* of paddy. The tenants had to pay half of the gross produce as rent to the landlords in the coastal taluks.⁷³ The rent per acre in the spice garden of above ghats

ranged from Rupees 125 to Rupees 150. The rent of rice land per acre below the ghats ranged from Rupees 20 to Rupees 30. The rent of coconut garden of the coast per acre averaged from Rupees 60 to Rupees 75.⁷⁴ More than 60% of the garden lands were under the non-agriculturists⁷⁵ and the majority of them belonged to gouda saraswats and merchants of the Sirsi town.⁷⁶ In the rice tracts of the district, wages of agricultural labourers were low, and there was a keen competition among the poor peasants to get land for cultivation, and it resulted in leasing the land for high rent by landlords. Under the *chalageni* system, the tenants suffered heavily as the landlords quite often took away the entire crop and adjusted its cash value to the amount due from the tenants.⁷⁷ In the district, poor tenants paid something between 55% to 65% of the gross produce as rent, in some cases the rent was as high as 70% of the gross produce. In the adjoining districts like Dharwad and Belgaum, under the *ardeli* or share cropping system division of the gross produce prevailed but, in the Uttara Kannada district, tenants had to bear all the expenses of production. On the occasion of Deepavali festival, the tenant had to go to pay his tribute to the landlord. It was locally known as *kaimugi*, sometimes, if any tenant failed to follow this custom, his tenancy was terminated. The tenants were liable to eviction at the displeasure of the landlords in the case of non-payment of rent and accumulation of arrears of rent under the *chalageni* and *nidagi*. Most of the tenants in Uttara Kannada were *chalagenidars* who could also be easily evicted if they did not accept a new agreement after the enhancement of rent. Similar was the fate of the *palu* lease holders, which was a crop sharing annual lease in the inferior *gazni* or salt lands in the district.⁷⁸ The predominance of rent-in-kind over cash rent also favoured the landlords. The measure used for measuring the rent varied from taluk to taluk, and often within the taluks. This inconsistency of weights and measures left ample scope for landlords to cheat the tenants in the measurement of the rent payable by them. In the district, they used *geni-kolaga*

measure for receiving rents which was a measure of a large bulk than the standard measure or *sikke-kolaga*.⁷⁹ The tenants were completely under the mercy of the landlords.

Agricultural Associations and New Initiatives in Agriculture:

It was due to the initiatives taken by the local educated leaders that some Agricultural Associations were opened up at Honnavar, Sirsi, Bhatkal and Kumta taluks. These institutions tried their best to introduce advanced agricultural implements, seeds and fertilizers in agriculture. The Kumta Agricultural Association had Rao Saheb Masur as its Secretary and introduced groundnut in the Kumta taluk and adjacent tracts. The Association supplied 16 Meston-plough in the year 1910. The Association also introduced Poona Gud Pan to prepare jaggery which required less firewood. There was a demand for Gud Pan from the cane cultivators. Besides this, the Associations at Honnavar, Bhatkal and Sirsi also helped the peasants to follow advanced techniques of agriculture.⁸⁰

Social Classes:

In the coastal region, the landowning groups were Gouda Saraswats, Haviks, Sonars, or Goldsmiths, Nadors, Konkan Marathas and Muslims.⁸¹ The Gouda Saraswats, Sonars and Navayat Muslims were non-agriculturist landlords. The muslims of Bhatkal who gathered money by European trade invested money on purchasing agricultural lands. The gouda saraswats who pursued education, were employed by the government and many of them involved in trade and business. They were not undertaking agricultural activities by themselves, and used to let out their lands under various tenancy systems for cultivations. Therefore, they were called as absentee landlords. The sonars who had no much opportunity in Uttara Kannada moved to other parts of Karnataka, earned money and

invested the same on purchasing land. The nadors in Ankola and the konkan marathas in Karwar were owner-farmers who employed agricultural labourers to carry out seasonal agricultural operations. V. D. Yennemadi reported in 1905 about the nadors and said: “though an inferior caste, the Nadors were an economically rising class because they were efficient rice cultivators”.⁸² According to Macgregor’s report, the konkan marathas were also a well-to-do self-cultivating landowning caste.⁸³ In the above ghat region, the garden lands were owned by havik brahmans who were known for their industry, simplicity, habits of thrift and above all for their remarkable skill in the cultivation of spice garden.⁸⁴ They were well-versed in garden cultivation. The rice and *hakkal* lands were owned by gouda saraswats, karada brahmans, vanis and also in many cases by Maratha kunbis and similar other lower classes. The panderpeshas cultivated lands by their own.⁸⁵ The halepaiks, halakki goudas, gam vakkals, and agers were some other cultivating lower classes. Some of them did hold lands, but in many cases they worked as tenants and agricultural labourers.⁸⁶ The halakki vakkals were the class most suppressed by the landlords. A meeting of *adivasis* was held in Merkhed village of Pancha Mahals district (now in Gujarat) in which Dinakar Desai presented a paper on the halakki vakkals of North Kanara. There he highlighted the condition of the vakkals in the following words: “the vakkals of North Kanara are one of the most backward castes in the province of Bombay. The community though not officially classed among the aboriginals, is as backward as the aboriginal tribes in certain respects. Although the Vakkals are not untouchable castes they are more backward than most of the untouchable castes in literacy and education. Though the vakkals are very hard working, they are suffering from extreme poverty. In short, the vakkals of Kanara are one of the most unfortunate communities to be ruthlessly exploited by landlords and totally neglected by the Government.”⁸⁷

In *Supa peta*, the condition of cultivating classes like kunbis and similar other lower classes was very poor. These classes were once with few exceptions entirely at the mercy of the moneylenders.⁸⁸ They were so ignorant that they never tried to know what their liabilities were, and went on borrowing heedlessly. They never obtained any receipt of how much money they paid back to the landlords. The money earned by them and the crops raised by them were practically the property of the moneylenders except what was absolutely necessary for their bare necessities of life. The cultivating classes were practically the slaves of moneylenders. In many cases, they had to cultivate the lands of moneylenders free of charge. A kunbi man who shared his condition with Yennemadi said: “my ancestors might or might not have received a handful of rupees, more than 6 headloads of rupees have already been paid, yet the creditor wishes to receive two more head loads.”⁸⁹

The Muslims were much backward in the educational field and other reforms. The Navayats among the Muslims were mercantile class, and their trade extended throughout the Bombay and Madras Presidency.⁹⁰

The last in the social scale were mahars and mukris. However, for the marriage ceremony, they borrowed huge amounts of money from the *sawkars* or moneylenders. Due to heavy debt, they hurled themselves with their wives into lifetime slavery to their creditors who allowed them the barest pittance for the hard work they executed for them.⁹¹

Rise of Landlords and Moneylenders:

In the Ryotwari area of Uttara Kannada, the traditional landlord-tenant relations were replaced due to the land revenue system, maximisation of land revenue, rural indebtedness and the policies of the colonial government. There was large scale transfer of land from the small and middle class ryots to that of the richer ryots or landlords, or moneylender or merchants. These rich classes never cultivated the land by themselves, and leased their lands to the tenants for cultivation. One of the reasons for the money lending class of the district to buy lands was the absence of effective outlets for investments of their capital in the industries.⁹² As the ryots had to pay the revenue demand of the government only in cash, the market fluctuations in prices of their products affected them badly, and they failed to meet the same. Although Uttara Kannada has declared as areas of 'peasant proprietorship' the growth of tenancy underwent serious proportion during the British rule in the district. Besides, the government policies like lack of revenue remissions and harsh methods to realise the revenue also affected the distressed ryots. Thus the small ryots of the district, and the tenants were forced to borrow money from the moneylenders, *sawkars*, contractors and rich peasants to meet the triple needs that are the demand of the state, the need to purchase inputs for growing commercial crops and family consumption needs.⁹³ The moneylenders were also greatly helped by the new legal system. They used their money power to turn the expensive process of litigation in their favour, and made the police and the government to serve their needs. Moreover, the literate and shrewd moneylenders could easily take advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of the peasants to twist the complicated processes of law to get favourable decisions. The haviks, garden cultivators of the upper ghat taluks and poor rice cultivators of the coastal taluks like halakki vokkals, padtis, namdaris, and komarpants, lost their land to rich peasants and

became tenants in their own lands. Even the nadors lost their lands to some extent. In the Uttara Kannada district, 64% of the cultivable land was in the hands of landlords.⁹⁴ In Ankola taluk alone, 1,825 non-cultivating classes were holding the lands. Majority of them were gouda saraswats, vanis and goldsmiths. The gouda saraswats who were absentee-landlords seized the lands of the peasants who failed to return the borrowed money, and gave the land on *chalageni* tenure with high rent. When *chalagenidar* failed to pay the rent, generally the landlords took away the entire crop and adjust its cash value to the amount due for rent.⁹⁵ In the above ghat region, the merchants seized the garden lands from the ryots who were liable to return the loan, and gave it on *mulageni* lease to the original cultivators.⁹⁶ These moneylenders or new land owning classes leased out the newly acquired lands for cultivation on various tenancy systems like *mulageni*, *chalageni*, *nigadi* and *palu*.

Yennemadi, the First Revision Settlement Officer for Ankola taluk had the opinion that the poor condition of Ankola taluk represented condition of tenants of entire below-ghats region. He observed that the tilling value was high in Ankola taluk. He reported that this was to a considerable extent due to rack-renting facilitated by the fact that the villages were overcrowded with cultivating classes. However, the tenants from this region did not wish to migrate to the inland villages of the district though lands were available there on more favourable terms. This was due to unhealthy climatic condition, scarcity of water during the summer season, malarious climatic condition and problem of wild animals. Besides they also had a sense of attachment to the villages where they inhabited from time immemorial.⁹⁷

The problems connected with tenancy system became acute in the beginning of the 20th century. To pay the land revenue, and to adopt new agricultural system, the poor peasants had to borrow money at exorbitant rates of interest. Thus, the peasant's choice often lay between starvation and the money-lenders.⁹⁸ The big landlords who were known as *Khatedars* were village moneylenders, and all needy husbandmen and villagers looked to them for loans.⁹⁹ Besides, they also borrowed from the merchant moneylenders. Apart from the load, the tenants used to borrow grains from their landlords and used to repay these advances of grains after the harvest. They were forced to do this due to their poverty. At the 1899 Session of the Indian National Congress, Lala Muralidhar from the Punjab described a moneylender in the following words: "the moneylender is a curious formation of man and beast. Those who believe in the transmigration of souls and reincarnation will agree with me in believing that he has the claws of a loin, the brain of a fox, and the heart of the goat. He is a money-grabber, a contemptible leech, I will say, a man who sucks the blood of the poor agriculturist"¹⁰⁰ This description of a typical moneylender by Lala Muralidhar fitted well in the context of colonial Kanara also.

In Sirsi taluk, the rate of interest charged on the loan given by the moneylender was 9% to 25%, sometimes it was even higher. In the below ghat region, the interest on loans ranged from 10% to 25%.¹⁰¹ It was only in the beginning of the 20th century that a legislation was passed prohibiting the purchase of cultivator's land by non-cultivating castes. However by this time, immense harm had already been done.¹⁰² Very less effort was done to create other infrastructure, only a beginning was made in developing agricultural research institutions and co-operative societies in the middle of the 20th century. However their impact was negligible.

The system of landlordism became the main feature of agrarian relations not only in zamindari areas, but also in the ryotwari areas. A remarkable feature of the spread of landlordism was pressure on land which led the buyers to compete with one another to acquire land, the rent of which was increasing.¹⁰³ Thus though in theory the ryotwari system of land revenue administration existed in Uttara Kannada, in reality all the ryots were not cultivating themselves, and lands were held by ryots who were comparable to the landlords or zamindars under the zamindari system. This kind of a situation existed in other ryotwari areas like Dakshina Kannada and Malabar also.

Role of *Dalals*:

The transport system in the Uttara Kannada district was not developed. The rural area were not connected with the roads. The roads connecting the big cities, ports and bazaars were constructed by the colonial government to fulfil their commercial interests. In the rainy season, the interior villagers were totally isolated and found it difficult to procure food stuffs, dress materials and also to sell their surplus goods in the market. If the interior villagers from the district ran short of rice in monsoon, they had to get it from the cities, which cost two Rupees per bag and four *maunds* for transport in the year. Otherwise, they had to buy it from the local *dalals* who charged exorbitant rates for rice. Similarly, the gardeners also found it inconvenient to shift and sell their products in the towns in the beginning of the harvest season particularly due to the transport cost, which were 8 *annas* per *maund* in the year 1934. Therefore, these peasants failed to get the advantage of high prices at the beginning of the harvesting seasons.¹⁰⁴ Most often helpless situation of the peasants was exploited by the *dalals* and more so during the time of economic depression, and fall in prices. When the price of garden crops was high, many merchants used to visit

the villages and buy them for good prices. But in the late 1920s, when the prices of garden products declined, no buyers went to villages to purchase them. The extra burden of transport of crops to the markets fell on the peasants. The cultivators lived on the mercy of the *dalals* as they could not afford to argue on the prices which the *dalals* could dictate by bargaining at their door steps.¹⁰⁵ The ryots complained to K.P. Mathrani, Second Revision Settlement Officer who was appointed in 1942, about the various levies of *dalals* in addition to their regular commission such as “*Mudat*” and “*Padi adike*.” The *mudat* was the amount deducted as interest by the *dalals* for paying the producers ready cash for the *supari* to be sold, and was calculated at the rate of 12 *annas* per Rupees 100 of the produce and *Padi adike*, was a further reduction of 6 *seers* of *supari* per *khandi* of *supari*.¹⁰⁶ Thus the socio-economic changes and the plight of the cultivators facilitated the emergence of *dalals* in the agrarian set up of Uttara Kannada. The *dalals* were one of the main constituents of the newly emerging influential class in the society.

Rural Indebtedness:

There was a progressive rise in the indebtedness of the Indian agriculturist under the British rule.¹⁰⁷ The cultivators of Uttara Kannada district were not exceptional to this condition. The hallakki vakkals, namdaries, and padtis of coastal regions, *kumri* marathas, and other castes were dependent upon the moneylenders for undertaking agriculture and other purposes. They were practically the slaves of the moneylenders. Besides paying whatever they had grown in their fields, the cultivators were forced to cultivate the lands of the moneylenders free of cost. A large part of the peasants’ share was taken by the creditors or moneylenders recover the interest due on accumulated debts. This sort of oppression rose to such a pitch that the unfortunate debtors could no longer submit quietly

to it. In 1876, a moneylender raised large sums of money in the village of Anshi on the strength of forged documents or accounts. A criminal complaint was lodged against the moneylender, he was found guilty and sentenced for 14 years rigorous imprisonment by the Sessions Court. However, he appealed in High Court and escaped from the sentence with his money power¹⁰⁸. The labourers hesitated to work under forest contractors, because they had a fear that any wage they might earn would not be paid to them by the contractors, but would be sent to the moneylender, to whom the contractors were related. In order to realise the debt incurred by their ancestors, the labourers were given nothing beyond what was necessary for their maintenance during their employment under the contractors.¹⁰⁹ The re-payment of older debts and interest charges themselves were the reasons for borrowing money for many cultivators. Another reason for borrowing was to save family from crop failure, famine or some other disaster caused by natural calamities. The peasants required some money for carrying out production, for improvement of the land and purchase of the livestock. The land litigation also became a major cause for borrowing in many cases in the garden villages above the ghats.¹¹⁰ They also borrowed money to meet expenses related to birth, death, marriage and religious ceremonies. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee appointed an enquiry committee in 1931 to report on the agrarian distress in Sirsi and Siddapur taluks.¹¹¹ They surveyed four villages and found that it was only in exceptionally rare cases that families were free from debt. The Committee found that the debt per family was very high. The following table gives the figure of debt in four village of Sirsi taluk.¹¹²

Table 6:5
Magnitude of Debt in the year 1931¹¹³

Name of the village	No. of families surveyed	Total Debt (in Rupees)	No. of families free from debt	Average debt per family (in Rupees)
Hire-Hulekal	16	17,700	2	1,106-4-0
Targod	20	31,750	3	1,587-8-0
Mundgesar	27	18,775	5	695-8-0
Gonsar	23	28,300	-	1,230-0-0

Education and Its Impact:

The main motive of the English East India Company government in India in introducing western education was to get a cheap supply of educated Indians to subordinate posts in the administration. Another motive was to create a body of educated classes who would be reconciled to the British rule. Macaulay was forthright in his observation when he wrote: “We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.”¹¹⁴ Moreover, while the government laid down elaborate principles of education, it did not invest much for the education of Indians. Besides, the Christian missionaries and private individuals or reformers contributed to the development of modern education.

It is reported that the Uttara Kannada district was conservative as rest of the Bombay presidency. The inhabitants were sordid regarding education. The agriculturists viewed education with suspicion and they had the feeling that imbibing new ideas would make men unfit for field work. Schools were not freely attended.¹¹⁵ A few who belonged to upper classes like gouda saraswats, Brahman and nadors were educated.

By the 1870s, municipalities of the district came forward to open schools in the region. Some local people also came forward and built schools. Vamanrao M. Dubhashi started Edward High School at Ankola. In the year 1874-75, the government spent Rupees 1200 on education. In the year 1875- Rs. 9.186 was given by the government for education of the district. By 1876, there were four schools for women in the district. The social practice of early marriage affected the education of girls. Kannada and Marathi languages were taught in the schools. In some schools both English and vernacular languages were taught. Generally the children belonging to the families of peasants did not attend the schools. The children of lower castes were employed in the fields or in herding cattle. The lower classes were not interested in education.

The Collector of Kanara in the year 1875 suggested to increase the one *anna* cess to two *anna* at the time of new land revenue settlement, would provide government some more amount that could be used for education.¹¹⁶ By 1910, the importance of mass primary education was slowly emphasised, many policies were outlined to increase schooling among lower castes. Schools were opened for Muslims, women, and lower castes. In 1910, 20 new schools were opened in Karwar taluk. In that 2 schools were for the fishermen community, three for backward classes and one for girls.¹¹⁷ The British officers enthusiastically supported primary school fees, which was an important source of revenue for the administration.

The educated class made a difference in the society. They used to read the newspapers published outside the district. The ideas of *swadeshi*, *satyagraha* and Gandhian philosophy began to penetrate in the district. The educated class played a prominent role in mobilising the local masses during the time of freedom struggle. The

teachers, lawyers and students played a significant role in freedom struggle. They inspired the masses with their talk and practices. The educated people willingly participated in the non-cooperation movement led by M.K. Gandhi. Educated leaders motivated the uneducated masses for picketing of liquor shops, boycott of foreign goods, use of *khadi* etc. They themselves resigned law courts, government jobs, schools and colleges. Many of them returned their honorary awards. Timmappa Nayak, S.S. Shastri, S.D. Nadkarni, N.S. Chittageri, Shankar Dattatreya Desai, Jogi Beeranna Nayak, K.N. Nayak, Masur, Vaman Hodike were the famous educated leaders of the region.

Child Marriage:

The child marriage was practiced among the havik brahmans and almost all the communities of the district. The rich widowers even above 60 years of age married young girls. This practice increased the number of young-widows whose social condition was miserable. They were subjected to various kinds of indignities. Further it diminished the number of girls for young men to marry.¹¹⁸

By the early 20th century, the social reform movements and their progressive ideas penetrated the society in the district, and newspapers played a prominent role in spreading the awareness against child marriages. The age of marriage for girl child was gradually increased in the district. The inhabitants sent their daughters to schools. The communities like havik brahmans, gouda saraswats and nadore began to educate their children. However, there was no much change in the condition of the lower castes in the society.¹¹⁹ The Child Marriage Restraint Act (1929) had no much influence in the district, and till the end of the British rule child marriage was practiced in the district.

The colonial economic and social policies followed in the district were almost similar to those implemented in the rest of British India. They transformed the region, its economy and society. There was decline in agricultural and artisanal activities. The agrarian relations changed considerably and new classes emerged in the society.

¹ Letter from Lieutenant A. D. Taylor to Henry Forbes, Acting Secretary to Bombay Government, dated 1st July 1857, *RD*.Vol.136 of 1862-64, *MSA*.

² Letter from V. D. Yennemadi, Special District Deputy Collector Kanara to the Collector of Kanara. *RD*. Vol. 109, 1900, *MSA*.

³ A. R. Macdonold, Collector of Kanara, 24th July, 1876, *RD*. *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.12.

⁴ Davidson, Collector of Kanara, 31th July, 1893, *RD*. No 32 of 1894, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.13.

⁵ Letter from Lieutenant A. D. Taylor to Henry Forbes, Acting Secretary to Bombay Government, dated 1st July 1857, *RD*.Vol.136 of 1862-64, *MSA*.

⁶ N. Shyam Bhat , “Trade in Goa during 19th Century with Special Reference to Colonial Kanara”, in Charles J. Borges, Oscar G. Pereira and Hannes Stubbe (Ed.), *Goa and Portugal History and Development*, New Delhi, 2000, p. 56.

⁷ B.V. Rao, “Commercialisation of Agriculture in Belgaum District in the 19th Century and Early 20th Century”, *Indian History Congress Proceedings, 47th Session*, Srinagar, 1986.

⁸ A. R. Macdonold, Collector of Kanara, 24th July, 1876, *RD*, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.12.

⁹ Collector of Kanara, 28th July 1875, *RD*, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.12 ; A. R. Macdonold, Collector of Kanara, 24th July 1876, *RD*, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.12..

¹⁰ Collector of Kanara, 15th September 1907, *RD*, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.5.

¹¹ Woodward, Acting Collector of Kanara, 12th August 1890, *RD*, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.11.

¹² *Ibid*.

¹³ Memorandum from Collector of Kanara dated 23rd February 1871, *RD*. Vol.45 of 1871, *MSA*.

¹⁴ Collector of Kanara, 15th September, 1907, *RD*, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para.5.

¹⁵ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, from 1862-1910, *RD*, *MSA*.

¹⁶ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, from 1911-1915, *RD*, *MSA*.

¹⁷ K. P. Mathrani, papers relating to *SRS*, Sirsi taluk settlement, 1924, p. 4.

¹⁸ M. J. Desai’s Report on *the economic condition of the garden lands in Siddapur, Sirsi, and Yellapur taluk including Mundgod Mahal*, dated 7th March 1935, Appendix-A-I, *MSA* ; K.P. Mathrani’s report on *SRS of Sirsi taluk* of the Kanara Collectorate, 1942, *MSA*, p.16.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp.16-17.

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- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ S. C. Ray, *Land Revenue Administration in India*, Delhi, 1984, p. 55
- ²² Petition from the inhabitants of Gundbala, Hervalva, Hadinbail to His Excellency in Council, Bombay, dated 25th September 1910, *RD*, Vol.117 of 1911, *MSA*
- ²³ S. P. Nanda, *Economic and Social History of Modern India,(1757-1947)*, New Delhi, reprint 2003, pp.68-69.
- ²⁴ Petition from the inhabitants of Gundbala, Herbada, Karva, Hadinbail of Kumta taluk to His Excellency Governor in council, Bombay, dated, 25th September 1910, *RD.*, Vol.117, *MSA*.
- ²⁵ V. D. Yennemadi, Deputy Collector of Kanara, 20th July, 1904, Karwar division, *RD*. No. 511, Pt. XIV, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, 1905, p.3.
- ²⁶ Dinakar Desai, *Land Rents in Uttara Kannada*, p.23.
- ²⁷ M. J. Desai's *Report on the Economic Condition of the Garden Lands, Op. Cit.*, dated 7th March 1935, *MSA*, p. 10.
- ²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 10.
- ²⁹ C. I. Pense, Collector of Kanara, 25th August 1905, for the year 1903-04, *RD*, 511, Pt. XIV, 25, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, p.25.
- ³⁰ M. J. Desai's *Report on the Economic Condition of the Garden Lands, Op. Cit.*, p. 6, p. 25, and p.45.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² Collector of Kanara, 29th August 1905, for the year 1916-17, *RD* 511, Pt. VII, 25, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, p.21.
- ³³ M. J. Desai's, *Report on the Economic Condition of the Garden Lands, Op. Cit.*, p. 55.
- ³⁴ *Ibid*, p.18.
- ³⁵ *Bombay Chronicle* dated 28th December 1934, *MSA*.
- ³⁶ M. J. Desai, *Report on the Economic Condition of the Garden Lands, Op. Cit.*, p.9.
- ³⁷ Season and Crop Report of the Bombay Presidency, *MSA*, 1890-40.
- ³⁸ S. P. Nanda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69-70.
- ³⁹ Memorial of Kanara *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sabha*, Sirsi, Kanara District signed by 3,600 persons on the day when the memorial passed to His Excellency The Right Honourable Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay in Council, Bombay Dated 17th January 1887, *MSA*, p. 12 ; Proceedings held before R.I. Wingate, No. 5331 of 1888/89 Camp Tatihalla Kanara, District, 4th/7th March 1889, *RD*. Vol. No. 87 of 1890, *MSA* , para, 9,.
- ⁴⁰ *Kanadavritta*, 12th December 1927. *KSA*.
- ⁴¹ *Kanadavritta*, dated- 9/10/1920, *KSA*.
- ⁴² C. D. Pense Collector of Kanara , 25th August, 1904, *RD*. Vol. No.24, 1905, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, pp 13-15.
- ⁴³ Accompaniments to G.R. *RD.*, No. 3349/33 24th February 1938., *RD*, File No. 779 /24 pt-I, 'A' Class, *MSA*, p.7.

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- ⁴⁴ V. D. Yennemadi Report on the distribution of Hakkal lands in Supa taluk, *RD*. Vol. 100 of 1900, p. 54; *SRBG(NS)*, No.XX, of 1855, quoted in Yennemadi's report on distribution of Hakkal lands in Supa taluk, *Op. Cit.*, p.52.
- ⁴⁵ District Census Report, 1909-1931, *MSA*.
- ⁴⁶ S. P. Nanda, *Op. Cit.*, p.67.
- ⁴⁷ Collector of Kanara, 29th August 1905, for the year 1906-07, *RD*, 511, Pt. VII, 25, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, p.12.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.12.
- ⁴⁹ Assistant Collector Kanara, Sirsi Sub-division, *RD*. Vol. No. 26 of 1906, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate *MSA*, p.15.
- ⁵⁰ Collector of Kanara, *RD*. No. 511,pt.I, 1905, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, para, 12
- ⁵¹ Kanara Forest Privilege Rules, 1924, *RD*, file No.779/24, pt-1, 'A' class. *MSA*.
- ⁵² A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, p.95.
- ⁵³ Assistant Collector of Kanara, Karwar Sub-division, *RD*. No. 511, pt.I, 1905, pp.12-15.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ A. R. Desai, *Op. Cit.*, p. 95.
- ⁵⁶ V. D. Yennemadi, 20th July 1904. Karwar sub-division, *RD*, pt. 511, XIV, of 1905, *MSA*, *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, p.13.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.13.
- ⁵⁸ Petition sent by the inhabitants of Gundbala, Hadinbail and Karva of Ankola and Kumta taluks to His Excellency in Council, Bombay Government, Dated 25th September 1910, *RD*. Vol. 23, 1911, *MSA*.
- ⁵⁹ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, Karwar sub-division, 1905, *MSA*, p.13.
- ⁶⁰ Petition sent by the inhabitants of Gundbala, Hadinbail and Karva of Ankola and Kumta taluks to His Excellency in Council Bombay Government, Dated 25th September 1910, *RD*. Vol. 23, 1911, *MSA*, p.5.
- ⁶¹ Letter from H. Murry, Conservator of Forest *SC*, No. 2019 of 1909-10, Conservator's Office Belgaum, 29th June 1909, *RD*, Vol.115, *MSA*.
- ⁶² Memorial of Kanara *Vana- Dukkha Nivarana Sabha*, Sirsi, Kanara District signed by 3,600 persons on the day when the memorial passed to His Excellency The Right Honorable Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay in Council, Bombay dated 17th January 1887, *MSA*, p. 12 .
- ⁶³ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Uttara Kannada Gazetteer*, *Op. Cit.*, p.165.
- ⁶⁴ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, Karwar sub-division, 1906, Sirsi sub-division, *RD* Vol. 26 of 1906, *MSA*.
- ⁶⁵ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *RD*. Vol. 511, pt XX, of 1910, *MSA*. p.15.
- ⁶⁶ P. N. Chopra, *Et.al. A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India*, Vol.III, p.182.
- ⁶⁷ Annual Revenue Administration of the Bombay Presidency, Kanara Collectorate, 1908-09, *MSA*.
- ⁶⁸ S. Guha, *The Agrarian Economy of Bombay Deccan*, p.200; Srikrishna, *Political Mobilisation and Identity in the Western India- 1934-1947*, p. 79.

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- ⁶⁹ Francis H. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through The countries of Mysore, Canara, Malabar*, Vol.1, p.298.
- ⁷⁰ Dinakar Desai, *Land Rents in Uttara Kannada*, p.18.
- ⁷¹ V. D. Yennemadi, District Deputy Collector, Karwar division, Kanara, *SRBG(NS)*, No.DLV papers relating to the *SRS* of Ankola taluk, of the Kanara Collectorate, *MSA*, Bombay, 1917 *MSA*,p.20.
- ⁷² *Ibid*, p.23.
- ⁷³ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁴ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, *RD*, 1908-09, pt.511, XIX, 1908-09, *MSA*, pp. 4-5.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁷ Mathrani, Report on *SRS* of Yellapur taluk, 1942, Bombay, *MSA*,p.23.
- ⁷⁸ Dinakar Desai, *Land Rents in Uttara Kannada*, p.112-22.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.125.
- ⁸⁰ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, Karwar subdivision, Kanara 31st August 1912, *RD*. Vol. No.511 pt. XX, *MSA*, p.25.
- ⁸¹ *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, Collector of Kanara, 27th August, 1915, pt, 511, VII, *MSA*, para.12.
- ⁸² Rao Bahaddur Yennemadi, Deputy Collector Karwar, papers relating to the *SRS* the Ankola Taluk of the Kanara Collectorate, Bombay, 1917, *MSA*, p. 20 ; *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, C. J. Panse, Collector of Kanara, 25 August, 1904, *RD*, Vol.24 of 1905, para. 12.
- ⁸³ Rao Bahaddur Yennemadi, Deputy Collector Karwar, papers relating to the *SRS* the Ankola Taluk of the Kanara Collectorate, Bombay, 1917, *SRBG(NS)*, No. DLV, *MSA*, p. 20
- ⁸⁴ G. L. Macgregor, *FRS*, of Karwar Taluk, Kanara Collectorate, 1913, Bombay, 1913, p. 4 ; *AARBP*, Kanara Collectorate, C.J. Panse, Collector of Kanara, 25 August, 1904, *RD*, Vol.24 of 1905, para. 12.
- ⁸⁵ Letter from Rao Bahaddur V.D. Yennemadi, Special District Deputy Collector, Kanara to Collector of Kanara, No, 63, Dated 10th October 1899, *RD*. Vol. No.109 of 1900, *MSA*, p.291.
- ⁸⁶ *AARBP*, C. J. Panse, Collector of Kanara, 25 August 1904, *RD*, Vol.24 of 1905, *MSA*, para. 12.
- ⁸⁷ Dinakar Desai, *Vakkals the Aborigina of Konkan l*, Bombay, 1943, p.1.
- ⁸⁸ V. D. Yennemadi, report on the assignment of forest lands for dry-crop cultivation to hill tribes of Supa *peta*, No.63, 10th October 1899, Forest Settlement Office, Karwar, 1899, *RD*, Vol. No.109 of 1900, *MSA*. p. 265.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid*.,
- ⁹⁰ *AARBP*, C. J. Panse, Collector of Kanara, 25 August, 1904, *RD*, Vol. No. 24 of 1905, *MSA*, p. 12.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid*.
- ⁹² Rao Bahaddur Yennemadi, Deputy Collector Karwar, papers relating to the *SRS* the Ankola Taluk of the Kanara Collectorate, Bombay, 1917, *SRBG(NS)*, No. DLV, *MSA*, , p. 20 ; Bipin Chandra, *Op. Cit.*, p.188,
- ⁹³ Srikrishna , *Political Mobilisation* , *Op. Cit.*, p. 111.

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- ⁹⁴ Dinakar Desai, *Vakkals, the Aborigines of Konkan, Op.Cit*, p.15.
- ⁹⁵ K.P. Mathrani, Papers relating to SRS , Sirsi Taluk, Kanara District, Bombay, 1942, *MSA*, p.25; K.P. Mathrani, Papers relating to SRS, Yellapur Taluk, Kanara District, Bombay, 1942, *MSA*, p.8.
- ⁹⁶ C.F.S. Collins' *Op. Cit.*, p.56.
- ⁹⁷ Rao Bahaddur Yennemadi, Deputy Collector Karwar, SRS of the Ankola Taluk of the Kanara Collectorate, Bombay, 1917, p. 20, *MSA*; AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, Karwar sub-division, Bombay Presidency, 1905-06, para, 13, *MSA*.
- ⁹⁸ S. P. Nanda, *Op.Cit*, p.77.
- ⁹⁹ Sri Krishna, *Political Mobilization and Identity in Western India, 1934-47*, New Delhi, 2005. p.77.
- ¹⁰⁰ Quoted by Bipan Chandra, *The Rise of and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, Op. Cit.*, pp. 469-71.
- ¹⁰¹ AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, P.B. Haigh, Assistant Collector, 18th July, 1904, Sirsi Sub- Division, *RD*, Vol. 24, 1905, *MSA*, p.7.
- ¹⁰² G. S. Bhalla, "Peasant Movement and Agrarian Changes in India", *Social Scientist, Vol. 11, No. 8*, (Aug., 1983), pp. 39-57.
- ¹⁰³ Bipan Chandra, *Modern India, Op. Cit.*, pp. 188-189.
- ¹⁰⁴ M.J. Desai's Report on *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 20.
- ¹⁰⁶ K. P. Mathrani, Papers relating to SRS, Sirsi Taluk, Kanara District, Bombay, 1942, *MSA*, p.8.
- ¹⁰⁷ A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, p.60.
- ¹⁰⁸ V. D. Yennemadi, report on the assignment of forest lands for dry-crop cultivation to hill tribes of Supa *peta*, No.63, 10th October 1899, Forest Settlement Office, Karwar, 1899, *RD*, Vol. No.109 of 1890, *MSA*. p. 265.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*.
- ¹¹⁰ AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, 1905, C.D. Panse, Collector of Kanara, 27th August 1905, *RD*, pt. 511, 1906, *MSA*.
- ¹¹¹ Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee Bombay files, 1931, *KSA*.
- ¹¹² *Ibid*.
- ¹¹³ *Ibid*
- ¹¹⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Babington_Macaulay.1st_Baron_Macaulay, accessed on 24-11-2014.
- ¹¹⁵ AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, C.D. Panse, Collector of Kanara, 25th August 1904, *RD*, Pt. 511, XIV, 1904, *MSA*, p.24.
- ¹¹⁶ AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, Collector of Kanara, 28th July, 1875, *RD*, 1875, *MSA*, p. 231.
- ¹¹⁷ AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, 1916-17, J. H. E. Tupper, Collector of Kanara, 12th September, 1917, *RD*, pt. VII, 1918, *MSA*, p.21.
- ¹¹⁸ AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, 1905, C. D. Panse, Collector of Kanara, 27th August 1905, *RD*, pt. 511, 1906, *MSA*.
- ¹¹⁹ AARBP, Kanara Collectorate, 1916-17, J. H. E. Tupper, Collector of Kanara, 12th September, 1917, *RD*, pt. VII, 1918, *MSA*, p.21.

CHAPTER - VII

EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND REGIONAL RESPONSE

The British colonial rule in India was known for its contradictions. Several such contradictions existed in Uttara Kannada also. They were present in the areas of land revenue system, judiciary, police and forest administration. The administrative system and policies of the British enormously affected the lives of the people. The new land revenue system resulted in transfer of more and more lands into the hands of moneylenders, merchants and rich peasants who usually got the land cultivated by tenants. The agrarian relationship was completely changed in the district. As a result of the land revenue policies, the peasants became poorer. The forest and trade policies of the colonial government ruined both agriculture and the traditional rural artisanal industries of the district. There was no room for complaint in the matter of forest privileges.¹ The negligence of the British government ruined the importance of the port towns like Karwar and Kumta. The interest of the subjects and developmental activities were neglected. The sufferings of the locals aggravated when even the promised facilities were either stopped or diverted to other region. Further, the prohibition of salt production by private individuals also increased the miseries of the inhabitants. Salt became very costly even in the coastal taluks. The new legal system was very costly and it was always in favour of the government. It facilitated the moneylenders to acquire lands of the peasants. The police system supported the government, and the police force accompanied the revenue officers to collect revenue dues. They harassed the people while collecting revenue. Thus the colonial administration pushed the district into complete poverty, and the district was totally undeveloped. The

anti-colonial movements in the region emerged almost from the beginning of the colonial rule in 1799-1800 as in many other parts of South India. The uneducated peasants of the district and the *kumri* cutters raised their voices and were successful in getting certain privileges in the 1890s and 1904 respectively. In the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of nationalism emerged in the district. The subjects who were able to comprehend the consequences of colonialism and affected by the revenue, forest and other policies wholeheartedly welcomed the ideas of Balagangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and subsequently the M. K. Gandhi. Different classes of the society such as the educated leaders, ryots and tenants participated in the anti-government movements led by the Indian National Congress. Some of the local leaders tried their level best to highlight the grievances of the people through petitions and representations to the government. But the government was unsympathetic and hardly considered them. An analysis of the anti-colonial reactions and movements shows that initially the protests were due to the economic sufferings of the people, and in the beginning of the twentieth century the movements were backed by the nationalist ideology. A detailed study of the local organisations and their contribution to mobilise the masses to participate in the national movement provides the better understanding of the colonial contradictions in the region of Uttara Kannada.

Opposition in Karwar and Sirsi taluks (1872):

As soon as the district was transferred to Bombay Presidency, the Bombay Land Survey Act I of 1865 became operational there. The new rate of land revenue assessment was implemented in the region. In the year 1871 the survey and settlement officers reached Karwar taluk, and introduced new rates of assessment in the 18 villages of the taluk under

the G.R. No. 1567 dated 29th March 1870. The occupants were informed to pay the land revenue as per the new rates from the year 1871.² But the occupants of the taluk were not ready to pay the land revenue assessment based on the new survey rates. In the same year, new survey rates were introduced in the 84 villages of Sirsi and Yellapur taluks above the ghat. Even the occupants of above ghat region were unwilling to pay the revenue. They sent many petitions to the government stating that the revised rates were very high and they were unable to pay the new assessment.³ But the petitions made no impact on the government. In the mean time, the coastal inhabitants planned to organise a movement against the government to resist the revision of assessment. They tried to induce their counterparts above the ghats to join them but only a few joined the movement organised against the government. There was a large gathering of the ryots who refused to pay the revised rates of assessment introduced by the Survey Commissioner.⁴

The landholders of 18 villages participated in opposing the government. Out of the 18 villages, 11 villages were located on the north of Kali river and seven villages on the south of Kali river of Karwar taluk. The villages on the north of Kali river included Majali, Chittakula, Kunsgeri, Mudgeri, Angadi, Hossalli, Maatiwada, Aroma, Hottegali, Kollegay, and Sawantwada. The seven villages to the south of Kali river included Baad, Konay, Baithkol, Nandangadda, Katinkon, Kodibag and Sunkeri. At the announcement of new rates of assessment for 18 villages, a large portion of the most influential landholders absented themselves to give the impression later that they were ignorant of the new survey rates. As a result, the first instalment of the new revenue assessment could not be fully collected by the government. Of the total amount of Rupees 20,394, only Rupees 5,000 was collected, from the 18 villages. The payment was refused not only by those whose assessments were raised, but also by those from whom the demands of

government were lowered.⁵ The government issued notices against landholders who refused to pay the revenue, and twenty days time was given for them to comply with the orders. If they failed to pay the revenue within that period, their properties were confiscated by the government.⁶

After a few days of the settlement, some of the landowners planned to legally oppose the new rates and approached the court of law, and the big landowners provided leadership in this venture. The opposition was led by the more influential and intelligent landholders who belonged to the Shenvy caste among the hindus. Another community of the ryots who supported this movement was that of the Comarpaiks and Conknee Marathas (Konkan Marathas).⁷ They questioned the right of the government to revise the assessment. The details on the cases filed by the ryots including the famous Vaikunta Bapuji case of 1875 were discussed in Chapter IV.

The opposition from the ryots alarmed the government authorities and they wanted to tackle this problem at the earliest. W. H. Havelock, the Revenue Commissioner, Southern Division, wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay and suggested the following: “In the event of Government anticipating any violence or riot it would be, I think advisable to station a strong company of Native Infantry at Carwar. The men should be as far as practicable Mussulmans and Konkanees, as Karwar is a bad place for Pardessees, or wheat-eating Hindoos of any class. Accommodation on emergency be provided in the police lines, which are very good ones”.⁸ A resolution was passed by the Secretary to the Government of Bombay on 10th April 1871 on stationing a native infantry in Karwar, stating the following: “as regards the necessity of sending troops to Carwar, the Government cannot think that any

necessity exists; but if, on enquiry, Mr. Havelock thinks that the peace of the district may be broken, he should, in conjunction with the magistrate of the district, take whatever precautionary and preventive measures may seem best suited for the occasion.”⁹

However, no army was sent to Karwar taluk.

M. J. Shaw Stewart, the Collector of North Kanara, had given a brief report on the organised opposition against the government. He wrote : “in conversation with some of the Revenue officials and ryots, I urged the necessity of the Government demand being paid, and suggested that its payment could not prejudice their position or prospects as regards any civil suit or other legal remedy that they might see fit to try; but my suggestion seems to have had no effect, and it was evident the opposition was obstinate.”¹⁰

These details show that the ryots questioned the right of the government to enhance land revenue as early as 1871, and mobilised anti-government feeling in the region. However, it did not have much impact on the government which simply suppressed it.

Organisation of *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sabha* (1887):

The inhabitants lost their traditional hold over the forest. Their forest privileges were converted into concessions provided by the British government. When the inhabitants were facing difficulty regarding the forest rights, the *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sabha* or Kanara Forest Grievances Association was formed in 1887 at Sirsi taluk. Mahabaleshwar Bhat, the government pleader was the president. Anant Nadiga, the District Local Board

member was the secretary, and a chief merchant - Vaikunta Rao was the treasurer. The *Sabha* included seven merchants and some of the havik landholders as its members. In the year 1887, a meeting was held in Sirsi town to discuss the grievances of the cultivators and to oppose the government. Eventually, the government concluded that the ryots had little ground for complaint.¹¹ The delegates of this *Sabha* participated in the Madras Session of Indian National Congress. The delegates tried to grab the attention of the Congress towards the conditions of the cultivators of the District. Many petitions were sent to government reiterating the grievances of the ryots. They sent a memorial signed by more than 3,600 inhabitants of the district and highlighted their forest grievances. They emphasised in their memorial the use of forest resources in their agriculture and day-to-day life. They pointed out their difficulties in obtaining grass lands, dry-crop lands, *betta* lands, and other such grievances. It is said that they collected ¼ % of the government assessment for the expenses of the *Sabha*. The government tried to suppress this *Sabha* and the *patel* of havik community who was also the member of the *Sabha* was suspended from his job. The *Mamlatdar* took statement from many villagers and *patels* that they would not support the *Sabha*.¹² The agitation started by the *Sabha* in different parts of the district was suppressed by the government and the *Sabha* was banned.¹³ Thus, the *Sabha* could not do much, but it helped the inhabitants to organise themselves against the government during the national movement.

Uttara Kannada in the National Movement:

The Uttara Kannada district being a part of Bombay Presidency came under the influence of nationalist leaders from Maharashtra. Some educated leaders of the district were keenly interested in the political activities of the Bombay Presidency, and attended the meetings held at Poona and Bombay. Narayan Chandavarkar of Karwar attended the

Congress sessions from its inception. Recognising his service, he was appointed as the President of National Congress Session in 1900.¹⁴ The newspapers like *Kesari* and *Dyan Prakash* which were popular among the masses of Maharashtra became popular among the educated classes of the district too. The news items published in these newspapers became the matter of common talk among this class of the district.

The educated class of the district readily responded to swadeshi and boycott movements under the leadership of B. G. Tilak. He visited the district in the year 1905-06. The Swadeshi meeting was held at Sirsi in 1906.¹⁵ The aim of Tilak's visit to the district was to create awareness among the masses about swadeshi. The main gist of his message was saving India from the British bureaucracy and reviving its ancient glory. He believed that it was only possible with the boycott of foreign goods and dissemination of swadeshi goods. He had the opinion that this feeling would emerge only by national education and not by English education.¹⁶ As a result of Tilak's campaign, many inhabitants of the district gave up sugar and tea. The women refused to use foreign bangles. Many foreign goods were boycotted by the masses. At Karwar, Krishna Rao Haldipurkar, a boy of teens organised 'Balabandhu Samaja', an organisation of teenagers to propagate swadeshi in 1906-07. The government opposed it, and ordered to stop its activities.¹⁷ It is said that Krishnarao had also collected fund with a view to assist Aurobindo Ghosh for his defence in the Alipur bomb case.¹⁸ The Home Rule League organised by Tilak had its branch in the district. Doddamane Narayan Hegde of Siddapur taluk who was studying in Poona was much influenced by the speeches of Tilak and other nationalist leaders. It had 50 members in the district. The activities of Home Rule League were limited only to Sirsi and Siddapur taluks. The sawdeshi movement was organised by students in Sirsi. Even though less number of masses was involved in Tilak's movement in the region, it helped the educated

class to understand the ideas of nationalism and swadeshi. Further, the educated class played a prominent role in encouraging the masses to participate in the national movement during the Gandhian phase. The swadeshi movement was only the first round in the national popular struggle against colonialism.¹⁹ After the death of Tilak, the Gandhian philosophy an ideology influenced district as in other parts of India. The masses began to enter Indian politics from the time of Gandhi. He made nationalism a practical and intelligible creed for the masses.²⁰ The people of the district had great respect for Gandhi and his thoughts. Some of the ryots like Bole Bommayya Nayak of Ankola taluk used to read Kannada newspapers published outside the district, and they spread the thoughts of Gandhi and his programmes.²¹ Timmappa Nayak, a teacher and poet was a staunch follower of Gandhian principles. He was one of the leaders to spread Gandhian ideas in the district.²² With his poems and talks, he encouraged the readers to follow Gandhian philosophy. He wrote many poems and encouraged the inhabitants to participate in the movement. Dinakar Desai was another prominent intellectual and literary figure of the district, who wrote many poems on the enthusiasm of freedom fighters and the government attitudes, and intellectually contributed in mobilising and inspiring the inhabitants against the colonial rule. In the political meetings, the poems of local writers which indirectly mocked at the colonial government were sung. The songs, folk songs and ballads composed by the local writers played a significant role in spreading the feeling of nationalism.²³

The Amritsar Congress (1919) drew a large number of delegates from all parts of Karnataka and as many as 800 attended the Nagpur session in 1920. Those who attended brought back great inspiration with them.²⁴ One of the dedicated satyagrahis' Timmappa Nayak of Uttara Kannada stayed at Sabarmati ashram of Gandhi and imbibed true

satyagraha principles.²⁵ By 1920, Gandhi emerged as the chief leader of the Congress at the national level. The special session of the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920 gave its formal approval to the policy of non-cooperation formulated by Gandhi.²⁶ By that time Karnataka was already ripe for making a significant mark in the struggle for freedom.

The resolution to launch the non-cooperation movement was passed in the annual Congress session of December 1920 held at Nagpur.²⁷ It was the first satyagraha launched by Gandhi at the national level. The people of the district formed their own organisation to start the Gandhian movement. A local organisation named *Kanada Jilla Parishat* held its first session at Karwar for four days from 14 to 17th May 1920.²⁸ Narayan Chandavarkar was the president of this session. The President was welcomed to the session with a huge procession shouting slogans like Sir Narayan Chandavarji Ki Jai, Tilak Maharaj Ki Jai and Mahatma Gandhiji Ki Jai. He delivered his speech fearlessly in the very presence of the District Collector of Karwar. He highlighted the grievances and requirements of people of the district in his speech.²⁹ The Congress delegates from Mumbai, Hubli and Sirsi participated in the session. The masses from surrounding villages and taluk also participated in the session. More than 20 resolutions were passed in this session and they wholeheartedly decided to take part in the non-cooperation movement and support the Congress. At the same time, public meetings were organised at Haliyal and Ankola taluks.³⁰ Many local organisations and branches of the Karnataka Provincial Congress were opened up all over the district. The ryots of each village from Ankola taluk formed their own organisation. They organised meetings at village level and welcomed eminent Congress leaders from all over Karnataka. The leaders came to the district and inspired the locals with their speeches. The famous *Kirtankar* (one who sings *kirtanas*, and conveys their meanings) from Gersoppa visited all the villages of the

district and inspired the people with Gandhian non-violence and ideas of non-cooperation. Many leaders like R. R. Diwakar, Hardekar and Karnad Sadashivaraya delivered public speeches and inspired the people to participate in the movements. A few teachers like Timmappa Nayak, Vaman Hodike and Shankar Dattatreya Desai, and leaders such as Basgod Rama Nayak, Bhavikeri Ram Nayak, Vandige Hammanna Nayak and others dedicated themselves to Gandhian philosophy. They began to use *khadi* and swadeshi goods. Many practiced *brahmacharya vrata* inspired by Jayaramacharya's *kirtanas*. The nadors started their own organisations at Hichkad, Ankola, Basgod, Surve, Hillur, Shetgeri, Bhavikeri, Belekeri and other surrounding villages of Ankola taluk. Some of the nador peasants were also curious to follow Gandhian ideology.³¹ Thus these local organisations had created a good platform to organise the national movement in the district.

Non-Cooperation Movement in the District:

The first *Kanada Jilla Parishat* gave a new turn to Kanara politics. The leaders of Kanara gradually imbibed the feeling of nationalism.³² Therefore, they willingly participated in the non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi at the all-India level. The programmes of non-cooperation like picketing of liquor shops, boycott of foreign goods, boycott of courts, boycott of schools and colleges, use of *khadi*, resigning the posts of *patels* and returning of honorary awards became common in the district.³³ Many lawyers like Kollali Vasudevaraya of Sirsi, K.R. Haldipurkar of Karwar and S.S. Shastri of Haldipur willingly resigned their practice and law suits. They began to settle suits in the Village Panchayats. The government income from stamp duty had decreased.³⁴ Many teachers and students joined the satyagraha *shibiras*. Many national schools were opened

all over the district. V.G. Shenvi, student of Karwar High School was the first student to boycott the government run school.³⁵ K. N. Naik, Shankar Gulvadi, D. N. Koppikar and H. M. Manjrekar left Gibb High School at Kumta as it was run by government, and completed their graduation from Tilak University at Pune.³⁶ Another leader, Masur of Kumta returned his honorary title, Rao Saheb, on 16th December 1920.³⁷ All these nationalist activities played a significant role in laying down a strong foundation in the region for Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation movement. Timmappa Nayak, who was headmaster of Anglo-Vernacular School at Sirsi resigned his job and became the headmaster of the nationalist school at Sirsi. Vaman Hodike had given up his studies at the teacher's training school at Dharwad and opened the national school at Sirsi. He inspired his students to participate in the nationalist movement. The students of these schools very actively conducted *prabhat pheris* in the taluk.³⁸ In Ankola taluk, twenty pupils of Edward High School boycotted their schools.³⁹ In Siddapur taluk, Doddamane Narayan Ganesh Hegde organised non-cooperation movement. In the Sirsi taluk 47 *Patels* gave resignation to their posts⁴⁰.

Another important aspect of non-cooperation movement was the picketing of liquor shops and foreign clothes. The volunteers, especially women folk stood in front of the shops and resorted to morally persuade those who did not follow these nationalist programmes. The *Kanadavritta* played a prominent role in spreading the awareness about the ill-effects of consumption of liquor. In most of the cases, this appeal proved successful. The women folk of the district played a very significant role in this; they conducted picketing in front of the liquor shops in a peaceful manner. Many a time picketing was undertaken where auction was held for the of liquor shops. The picketing was successful in Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Sirsi and Siddapur taluks. This affected the *abkari* revenue of the government as the sale of liquor had fallen drastically. In the Honnavar taluk most

vigorous picketing was conducted, and as a result there was no purchaser in Honnavar city.⁴¹ Picketing of liquor shop was followed by the *holi* (burning) of foreign goods. Women played a significant role in this programme. In the Ankola taluk, under the leadership of Yashodha Shyam Rao Shenvi, boycott of foreign clothes was very successful. They moved from house to house and inspired people not to use foreign clothes and goods. They also signed the oath with merchants not to buy foreign clothes.⁴²

Cadel, the Commissioner for Southern Division of Bombay, visited Sirsi in 1920. As usual, free labour and free service of carts to move his camp materials were procured. The authorities wanted to hire a cart visiting Sirsi from a nearby village. But the cart driver disagreed to render his service due to other work. Angered by this, the police had beaten up the cart driver severely, and an eye of the bull was hurt.⁴³ The news of this tragic incident reached the office bearers of the Sirsi Congress Association. A Committee with Akadas Ganapati Bhat, a well-known social reformer of the district and lawyer in Bombay, went to the Commissioner with a view to appraise him regarding the disadvantage of rendering free service. But he was insulted by the Commissioner. The insult of Akadas Ganapati Bhat angered the people of Sirsi taluk. Cadel's behaviour was condemned in the public meetings, and *hartal* was observed in Sirsi taluk.⁴⁴ Cadel became unpopular and was boycotted from the taluk. Akadas Ganapati Bhat, had published an article under the title "Cadel Thou Too.." in *Kandavritta*.⁴⁵ The news spread to other talukas of the district and Cadel faced the non-cooperation of the people. Wherever he visited, he faced *hartal*.⁴⁶

In the year 1921, the Assistant Commissioner called Coimbatore visited the district, and camped at Siddapur in Doddamane Narayan Hegde's house. He took

exceptions to Narayan Hegde's participation in the nationalist activities. Narayan Hegde replied that anybody opposing his activities had no place in his house. The Assistant Commissioner threatened Narayan Hegde by issuing court notice. The news spread to the whole of Siddapur taluk, and many *patels* resigned their jobs spontaneously. The Assistant Commissioner could get no help from the people.⁴⁷

The Karnataka Provincial Congress workers, District Congress members and members of local organisations continued conducting *prabhat pheris*, public meetings, *holi* (burning) of foreign goods, and picketing of liquor shops. Sirsi, Siddapur, Bilgi, Ankola, Kumta, and Gokarna were the most important centres of Congress activities. In the public meetings, they openly criticised the government policies and attitudes of the government officials. The newspapers also followed the same path and were critical of the government policies and actions. The government officers were waiting for an opportunity to arrest the law breakers. The opportune time came when Bedkani Krishna Naik of Siddapur made a speech condemning the government and spoke of "rolling of heads" for which he was arrested and sentenced.⁴⁸ He was the first political prisoner of the district. This was followed by the conviction of Dattatreya Joshi and Narayan Marathe, two teachers of the National School at Sirsi, in January 1922. Later Timmappa Nayak was also arrested and sentenced. Another convict was Puddi Saheb, a muslim cultivator who was arrested for organising the nationalist activities. The use of *khadi* clothes became extensive in the district, and the campaign against drinking was so successful that it led to a considerable reduction in the excise revenue of the government. The foreign goods and clothes were collected from shops and godowns and heaps of such materials were publicaly burnt. One of the pamphlets dated 22nd June 1921 published by Karnataka Satyagraha Mandali-Sirsi, informs us that in Baithkhol village at Karwar taluk, four satyagrahis were arrested who

were picketing in front of liquor shops, and 8 months rigorous punishment was declared.⁴⁹ The pamphlet also explains that picketing were conducted in Ankola and other places of the district.⁵⁰ The sudden suspension of non-cooperation movement at the all- India level by the national leadership had not stopped the nationalist activities in the district. The spread of *khadi*, picketing of liquor, boycott of foreign goods, giving up government jobs, boycotting government run education and such other activities continued in the district.

The *Hindustan Sevadal*, which was founded in 1923 by Hardekar Manjappa, one of the prominent leaders from the district, organised a camp at Kumta in 1924. Several youths were trained in this camp, and the Sevadal contingent from the district was led by Krishna Narayan Nayak, Karwar attended the Belgaum Congress Session. Hundreds of delegates from the district attended the Belgaum Session of the Congress, and returned inspired by the atmosphere of the session presided over by Gandhi.⁵¹

Karnataka State Political Conference:

In 1924, the third Karnataka State Political conference was organised at Gokarna where Shankaracharya of the Dwarakapita presided. Shankaracharya who had already courted arrest in the khilafat movement and who could speak fluently, in Kannada, inspired the gathering with the ideology of nationalism. He also made a strong appeal to eradicate untouchability from the district.⁵²

Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-31):

Salt Satyagraha (1930):

The beginning of the year 1930 witnessed the civil disobedience movement against the salt-tax at the all-India level.⁵³ Gandhi marched on bare foot with a band of volunteers from his Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad to Dandi coast south of Tapi river in Surat district.⁵⁴ Gathering an increasing number of followers on the way he violated the salt law. The movement spread to various places in the coastal districts of Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri, Bombay city and Uttara Kannada.⁵⁵

On 23rd February 1930, a meeting of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee presided by R. R. Diwakar was held at Bellary and a Satyagraha Committee was formed. The Congress leaders of Karnataka undertook tours to explain the people about the objectives and methods of the Congress. These leaders submitted the report of their work to Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, which met at Dharwad on 16th March 1930. These leaders opined that Uttara Kannada district was the suitable place for launching civil disobedience movement in Karnataka and the villages and the towns on the coast were best suited for the salt satyagraha.⁵⁶ The Karnataka leaders decided to launch the civil disobedience movement with the salt satyagraha on 13th April 1930, the day on which the infamous Jallianwala Bagh massacre had taken place, and Ankola was fixed as the venue wherein volunteers from all parts of the State were to participate.⁵⁷

The whole Ankola taluk was beautified with flowers and garlands. The volunteers came from Hubli, Dharwad, Gadag and Mangalore and from the surrounding villages of Ankola. At Ankola, Dattabai Narvekar and Shyam Rao Shenvi gave ample

accommodation for satyagrahis. Every day evening meetings were held in *shibhiras*. The leaders acquainted the people with the aims and method of non-violent satyagraha. Hardekar was appointed as the leader of this satyagraha in Uttara Kannada.⁵⁸ But he could not reach the taluk because of police vigilance on him. The local leader, M.P. Nadkarni took the leadership of the procession. The procession went to Poojageri village, which was located at 3 kms, away from Ankola town. More than 3,000 people participated in the procession. The huge and highly disciplined procession marched to the sea-shore. A local leader, Basgod Rama Nayak took the leadership of the procession of nador community. Dinakar Desai, inspired by the procession, wrote a song on this glorious event of the freedom struggle, and said: the Nadors, indeed, are the true patriots look! they have begun the battle.⁵⁹ Hanumantarao Kaujalagi, another leader gave enthusiastic speech to the gathered volunteers. By that time Hardekar Manjappa with other prominent leaders like Karnad Sadashivarao, Umabai Kundapur and V.B. Puranik the editor of *Lokamath* reached Ankola taluk. The volunteers collected sea water in earthen pots and came back to Ankola city. They prepared the salt in the open space in front of the taluk office. They auctioned the illegally prepared salt. Revu Honnappa Nayak of Ankola taluk was the first person to purchase the packet of auctioned salt for Rupees 20. Bhujle of Karwar purchased it for Rupees 7. Srinivas Shetty and Harihara Shetty of Davangere followed him.⁶⁰ Swami Vidyananda delivered the speech to inspire the crowd. The authorities could not do anything and became mere spectators to this historic event. On the morning of 14th April 1930, M. P.Nadkari and Swami Vidyananda were arrested and sent to Karwar jail. It did not deter the enthusiasm of the people. Due to the leadership of another local leader, Laxman Venkatesh Kamat and 20 volunteers, the participants again brought sea water from the same place and prepared the salt. They auctioned it in front of the taluk office. The government officials had the feeling that the people were participating in breaking

laws because of their leaders and if they arrested the leaders, the movement would automatically stop. So the authorities arrested many leaders on 19th April 1930 and warrants were issued on the volunteers. The court issued warrants for arresting Shyamrao Shenvi for giving shelter to satyagrahis. The news spread like wild fire and volunteers from surrounding villages gathered in front of his house. The people garlanded him with flowers, his aged mother garlanded him and blessed him. His wife put *tilak* on his forehead and sent him off happily. Many prominent leaders like R.R. Diwakar along with other satyagrahis were arrested and sent to jail. The local leaders like Jogi Beeranna Nayak, Honnappa Nayak, Hammanna Nayak of Vandige, Bommayya Nayak of Basgod, Beeranna Nayak of Kanagil were arrested. The women came forward to prepare salt. Sitabai, sister of Shyam Rao Shenvi and Anandibai Hanmattikar encouraged local women and men to use the salt prepared by not paying tax to the government. The volunteers from surrounding villages like Hichkad, Belambar, Keni and other villages started to prepare salt.⁶¹ The manufacture of salt and selling it from bazaars had become day-to-day activities of the villagers. As more arrest took place, more people came forward. The students also came forward to prepare salt and sell the same by taking from house to house. When Gandhi decided to raid the salt pans at Dharasan, Karnataka satyagrahis selected the depot at Sanikatta for this raid. By hearing the rumours, the Sarkarkun of Sanikatta salt pan arranged the police force from Gokarna.⁶² The police force was sent in two batches in different directions. The nador community people of Torke, Devarbhavi, Hiregutti Malali and other surrounding villages participated in it. Venkatarammana Nayak was famous among them.⁶³ The volunteers and their followers rushed from Torke village, at 7 a.m. on 12th May 1930, and they ran out with loads of salt on their heads. The volunteers entered from all directions into the salt pan. When the armed police chased them, some of the volunteers fled with load of salt, some threw them in water, and some ran with empty

hands. About 1000 to 1500 volunteers participated in it.⁶⁴ Under the leadership of Sridhar Panduranga Bilgi, the volunteers collected a few *maunds* of salt, which they carried away to Kumta and sold in the open market. Eight persons were arrested in this act. Among them two were school going boys. One among them was released on bail, and the other was prosecuted.⁶⁵ The leaders from Karwar like Ranganath Devappa Shanbhag, Padmanabh S. Kamat, Krishna Rao, Ramachandra Haldipurkar and Krishna Narayan Nayak and others violated the salt law in Goa. The salt pans at Goa and Bangre were raided, looted and salt was freely distributed.⁶⁶

Forest Satyagraha (*Jungle Satyagraha*) (1930):

In the 1930s Uttara Kannada district saw organised agitation. That forest satyagraha was one of the important agitations that took place during the civil disobedience movement launched by the Indian National Congress against the British rule in the country.⁶⁷ The forest satyagraha was widespread in Maharashtra, Central Province and Karnataka.⁶⁸

The forest satyagraha posed a severe challenge to the district administration. It involved many hundreds of people, who frequently turned to violence. It occurred in Ankola, Karwar, Sirsi, Siddapur and Yellapur taluks. It reduced the revenue of the government from the forest department during the year 1930-31.⁶⁹

The inhabitants of the above ghat region were eager to began a movement against the government, and wanted to set an example in the history of the district. In July 1930, a meeting was held at Hubli and in that meeting *Karnataka Satyagraha Mandala* decided to

begin forest satyagraha at Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola taluks on every Monday. They decided to sell all the trees in the minor forests, to systematically clear the forests within a radius of 30 yards, to exploit dead trees, and to fell sandalwood trees.⁷⁰ Venkataramayya from Mysore came to Sirsi to organise *jungle* satyagraha. The local leaders like Montesar Vasudev Dhakkappa, Venkatraman Hegde and other local leaders supported Venktaramayya to spread the aims and ideas of *jungle* satyagraha. The Assistant Collector, Johns had circulated a resolution that if anybody directly or indirectly supported the movement, he would be severely punished.⁷¹ The volunteers who gathered in Ankola for salt satyagraha marched towards Sirsi. Throughout the Sirsi taluk *shibhiras* were arranged and public awareness programmes were conducted. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hardekar and other Congress Committee leaders were arrested on 1st August 1930. After hearing their arrest, the people decided to violate *jungle* laws by felling the trees from the prohibited areas on 4th August 1930 by ignoring the Assistant Collector's orders. The procession began at 8 a.m., and one person from each family joined the procession with the cutting instruments. The bullocks and carts decorated with flowers followed the procession as they were needed to transport the wood that was cut by the volunteers. The ladies put *tilak* on the forehead of the leaders and wished to return with victory. The procession moved with great enthusiasm by shouting slogan like Matahama Gandhi Ki Jai. When the procession reached reserved forest areas, the satyagrahis cut sandalwood tress, a few saplings and eight teak trees, and some 150 *Acacia catechu* were pruned and damaged.⁷² The trees were loaded into carts. The procession came back with timbers and gathered in front of Marikamba Temple and the wood was auctioned.⁷³ Only 10 satyagrahis were arrested by the police, and the women folk gave them send off. In all the villages of Sirsi taluk, people conducted *jungle* satyagraha. The people broke regulations regarding reserved forests and brought firewood or fodder and other reserved

trees. They auctioned them in the public meetings and the amount collected was sent to satyagraha *shibhiras*.⁷⁴

In the Kumta taluk, also forest satyagraha was conducted. In Ankola, on 25th August 1930 not less than 10,000 men and women organised the procession to break forest laws.⁷⁵ The District Superintendent of Police came with 100 policemen and stopped the forest satyagrahis from moving forward towards the reserved forest areas.⁷⁶ Further, 50 satyagrahis were arrested and the arms used by the satyagrahis to cut trees were forcibly taken by the police. The participants reacted by stating that they would cut trees with their hands, but the police force stopped them from moving forward, then they spontaneously sang patriotic songs. The news spread like wild fire and the surrounding villagers gathered at the place of satyagraha. The District Superintendent of Police ordered the satyagrahis to move from the place, but the latter quietly sat in the same place and had not moved from there till 8 p.m. Then the District Superintendent of Police arrested all of them and took them to taluk office where only a few were kept in lock-up and others were released. The satyagrahis again went to the reserved forests and cut a large number of trees, brought them to Gandhi *Maidan* (ground) at Ankola and auctioned them.⁷⁷ The inhabitants of Siddapur taluk also conducted forest satyagraha on the 8th August 1930. More than 200 people gathered and went in a procession to the Bilgi forest and broke forest laws. Only five satyagrahis were arrested. On 11th of August 1930, again forest satyagraha was conducted in Siddapur and police arrested 12 participants and sent them to Sirsi for investigation.⁷⁸ Yet another satyagraha was held at Siddapur on 1st September 1930, in which the volunteers from the city participated and provided leadership. The villagers from Kangod, Siralgi, Bedkani, Balikoppa, Bidrakan, Hanagibail and other places came in a procession to break the forest laws. More than 2,500 men and women participated in it.

The police arrested more than 40 volunteers, but the other volunteers moved towards the forest and broke the forest laws. The wood felled by them was auctioned in the public meeting held at Siddapur city.⁷⁹

The satyagrahis destroyed the investment of forest department, as they had cut the trees. According to the government statistics, it had a loss of Rupees 2,000,000 as a result of forest satyagraha. The satyagrahis cleared the forests, around their habitations and collected fodder and other forest resources. The national and local press like *Bombay Chronicle* and *Kanadavritta* had played an active and supportive role in the forest satyagraha as they published details on the activities of the satyagrahis. The *Kanadavritta* newspaper regularly published information on the forest grievances of the inhabitants, and their open letters to government. They also published news items relating to the forest rules of the government, and their views on them. The newspapers constituted the medium of communication and propaganda in isolated hilly, forest regions of the district which had problem of accessibility. The women folk also played a notable role in the forest satyagraha. When men of their families were arrested, they symbolically violated the forest laws.⁸⁰

The forest satyagraha was followed by *hullubanni* (movement to collect fodder) satyagraha, resignation of *patels*, and promotion of *khadi* and boycott of foreign goods. It was common to see the picketers being beaten up by the police and also by those who were prevented from drinking as they had disliked the opposition of the picketers to alcohol consumption. In the boycott of foreign clothes, women participated prominently and went from house to house to gather foreign clothes and held bonfires in every village, and

simultaneously spreading the message of *charaka*. The people of the district actively participated in the civil disobedience movement.⁸¹

The No-Tax Campaign (1930-34):

Towards the end of 1930, another movement had to be organised by the Karnataka Provincial Congress in Uttara Kannada. During those days Indian economy was suffering due to economic depression. The prices of agricultural products, especially, food grains had considerably fallen. The peasants of the country were in great distress. The prices of the agricultural products were so low that the peasants were unable to maintain their families, pay land rent and revenue. The condition in Uttara Kannada district was not different from this general economic scenario that prevailed in the country. In Sirsi and Siddapur taluks, the arecanut plantation had suffered from fungal disease and prices had fallen considerably. Due to the delay of the monsoon, the yield of paddy crop was drastically low. The economic condition of the ryots and tenants was miserable in the district. The relief measures provided by the government did not reach the ryots and peasants on time, and they were not in a position to pay the revenue and rent.⁸² They represented their plight to the government and appealed for exemption from payment of tax. But the success of the forest satyagraha in these taluks had taught the government a lesson that the people were resolute and determined, and the then plight of the peasants offered a chance for the government to take revenge upon them. Therefore, the government refused to provide any concession.⁸³ The ryots and peasants were too eager to conduct the no-tax campaign. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee had no other better place than Uttara Kannada to start the no-tax campaign. It was a unique demonstration of the non-violence and assertion of the right to protest by the unarmed people. The physical

violence, imprisonment, forfeiture of land and property did not deter the people from conducting no-tax campaign. It was considered as the last weapon in the armoury of civil resisters. It implied non-recognition of the government in power. It was an open invitation by resisters to face the government oppression. On the instructions of Indian National Congress, the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee decided to launch the no-tax campaign in four taluks of Karnataka in the year 1930 till the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement. The Hirekeruru taluk of Dharwad district, Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola taluks of the Uttara Kannada district were chosen as epicentres of the no-tax campaign in Karnataka. In the Dharwad district, no-tax campaign was led by Veerangouda Patil and in Ankola, Sirsi, and Siddapur taluks of Uttara Kannada district, the movement was led by R.R. Diwakar and D.P. Karmarkar.

No-Tax Campaign in Ankola Taluk(1930-31):

The *Karnataka Satyagraha Mandala* decided to launch no-tax campaign in Uttara Kannada district in and the responsibility of its organisation was given to R.R. Diwakar who was the provincial head during that time. R.R. Diwakar and D. P. Karmarkar came to Ankola along with Krishnabai Panjekar, an eminent Congress worker of Dharwad district, and they travelled all the surrounding villages of Ankola taluk, and narrated numerous instances relating to the sufferings of the peasants of Bardoli. Thus they campaigned against the policies of the government, and mobilised the support for the movement. Karmarkar delivered inspiring speeches and reminded them of their active participation in the salt satyagraha, picketing of liquor, boycott of foreign goods, forest satyagraha, and *hullubanni* satyagraha as part of the civil disobedience movement. Krishnabai Panjekar, inspired the women folk of Ankola taluk.⁸⁴

A meeting was held at Kalasa Temple in Soorve village of Ankola.⁸⁵ The nadors gathered and discussed about the organisation of the no-tax campaign and its possible consequences. The ryots and Congress workers like Basgod Rama Naik, Bole Bommayya Naik, Devanna Naik, Kanagil Hammanna Naik, Shetageri Jogi Nayak and others attended the meeting. Diwakar explained the oath taken by the peasants of Bardoli not to pay tax to the government, till Ghandi ordered them to pay tax. The repressive measures taken by the government to change the minds of the peasants and sacrifices of peasants by leaving all their ancestral property were explained in the meeting. After that Karmarkar addressed the gathering and informed that the last step in the civil disobedience movement. He cautioned them about the repressive measures that the government might take and enthused them to be brave and accept them and make sacrifices. He asked them to follow the non-violent method.

He informed them that they would have to forfeit their lands to the government. They were reminded of the *lati* charge of the police and imprisonment. Basgod Rama Naik made the famous statement: “*aliyuvadu kaya uliyuvadu kirti*” which meant “This body may perish but the fame will remain.” He appealed to the participants and said that it is our *dharma* to perform no-tax campaign.⁸⁶ Bommayya Pokku Naik of Soorve of Ankola taluk was emotionally inspired and declared that in the name of Mahatma Gandhi he would swear that he would surely turn into a no-taxer even if all others abstain from doing so. Thereafter, Bole Devanna Naik stood up and promised that even if left alone in his village, he will participate in the no-tax campaign, let his hands be taken away. Similar promises were made by most of the members present.⁸⁷ Meetings were also held at Hichkad, Vasare, Hoskeri, Shetageri and other villages of Ankola taluk and were organised by the local

leaders. The local leaders like Basgod Rama Naik, Vandige Hammanna Naik, Bhavikeri Ram Naik, Vasare Subray Naik, Hichkad Beeranna Naik, Ramachandra Naik, Jogi Beeranna Naik and others toured the villages spreading the message of no-tax campaign. Sagadgeri Venkataramana Naik, Govindaray Naik, Vasare Beeranna Naik, Satu Naik, Kanagil Bommayya Naik, Hammanna Naik, Bhavikeri Giryanna, Narayan Naik, Adlur Timmanna Naik, Agsur Ganapa Naik and others also carried out the propaganda of no tax campaign in their respective villages.⁸⁸

The satyagraha camps were arranged in various villages of Ankola taluk like Adlur, Adigona, Agsur, Averse, Basgod, Belikeri, Bhavikeri, Bole, Gundabala, Hichkad, Hosgadde, Hillur, Juga, Kanagil, Kudargi, Mogata, Sagadgeri, Shetageri, Sirgungi, Soorve, Vandige, Vasre and Uluvare. The villagers wholeheartedly participated in the no-tax campaign. However, the landlords in towns opposed the no-tax campaign. The landlords misguided the peasants not participate in the movement. They also exhorted the ryots and peasants not to listen to Dharwad men, and if they did so they would lose their house and property. Further, they discouraged the peasants by saying that the Dharwad leaders would push them in to trouble and stay away later. But the villagers turned a deaf ear to such words and advice.⁸⁹ In response to the attitude of the landlords, the nador and many halakki vokkal tenants refused to give the landlords their share of produce, if their landlords did not join or support the no-tax campaign. Subsequently, the landlords promised D.P. Karmarkar that they would extend their support to the peasants who withheld their rent, by withholding 1/6th of the land revenue payable to the government. Only a few among the halakki vokkal had owned the lands, the tenant cultivators had a fear of threat by their landlords. Therefore, some of the halakki vokkal kept themselves

away from the no-tax campaign. But Ramadas Gouda and Honnayya Gouda of Uluvare actively joined hands with nadors and supported the no-tax campaign.⁹⁰

Another major programme of the no-tax campaign was resignation to the post of *patel*. Vasre Subray Naik was the first *patel* to resign his office. He remained active throughout the freedom struggle and suffered imprisonment. The task of making the *patels* resign from their office had been given to Vasre Subray Naik and Bhavikeri Rama Naik.⁹¹ On their advice, many *patels* resigned from their position in Ankola taluk. Patel Hammanna Nayak, Shetgeri was one among those who resigned from *patelship* due to the campaign of Vasre Subray Naik.⁹²

In the last week of December 1930, D.P. Karmarkar entered Ankola taluk again by a secret route. Before this he had sent a message to the Karwar district police officer that he had come to Ankola to lead the peasants in no-tax campaign and sympathise with the country's cause. He moved along with Basgod Rama Naik to surrounding villages, and villagers exchanged their views with the volunteers and cleared their doubts about the no-tax campaign. After this, Karmarkar went back to Dharwad through the forest route. D.P. Karmarkar once again came back to the district on 17th January 1931, and this time he was accompanied by Bevir Bhimarao, the most eminent Congress worker of Dharwad district, and Krishnabai Panjekar. They held several meetings, and the speech of Krishnabai Panjekar impressed the villagers, and women like Hichkad Lakshmi, Soorve Yankamma, Bomma Jumgod, Hanuma and several other women turned as brave warriors. The speeches of Bevir Bhimarao proved to be very effective on the villagers. Besides, the volunteers came to Ankola from Mysore, Bangalore, Dharwad and other places escaping from police vigilance. Camps were set up in different places to carry out the no-tax campaign. They

also camped in the forests, and nearby villagers supplied those with food and other necessities. The children and women also helped to circulate pamphlets and messages from these *shibiras*. The distribution of pamphlets and conducting propaganda in the villages became the routine work of the children and women.

The government resorted to repressive measures to curb the no-tax campaign. The most common measure was that of confiscation of property. It became necessary for the ryots and tenants to protect their movable properties, they kept their gold, cattle and other valuable articles in the houses of their relatives. The people of all other castes extended their cooperation to the campaign. Searches were conducted in all the villages by the authorities. The nadors who had participated in the campaign in a big way remained firm till the end. No one came forward to assist the authorities in transporting the forfeited articles. The news of Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on 5th March 1931 reached Ankola on 8th March 1931 and the no-tax campaign was ended.⁹³ Afterwards, the ryots paid revenue to the government.

No-Tax Campaign in Sirsi and Siddapur taluks (1931):

In the year 1931, the ryots and tenants of Sirsi and Siddapur taluks participated in the no-tax campaign. In Sirsi and Siddapur taluks, the ryots and tenants were predominantly dependent upon the garden cultivation. Arecanut and pepper were the main crops grown in this region. There were many factors which led to the sufferings of the inhabitants of the region in 1930s.⁹⁴ The critical economic condition provoked the villagers to actively participate in the anti-government movement. On 12th January 1931, The *Ryot Parishat* was held at the Marikamba Temple at Sirsi under the presidentship of

Keshavayan Pundalikarya. It passed a resolution that the condition of the peasants was so bad that they were not in a position to pay the revenue and that the government should give some remission to them.⁹⁵

The growers' representative conference was held on 12th January 1931 at Sirsi. It concluded that it would be difficult for the peasants to pay the revenue when there was no yield of crops. Therefore, the government should provide more time for the payment of tax, repayment of loan in the Co-operative Societies. If the government agreed for these, they would not resort to the no-tax campaign. In Siddapur taluk also a meeting was held at the home of Hari Ramachandra Vaidya of Bilgi, Where they decided to launch the no-tax campaign.⁹⁶

Even after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Sirsi and Siddapur taluks, the people were not in a position to pay the revenue and therefore, they continued the movement. On 8th April 1931, Commissioner Smart entered into an agreement with R.R. Diwakar. According to the terms of this agreement, the *katedars* were asked somehow to pay the first instalment on the promise that they would be granted remission for the second.⁹⁷ Believing the government, the people borrowed money and paid up the dues, but the government did not keep up to its promise. The applications for remission of the second instalment were rejected as untrue, stereotyped and instigated. The coercive processes of the government continued. Finally, on 9th April 1931, the no-tax campaign was withdrawn in the Sirsi-Siddapur taluks.

The Second Phase of No-Tax Campaign (1932-34):

The Karnataka Provincial conference of the Congress was held on 26-27th March 1932 at Hukkeri. Shet Jamalal, one of the followers of Gandhi, inaugurated this Convention. Jamalal toured all over the district and several people expressed their grievances to him. Jamalal found the necessity of immediate relief measures for the peasants of the district. Thus Sirsi-Siddapur relief fund sprang into being and a relief committee was set up to work under the principles of Gandhi Seva Sangha.⁹⁸

Under the leadership of Keshvayan, the relief committee was appointed. Vasudevaraya Dhakappa, Timmappa Nayak, Kadave Ramakrishna Hegde, Montesar Timmappa Hegde, Doddamane Nagesh Hegde and others were appointed as its members. They submitted the report that in Sirsi 145 families and in Siddapur 74 families needed immediate relief.⁹⁹

After the failure of Second Round Table Conference, the no-tax campaign was again started. Many leaders and volunteers were arrested. Gandhi was arrested on 4th January 1932. Immediately after his arrest, R. R. Diwakar visited Sirsi and Siddapur on 7th January 1932. He visited Huvinmane, Itagi, Karkisaval, Hoskoppa and Heruru of Siddapur taluk, where the satyagraha camps were held. The final meeting was held at Bilgi. Nagesh Hegde Doddamane, Siralagi Subraya Bhat, Sivaram Kannayya Hegde of Kannalli, Ganesh Hegde, Kolasar Ramappa Hegde, and other Congress workers participated in it. R.R. Diwakar explained the participants about the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee, and the need to conduct the movement in a very peaceful way.¹⁰⁰

The Congress workers like Nagesh Hegde Doddamane and Sivaram Hegde of Kannalli spoke at the meeting and pleaded the members present that they should actively participate in the no-tax campaign as it was the last step in the satyagraha movement, and they should fight for political purpose and show respect towards the Mahatma.¹⁰¹ All those who gathered there agreed to withhold the payment of revenue.

In the beginning of 1932 Karmarkar arrived at Ankola by evading the police, and encouraged the people to get ready for the impending struggle.¹⁰² He visited all the villages of Ankola taluk accompanied by various local leaders and convinced the people. The government had armed itself with several repressive measures. Everyone knew that this struggle was going to be a decisive one. The issues affecting the people were discussed in the villages and taluk assemblies, and the no-tax campaign was launched. The camps were held in the forests. The frequent movement of the volunteers carrying food, *tapals*, etc., to these camps could not go unnoticed by the police. Once the police search began, the camps were shifted to other interior parts. Each village in the district had an underground worker who communicated with one another by means of a secret code. The women and children carried *tapal* and distributed pamphlets etc., in clandestine manner. The movements of the police were carefully watched by the villagers and reported to the workers.¹⁰³

On 5th February 1932, the first instalment of revenue had to be paid, but the *khatedars* of Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola decided not to pay it. In order to repress the peasants, the government ordered that all the *khatedars* should pay both the instalments before 18th February 1932. When the revenue officers came to collect revenue, the *khatedars* told that they decided not to pay the first instalment.¹⁰⁴ In response to this, the government issued an order imposing the *chavtai* fine as a punitive tax. In the first week

of March 1932, the government began to seize the properties in Siddapur and Ankola taluks. Warrants were issued on many Congress workers. The houses of the landholders came to be raided and searched. The first victims were the people of Basgod village of Ankola taluk. When the police could not get any valuable properties of the ryots, cattle worth Rupees three to four hundred were carried away to Karwar and auctioned there.¹⁰⁵ In Soorve village, furnitures were seized. Throughout the district, the government officials carried out the task of confiscating properties to collect land revenue dues, or compensate for the same.¹⁰⁶

As soon as the struggle commenced in this fashion, the political leaders in the Ankola town like Shyam Rao Shenvi, M. G. Nadkarni and others were arrested and imprisoned. Warrants were issued for the arrest of many of the Congress workers and intensified efforts were made to trace the whereabouts of D. P. Karmarkar. In respect to this, the government issued an order imposing the *chavtai* fine as a punitive tax. On Hichkad and Bole villages of Ankola taluk, the *chautayi hukum* was imposed. The government began raids and searched the homes of non-tax payers. The news of search and seizure came to be highlighted in the bulletins, and sacrifices of those who lost their belongings were praised.¹⁰⁷

The local leaders like Jogi Berranna Nayak, Basgod Ram Nayak, Bhavikeri Ram Nayak came forward to spread the ideas of no-tax campaign in Vasre, Agasur, Adluru, Shiragungi and other interior villages.¹⁰⁸ At Vasre, house of Beeranna Devanna Nayak came to be raided by the Assistant Collector with a force of 40 to 50 armed police personnel. At that time only an old lady was staying in the house, which was emptied of all valuables. When questioned by the Assistant Collector, she denied having any

knowledge of the whereabouts of the other family members. When similar incidents occurred in other places, articles like clothes sarees, poultry, coconut, arecanut plantain and almost anything found in the premises came to be carried off. Even rice, jaggery, etc., meant for daily consumption were not left. For the dues of one's elder brother, his younger brother's house; for the dues of one's son-in-law, his father in laws house came to be searched and valuables seized. No procedure or rules were followed, nor any inventory prepared during the process of such search and seizure.¹⁰⁹ After making an entry in the register for the notice served to the ryots, the Circle Sub-Inspector used to initiate forfeiture proceedings. Such forfeiture of property took place in Surve, Shetegeri and Basgod and other villages of Ankola taluk.

As the government followed oppression, the Congress workers started moving about in the villages disguised as fishermen or halakki vakkal men wearing dirty clothes and carrying their distinctive tools of work or products. Such leaders used to manage their escape by swimming to the opposite bank of the Gangavali river whenever chased by a police. However, Karmarkar fell into the hands of the police on 17th March 1932, when they had actually come chasing Basgod Ram Naik.¹¹⁰

With a view to divert the attention of the police engaged in search and seizure activities, Karmarkar had arranged programmes like *prabhat pheris*, picketing of liquor shops, salt and forest satyagraha, in various parts of the Ankola taluk.¹¹¹ The police were especially vigilant at Kanagil village of Ankola taluk which was located in a central position. This created many problems for the movement of the Congress workers in the taluk. The leaders of the Congress workers at Kanagil were Hammanna Naik, a man known for his humour. He and a few other young workers contrived to force the police to

pack up and leave the place. The tradition of taking out a procession of a local deity on the Holi festival day came in hand for them. A noisy procession of this deity was taken out with drummers and pipers followed by a large crowd who gathered from the neighbouring villages. When the procession was passing before the police encampment, the man carrying the sacred pot (*Kalasha*) started violently stretching and shaking his body and pretending that the god was speaking through him, loudly uttered this ominous prophesy: “who are the people encamping in my domain and obstructing my way? Decamp from this village immediately: or else you will suffer terribly in the hands of my fiendish followers”¹¹² The terrified police prostrated before the deity and promised to leave the village. Obeying the orders of higher authorities, the police party had to stay there for the night, but in trembling fear, for the place appeared to be haunted by fiends or devils who all through the night, spoke in whispers, scattered dust and shook the surrounding trees. No police man could sleep that night. A constable was down with fever after this nightmarish experience and unfortunately died after few days.¹¹³ The police moved to Hichkad of Ankola taluk with the permission of the authorities. Subsequently, the police could trace the pranks performed by a few youngsters.

The nine landholders of Uluware halakki vakkal families refused to pay land revenue and stood firm till the end. The forfeited lands of these halakki vakkal families were purchased by Bahaddur Khan, a retired police officer. They were deprived from their houses, and they were forced to live in the open field. Ramdas Gouda and Honnadas Gouda the halakki vakkal leaders were away at satyagraha camp. At the time of harvest, Bahaddur Khan brought Konkan-Maratha labourers from Karwar, and tried to harvest the crop. The nadors of Hiregutti and Sagadgeri opposed it and canned down all the grains and prevented Bahaddur Khan from getting anything. Ramdas Gouda and many others were

arrested and Bahadur Khan's atrocious conduct went unchecked. The women of these families were harassed by the police officials in many ways to surrender their husbands. It became difficult for halakki women to collect firewood from forest. They used to sell firewood which they brought from the forests and get other household items from the nearby markets. Basgod Rama Naik, Sagadgeri Govindaraya Naik, Ventakaramana Naik Mogata and others rushed to provide support and confidence to these halakki vakkal families. In order to divert the attention of police from these families, a jungle satyagraha was conducted in Sagadgeri village, in which hundreds of people participated.¹¹⁴

In the forfeited land at Uluvare, the sugarcane yield worth Rupees 1000 was ready to be harvested. Basgod Ram Naik determined to cut down and carry off this crop. He encouraged the people of Sagadgeri, Kamage, Jooga, Hichkad, Mogta, Uluvare and other surrounding villagers for this purpose. Five hundred people marched on the field from all the four sides led by Hichkad Ramachandra Naik and others. Having prior knowledge of this, Bahadur Khan had brought and stationed a large police force to guard the crop. The people began cutting down the sugarcane, unmindful of the presence of a large police force. In the *lathi* charge that followed, the backbone of Ventakaraman Naik was broken; a halakki vakkal boy also fell unconscious with bleeding head injury and also several others were injured. All the injured men were treated, but being faithful to the non-violent creed of Gandhi, the people did not retaliate violently. However, a few infuriated men set fire to the sugarcane field, many participants were arrested.¹¹⁵

The enraged Bahadur Khan came with the police reinforcement at Uluvare. Every village, hill, tree and well came to be raided and searched. All persons, whether guilty or otherwise, came to be detained and beaten up so that they would reveal the names of those

who had gone to cut the sugarcane. A punitive tax was imposed by the government on the inhabitants of the area to recuperate the losses suffered by Bahadur Khan. But all these coercive measures helped only to strengthen the organisation and unity of the ryots. The people of Mogata and Shirgungi also were subjected to severe repression. When Vasare Beeranna Nayak, on whom there was a warrant, had gone to the marriage of a relative at Mogata, the police unsuccessfully raided the place to secure the person for whom they were searching. The police claimed falsely that the people of Mogata attacked the police and released Beeranna Nayak when he had been caught. The following day, hundreds of police, armed with *lathis* and guns raided and arrested many people, not even sparing those in the marriage procession. Subsequently, those who had evaded arrest also came to be captured. Hundreds of people were detained in the police station and taken one by one to torture chamber during midnight, they were beaten till they fell unconscious. Many persons suffered severe mental and physical agony.¹¹⁶

The women played a conspicuous role in the no-tax campaign. While their men remained elusive in the camps, the women stayed behind in the house with children and faced police abuses. They picketed the toddy shops and houses of *patels* who were appointed in the place of those resigned, and demanded their resignation. Many of these women were beaten up by the *patels* like Rama Honnappa Nayak of Vandige and Beeranna Nayak of Shiragungi. The women underwent many sufferings at the hands of police while engaged in carrying articles required by those in camps, or doing satyagraha in front of the houses forfeited and sealed by the government.¹¹⁷

The anti-British movement adopted innovative ways of protest. When the governor visited Karwar, fifteen persons led by Kanagil Bommayya Beeranna Nayak planned to

stage to a black flag demonstration. However, they were arrested on the way by the police. Immediately on learning this, Bomma of Kanagil and other women crossed the ghats through the jungle road to Karwar and waved black flag at the Governor and shouted slogans demanding him to go back.¹¹⁸

In Siddapur taluk, the havik women actively participated in the no-tax campaign. The *Bhagini Parishat* (women organisation) took active part in the forest satyagraha and other programmes of the civil-disobedience movement. At Tigani in Siddapur taluk the women satyagrahis conducted *hartal* in front of the houses of those who purchased the items confiscated from the satyagrahis by the government. These women satyagrahis were arrested, and were imprisoned for a month with vigorous punishment. They were also fined with Rupees 40 to 50.¹¹⁹ The people of Sirsi and Siddapur refused to pay the tax. The government adopted extraordinary coercive measures with the assistance of police to recover the revenue. Many lands houses cattle's were forfeited by the government. In the Sirsi taluk, the women went on fast at the door of the houses of purchasers of confiscated goods. The first of these fast was undertaken at Hecche village.

The women endeavouring to break open the seal and enter the forfeited houses were pushed, kicked, beaten up by the police and jailed. Their places were immediately taken over by other women engaged in the satyagraha. Prominent among these were Jungod Satamma, Kanagil Chandri, Bomma, Basgod Venkamma, Hoskeri Bomma and Soorve Bomma.¹²⁰

At Vasre , Manudevi entered the house of Bommayya Naik after breaking the seal, but was pulled out by the police, however, she freed herself and tried to re-enter the

house. The police slapped and kicked her till she fell unconscious. Not satisfied with this, the police threw chilly powder in her eyes, and left her to die. But the women present there took her to Ankola hospital, where she regained her consciousness on the following day. After, three or four days, she again entered the struggle with same enthusiasm and faced imprisonment. In this manner women distinguished themselves in the struggle.¹²¹

Most of the lands forfeited by the peasants had failed to secure satisfactory bidders at auctions, and the government kept them as authorised fallow land. However, the people did continue to cultivate them. During the harvest season, the government attempted to reap the crops on those lands by hiring imported labourers, but failed to do the same. Some of the produce was reaped by people, and some of them were burnt by the people to prevent its harvesting by the government.¹²²

On 28th February 1932, police arrested Madhahvachar who participated in the no-tax campaign. His relatives wanted to release him by negotiation with the authorities. But he exhorted them not to do so as he willingly wanted to fight until death to fight against the oppression and injustice of the government.¹²³

The government was firm in suppressing the satyagraha and special policemen were posted in Ankola till the end of 1934. When the civil disobedience movement was withdrawn in 1934 at the national level, the same was discontinued in the district. The colonial authorities followed coercive measures to collect the revenue dues. It amounted to Rs. 45,000 in Sirsi and 40,000 in Siddapur. They resorted to attachments of property, and Siddapur witnessed 80 attachments, and Sirsi 65 attachments. The attached properties were sold officially to the highest bidders.¹²⁴

In the two taluks of Siddapur and Ankola, more than 800 *khatedar* families suffered heavily. Out of them 450 families lost movables and cattle by attachments to the extent of more than a lakh of rupees. The remaining families lost most of their lands by forfeiture, and movables and cattle worth Rupees 20,000 were confiscated by the government and were sold in auction.¹²⁵ The houses of 106 families' houses were confiscated, and in some cases houses were also sold. More than 1000 acres of garden lands growing betel nut, pepper, cardamom were forfeited.¹²⁶ By the end of June 1932, houses and lands of almost all the *khatedars* were seized and the *ryots* were locked out of their houses. It was declared as an offence to render assistance to those destitute ryots, and those who violated this were punished. The officials warned the nadors with the following words: "you have lost your land and houses. The government would annihilate your little community. It is not too late to beg for amnesty and save yourselves".¹²⁷ But the people were not moved. When the no-tax campaign was stopped, due to the forfeiture of lands, there was no work for people to do and they went on starving. As there were no houses for many of them to live, they lived in cattle sheds and houses built by bamboos. Those who were working in their own lands earlier were forced now to work as labourers in others' land. As there was no family income to bring up children, many children were sent to orphanages. The women who were bound to family went out of the houses in search of jobs. When the cultivable lands of Bole Bommayya Naik were confiscated and he was in jail, his wife and small children grew up vegetables and sold in the market to make their living. They had to lead the life of landless labourers for quite some time.¹²⁸

In the Ankola taluk, there were repeated attachments of movable property worth about Rupees 55,000. The land forfeited or sold amounted to over 500 acres, valued at

about Rupees. 4,22,885. The total number of houses forfeited was 90 worth about Rupees 54,454.¹²⁹

Establishment of Kanara Farmers Relief Committee:

After the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement, the major task before the Congress was to check demoralisation and improve the confidence of the cultivators who had lost their lands due to the non-payment of revenue during the no-tax movement. For this purpose, the Congress had set up two Committees. The first Committee was constituted to assist the Kanara peasants of the Siddapur and Ankola taluks. Its members were Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Narayan Joshi, S. R. Haldipurkar, Siddappa Hosmane, Hanumanta Rao Kaujalagi, D. P. Karmarkar and R. S. Hukkerikar. The second Committee consisted of Chandulal Desai, Bhogilal, Ravi Shankar Chattopadhyaya, and Dinakar Desai and its objective was to help the farmers of Gujarat.¹³⁰ These Committees provided immediate help to the peasants. The peasants were provided with seeds, cattle, agricultural implements and this helped them to remain firm till the end of the movement.¹³¹ The Congress held meetings in all provinces and appealed to provide relief measures to the affected peasants of Gujarat and Karnataka.¹³² In the meetings, the touching pictures of hard condition of the peasants of North Kanara, who lost their homes and lands during the civil disobedience movement, were presented. The appeal was published in local as well as national newspapers. The relief measures reached from all over India. Leaders like Sardar Vallabhabhi Patel and others appealed for Kanara peasants. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a message to the peasants of Gujarat said: “the brave peasants of Karnataka have vie with you in their privations and their sufferings. They have courted attachments, confiscations, imprisonment and worse. Both men and

women have showed utter disregard to sufferings and privations and today they are ruined and resource less can be imagined. The tales of their bravery and their sacrifices have filled me with admiration and pride and the news of sufferings at times unhinged me”¹³³”

Speaking about Karnataka, K. F. Nariman, leader of Bombay Provincial Congress, said that a great difference existed between Karnataka and Gujarat. The peasants of Karnataka were utterly poor and yet, they readily joined the struggle and kept on fighting till the end. The consequences were that they were reduced to the pitiable plight. To know the real state of affairs one should go to Karnataka and see personally the state of affairs. Concluding he made a special appeal to the middleclass to give their mite and hoped that Bombay would justify her name and subscribe munificently.¹³⁴ In short, to quote from the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee report of 1932, “the movement in Karnataka is very strong in spite of the government’s utmost care and best efforts to crush the Congress. Breaking of all ordinances, orders under the criminal procedure code, breaking of forest and salt laws singly and in mass and refusing not to pay land revenue have become common. The nadors of Ankola and the haviks of Sirsi and Siddapur deserve special mention for their sacrifices. Persons from all communities (with any distinction) are today in the movement, one of the special features...is that our sisters have come forward more than during the last fight and about 35 ladies are today in Jail.”¹³⁵

A meeting of K.P.C.C. was held on 26th June 1934 and delegates from all over Karnataka participated in it. The principal question which occupied the attention of the meeting was the question of giving relief to the farmers of Uttara Kannada, who lost everything in Civil Disobedience movement. The committee worked to rehabilitate the

farmers of Kanara. The District Congress Committee was called upon to take the necessary steps. A Committee was appointed. The Committee requested I.N.C. to increase the *khadi* sales in the province by arranging hawking, holding exhibitions and carrying out all other necessary activities. Child care homes were opened in Shivamogga and Karwar to protect the children of the peasants of satyagrahis who had no means to bring them.

Hukkerikar, the general Secretary of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee reported in 1934 and said: “they carried on their struggle even when they did not know wherewith to provide for the morrow. Their condition is not much worse than it ever was, many of them were unable to find any work and are on the way to starving. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee has begun organising relief, but the province is too poor to cope with the huge problem of helping over 2,000 men to earn a living. He appealed for help to the poor peasants from other province.”¹³⁶

On 8th January 1935, on the occasion of Karnataka peasant day celebration, Gangadhar Rao gave a very interesting description of the sufferings of peasants of Uttara Kannada. He said that from the beginning of the movement the two taluks of the district had passed through the fire and ordeal. “There were hundreds of attachments in Siddapur in 1931. In the beginning of 1932 there were attachments and sale of movable properties worth about a lack, about 200 in Siddapur and 150 in Ankola lost their lands. While about 90 in Siddapur and 76 in Ankola lost their homes also by confiscation. Their total loss amounted to 1,400 acres. The total loss in money would come to anywhere between 15-16 lacs of rupees”.¹³⁷

The peasant day was celebrated by A.I.C.C. throughout the country, it was also celebrated in Bombay, the meeting was presided by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and she moved the following resolution: “the Karnataka’s residents in Bombay congratulate the brave peasants of Ankola and Siddapur taluks on their indomitable courage and sacrifices made during the last no-tax campaign and sympathises to their present condition.”¹³⁸

Thus the Uttara Kannada district played an important role in the salt satyagraha, forest satyagraha and no-tax campaign. These were the major constituents of the civil disobedience movement in the district. Different sections of the society, such as the ryots, tenants and particularly women participated in these nationalist programmes. Public meetings boycott of foreign cloths and picketing of the liquor shops by the volunteers were undertaken in each village. The people of the district faced the situation calmly and boldly and remained non-violent in the face of the greatest provocation. The district contributed its mite in the fight for India’s independence.

Quit India Movement 1942:

The Quit India movement that broke out in India in August 1942 had moved the nationalists of Kanara also. The Uttara Kannada district was actively involved in this movement.

The Violent Outbreaks of 1942:

Gandhi and other members of the Congress Working Committee who were in Bombay, were arrested under the Defence of India Rules in the early hours of 9th August 1942.¹³⁹ Notifications were also issued on the same day under the Criminal Law

Amendment Act of 1908, and all Congress Working Committees were declared as unlawful associations. An order was also issued under the rule 56 of Defence Act and as per the Act organising public meetings and holding of the processions except with prior permission of the concerned District Magistrate or Commissioner of Police, was banned.¹⁴⁰ The arrest of Congress leaders resulted in spontaneous uprising at several places in the country.¹⁴¹ There were no leaders to guide the movement in the district too. R.R. Diwakar who was absconding sent a resolution of K.P.C.C. to the Uttara Kannada district that was to paralyse the government activities, without violent action. As a precautionary measure, the government arrested many local leaders like Ram Naik, Babu Kamat, Shyam Rao Shenvi and others. The secret message of R. R. Diwakar reached almost all the villages of the district and the villagers began to organise the programmes to paralyse the government activities. The movement got considerable response from the local youths. The local youths spontaneously came forward to lead the movement. Each youth of the Ankola taluk tried to contribute something for the movement and they themselves organised the programmes and exhibited the same. They used guerrilla-type attacks, which came to be known as the Karnataka pattern.¹⁴² In below ghat taluks, the nador youths played a special role in implementing the programmes. The Nador leaders like Beeranna Nayak Hichkad, Beeranna Bommayya Nayak Soorve, Kanagil Hammanna Nayak and Sagadgeri Venkatramana Nayak took the leadership in destroying the government properties like telephone and telegraph lines.¹⁴³ Dayanand Prabhu inspired by the movement suddenly joined the struggle and became one of the prominent local leaders of the movement. He organised many activities with Sagadgeri Venkataramana Nayak and Beeranna Nayak Hichkad.¹⁴⁴ They had their underground activity centres. The women and children played a notable role in passing the messages between the leaders. There was an underground workers batch at Siddapur led by Nilakanta Yagi and N.G. Pai of Siddapur. The former had

resigned his job at Karwar to join the movement. There were underground batches at Kumta, Sirsi and Gokarn. Each Village of the district had its own underground workers group. All these groups engaged in sabotage and subversive works while attending their normal work. Dynamic leaders like Nilakanta Yagi, and Dayanand Nadkarni had even visited Bombay to meet R.R. Diwakar during the early days of the movement.¹⁴⁵ In each village there was a programme for the destruction of government properties. A few such programmes are given below:

Bombay Home Department secret files contain information on the distractive incidents conducted in the Uttara Kannada district by *satyagrahis*. It is reported that in between 16 and 22nd August 1942, wires were cut in several places and 12 telegraph poles were uprooted. A road bridge was damaged.¹⁴⁶ Some shops were closed at Sirsi and school students went on strike on 12th August 1942. On 6th September the inhabitants of the villages around the Ankola taluk came in a procession to the town and gathered near the fort at Ankola town. The police force tried to prevent them from coming in a procession. A few days later similar attempt was made by some 5,000 villagers to march to Ankola, but they were eventually dispersed by *lathi* charge. At Gokarna about 3,000 people went about shouting slogans. Processions were also taken out in Kumta, and while dispersing them some 2 or 3 police men received injuries from stones thrown at them.¹⁴⁷

In Siddapur taluk on 17th September, a bridge was demolished and a watchman's shed was burnt. Many telegraph lines were uprooted. A culvert on the Sirsi-Siddapur road was damaged. On 23rd September some seven persons forcibly took away the *patel's* records at night in Sirguli village of Siddapur taluk.¹⁴⁸ A small bridge on the Karwar Yellapur road was burnt, and telegraph wire was cut in Halkar village of Sirsi taluk. On

25th September 1942 the students of Edward High School in Ankola went on strike, protesting against removal of Congress flag, which was hoisted on the premises of the school.¹⁴⁹

On 27th September 1942 about 30 to 40 persons forcibly opened the house of the Shanbhog of Belse and took Dafdar of three villages. On 30th September 1942, the Public Works Department Bungalow was set on fire. On 2nd October 1942, about 150 people, some of them masked, surprised the two watchmen and two forest guards of a war supply timber depot at Gangavali, overpowered them and set the depot on fire. The damage caused was estimated at about Rupees 28,000. The *karapatras*, which were considered by the government as unauthorised letters, were widely distributed in the district and some threatening letters were also sent to government officials. In many places, telephone wires were cut off and telegraph poles were uprooted. In several places like Sirsi, Ankola and Kumta post boxes were stolen and letters were burnt. The destruction of the Hattikeri timber depot on 14th November 1942 was another notable event. The damage according to the government record was about Rupees 13,000. Many nador youths participated in this event.¹⁵⁰

On 11th January 1943 some 20 persons attacked the forest *naka* at Gundabala and called upon the forest guard to open the door. On his refusing to do so, they forced their way and overpowered the guard and set the naka on fire. Half of the building was damaged causing loss estimated at Rupees 400.¹⁵¹ On 17th January an abortive attempt was made to set fire to the *Gram-Chavdi* (Village Panchayat) at Isoore village but only slight damage was caused to the doors. On 11th February 1943, the railing of the bridge on the Bhatkal-

Mysore frontier road was damaged. An attempt was also made to burn a bridge on the Karwar-Ankola road and damage estimated at Rupees 250 was caused. ¹⁵²

The railing of the bridge within the limits of Aversa village on the Karwar – Ankola road was burnt causing a loss of Rupees 700. Wires were cut in Agsur village, and 300 feet of wires were stolen on 15th February 1943. On 18th February 1943, a stock of grass owned by the Patel of Ankola was set on fire. The village at Aversa was also partially burnt, causing damage to the extent of Rupees 50.¹⁵³

On 19th February 1943, a *hartal* was observed by some merchants in Sirsi and Siddapur. On 15th March 1943, in Haliyal, a postal runner was robbed by five masked persons. In the same taluk, a police constable on duty was assaulted, beaten up and robbed of his cycle and other articles.

One of the notable events which took place in the district was burning of Uluvare ferry boat. Uluvare is the village on the bank of the Gangavali river. A programme was arranged by the satyagrahis to burn Uluvare ferry boat. Dayanand Prabhu and K.G. Joshi organised the programme. The nador youths from surrounding villages like Vandige, Hichkad, Shetgeri, Sagadageri, Kanagil, Vasre, Kudargi, Shirur, Hadav, Basgod and Soorve numbering more than 300 volunteers went to the bank of the river Gangavali. The government record says about 100 youths assaulted four policemen stationed at Uluvare on the morning and forcibly removed the guns and cartridges. Beeranna Nayak of Hichkad snatched the gun from a constable. Other youths overpowered the four constables.¹⁵⁴ They set it afire with the help of woods and kerosene. This burning was followed by warrant on 18 volunteers from Hichkad village and order was passed to shoot Beeranna Nayak of Hichkad, Dayanand Prabhu and Sagadageri Venkataramana Nayak at sight.¹⁵⁵ The

policemen made repeated search on Hichkad village and tortured the people to give clue about the persons who participated in Uluvre ferry boat incident.

On 13th June 1943, four spans of telegraph wire were cut to pieces and three insulators broken in the limit of Halakar village of Kumta taluk. Seven telegraph poles were uprooted and 13 poles were bent down in Karki village of Honnavar taluk. On 5th July 1943, a postal runner was robbed between Gokarna and Bankikodla, and the postal bags which contained insured letters and cash Rupees 655 were taken away.¹⁵⁶

On 25th July 1943, the government papers and other properties were stolen in Siddapur taluk. Five persons were arrested at Kumta on the 25th September 1943, and five persons were arrested in Gokarna on the morning of 26th September 1943. At Sirsi, students observed *hartal*, and at Banavasi a procession was held and independence pledge was taken collectively in a public meeting. The Section 3(1) of the Collective Ordinance 1942 (XX of 1942) empowered the provincial government to impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of an area or associations prejudicially affecting the defence of British India.¹⁵⁷ The government imposed collective fines on the taluks and villages which participated in Quit the India movement.¹⁵⁸ Collective fines were imposed on Hichkad and Sagadgeri villages of Ankola taluk. According to official letter dated 29th March 1943, the collective fines amounting to Rupees 71,800 was imposed, and out of that Rupees 50,138 was recovered from the district. Major portion of the fine was imposed on Ankola taluk, and an amount of Rupees 30,000 was recovered.¹⁵⁹ In all, fine of Rupees 85,300 was imposed on the district on 16th September 1943, and it was fully recovered. Warrants were issued on every defaulter in Kumta taluk. The work of demand notice was carried out in respect of fines of Rupees 5,000 that was imposed in Sirsi taluk.¹⁶⁰ The government had not left any harsh method to recover the amount of fine, and in some cases, the properties

were also attached.¹⁶¹ By the end of 15th April 1943, the total amount collected in Kumta taluk was Rupees 22,212 as against the demand of Rupees 31,800.¹⁶² The economic condition of the district was very poor and people were not in a position to pay the tax. However, the collective fine work was very carefully carried out and the fine was collected. In some other cases, under Section 386 of the Criminal Procedure Code, notices warrants were issued on some persons. In some taluks of the district, steps were taken to collect fines as arrears in land revenue.¹⁶³

On 5th October 1945, the *Agrani*, a newspaper published from Poona under the heading of New Government, reported on the *prati sarkar* idea in the district. Nadakarni, a zamindar of Karwar, visited the Collector and gave complaint that there was an organisation in Karwar named *Karwar Jilla Ryot Sangha*, which considered itself as the government. The organisation also had its own court of law. He provided the information that the *sangha* served a notice on him to present him before it on a particular day. Nadakarni filed a case against his two tenants in the Mamlatdar's court, and the decision was favourable to him. One of the tenants named Joshi was President of the *Sangha*. He was summoned before the *sangha* for enquiry.¹⁶⁴ The *Dyana Prakash* another newspaper published from Poona, also supported this news in its report dated 6th October 1945. Thus when the whole district responded to the Quit India Movement, Nadakarni proved himself to be a collaborator with British government.

The region spontaneously participated in the movement and faced the government repression. The district was also freed from the British colonial domination along with the rest of India on 15th August 1947.

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- ¹ Government Resolution No. 550 February 1910, *MSA*.
- ² Letter from M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of North Canara to Revenue Commissioner *SD*. No. 703 of 1871, Canara Collector's Office, Carwar, 3rd March 1871, *RD*. Vol. No.47 of 1871, *MSA*, p.3.
- ³ Translation copies of petition attached by the Acting Collector of Carwar to Revenue Commissioner, *SD*. *RD*, Vol. No. 47 of 1871, *MSA*, pp.245-247.
- ⁴ Memorandum from W. C. Anderson, No. 1070 of 1871, *Op. Cit*, p.330; N. Shyam Bhat and Bhagyashree Naik, "The Kanara Land Assessment Case of 1875: A Forgotten Chapter in the Revenue History of Colonial India", *Indica*, Vol.50, No. 1 & 2, pp. 350-367.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, p.337; Neil Charlesworth, *Peasants and imperial Rule Agriculture and Agrarian Society in Bombay Presidency (1850-1935)*, 2002, Cambridge University Press, p.67.
- ⁶ Letter from Shaw Stewart, Collector of Kanara to W.H. Havelock Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No. 1164 of 1871, Collector's Office Carwar, 27th April, 1781, *RD*, Vol. No. 47 of 1871, *MSA*, pp. 205-207.
- ⁷ Memorandum from W. C. Anderson, No. 1070 of 1871, *Op. Cit*, pp. 333-335.
- ⁸ Letter from W. H. Havelock, Revenue Commissioner *SD*. to Secretary for Bombay Government, *Op. Cit.*, p.2.
- ⁹ A resolution passed by Secretary for Bombay Government, 10th April 1871, *RD*, Vol. No 47 of 1871, *MSA*. p. 325.
- ¹⁰ Letter from M. J. Shaw Stewart, Collector of Canara to Revenue Commissioner *SD*, No. 862 of 1871, *Op. Cit*, p.3.
- ¹¹ Ranganath Diwakar, *Karnirakarneya Veera Kathe*, in Kannada, Hubli, 1955, p. IX.
- ¹² Peyton, *CF*, No. 5295, 27th January 1885, *RD*, Vol. No. 97 of 1886, *MSA*.
- ¹³ Letter from Peyton, *CF* to governor of Bombay, 17th January, with comments on the memorial of the *Vana-Dukha Nivarana Sabha*, *RD*, 1888, Vol. No.109, *MSA*.
- ¹⁴ T.V. Adivesha, "The Sawdeshi Programme in Karnataka" in Lokavishkar International E- Journal, Vol. II, Issue II, April-May June, 2013, accessed on 2-12-2014, p. 271.
- ¹⁵ C. D. Pense Collector of Kanara to the Commissioner of *SD*, 4262 of 1907, 14th September 1907, *ARARBP*, 1907, *MSA*.
- ¹⁶ Bipan Chandra, Et.al, *Op. Cit.*, pp.128-29.
- ¹⁷ Timmappa Nayak, *Baduku Baaraha*, in Kannada, p.23.
- ¹⁸ T.V. Adivesha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 271.
- ¹⁹ Bipan Chandra (*Et.al*), *India's Struggle for Independence*, *Op. Cit.*, p.134.
- ²⁰ Sankar Ghose, *Political Ideas and Movements in India*, p. 112.
- ²¹ Interview with Parvati Hammanna Nayak, on 11/7/ 2011.
- ²² S. B. Nayak, Parumane, p.48.

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- ²³ S. Y. Mugali, “Freedom Movement in Bombay Karnataka: Role of Intellectuals,” Dharwad, 2004, pp.248-250; Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, pp. 1-20.
- ²⁴ R. R. Diwakar and D.P. Karmarkar (Ed.), *Karnataka Through the Ages*, p. 912.
- ²⁵ *Ibid*, p.913.
- ²⁶ Sankar Ghose, *Op. Cit.*, p. 75.
- ²⁷ Sankar Ghose, *Op. Cit.*, p. 113.
- ²⁸ *Kanadavritta* dated 20th May 1920.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*.
- ³⁰ *Kanadavritta* dated 24th December 1920.
- ³¹ Interview of Shantaram Nayak Hichkad and other eminent persons of the Ankola taluk dated 2-3-2011.
- ³² V. M. Dubhashe, Non-Cooperation in Kanara, Bombay 1920, and article published *Kannadavritta*, dated 27-7-1920.
- ³³ *Ibid*.
- ³⁴ Sri Krishna, p. 221.
- ³⁵ *Kannadavritta*, dated 24-2-1921
- ³⁶ Shantaram Nayak, Hichkad, p. 223.
- ³⁷ *Kannadavritta*, dated 27th December 1920.
- ³⁸ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, p.224.
- ³⁹ *Satyagraha Karapatragalu*, Sirsi, dated, 23-8-1930, KSA.
- ⁴⁰ *Satyagraha Karapatragalu* Sirsi, dated 18-8-30, KSA.
- ⁴¹ Petition of Ambrose, owner of liquor and toddy shop to the Commisioner of Excise, dated 30th March 1930, Home (Special), 700 (30) Pt. II, 1930.
- ⁴² Bombay Home (Special), 1930, 700 (35), pt-II, MSA, .
- ⁴³ *Kannadavritta*, dated 21-1-21
- ⁴⁴ *Kannadavritta*, dated 21-1-21.
- ⁴⁵ *Kannadavritta*, dated 21-1-21; “Cadel Thou Too” means ridiculing cadel for his behaviour.
- ⁴⁶ *Kanadavritta*, dated 23-1-21, 25-121.
- ⁴⁷ S. B. Nayak, Parumane (Ed.), *Shatayushi Sahitya*, *Op. Cit.*, p.64.
- ⁴⁸ Shantaram Nayak, p.180.
- ⁴⁹ V. S. Hegde (Ed.), *Swatantra Chaluvaliya Karapatragalu*, *Op. Cit*, p.10.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.12.
- ⁵¹ Timmappa Nayak, *Baduku Baraha*, *Op. Cit.*, pp.12-15.
- ⁵² Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, *Op. Cit.*, 34.
- ⁵³ Letter from H.T. Sollrey, Collector of Salt Revenue, Bombay Presidency to Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department, Poona, 20th August 1930; Home Department Special File No.750(71) pt 11, 1930, MSA. p. 3.

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- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.5.
- ⁵⁶ *Samyukta Karnataka* dated 20-3-1930, p.10.
- ⁵⁷ S. B. Nayak, Parumane, p.62.
- ⁵⁸ Shantaram Nayak, Hichkad, pp.225-228 ; S.B. Nayak, Parumane , pp.100-106.
- ⁵⁹ Suryanath U. Kamath, *The Documents on No-Tax Campaign in Uttara Kannada District (1930-1934)*, Bangalore, 1983, p. 29.
- ⁶⁰ Shantaram Nayak, , p.227.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid*,
- ⁶² Letter from Dubhashi, Sarkarkun Sanikatta to Assistant Collector of Salt Revenue, No. 34, 12th May 1932, Home (Special), 800 (55) C, 1933, MSA.
- ⁶³ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, p.29.
- ⁶⁴ Letter from Dubhashi, Sarkarkun Sanikatta to Assistant Collector of Salt Revenue, No. 34, 12th May 1932, Home (special), 800 (55) C, 1933, MSA.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ Suryanath U. Kamath, *The Documents on No-Tax Campaign*, p. 34.
- ⁶⁷ *Report of the Forest Grievances Committee*, Part II, 1927, MSA, pp. 24-25,
- ⁶⁸ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land*, p. 162.
- ⁶⁹ Suryanath U. Kamath, *The Documents on No-Tax Campaign*, p. 35..
- ⁷⁰ Minutes of the meeting of *Karnataka Satyagraha Mandala* held at Hubli, 1-8-1930, published in *Karapatra*, Karnataka Satyagraha Mandala, Sirsi, 8-8-1930, MSA.
- ⁷¹ Satyagraha *Karapatragalu*, Sirsi, 9-6-31; R.R. Diwakar, *Karanirakarneya Veera Kathe*, pp.35-36.
- ⁷² Home Department (Special), Confidential letters to the Secretary to Government, Poona, No. 750(38), A, 25/7/1930, MSA.
- ⁷³ R. R. Diwakar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 35-36.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *Satyagrha Karapatragalu*, dated 27-8-1930
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ S. B. Nayak Parumane, p. 23.
- ⁷⁸ *Karnataka Satyagraha Samachara*, *Karapatragalu*, dated 18-8-1930, KSA
- ⁷⁹ *Satyagraha Karapatragalu*, Sirsi, dated 2-9-1930. KSA.
- ⁸⁰ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land*, p. 162.
- ⁸¹ Interview with Hammanna Mani Nayak and Parvati Hammanna Nayak, dated 2-10-2009.
- ⁸² R. R. Diwakar, p. 73.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ *Annual Revenue Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency, 1932-33*, MSA, para. 25,.

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- ⁸⁵ S. B. Parumane, p.223.
- ⁸⁶ Suryanath U. Kamath, *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.
- ⁸⁷ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, p.236.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ S. B. Nayak, Parumane, p.243.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, p. 237.
- ⁹² Interview with Patel Hammanna Nayak, dated on 21-10-2011
- ⁹³ R. R. Diwkar, *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe, Op. Cit.*, p. 89
- ⁹⁴ See Chapter-VI.
- ⁹⁵ Siralagi Subraya Bhat (Ed.), *Kranti Veera Swatanrya Yodha late, Sri Bedkani Kanna Naik*, p.45.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ R. R. Diwkar, *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe, Op. Cit.*, p.97.
- ⁹⁸ Siralagi Subraya Bhat , p.45.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰ R. R. Diwkar, *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe, Op. Cit.* , p.97.
- ¹⁰¹ Siralagi Subraya Bhat, p.112.
- ¹⁰² S. B. Parumane (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.119.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁴ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad., p.238.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ranganath Diwkar, *Karanirakaraneya Veera Kathe, Op. Cit.*, p. 128.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 129.
- ¹⁰⁷ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, p.240.
- ¹⁰⁸ Interview with Hammanna Mani Nayak, dated 2-11-2009 ; S.B. Nayak, Parumane, p.228.
- ¹⁰⁹ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, p. 243.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 245.
- ¹¹¹ *Kandavritta* dated 29- 2-1932 and 21-3-1932.
- ¹¹² Suryanath U. Kamath, No-Tax Campaign, *Op. Cit.*, p. 29.
- ¹¹³ S. B. Nayak, Parumane, p.123.
- ¹¹⁴ Ranganath Diwkar, *Karanirakarneya Veera Kathe, Op. Cit.*, p.234.
- ¹¹⁵ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, *Swatanrya Horatada Horalu Nota, Op. Cit.*, p.81-84.
- ¹¹⁶ S.B. Nayak, Parumane, p.67.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 67-68.
- ¹¹⁸ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, *Swatanrya Horatada Horalu Nota, Op. Cit.*, p.248.
- ¹¹⁹ *Kandavritta*, dated 11-6-1932.
- ¹²⁰ Shantaram Nayak Hichkad, p.250.

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- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²² Shiralagi Subrayaa Bhat, p.67.
- ¹²³ I. M. Pharnakar, “Siddapuradalli Nededda Swatantra Horata”, Dharwad, 2006, p.223.
- ¹²⁴ R. R. Diwakar (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.918.
- ¹²⁵ *The Free Press Journal*, dated 8-6-1931. Home (Special) 800(85)79, MSA.
- ¹²⁶ *Bombay Chronicle* dated 21-12-1934.
- ¹²⁷ Suryanath U. Kamath, *The Documents on No-Tax Campaign*, p.13. ,
- ¹²⁸ Interview of freedom fighter Bole Bommayya Nayak’s son Ganapati Nayak and daughter, Parvati Nayak of Ankola taluk on 2-3-2011.
- ¹²⁹ *The Kanara Farmer’s Relief Committee Report*, Dharwad, 1934, KSA, p.3.
- ¹³⁰ *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 10-7-1943 and 2-8-1934.
- ¹³¹ *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 4-6-1934, 10-7-1934, 2-8-1934, and 30-10-1934.
- ¹³² Home (special) 800(85)117, MSA.
- ¹³³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 19-7-1934. Bombay Home (Special) 800(55), MSA.
- ¹³⁴ *The Free Press Journal* , 24-7-1934, Bombay Home (Special) 800(55), MSA.
- ¹³⁵ *Bombay Chronicle*, 24-7-1934, Bombay Home (Special) 800(55), MSA.
- ¹³⁶ *Bombay Chronicle*, 6-7-1934, Bombay Home (Special) 800(55), MSA.
- ¹³⁷ *Bombay Chronicle*, 9-1-1935 , Bombay Home (Special) 800(55), MSA.
- ¹³⁸ *Bombay Chronicle*, 10-1-1935 , Bombay Home (Special) 800(55), MSA.
- ¹³⁹ Home (special), file No. 1110(41), 1943, MSA.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴² Sri Krishna, *Op. Cit.*, p. 231.
- ¹⁴³ Shantaram Nayak, pp.56-57.
- ¹⁴⁴ Dayanand Prabhu, p.69.
- ¹⁴⁵ Shantaram Nayak, p. 58.
- ¹⁴⁶ Home (special), file No. 1110(41), 1943, MSA; *Maharashtra State Archives Bulletin No. 15, 16. Calender of the Quit India Movement in the Bombay Presidency.*
- ¹⁴⁷ Home (special), file No. 1110(41), 1943, MSA.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁹ *Maharashtra State Archives Bulletin No. 15, 16 .Calender of the Quit India Movement in the Bombay Presidency.*
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

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- ¹⁵⁴ *Samyukta Karnataka*, dated 5-4-1943.
- ¹⁵⁵ Dayanand Prabhu, p.62.
- ¹⁵⁶ Letter from District Magistrate, Kanara to Additional Secretary to the Bombay Government, No. 8233, Home (Political), 1943, *MSA*.
- ¹⁵⁷ A.B. Shinde, *The parallel government of Satara, a phase of Quit India Movement*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1990, p.45.
- ¹⁵⁸ Home Department (Special), File No. 1110 (8) C-I, 1943, *MSA*.
- ¹⁵⁹ Letter from District Magistrate, Kanara to Additional Secretary to the Bombay Government, No. 8233, Home (Political), 1943, *MSA*.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶² Copy of the State Telegram dated 15th April 1943, Bombay (Special) Bombay, *MSA*.
- ¹⁶³ Government Confidential letter *HD*. No. SDV/721 dated 9/9/ 1943, *MSA*.
- ¹⁶⁴ Home (Special), 501 (I) a, 1945-46, *MSA* ; *Dhyana Prakash*, dated 6-10-1945.

CHAPTER - VIII

CONCLUSION

The present study has examined the different aspects of British colonial working in the region of Uttara Kannada and the various responses that they evoked from 1862 to 1947. The main areas of administration such as land revenue, judiciary, police, forest policy, economic and social policies have been investigated. The main motives of the colonial government here were the same as those in the rest of British India, that is, to serve their own interests in India as well as in Britain. The colonial working, its policies and programmes had tremendous impact on the region, its polity, economy, society, and culture. This thesis has also dealt with the transformation that had taken place in Uttara Kannada due to the colonial intervention, and the reactions of the people of the region in the political, social and economic spheres. The reactions varied from the constitutional methods to violent outbreaks, from primary resistance to secondary resistance, and from individual oppositions to mass outbreaks. The inhabitants of the region opposed the evils of colonialism such as the exploitative revenue systems, forest rules, salt tax, and organised the swadeshi and boycott movements, non-cooperation movement, civil disobedience and no-tax campaign, and finally Quit India movement. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress played a dominant role in these movements.

The distinct geographical location of the region of Uttara Kannada influenced its history and culture. The location of the district on the Western coast, its coastal plains, the hinterland below the Western ghats, the area above the ghats, and the thick forests have rendered unique characteristics to the region. From the ancient times, various political powers, both local and regional ruled over the area. The arrival of the British as rulers in

1799-1800 had marked a turning point in its history. The foundation of the British rule was laid in the early half of the 19th century. Soon after the conquest of the region from Tipu Sultan, the English East India Company Government annexed it with the Madras Presidency. It formed the northern division of the Province of Kanara and Sonda. The British introduced major changes in crucial areas like revenue, judiciary, police, trade, forestry and administrative apparatus. The district was transferred to the Bombay Presidency in the year 1862. The remaining period of colonial rule of about a century really proved catastrophic for the region and its inhabitants.

The existing historical writings on Uttara Kannada do not provide a detailed and comprehensive portrayal of the working of British colonialism. We have used the original sources from the Maharashtra State Archives, Karnataka State Archives and the Tamil Nadu State Archives. The major categories include the records of the Revenue Department, Forest Department, Judicial Department, Public Works Department, Home Department, Marine Department, and the *Abkari* Department and Annual Administrative Reports of the Bombay Government. Therefore, the thesis is based on the data gathered from original sources relating to the colonial administration. Besides, corroboratory sources like the *karapatragalu*, Kannada and English newspapers, and information gathered through interviews of freedom fighters and their close relatives are used here. Further the secondary sources available on the subject are consulted. The methodology followed is both empirical and analytical in nature. This study has basically followed the challenge and response paradigm in evaluating the colonial rule, its working and impact on the region, and the responses of the ruled.

The British had to create a structure of administration or the apparatus of rule to manage the Kanara territory and population and consolidate their rule. The priority here was to serve the British interests. However, on certain occasions, depending upon the local circumstances as well as their necessities, the native institutions and practices were profitably used by them. For example, the system of private property that existed in the region was used to introduce the ryotwari system of land revenue administration. Also some of the earlier village officials and zamindars were incorporated in the colonial bureaucracy. The British created their own system of governance, pillars of administration and the “furniture of empire” were ingeniously put in place by creating an extensive hierarchy of administrative officials, judicial and police officers, civil service and official establishments, legal system – civil and criminal, revenue system, trade policy, forest department and administration, and notably the maintenance of records. They also studied the local people, their history and culture along with the survey of lands and forests through the compilation of gazetteers, survey and settlement manual, and forest manual. This was extremely essential not only to control the ruled, but also to reconstruct their history from the colonial point of view. In fact producing knowledge about the colony led to colonial subjectification.¹ The colonial interpretation of history distorted the Indian past, and tried to enslave the ruled. The colonial works on Kanara, and the British official records of the region are no exceptions to this general imperial intellectual orientation. Thus the colonial intervention resulted in several hardships to the people in political, economic and social spheres. The British introduced fewer socio-economic reforms to alleviate the distresses of the people whom they ruled. Their rule was remarkably known for its contradictions in all the spheres – political, economic and socio-cultural. All these led to the inevitable result of anti-British feelings, and finally the national movement.

By the mid-19th century, the British had firmly established themselves in Uttara Kannada, and the imprints of their rule could be felt by the subjects in almost all areas of governance. However, they always experimented, and the domination and its trajectories were ever expanding.

The revenue administration was aimed at maximisation of revenue to the government. As elsewhere in India, the bulk of state revenue was from land or agriculture. The land revenue system introduced in the region was Ryotwari in character. This was done by Sir Thomas Munro, the first Collector of the Province and the Madras Government in the beginning of the 19th century taking into consideration the age-old practice of owning hereditary private property or the *Mulawarg* system of landholding prevalent in the region. In this system, the ryot or the landholder had the *patta* or the title deed, and he had to pay the land revenue share of the Government directly, and there was no intermediary between them. Though theoretically this is very appealing, in reality, many ryots were not just ryots or cultivators by themselves, but were in fact landlords or zamindars. This was due to the large areas of land that many of them had owned, and which could not be cultivated and managed themselves by hiring agricultural labourers. Obviously, many of the ryots had to lease out their lands for cultivation to the tenants under the various systems of tenancy prevalent in the region like *mulageni*, *chalageni*, *nigadi* and *palu*. There were ryots belonging to different categories, rich class, middle class and poor. Further the ryots and the tenants had to borrow the services of agricultural labourers.

The Collector of the district was the revenue head and occupied a prime position in revenue matters. The land revenue settlement of the government was revised every 20 to

30 years period, and during the 19th and 20th centuries, we have noticed four such revisions. They include the original settlement (1862 to 1890), revision of settlement (1890 to 1900), first revision of settlement (1915 to 1917) and second revision of settlement (1942). In each of these settlements, the revenue share of the government was enhanced and it had increased the burden of the ryots and the tenants. In the original settlement, the share of the government was to the tune of 49.60 percent of the gross produce of the district. The government had created a land survey department, and it had begun land survey in 1862 and was completed in 1890. The survey was done phase by phase and it helped the government to fix the revenue assessment on land. The revenue imposed on the ryots without consulting them had resulted in the impoverishment of the ryots and the under tenants. In fact the Vaikunta Bapuji case of 1875 bears testimony to the autocratic behaviour of the colonial authorities in the area of land revenue administration. Many of the ryots failed to meet the revenue demands of the government and fell in arrears. Their lands were confiscated and auctioned out to the highest bidder. There were many instances of coercion, and confiscation of movable properties of the ryots to recover the revenue arrears. The ryots had petitioned to the government indicating their problems in the year 1890, however, the latter did not pay any heed to it. Thus the land revenue administration resulted in great hardships to the ryots and tenants of the region. As the government demanded more and more, the landholders preferred the temporary *chalageni* tenure and transferred their burden on to the tenants. On the whole, there was impoverishment of the ryots and agriculture. The fertility and productivity of land deteriorated. To escape from the problem of losing the land, the poor ryots and tenants either mortgaged their land, crop or movable property, or borrowed loan from the moneylenders. Ultimately, they failed to return the loan and to meet the demands of the ryots and also the government, and had to give up the land. This resulted in large scale transfer of land from the poor ryots or tenants

to the richer ryots or tenants. The general problem of rural indebtedness was experienced by Uttara Kannada also.

Apart from the land revenue, the state also collected various types of taxes such as *abkari*, ferry tolls, stamp duties, sea custom duties, education cess, tax on forest products, municipality tax, etc. All these had resulted in the drain of the inhabitants of the region.

The British had introduced the judicial system to deal with the civil and criminal cases, and to maintain law and order. The Civil Procedure Code (1859), the Indian Penal Procedure Code (1860), the Criminal Procedure Code (1861) were implemented. The gradation of courts like district court, sessions court, district town magistrates court, etc. were introduced. The Cattle Trespassing Act, the Abkari Act, the Bombay Land Revenue Code of 1879, the District Municipality Act, the Indian Forest Acts, etc. had several provisions to be followed by the inhabitants. Whenever they were violated, such cases were dealt according to the provisions of these acts. For example, the case of James London relating to the violation of the forest regulation and the punishment given to him reflected the contradicting and complex nature of the British judicial system in the region. The editors of the newspapers were closely monitored by the authorities, and publication of news items unfavourable to the government was dealt under the criminal law. For example, the case of Pandurang Krishna Shanbhag reflects the nature of press censorship that was practiced in the region.

The police system worked to maintain law and order in the region. There was a hierarchy created here. The Superintendent of Police, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Inspectors and Constables formed the core of the police force. It was divided into

stipendiary and village police. The Collector was also the Magistrate and dealt with cases. The police used coercive measures on the suspected culprits, and also culprits and prisoners to extract the truth from them. They also tortured the ryots who were in arrears to the government, the family members of the freedom fighters and those who had unknowingly violated the forest regulations. Both the judicial and police officials were harsh towards the natives. The condition of the prison was precarious. The higher posts were mostly reserved to the Europeans.

The British had realised the usefulness of the thickly forested Uttara Kannada district. As in the rest of India, both north and south, in this region also their primary intention was to draw maximum revenue and profit from the forests by extracting their major and minor products. The British government had introduced the Indian Forest Acts of 1865, 1878 and 1927 in India to dominate over the forest resources. Apart from these, in Kanara they had also introduced the Kanara Forest Permit Rules (1864), the Kanara Protected Forest Rules (1890) and the Kanara Forest Privilege Rules (1924) to establish monopoly over the forest resources. The Assistant Conservator of Forests was appointed in 1864, and the Forest Settlement Officer was appointed in 1879, and the forest settlement (survey) was conducted between 1888 and 1907. The forests were surveyed, mapped and classified. As a result of the forest acts and their provisions, the earlier traditional privileges were converted into concessions, and the inhabitants, particularly the peasants, artisans and the poor villagers suffered. It had affected the traditional *kumri* cultivators as well. They tried to ban *kumri* cultivation by arguing that it destroyed the forests and ecology. For example, it was banned in Supa *peta* in 1887. There were instances of the *kumri* agitation organised in 1895 and again in 1908. The forest department provided useful and durable qualities of timber to the British to be used on commercial scale for the

railways and construction of ships in India, and also for export to Britain to meet their demands. It is said that the forest department always showed surplus, and obviously the colonial authorities concentrated on this branch of administration. Due to their developed technologies, they could fell and transport large quantities of wood from the forests of the Western Ghats in Kanara, and this led to denudation of the forests in the region. The earlier mixed rain forests were converted into commercial teak plantations. Not only the major forest products, but also the minor forest products like lac, *shigekai*, honey, myrabolan, etc. were also collected and exported. The traditional artisans found it extremely difficult to get the raw materials for their crafts, and as a result they dwindled and their living suffered. The peasants and villagers could not cut wood without licence. Even the collection of firewood, dried and green leaves and grazing of their cattle became extremely difficult. The ryots organised the *hullubanni* satyagraha in the year 1930. The government levied tax on the *betta* land which was traditionally used by the cultivators as auxiliary land for getting manure, wood, etc. required for cultivation. However, the colonial government always claimed that it introduced scientific forestry and the forest management system in India. In reaction to these forest policies, the inhabitants reacted sharply and opposed the government. Subsequently, the colonial forest policies were vehemently criticised and questioned by the nationalists, historians and ecologists. The well-known ecologists and historians like Madhav Gadgil, Ramachandra Guha, Ranjan Chakrabarty and others have rightly criticised the British for exploiting the Indian forest resources, and serving the commercial needs of British India and Britain. Gadgil and Guha have described the British colonialism as an ecological watershed in the environmental history of India.²

The economic and social policies pursued by the colonial government were aimed at serving their needs in India and the Home Government. The policies in the areas of

agriculture, industry, trade, taxes, duties, etc. were favourable to them. They did not introduce ameliorative measures to assist Indian peasants and artisans. Both agriculture and traditional industry, the two basic pillars of pre-British Indian economy collapsed during their regime. There was no attempt made to develop modern industries with a view to develop India. For example, saw mills were set up at Dandeli and Kiravatti to serve their commercial interests. Even the port of Karwar was not developed. The transport and communication networks were set up to serve their needs. The natives took initiative through agricultural associations in providing loans, seeds, agricultural implements and fertilisers to the peasants.

In the social field, there was discrimination done to the inhabitants in terms of jobs even if they had the qualifications. The educational efforts of the government and investments were not considerable. However, the education imparted was secular and there was no gender and caste bias. Though the Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929 was passed, it did not have much impact on the society.

The administrative, economic and social policies of the British government had tremendous impact on the political, economic and social profile of the region of Uttara Kannada. The region saw the ruin of agriculture and artisanal activities. There was emergence of commercial plantation in the forests of the region. The agrarian relations underwent changes due to the land revenue system, high incidence of taxes, impoverishment of the ryots, revenue arrears, land or crop mortgaging, etc. It resulted in the emergence of the moneylenders, either the zamindar like ryots or businessmen or merchant moneylenders. Their emergence was predominant in the region and they exploited the poor and uneducated ryots, tenants and villagers. They generally belonged to

the higher social classes like the Gouda Saraswats, Nadors, etc. They were hands in glove with the British revenue officers and exploited the disadvantaged positions of the poor ryots, and were in a way collaborating with the colonial authorities. The new class of forest contractors emerged, and assisted the British in cutting and transporting timber and other forest products to their places of export, particularly the port towns. The lives of the poor ryots and agricultural labourers were miserable.

The administrative changes and their impact explained above have affected the politics of the region. The attitude of the government, curtailment of the civil rights like freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, etc. and the harsh punishments to those who questioned the government were really suppressive in nature. At the same time, positive influences of the English education, legal system, representative institutions, and political ideas that filtered down to this area through newspapers published inside Karnataka and elsewhere, particularly Bombay, and the influence of the political leaders from outside the district played a positive role in the emergence of political consciousness in the region. When we observe the reactions to the colonial government, two phases are noticed. Firstly, the anti-British movements were not organised and were not influenced by any developed political or nationalist ideology. Whereas in the second phase, such movements were informed by the nationalist ideology, and were more organised. The first opposition was against the revision of land revenue assessment that erupted in 1872 in Karwar taluk and in some parts of Sirsi and Yellapur taluks. They sent petitions to the government pleading not to implement the Bombay Survey Act I of 1865 in the region. However, the government turned deaf ear towards the same and finally it was decided against the ryots. In the year 1887, thousands of ryots of the region formed the *Vana-Dukha Niwarana Sabha* and sent memorial to the government

to relax the forest regulations to enable them to obtain the facilities of grass land, dry crop land, and *betta* land. However, the government was unkind to them and banned the *Sabha*. In these movements, we see no political ideology, and nationalist sentiments were absent. They were the results of the economic sufferings of the people of the region. In the words of Eric Stokes and Sumit Sarkar, they could be considered as primary resistance movements.³ In the beginning of the 20th century, the region was influenced by the nationalist movement carried out by the Indian National Congress. In 1906, the region witnessed swadeshi and boycott movements due to the influence of B.G.Tilak's campaign. In this campaign, even the women of the region participated. In the 1920s, the region was much influenced by the political struggle carried out by M.K. Gandhi. In 1920, the *Kanada Jilla Parishat* was organised in Karwar, and it was decided to support the non-cooperation movement led by M.K.Gandhi. The region actively participated in the non-cooperation movement. The next phase was that of the civil disobedience movement, in which the salt satyagraha, forest satyagraha and no-tax campaign were organised, and the participants including women faced severe suppression and atrocities of the policemen. The ideology of swadeshi and boycott were followed rigorously. The Quit India movement was organised by the local youths and was successful in destroying government properties, symbols of authority, etc. However, we have come across instance of influential people like zamindars collaborating with the British even as late as 1945 also. The nadors and havik brahmins provided leadership in these nationalist movements. The participation of women was indeed remarkable. The major factor behind these movements of the early decades of the 20th century was patriotism or the nationalist ideology. Therefore, borrowing the categorisation done by Eric Stokes and Sumit Sarkar, they may be considered as secondary resistance movements.⁴ Thus, the experience of colonial Uttara Kannada was not much different from the rest of British India. The region saw

underdevelopment, and the people experienced contradictions and sufferings. The region of Uttara Kannada became free with the rest of British India on 15th August 1947.

¹. B. Surendra Rao, "Gazetteers in Colonial Subjectification: Sturrock's Manual of South Canara", in M. Mukunda Prabhu (Ed.), *POLI Canara 200* (A commemorative volume for Canara 200), Mangalore, 2000, pp.17-26; Satish Gatti, "The Furniture of Empire: A Study of the Gazetteers and District Manuals of Coorg, South Kanara and Malabar" , Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, Mangalore University, 1995. For details on "pillars of administration", see Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, New Delhi, reprint 2013, pp. 108-14. For details on apparatus of rule, see Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition A History of Modern India*, New Delhi, 2004, pp.96-113.

². Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land, Op. Cit.*, pp.116-34.

³ Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj*, New Delhi, 1978, pp.120-23; Sumit Sarkar, *Popular movements and Middle Class Leadership in Late Colonial India: Perspectives and Problems of a History from Below*, Calcutta, 1983, p.5.

⁴ *Ibid.*



1. District Collector's Office, Karwar



2. District Session Court of Karwar

3 & 4. Poojageri village, from where sea water was collected for Salt Satyagraha





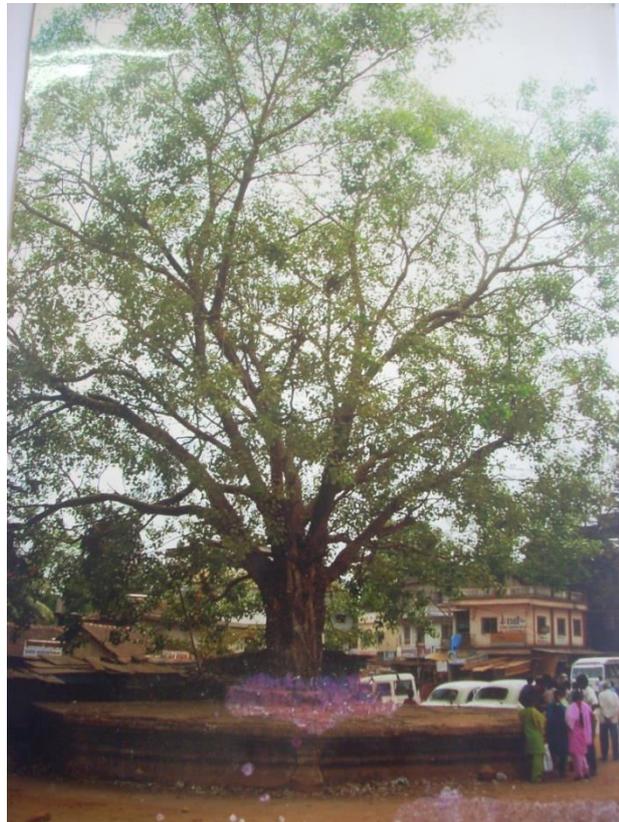
5. Organisation of Salt Satyagraha, 1930



6. Kalasha temple at Surve, where the peasants of Ankola taluk decided to participate in no-tax campaign.



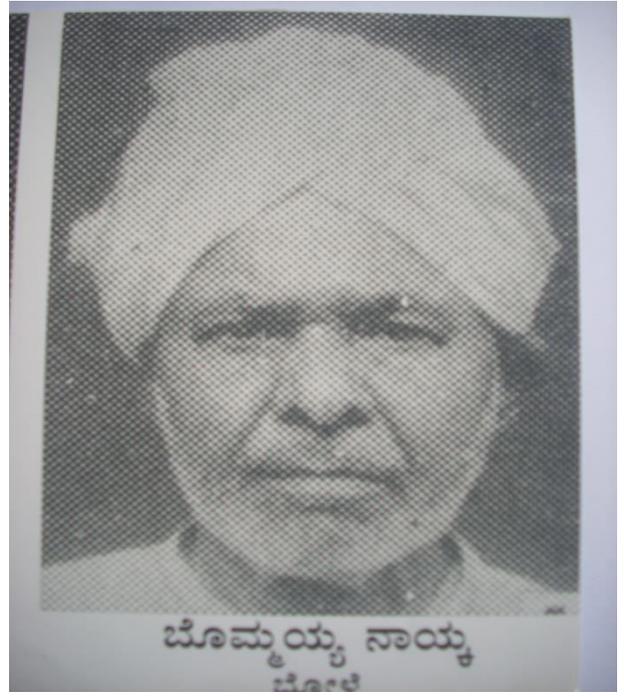
7. Uluvare Tare where ferry boat of the government was burnt during the Quit India Movement



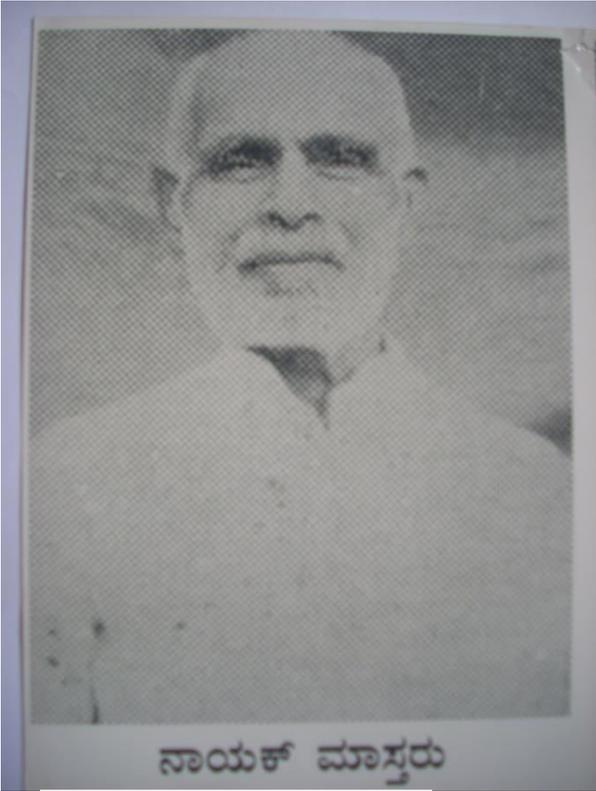
8. Gandhi Maidan, Ankola where the ryots used to meet in Ankola taluk for their political movements.



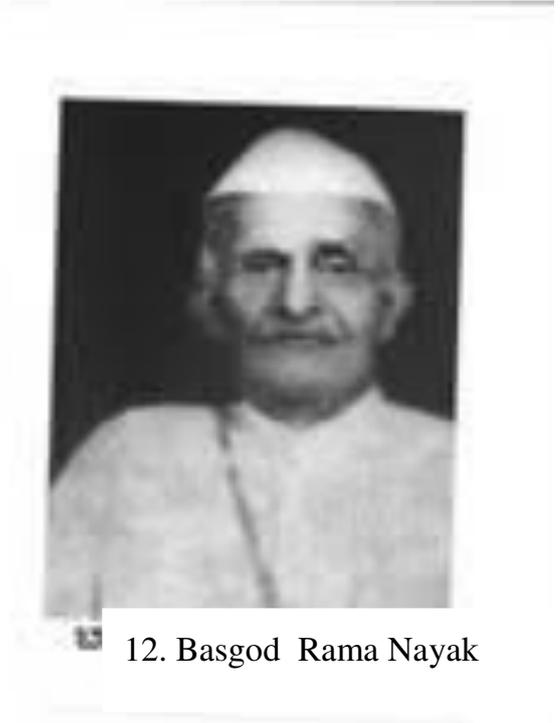
9. Kaane Bommakka



10. Bole Bommayya Nayak



11. Timmappa Nayak



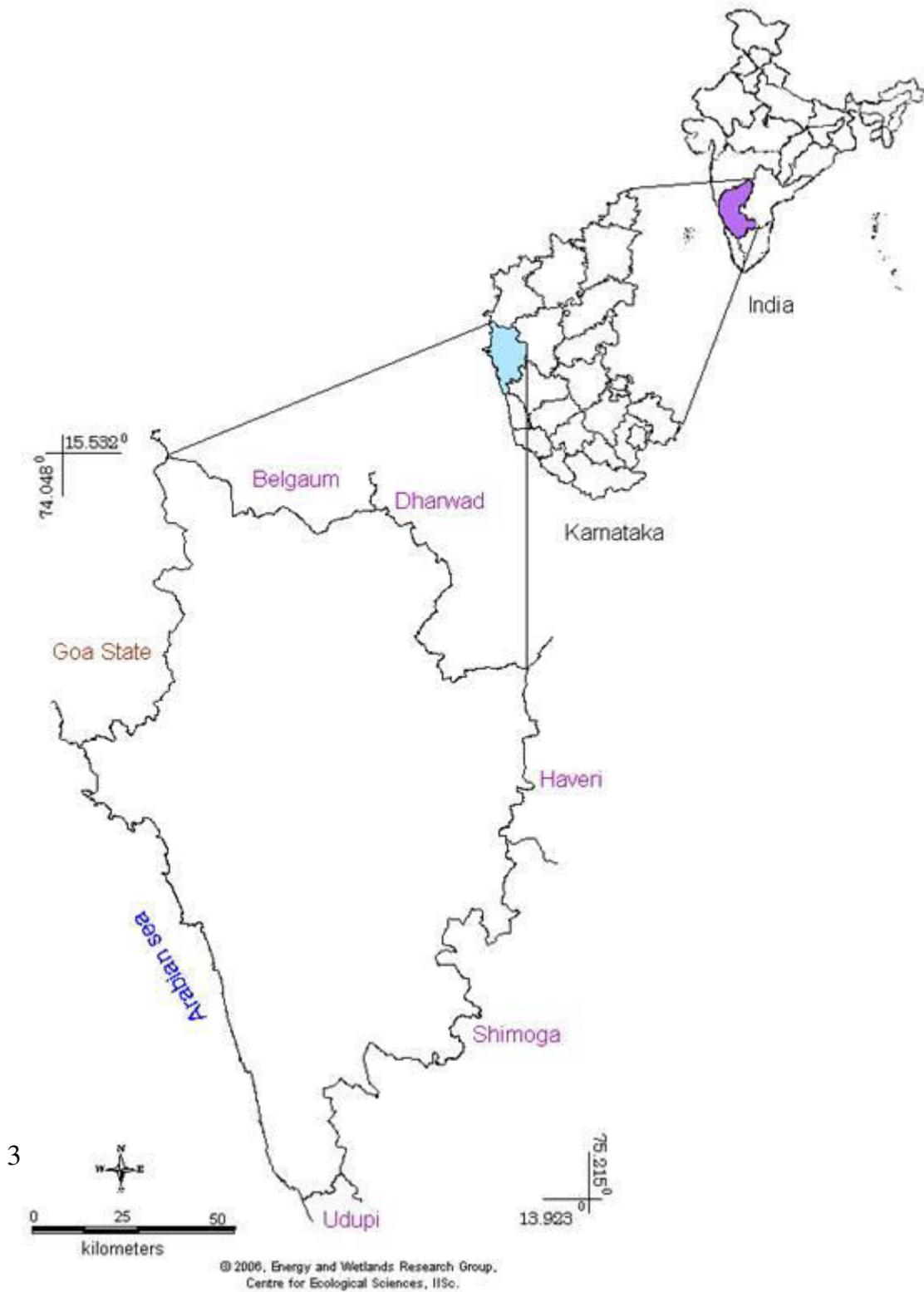
12. Basgod Rama Nayak



6. The *Betta* Land.

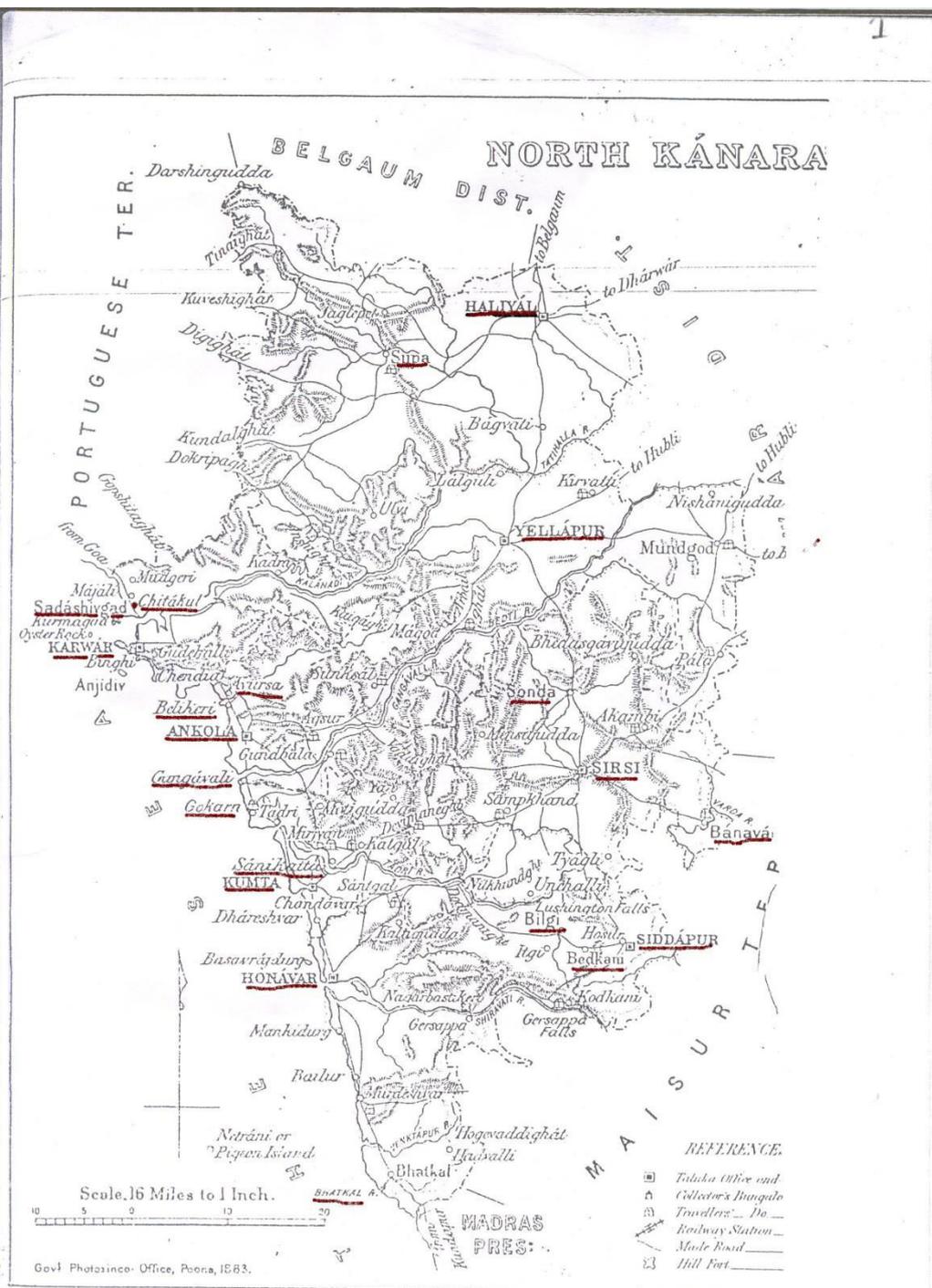
Source: Manju Menon, “Property, Sustainable Agriculture and Forest Management:

Rights or Freedoms”. <http://naturecode.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Manju-Menon-Property-sd-Agriculture-and-Forests-Managemant-Rights-or-Freedom.pdf>.



1. Location of the District in India.

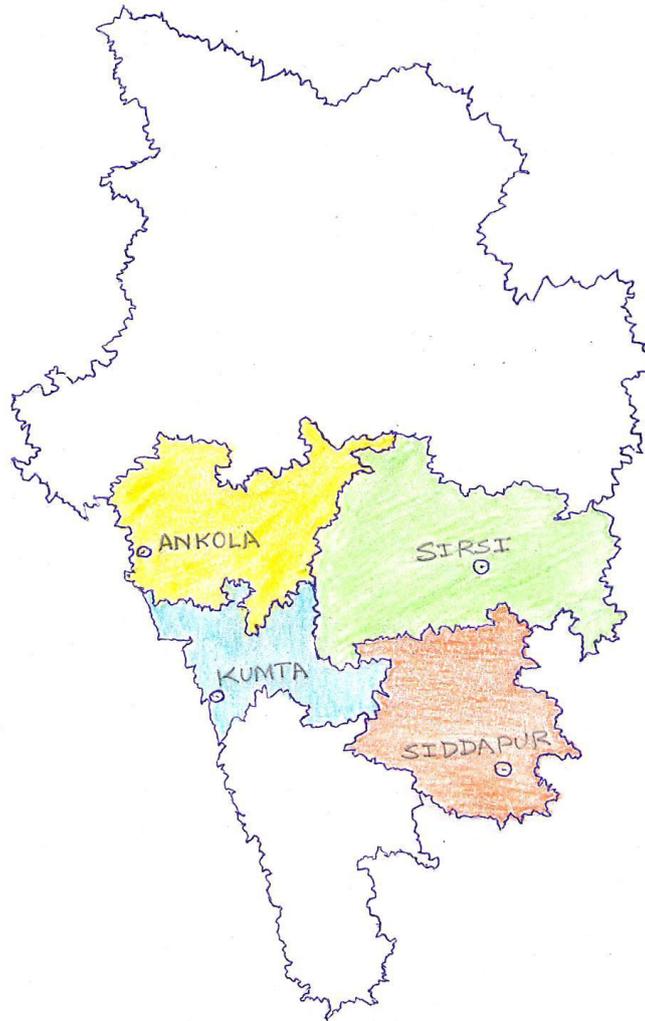
Source: www.google.co.in/search?q=uttara+kannada&rlz=1C1CHMO



2. Map of Uttara Kannada 1883.

Source: Annual Administration Report, 1875, MSA.

EPICENTRES OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT



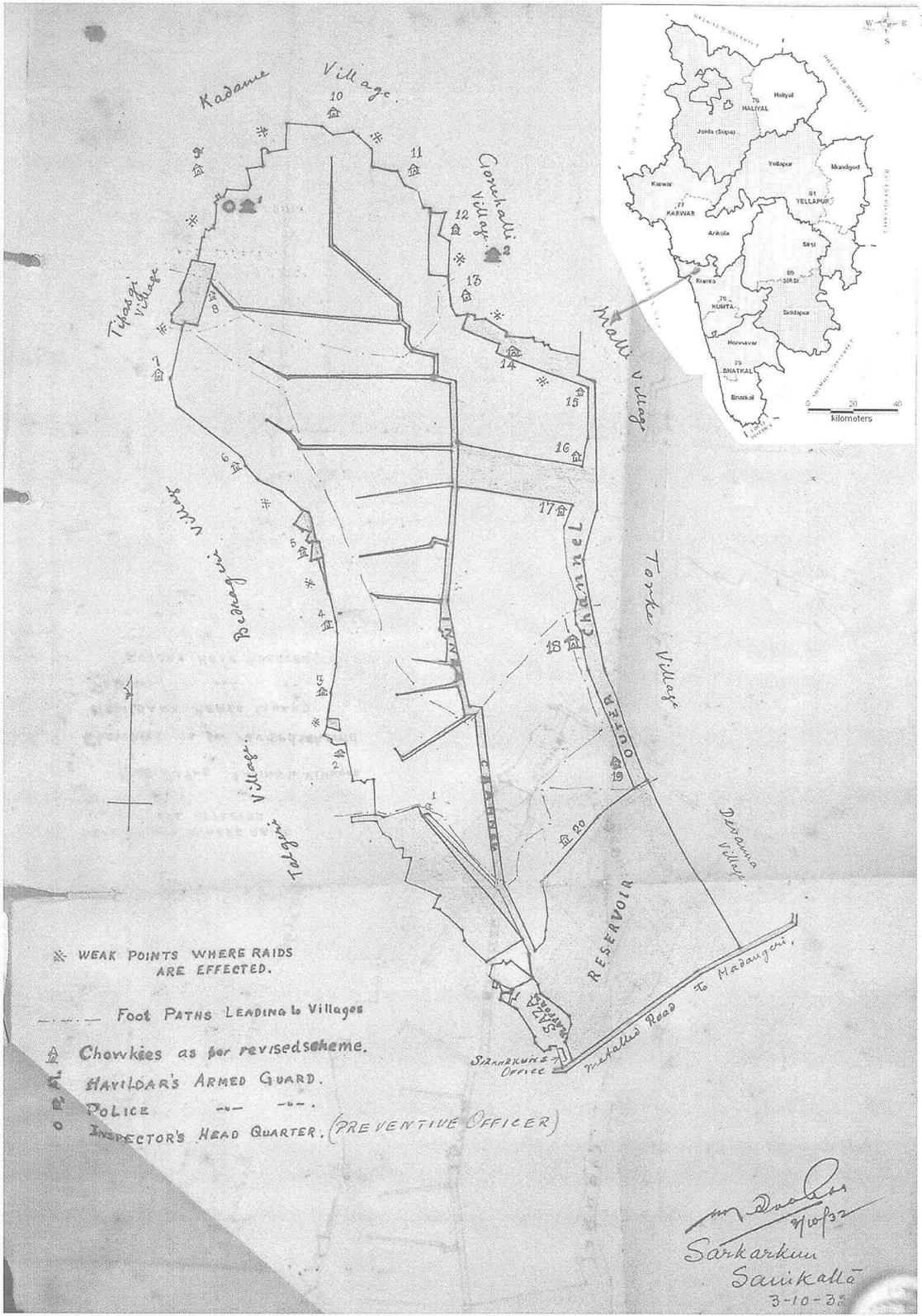
3. Epicentres of Freedom Movement.

ANKOLA TALUK IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

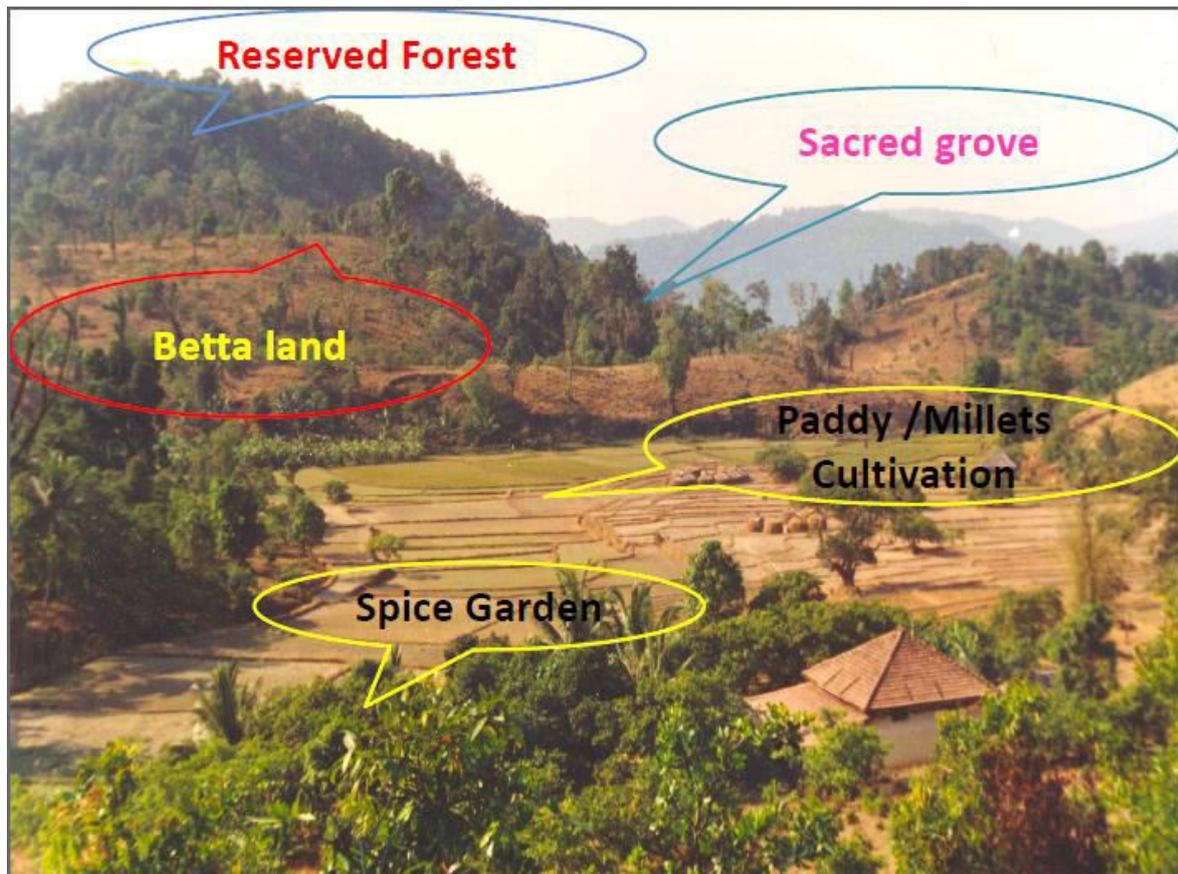


MAP NOT TO SCALE

4. Ankola taluk in the Freedom Movement.



5. Map of Sanikatta salt pan raided by local inhabitants during the Salt Satyagraha in 1930.
 Source: Home Special, 800 (55) C, MSA.



6. The *Betta* Land.

Source: Manju Menon, "Property, Sustainable Agriculture and Forest Management:

Rights or Freedoms". <http://naturecode.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Manju-Menon-Property-sd-Agriculture-and-Forests-Managemant-Rights-or-Freedom.pdf>.

Appendix I: Telegram sent by woman satyagrahis Kallala Kaveramma, dated 22nd April 1932.

Source: Home Dept. (Spl.), 800 (41) D., 1931-32.

TELEGRAM ~~SECRET~~

^{April}
Dated the 22nd March 1932.

From - Kaveramma Kallal ^{H/-D}

From - Siddapur.

To - Home Member, Bombay Govt.

To - Bombay.

Respected Sir. Police zulum becoming unbearable. Heavy beating of men, women, children everyday affair. On seventeenth, we Kaveramma and three other women called to taluka Macheri at 10 a.m; detained till after office hours; the premises kept on guard. We taken in office Inspector, poured base abuse. threatened violation, pulled sarees severely pounded with gunstocks and lathis; dragged like cattle, unconscious. We wired Collector and Police Superintendent. No reply, kindly help.

True copy.

[Signature]

Supdt H.D. (Spl.)

The Bombay Chronicle
29th June 1934.

800 (85) 122

KANARA FARMERS WHO LOST THEIR ALL

Provincial Congress Com- mittee's Move To Organise Relief

(From Our Correspondent).

DHARWAR, June 26.

The meeting of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee's Council was held in the Office of the K.P.C.C. on Sunday evening. Messrs. Gangadharrao Deshpande, Narayanrao Joshi, Balvantrao Datar from Belgaum; Mr. T. Subramanyam from Bellary. Dr. Hulyalkar from Jamakhandi, Messrs. Hanamantarao Mohare and Hanamantrao Kaujalgi from Bijapur, Messrs. Shankarrao Gulavati, and Subrao Haladipurkar from Karwar and Messrs. R. S. Hukkerikar, D. P. Karmarkar, Dr. Kabbur and few others from Dharwar were present in the meeting.

Dr. Hardikar sent a telegram from Bombay, stating that owing to previous engagement with Mahatmaji he was unable to attend the meeting. Mr. Narayanrao Joshi of Belgaum was voted to the chair. The principal question which occupied the attention of the meeting was the question of giving relief to the farmers of Karwar who lost their all in the last C. D. Movement. After a good deal of discussion the following resolutions were passed:—

REORGANISATION.

(1) Resolved that a Committee of the following members should tour in the province for reorganisation of Congress work.

1. Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande; 2. Sjt. Siddappa Hosmani; 3. Sjt. Gudleppa Hallikeri; 4. Sjt. Hanamantrao Kaujalgi; 5. Sjt. D. P. Karmarkar; 6. Sjt. R. S. Kukkrikar with Hallikeri as secretary.

FOR ELECTIONS.

(2) This council recommends Mr. Gangadharrao, Mr. Sadashivrao, Mr. T. Subramanyam for being co-opted by the Congress Parliamentary Board. The secretary should write a letter to the C. P. B. that they should consult the co-opted members while selecting Assembly candidates for the following constituencies:—

1. Ceded districts and Chitloor; 2. South Kanara and North Malabar.

(3) This Council accepts all

the resolutions passed by the A. I. C. C. at Patna and the Working Committee in its meetings at Wardha and Bombay and requests all the District Congress Committees in the province to adopt immediate measures to work them out.

NO-TAX FARMERS.

(4) This Council is of opinion that it is necessary to make the best possible attempts to rehabilitate the farmers of Kanara whose lands and also in some cases houses have been forfeited; and the Council hereby calls upon all District Congress Committees and subordinate bodies to immediately organise collection for these farmers of Kanara.

The Council appointed a Committee of the following persons to take all necessary steps for collections and relief. 1. Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande; 2. Sjt. S. R. Haladipurkar; 3. Sjt. Narayanrao Joshi; 4. Sjt. Siddappa Hosmani; 5. Sjt. Hanamantrao Kaujalgi; 6. Sjt. R. S. Padabidri; 7. D. P. Karmarkar; 8. R. S. Hukkerikar; with Messrs. S. R. Haladipurkar as secretaries.

That till this Committee is able to make definite arrangements about the relief to the peasants, the present arrangements should continue under the directions of Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande.

KHADI.

(5) This Council requests Congressmen in the Province to help the A. I. S. A. to increase the Khaddar sales in the Province by arranging hawking, holding exhibitions and by carrying on all other necessary activities. It further appeals to the people of Karnatak to wear Khadi to the exclusion of Mill-made cloth.

CHILDREN'S HOMES.

(6) This Council accepts the Committee appointed by the Congress workers met at Gadag on 10th May for the management of the Children's Houses at Shimoga and Karwar.

Appendix IV: List of Freedom Fighters who were convicted during the time of Civil Disobedience Movement.

Source: Home (Spl.), 800, 1932.

R. J. No. S. D. 7694

List of prisoners who are considered to be the leaders and have taken a prominent part in the present civil disobedience movement in the Kanara District.

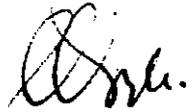
1. Subrao Dattatraya Nadkarni. Landholder, Ankola.
(Transferred to Visapur Temporary Prison.)
2. Waman Anant Hodke, Secretary Sirsi Taluka Congress Committee. (Transferred to Visapur Temp. Prison)
3. Hari Anant Pai, Ankola, Secretary District Congress Committee.
4. Shivrao Shivram Shastri, Honavar, Member Kanara District Congress Committee (Transferred to Ratnagiri District Prison).
5. Shivrao Pandurang Telang, Member, Ankola Taluka Congress Committee.
6. Hariyappa Ramkrishna Rajvaidya, Bilgi, Member Siddapur Taluka Congress Committee.
7. Timmappa Shrinivas Haik, Member Sirsi Taluka Congress Committee. (Transferred to Visapur Temporary Prison).
8. Shankar Subrao Gulwadi, Kumta, local prominent agitator.
9. Ramrao Balkrishna Nadkarni, Ankola, Local prominent agitator.
10. Ramkrishna Pursu Maik of Bhasgod, Ankola, Local prominent agitator.
11. Ganpati Mahadev Kamat, Ankola, Treasurer Kanara District Congress Committee. (Transferred to Visapur Temporary Prison).
12. Gopal Waman Madgaonkar, Sirsi, Local prominent agitator.
13. Gopal Laxman Kini, Sirsi, -do-
14. Shankar Dattatraya Desai, Ankola, -do-
(Transferred to Visapur Temporary Prison).
15. Kamalkar Govind Swadi, Sirsi, Local prominent agitator.
(Transferred to Belgaum Central Prison).

No. 775 of 1932.
Inspector General of Prisons' Office:
Poona, 25th August 1932.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special), Poona.

Forwarded with compliments for information in continuation of this office Un-official Reference No. 754, (Confidential), dated 18th August 1932.


Lt-Col. I.M.S.,
Inspector General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Source : Home (Spl.), 700, 30, pt. II.

S-175
343
171
208
171
5

To,

The Commissioner of Excise,
Bombay.

The most humble petition of

Ambrose Gonsalves,

Licensee of Country Liquor and Toddy shop
Honavar Kasba.

30th March 1931.

Respected Sir,

It has probably come to your notice that very vigorous picketing is going on since the 15th of this month in front of my shops by Satyagrahis. They come to the shops at daybreak and wait there till late hours at night. For this purpose they light themselves by Petromax and Kitson lights. This action on their part has very seriously affected my sales. Especially the toddy shop shows no sales at all and the toddy which converts itself in a very short space of time and thus renders itself useless for all purposes is to me a losing concern. I am therefore at a loss to know what I should do in the matter.

This has affected Government revenue also as there will be no purchases from me for the shops from the Government Bonded Warehouse at Kumta.

The facts that the Government are losing some amount on account of absence of purchases and also the fact that I am heavily losing on account of absence of sales as a result of very vigorous picketing was brought by me to the notice of the Mamlatdar of Honavar. But no way could be found through which to avoid the picketing etc.

I therefore earnestly pray that I may be advised in the matter. I also pray that some remission be given to me out of the amount bid an instalment of which I shall have very shortly to pay.

For which act of kindness I pray.

I remain, etc.

Sd/- A. GONSALVES.

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