CHAPTER VII
FAMINES

The famines which have desolated India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were unexampled in their extent and intensity in the history of ancient or modern times – R.C. Dutt

Famines has been defined as 'a state of extreme hunger suffered by the population of a region as a result of the failure of the accustomed food supply'. According to Leela Sami famine could be defined as crisis of 'mortality' and 'crisis of subsistence' while the Famine Commission (1867) defines the word 'famine' in 'its ordinary and popular acceptance' as 'suffering from hunger on the part of large classes of the population.' Therefore, famine means suffering of large population and cattle due to shortage or non-availability of food, fodder, water etc. for survival.

India has suffered from famines since time immemorial, the earliest reference to famine in India found in the Rigveda. In the third book of the Rigveda in hymn 8, a prayer is offered "to drive poverty and famine far from us", while in hymn 53 of the same book, the danger of famine having been dispelled is mentioned.

Famine in India occur due to various reasons such as the failure of monsoons, lack of sufficient production of food grains either due to shortage or excess of rainfall or due to natural calamities, and incompetence on the part of the government to take necessary preventive measures. According to the Famine Commission of 1880 the immediate cause of famine in India was almost invariably traceable to drought or unseasonal rains. Obviously, the failure of monsoons was beyond human control and was more or less nature's whim. But with regard to production of food grain or...
taking necessary preventive measures such as shortage of grains, fodder and other essential commodities was not beyond government’s ability to cope with.  

Therefore, as a matter of fact, we can argue that, due to lapse on the part of Bombay Government, famines reoccurred year after year with more severity, more extent and more intensity. The situation went on becoming difficult year after year, as we have discussed in the earlier chapter (IV and V) that colonial government’s policies were responsible for backwardness of agriculture, and the excessive land revenue under ryotwari system rack rented the peasantry. Thus, as a result of colonial economic policies, the entire population was increasingly thrown on agriculture as the principle source of livelihood.  

In England, in the nineteenth century, labour was released from agriculture to provide wage labour to the expanding industries, while in India manufacturing industry threw out labour to be absorbed in stagnating agriculture. The burden on agriculture increased for other reasons too, such as the expenditure of the government. J.T. Sunderland wrote, on the causes of Indian famines stated “it has often been pointed out that the British Government in India is the most expensive government in the world. The reason is it is the government of the foreigners. Besides the cost of imperial wars in Burma and Afghanistan, in fact, the fund collected in the name of famine was spent on Afghan war.  

The principal sources of revenue to the colonial government were land revenue, excise, salt tax, stamps, and opium. Leaving aside the opium revenue, the burden of all these taxes feel on the rural classes in general and the poorer classes in particular. As the land tax was the important source of revenue, with the
expanding expenditure of the state, the government squeezed the agriculturist more and more to exact the land revenue at every revision settlement. Consequently the cultivators' the population dependent on agriculture and the poor masses suffered severely due to recurrent famines in Bombay Presidency in general and Bombay Karnataka in particular. Nevertheless the famines provided opportunity for the nationalist leaders, nationalist newspapers to awaken the masses about the true nature of colonial rate and spreading the spirit of nationalism.

The whole of Bombay Presidency suffered from the severe famines under colonial rule, but the Deccan part particularly Bombay Karnataka region suffered to great extent due to recurrent famines. Among the districts of Bombay Karnataka as we have already mentioned Bijapur fall in driest zone and it was victim of famines with unprecedented level of tolls of life. Famines in Bijapur were more severe and more widespread beginning with the famine of 1818-1820, 1824-25, 1832, 1853-54, 1863-67, 1871-72, 1876-77.14 The famine of 1876-77 was the most severe ever visited Bijapur. Famines of 1891-92, the greatest famine of 1896-97 of 1899-1900, 1905-06, 1911-12, 1918-19, 1920-21, 1923-24, 1926-27, 1936, 1941, 1945, 1947.15

In Dharwad also famine became repeatedly visited 1824, 1832, 1866, 1876-77, 1891-92, 1896-97, 1899-1900, 1911-12, 1920-21, 1942-43, 1945-46.16 The Belgaum district too suffered with recurrent famines starting from 1832-33, 1853, 1876-77, 1879, 1891, 1896-97, 1898-1902, 1905-06, 1911-12, 1941, 1945.17 Since Kanara falls in Western Ghat and predominantly forest district there was less visitation famine. So except Kanara the Bombay Karantaka region, it is evident that recurrent famine became common phenomena under colonial rule.
Among these the more widespread, in their extent and intensity were the famines of 1877 and 1878, of 1889 and 1892, of 1896 and 1900, these famines were the worst famines ever visited India and over fifteen million people fell victim to these famines, followed by epidemics within a period of 25 years.18

The Great Famine of 1876-78

The famine of 1876-78 was the most grievous calamity of its kind that India had experienced till that date.19 In fact it was one of the worst famines of the century stalked the Bombay Karnataka. Rain failed all over Bombay Karnataka. In the whole of Bijapur and considerable portion of Dharwar and Belgaum and acute famine conditions prevailed.20 The famine was of severe nature resulted in widespread damage of kharif crops, the actual outturn was 5.2 per cent in Kaladgi (Bijapur).21

As the crops have completely failed, the scarcity of food grain, fodder and water felt very sharply throughout Bombay Karnataka. The prices of food grains rose very high and the common people were not in a position to purchase them for instance the price of Jawar in Dharwar rose to 4½ seers in August 1877 and fell to 14½ seers in November of the same year. In Belgaum prices remained steady till June 1877.22 In Bijapur the rupee price of Jawar rose from thirteen pounds to eleven pounds.23 In fact the price of Jawar in 1824-25 was thirty-two pounds to the rupee.24

The deficiency in food supply was accompanied by cholera and the epidemics of small pox and fevers. The excess of mortality in 1877 and 1878 over the normal death rate of 3.5 per cent per annum was 8 lakh lives in the 9 districts of Bombay Deccan (Bijapur, Dharwar, Belgaum, Satara, Khandish, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Poona, Sholapur).25 In fact the government measures were inadequate and it was in a
dilemma that if they allowed people to stay away from relief camps, their responsibility of saving every life imposed on them by the declared policy of the central government, could not be discharged and if they paid the wage rates the labourers wanted, they went against the instructions of Sir Richard Temple. Thus this dilemma government left the people in severe distress, due to severe famine.

The famine brought severe misery not only to the masses but also to the animals. The district of Bijapur severely suffered due to shortage of fodder, for instance fodder was very scarce, a bundle, which in ordinary years cost 4½ d (3 as) could not be had for 85 (Rs. 4) in Bijapur district. Thus large number of cattle either died for want of fodder, water or sold at very minute price, in fact the buyers were butchers.

The severity of the famine continued throughout the Bombay Karnataka region, and the relief expenditure of government was inadequate, for example, Relief expenditure per head of the population on government relief during famine of 1877 in Bombay Presidency was Rs. 3, AS-1, PS-7, which was so meager that it could not provide a single meal in two or three days.

The major relief work undertaken by the Bombay government in Bombay Karnataka was Gokak canal, in fact it was very early but due to lack of government interest to invest money, it was neglected. In 1876 the government signed an agreement with the Ritchie Steward and Company to provide constant flow of 17 cubic feet per second. Therefore, the Bombay Government ordered the commencement of the canal as a famine work. As a matter of fact the Government never wanted to spend money for the welfare of the people from whom it borrows,
for instance the Government planned the scheme of Doni canal in Bijapur to undertake the project as relief measure in 1877, but was abandoned stating that the cost of payment for acquiring land would be more. Here it appears very clear that the government was not concerned about the sufferings of the people, instead it was more concerned about income to its treasury.

Under the grave conditions, the people severely suffered for the want of food, the government did not take proper care to import food grains from other places, as a result the prices of food grains rose very high. Therefore the poor people ate as vegetables the leaves of tree shrubs and creepers which are not eaten in ordinary years like the tamarind chinch (M) or hunchi, Gokharu or velamuchyaka, malavari etc while neem leaves were used to feed the cattle in Bijapur.

In spite of such a grave famine conditions, the land revenue in Dharwar and Bijapur increased by Rs. 89,767 and Rs. 43,135 respectively. Again in 1876-77 an increase in land revenue is recorded both in Dharwar and Bijapur. In Dharwad it was by Rs. 46,981, in Bijapur by Rs. 34,237, it was increased as a result of revised survey rates. In 1877-78 Dharwad showed an increase of Rs. 27,737 over the land revenue of the previous year. In the following year (1878-79) the most noticeable increase in land revenue was in Dharwad (Rs. 1,12,466) and it was mainly due to the introduction of higher rates of assessment under the revision survey. It shows the colonial policy how sincerely it was executed when the large number of poor people eating grass for survival. The land revenue did not suspended or given remission but rather increased under such circumstances.
The fundamental question arises here, how can the poor people survive, when they do not get even a piece of bread to eat, filling their stomach by eating grass, from where they can pay the land revenue? As a result of such a colonial policy thousands and thousands people perished. The Famine Commission estimated that in the two famine years of 1877 and 1878 about 52,50,000 persons died from starvation in India.33

Despite of these miserable conditions the Government claimed that low percentage of the people were affected, low percentage of the mortality caused and sufficient rates of water, and charitable expenditure were incurred. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha played very active role in exposing the naked truth of the government. The Sabha sent its agents to far distant affected districts and collected correct information.

Firstly, the Sabha questions that Sir Richard Temple in his minute endeavored to show that between five and ten per cent of the people were in the worst period of famine, affected by the pressure of the times, and that this pressure was confined to the humble castes and classes of field labours, of rude artisans, and of village menial. A comparatively small portion of the lesser ryots and the subordinate cultivators resorted to relief works, but the mass of the ryots, or the peasant proprietary, who constitute the real backbone of the agricultural community never came on relief at all.35

The reality was that, percentage of affected population was as high as 50 to 60 percent on the average of the best and worst districts. The personal experiences of the agents of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Bombay Relief Committee, who were
deputed to distribute the charitable funds entrusted to these bodies revealed that Bipaur represent the worst portion of the famine area. The decline of population in the District of Bijapur was as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Taluka</th>
<th>Population in July, 1876</th>
<th>No. of persons emigrated, dead, or disappeared</th>
<th>Population in July, 1877</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sindgi</td>
<td>1,05,291</td>
<td>23,718</td>
<td>75,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudebihal</td>
<td>83,741</td>
<td>20,119</td>
<td>63,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indi</td>
<td>1,02,737</td>
<td>35,639</td>
<td>67,098</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures show that from 25 to 35 per cent of the population were driven away by distress to leave their homes, or perished from hunger and exhaustion.35

Let's see population of three taluka's from the Bijapur district between July, 1876-July, 1877 and January, 1878.36

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Talukas</th>
<th>Population in July, 1876</th>
<th>Population in July, 1877</th>
<th>Population in January, 1878</th>
<th>Percentage of disappearance or death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muddebihal</td>
<td>83,751</td>
<td>63,622</td>
<td>59,757</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badami</td>
<td>1,30,807</td>
<td>90,400</td>
<td>93,070</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basavan Bagewadi</td>
<td>91,775</td>
<td>72,379</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This was the naked truth revealed by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha's agents, while according to official records the total number of deaths in the Bijapur district in 1877 was 83,000, or nearly 12% of the population perished during the famine year.37

Further, the loss of cattle was also very heavy, during the famine of 1877 was as follows.38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1,12,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td>1,50,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>3,03,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,66,217</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This loss of cattle was, in fact big blow the cultivators, because they felt very difficult in cultivation in the good seasons following the famine years. Not only the population and animals perished but also the cultivated area fallen. For instance, in the two of Belgaum and Bijapur alone the cultivated area had fallen by 2,99,803 acres.39

One thing is clear that the government's half-hearted famine measures could not provide relief to the large number of population, in fact the relief expenditure was paltry. For instance a total sum of Rs. 594,474 on Relief works, and Rs. 83,839 on charity were spent,40 while during the hard and severe famine years of 1876-77 Rs. 37,04,677 land revenue was collected from Bombay Karnataka region, except Kanara41 so one can predict that the providing relief was not important to the government instead collection of revenue was most important, as a result the people of Bombay Karnataka suffered greatly under the colonial rule during the famine of 1876-78.

As a matter of fact even during such a destructive famine, the government collected almost same land revenue, as it was collecting before the famine. For instance the following table makes it clear.

**Revenue collections in the Karnataka (except Kanara) from 1875-76 to 1880-81**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Collection Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1875-76</td>
<td>45,68,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-77</td>
<td>37,04,677*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877-78</td>
<td>44,94,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-79</td>
<td>44,91,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879-80</td>
<td>41,90,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
<td>48,36,396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*year of famine*
It is important to note here that, the excessive land revenue system of the government under severe criticism. The Nationalist leaders passed a resolution in 1896, which says the recurrence of famine were due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment, consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the government both in the civil and the military departments, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the state. So it is clear that the over-assessment was the main reason of poverty, and the poverty is the main cause of recurrent famine, because a single failure of rain causes famine, due to lack of staying power. The Mahratta dated 15th January, 1882 wrote, the conservation of forests, opening of railways and extensions of canals are the three principal remedies suggested for the prevention of famines, but a careful study of the subject leads us to think that those remedies will not answer. From what we have been able to ascertain, we consider that famine are not so much the result of scanty rainfall, or of the want of irrigation works or easy communication, as the result of a costly government, defective system of administration and a rigid and assessments. Forests, railways and canals cannot, jointly or separately, counteract the evils resulting from the three agents. We have pointed out a costly government breaks the very backbone of the ryots with its heavy load of taxes, a defective system of administration does not provide of the real wants of the community, and a heavy assessment destroys the peasantry by forcing it into the clutches of the sawkar and the civil courts.
In fact, the government was doing no more than the duty it owed to those who yearly contribute crores to its treasury. And the government up to the Bihar famine of 1866, had no systematic relief operations. After the severe famine of 1876-78 the Viceroy Lord Lytton appointed a Commission under the presidency of Sir Richard Strachey to formulate general principles and suggest particular measures. As a result Famine Relief policy was embodied in Famine Code, which formulated in 1883 formed a guide and a basis for the various provincial famine codes which were subsequently formulated.

The Famine Code was founded on two postulates first, that the state could not undertake to interfere in every individual and isolated care of distress, but that it would apply its resources, only when 'a natural calamity affecting a material portion of the population of a locality' occurred. Secondly, that an Indian famine, being a problem of temporary lack of employment for the masses of agricultural population, the principal form of relief needed was the opening of relief works and offer a employment to those who needed it. Thus, the Famine Relief Code only provides for two kinds of relief to the able-bodied persons willing to work and relief to the disabled or children of non-working age which means the government promises relief only to such persons as have become destitute and are willing to shift themselves and their families to place where relief works may have been started. And the object of Famine Relief Code was to lay down certain general rules for the guidance of District Officers in times of famine. As a fact it was only in the exceptional cases of non-working, dependents and others unable to work, either due to physical disability and incapacity or due to social compulsions that free kitchens set up.
**Famine of 1879-80**

Before the people of Bombay Karnataka recovered from the heavy losses suffered during the great famine of 1876-77 the excessive and unseasonable rain damaged crops in some parts of Kaladgi (Bijapur) and eastern parts of Dharwar. In Belgaum, the two crops respectively were estimated at 45 and 38 per cent of the normal. Since the famine was not severe, prices did not rise much.

**Famine of 1891-92**

An area of 9,484 sq. miles and a population of 1,146,787 of the three districts of Bombay Karnataka (except Kanara) were affected by the severe famine of 1891-92. The Ramdas wrote on 7th November, 1891, poor people of Bijapur district depending solely upon husbandry for their sustenance, have been struck with dismay at the threatening prospect of famine for want of rain, that some of them, to save themselves, have migrated to other districts that the market prices of provisions have been rising daily, that the cattle are dying in numbers for scarcity of fodder which is felt so much that a cow was sold by the mamalatdar of Muddebihal at an auction sale for a sum of one anna and a quarter, and it is a matter of surprise that Government should have done something as yet to relieve the distressed. Despite of such a severe situation, it clearly shows that government to gain revenue, cattles were sold in auction, the paper prays the government to remit wholly the land assessment for that year. Another native paper Rasik Ranjini dated 19th November, 1891 complained that as there has been no rain throughout the year in the talukas of Gadag, Ron and Navalgund in the Dharwar district nothing need be said about the condition of one crops. Thousands of cattles have already fallen a prey to death for want of fodder and the fate of the surviving, many of which have
been driven to district better favoured with rain, even the butcher does not buy worth hundreds of rupees for eight annas, why should the Deputy Collector trouble himself with matters which do not immediately concern the interests of those whose salt he eats? It is not hard that the interests of the rayats, who are made to pay dearly for the benefit of government, should not be looked to? Behold the humanity of government, who have done nothing to rescue cattle falling into the jaws of death in large numbers for want of grass. The people have become pale with horror at the sudden rise of the prices of corn.57

The government relief measures were inadequate, the wonder was that government did not stop export of food grains to European countries despite terrible famine conditions. The following table clearly shows the quantities of rice and wheat exported from India.58

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1879-80</th>
<th>1880-81</th>
<th>1881-82</th>
<th>1882-83</th>
<th>1883-84</th>
<th>1884-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total two grains</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1885-86</th>
<th>1886-87</th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1890-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total two grains</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1891-92</th>
<th>1892-93</th>
<th>1893-94</th>
<th>1894-95</th>
<th>1895-96</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total two grains</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Shri Siddheswar59 dated 26th November, 1891 wrote India is allowed to export corn in very large quantities even when she is suffering from a terrible famine. The export of corn has added greatly to the miseries of the famine striken people of the Bijapur district. The pieces of all kinds of eatables have gone up and
consequently the death rate has risen to high that some villages have been nearly depopulated. Further the paper strongly urged the government to sop export of corn. On account of scarcity of fodder the ryot of the Bijapur and other Deccan districts sold their cows for rupee per head. The Bombay Samachar dated 17th December, 1891 requested the government for a time to suspend the operations of the principles of free trade by prohibiting the export of wheat and other food grains. The sufferings of the common people were indeed completely neglected by the colonial government. The Kesari of 15th December, 1891 criticized the government, eighty-six percent of the population are agriculturists, who hardly get sufficient food to eat even in the days of abundance. The fact is that at Dharwar and Bijapur bullocks worth Rs. 50 or so a head can be had for less than annas 4 and five cows were sold for a rupee in the cattle market at Sholapur. In fact, the butchers are the only purchasers of cattle. As a matter of fact the quarterly journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha have revealed the fact that how the famine and the forest laws have done their work so notoriously to decrease the cattle up to 1884. In Hubli and Navalgund, the number of working cattle have fallen off from 24,000 to 22,000. In Nargund from 3,775 to 2,546, in Mulgund from 6,539 to 5,265, in Parasgad (Belgaum district) from 21,000 to 14,000. This clearly shows how badly the government provided relief against famine. The primary duty of the government under such circumstances was to look to the necessities of men and cattle. The butchers were the only purchasers. In fact, not for flesh, but for hides, norms and bones. The government hardly tried to import food grains and fodder, as a fact the government did not give any facilities to the people even to bring fodder from other districts by lowering or remitting the railway charges. The deteriorating conditions continued
since the terrible famine of 1876-77 and the ryot have scarcely recovered from its effects. In fact the ryot had no means left to hold out and stand on their own legs.65

The Ramdas66 dated 12th December, 1891 requested the government to advance money to cultivators at their nick of time upon easy terms and called upon the government to arrange sufficient supply of corn. The paper strongly objected the export of corn and urged upon the government to open public corn shops and to fix the prices.67 The wonder was that the government never took these requests and suggestions seriously.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha’s Managing Committee under G.K. Gokhale and S.H. Sathe petitioned the Governor in Council of Bombay to pay attention towards the grave conditions prevalent in Deccan and Bombay Karnataka on 14th January, 1892.68 As a fact whenever the situation was grave the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha played important part. The Sabha sent its agents to different districts affected by famine they collected and forwarded to government accounts of the real state of things.69 In fact on several occasions, on the basis of Sabha’s report and its constant pressure the government recognized officially the prevalence of famine. For instance in 1991-92 the government issued notification recognizing the prevalence of famine in the whole of Bijapur district and parts of Belgaum and Dharwad.70 Otherwise the government underestimated the magnitude of famine. The nationalist papers of Bombay Karnataka repeatedly requested the government to remit the assessment on lands that have yielded no produce, in fact, although the notification was issued nowhere in the affected region any remissions were made. 71
After prolonged agitation by the native nationalist papers, with the support of Mahratta, Kesari, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and nationalist leaders, the Governor of Bombay decided to tour the famine affected districts of Bombay Karnataka. The Karnatak Patra dated 27th December, 1891 wrote “we are glad to learn that His Excellency the Governor has made up his mind to see personally some of the important places which are in a distressed condition – we presume His Excellency proposes to make his tour with the sole object of helping the poor rayats and others out of their present misery and it is hoped that he will not preach to them his usual sermon of “we have no money, you have no right to ask for other’s money”. In fact it was the reality, the wonder was that the rayat contributed crores of rupees to the government treasury every year, but the government says they have no right to ask for others money. It is perhaps clear that the colonial government rules India with the sole motive to drain the wealth of India. Though the Governor of Bombay Lord Harris toured affected area personally, but practically of no use to the common people. The Karnatak Patra dated 4th January, 1892 comments on the speech delivered by the Governor at Gadag (Dharwar district). The Governor said, ‘the government have full confidence in the good sense of the district officers, and his visit was intended simply to acquaint himself with the real condition of the country.” In fact the district officials tried to show him, as if nothing has happened the officials did not take him to the route of suffering, starving rural areas but through the well to do ways, at least artificially to show that the situation was not as grave as the nationalist papers wrote. The wonder was that as Karnatak Patra wrote ‘the governor was not inclined to admit that there was “a dire famine upon us.” But we are at loss to understand why Lord Harris undertook the long journey from Bombay to Gadag, if he could so easily convinced of the real conditions of the
country — Government have full confidence in district officials — if he could have
ordered district officers would have furnished a detailed report.\textsuperscript{76}

Secondly, the Governor referred supply of drinking water in the affected
parts. He said that artesian wells were sunk in the Madras presidency and that his
government had opened correspondence with the Madras government on that
subject with a view to follow the same course in this presidency. As a fact, though he
was informed that any kind of wells sunk in the black soil could give nothing but
brackish water.\textsuperscript{77} Thirdly, the governor said that it was not advisable to interfere
with trade in any way, and advised the leading persons in large towns to form
communities of their own for the purchase and sale of grain at reasonable rates when
grain dealers were found to form a clique for selling grain at exorbitant rates. How
pity the advise was, to promote industries in England and protect the Lancashire
and Manchester, heavy taxes were imposed on Indian manufacturers, but even
during such grave situation the governor says they cannot interfere. The Karnataka
Patra said “we are of the opinion that a certain kind of interference with trade is
indispensable under the present circumstances.\textsuperscript{78}

Fourthly, remission of land revenue was entirely uncalled for in the opinion
of Governor Harris, there being no famine at all. Thousands and thousands of
petitions praying for remission were made to him, but in his opinion, mostly, the
petitions were written by one and the same person. Lord Harris appears to have
drawn the conclusion that the writer of all the petitions was one and the same
person from the fact that all of them invariably prayed for remission of land revenue.
How can he think so? The fact was government wanted revenue at any cost,
sufferings and miseries were not concerned to him. His only assurance was that
postponement of installments would be considered, if recommended by district officers. Practically the district officers never recommended therefore after 1896 famine B.G. Tialk and the agents of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha took the task of awakening the people about their rights. Fifthly, with regard to fodder for cattle, the Governor ridiculed the idea of throwing open the sacred reserved forests for their grazing, the paper wrote. The Governor appears to have formed a very low opinion of the cattle he saw at Gadag, and would, perhaps, be glad to see the whole lot butchers at one stroke without a moment’s thought. The speech of the Governor at Gadag and the comment of the paper clearly indicates that the government held very low opinion about the grave conditions and in fact, it was deliberate negligence on the part of government to relieve the distressed people. If the authority of Governor could speak in that manner, what about the district officials? One can imagine the actions of subordinate officials. For example, a revenue clerk (Indian) at Dharwad preferred suicide to disgrace because, while engaged in the collection of land revenue he had promised to postpone the dues from some cultivators till next year, as they were unable to pay the same the next year owing to a scarcity. He choose death because on one hand he cannot press the cultivators in the other district officials cannot grant remission such was the situation.

Famine of 1896-97

The nineties of the nineteenth century were the most difficult years in the economic history of our land. The famine of 1896-97 was in fact officially recognized greatest famine ever visited India. The monsoon was irregular and want of rain was acutely felt everywhere prices rose very high people and cattle alike died countlessly.
The extent of famine conditions in the districts of Bombay Karnataka in 1896-97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area in square miles</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Portion affected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>5,668</td>
<td>7,96,339</td>
<td>Whole district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>4,652</td>
<td>10,13,261</td>
<td>Talukas of Athani, Gokak and Paragad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td>4,602</td>
<td>10,51,314</td>
<td>Talukas of Navalgund, Gadag, Ron, Nargund and Mundargi pethas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The severe famine conditions prevailed throughout Bombay Karnataka, Bijapur suffered the most. Cattle began to die or were sold for nominal prices. The decrease of cattle between 1893-94 and 1899-1900 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1893-94</th>
<th>1899-1900</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>574,000</td>
<td>481,000</td>
<td>93,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>606,000</td>
<td>405,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td>630,000</td>
<td>609,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanara</td>
<td>297,000</td>
<td>287,000</td>
<td>10000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decrease of agricultural cattle the ryots chief wealth and stay as G.V. Joshi puts it “this appalling loss of cattle, especially in the famine districts, is perhaps the most depressing feature of the situation – what wonder if a midst such disheartening wreckage of famine devastation, the ryot stands bewildered and paralysed – without heart and without hope? This, indeed a position of unparalleled difficulty, and impose upon the government of the presidency a duty and a responsibility of which they cannot divest themselves, the ryot - hard stricken and exhausted as he is - cannot be expected by his own unaided efforts to recover from the “crushing blows.” He has sustained and regain the ground he has lost. Despite of such a huge decrease of cattle government hardly made efforts to import fodder, it was only after the prolonged pressure from the nationalist the reserve forests were opened grazing.
The situation of common people was most disastrous, as the prices of food grains rose very high. The following table gives the clear idea about the price rise.86

**Annual return of retail prices of staple food grains**

(Prices in Rs. A.p. per Indian mound of 40 seers, 1 seer = 80 tolas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Jowari (Rs. a. p.)</th>
<th>Bajri (Rs. a. p.)</th>
<th>Wheat (Rs. a. p.)</th>
<th>Rice (Rs. a. p.)</th>
<th>Gram (Rs. a. p.)</th>
<th>Tur Dal (Rs. a. p.)</th>
<th>Ghee (Rs. a. p.)</th>
<th>Salt (Rs. a. p.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>1.12.1</td>
<td>1.12.8</td>
<td>2.5.1</td>
<td>3.6.11</td>
<td>2.14.7</td>
<td>4.2.2</td>
<td>32.12.10</td>
<td>3.8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.7.11</td>
<td>1.10.3</td>
<td>1.15.8</td>
<td>3.8.5</td>
<td>3.12.2</td>
<td>4.0.9</td>
<td>35.5.11</td>
<td>3.8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.11.5</td>
<td>1.12.9</td>
<td>2.0.9</td>
<td>3.7.9</td>
<td>2.1.5</td>
<td>4.8.7</td>
<td>34.4.10</td>
<td>3.7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>1.14.9</td>
<td>2.5.9</td>
<td>3.0.11</td>
<td>3.5.11</td>
<td>3.15.3</td>
<td>3.12.2</td>
<td>34.15.9</td>
<td>3.7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.15.11</td>
<td>2.3.9</td>
<td>2.15.1</td>
<td>3.10.8</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>3.14.8</td>
<td>39.8.6</td>
<td>3.10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.11.9</td>
<td>2.2.6</td>
<td>3.0.9</td>
<td>3.4.11</td>
<td>3.4.10</td>
<td>4.0.5</td>
<td>33.9.5</td>
<td>3.5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1897-98*</td>
<td>3.7.10</td>
<td>4.1.7</td>
<td>5.6.2</td>
<td>4.4.9</td>
<td>4.15.5</td>
<td>5.8.4</td>
<td>30.14.2</td>
<td>3.12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.12.5</td>
<td>4.6.3</td>
<td>5.9.11</td>
<td>4.9.6</td>
<td>5.4.3</td>
<td>5.9.2</td>
<td>38.1.1</td>
<td>3.12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.4.5</td>
<td>3.13.1</td>
<td>5.1.9</td>
<td>4.4.0</td>
<td>4.12.2</td>
<td>5.10.5</td>
<td>30.14.6</td>
<td>3.7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>2.5.8</td>
<td>2.7.4</td>
<td>4.5.9</td>
<td>3.7.5</td>
<td>3.12.2</td>
<td>4.6.9</td>
<td>33.4.5</td>
<td>3.14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.13.10</td>
<td>2.2.9</td>
<td>3.9.11</td>
<td>3.15.6</td>
<td>3.5.6</td>
<td>4.2.7</td>
<td>36.15.2</td>
<td>3.9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1.1</td>
<td>2.4.2</td>
<td>3.11.2</td>
<td>3.2.8</td>
<td>3.9.2</td>
<td>4.0.6</td>
<td>34.0.4</td>
<td>3.9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>2.8.0</td>
<td>2.12.3</td>
<td>3.7.2</td>
<td>3.13.8</td>
<td>3.2.10</td>
<td>3.7.3</td>
<td>34.12.6</td>
<td>4.2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1.6</td>
<td>2.5.1</td>
<td>3.0.3</td>
<td>3.10.9</td>
<td>2.10.5</td>
<td>3.5.10</td>
<td>28.15.10</td>
<td>3.8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1.7</td>
<td>1.11.9</td>
<td>2.14.8</td>
<td>3.5.11</td>
<td>2.13.4</td>
<td>3.2.2</td>
<td>28.0.10</td>
<td>4.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>3.13.10</td>
<td>4.7.10</td>
<td>5.2.10</td>
<td>4.13.8</td>
<td>5.2.0</td>
<td>5.13.3</td>
<td>40.3.11</td>
<td>3.15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.13.3</td>
<td>4.1.0</td>
<td>4.14.4</td>
<td>4.5.6</td>
<td>4.8.10</td>
<td>5.2.2</td>
<td>33.7.4</td>
<td>3.8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.12.0</td>
<td>3.6.6</td>
<td>4.9.2</td>
<td>4.9.6</td>
<td>4.12.9</td>
<td>5.6.4</td>
<td>31.15.2</td>
<td>3.11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Famine year

The failure on the part of Government to supply sufficient food grains the situation went from bad to worse. The prices of food grains have gone up very high on the very first appearance of the famine, giving rise to grain riots at various places, such as Hubli-Dharwad.87 In fact the grain merchants suddenly raised the prices and began largely to export grain to the famine districts in hopes of making large profits. The grain dealers hearing of a grain riot at Dharwad and fearing a repetition of the same at Hubli, refused to offer any corn for sale on the market day. This encouraged the poor people all the more, who, finding it hopeless to purchase corn in the open market, proceeded to the grain leaders shop and plundered a considerable quantity of corn – the people refused to disperse and went to the railway goods yard, where thousands of corn bags awaited for export were found lying. The Railway police
found considerable difficulty in protecting the premises and many wounded reports
the Rajahausa dated 21st October, 1896.\textsuperscript{88} It could not have happened if the
government took proper steps to provide sufficient food grains. It was unfortunate
that when thousands of poor people died for want of food, the merchants looked for
more benefit. Although the nationalist papers repeatedly requested the government
to open cheap grain shops for the benefits, poor, the government did not do
anything.\textsuperscript{89}

The shortage of food grains and the lapse on the part of the government to
provide relief resulted in widespread distress and food scarcity. Peasants and farm
workers suffered the pangs of hunger and thousands and thousands of people died.
During 1896-97 famine 37,833 people did and in 1899 further 27,497 perished in
Bijapur district alone.\textsuperscript{90} The population of Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur in the year
1872, 1881 and 1891 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>944,985</td>
<td>864,014</td>
<td>1,013,261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td>989,671</td>
<td>882,909</td>
<td>1,057,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>816,273</td>
<td>638,493</td>
<td>796,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,750,929</td>
<td>2,385,416</td>
<td>2,866,914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen that these three districts lost nearly 3½ lakhs of their population or 3
percent in the famine, and they have been just able to make up that deficit during the
last 10 years.\textsuperscript{91}

Despite the loss of cattle and population, there was hardly any sacrifice of
land revenue during those famine years. The Revenue Report in 1896-97 claimed that
94 percent of the land revenue had been collected, the only exception being Bijapur.
Actually the gross government demand before deductions of remissions for the years 1895-96, 1896-97 and 1897-98 was as follows.92

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>1895-96</th>
<th>1896-97</th>
<th>1897-98</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>Rs. 55,35,296</td>
<td>Rs. 55,09,318</td>
<td>Rs. 55,03,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It clearly shows that whether famine or no famine government demand on land was constant all the requests of nationalists and nationalist papers were thrown in air. In fact, appeals of adoption of more liberal policy in those calamitous famine, in the matter of land revenue suspensions and remissions were gone up to government from other organs of public opinion and yet, despite all such appeals, it was disappointing that the position of things in this regard were unsatisfactory. G.V. Joshi said, it would seem the work of collection is proceeding apace in all the famine districts as before and on lines hardly constituent with that policy of generous sympathy and consideration on which the exigencies of a hard situation demand, and to which the suffering ryots have a claim in a season of such distress over 50% or in some districts over 70% of total revenue was realized in the famine striken districts.93

The famine of 1896-97 was officially described as “the most calamitous famine of the centuruy.”94 Even then the high percentage of collections in the Deccan districts, for which a more liberal treatment has been promised more than once in consideration of the fact that “the recurrence of severe famine after an interval of but two not very favourable seasons must have exhausted the savings of many cultivating occupants.95 The decline in cropped areas, plough cattle were the indication of agricultural depression in the Deccan districts, and concurrently with a gradually increasing burden of land assessments. In both these respects the
government make a departure alike from the prescriptions of the Relief Code and
the recommendations of the famine commission as a result the suspension of land
revenue was less than 5 percent of the total demand and there were practically no
remissions – not even in Bijapur where the crop failure was almost total.96

Hence the rigidity of land revenue collection despite widespread starvation
and miseries in famine affected Deccan districts opned the eyes of nationalist leaders
particularly Tilak, unlike other leaders, did not remain content with mildly
deploiring the “calamity” and appealing to the government.97 He went into action
and created a condition to prevent the district authorities from collecting land
revenue when the famine Relief Code forbade such collection.98

Tilak took up the cause of the suffering people and while on the one hand, he
urged the common people to take full advantage of the famine code, on the other he
called upon the government to give relief in all possible ways to ameliorate the
sufferings caused by the famine.99 As we have discussed earlier (in Chapter V) he
launched a No-Tax Campaign in Bombay Presidency and gave a call ‘Do not pay land
revenue if you cannot.’100

Tilak reminded government of its promise not to allow any sufferers to die on
account of famine and the provisions provided in the famine code like throwing
reserved forest open for grazing, arrangement of works for giving employment and
sustenance to the people, opening of free kitchens etc.101 70 spread the awareness
among the people Tilak brought out a book in Marathi, containing a gist of the
relevant provisions of the Famine Code, the Government resolutions on the subject
issued from time to time, the rule of Takavi loans, and other pertinent matters.102 He
addressed several gatherings for instance he addressed the students assembled in Poona for the University Examinations and asked them to go to villages and enlighten the peasantry on the Famine Code. He made an extensive tour of Poona and Sholapur districts. Tilak published eye-witness stories from the famine stricken villages, and wrote, people are selling their cattle for the price of grass, and the grass is being sold almost at the price of gold. Thousands are leaving their villages to go to the towns and those who remain behind will also have to leave soon. Wherever there is famine it is the duty of the ruler to save the lives of his subjects. In the form of the Famine Insurance Fund the government holds a large amount of the people’s money. When their own money is with the government why should they die of hunger?"

The agents of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha who came under Tilak’s influence were sent to famine stricken areas all over the presidency. Their job was to inform people by word of mouth and through printed handbills, and bundles of famine literature that there were provisions in the law which would protect them in times of distress. The agents collected reliable information and dispatched it to the Sabha’s headquarter which in turn made representations to the Government. The Kesari also played very vital role by publishing weekly exhortations which served as guidance to the agents and to the people at large.

Tilak not only awakened the people about the famine code but indeed started relief works in affected areas. He created a relief organization of his own. His volunteers went to the villages and offered the hungry people food on the spot which greatly lessened pressure on the towns. Tilak also induced many grain merchants and wealthy bankers in Poona and Sholapur to subscribe generously both
in corn and money and organized free meals in community kitchens. He went from place to place supervising the working of the vast relief organization. The famine in fact provided a genuine reason to organize the people around a general grievances vis-à-vis the government. Tilak’s organization and participation in relief work demonstrated oneness with the people in crisis and sufferings. Tilak wisely revised the activities of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and used it as an agent of mass awakening. He saw in it an opportunity to expose the reality of the British rule in India. Tilak asked his readers, had such a famine broken out in England and had the prime minister been as apathetic as Lord Elgin, his Government would have tumbled down like ninepins? He called upon the people to go to the collector and tell him to give you work and food. If you fail to get what is due to from the Government you do not deserve to live. Tilak worked for the famine stricken people with untiring energy, and the people followed him because he understood the necessity of people and worked for their emancipation. In reality it greatly helped for the growth of nationalism throughout Bombay Presidency. In fact it was preaching politics through the economic question. Keeping, at the same time, within the limits of law, for agents of the Sabha were only explaining the Famine Code to the illiterate ryots.

Plague

Plague started first in Bombay (which actually traveled to Bombay from Hong Kong), from Bombay it spread to Poona in October 1896, and from there spread to Bombay Karnataka, Belgaum, Dharwad, Hubli, Gadag and other parts were under severe grip of plague, and the infection spread with rapidity. The Dharwar district suffered from the severest epidemic recorded since the beginning of plague in
September, 1896. The total mortality from the plague up to the end of 1903-04 amounted 149,851 or 13 percent of the total population.\textsuperscript{111} The epidemic spread rapidly throughout Belgaum district also, and up to the end of 1910-11 over 1,83,000 or 11 percent of the total population perished.\textsuperscript{112}

Along with epidemic the police and soldiers who were given wide powers to deal with emergency, who often misused it and caused great distress to the common people. The inspection of houses by soldiers seems to have been carried out without notice by forcing open, very often unnecessarily when there were other means of entrance, and absolutely no attempt was made to protect the properties or the houses.\textsuperscript{113} In fact they tried to segregate people. Tilak though appreciated the rationale of segregation for the prevention of the spread of the epidemic, but emphasized the futility of such measure once the epidemic has spread. “Though segregation is very useful from the scientific point of view, the misunderstanding about hospitals current amongst the people, the arrangement in the hospitals, the way in which the officials behave with the patients, there many reasons make it nearly impossible to bring segregation into effective practice. The notion that hospitals are a place for killing patients has firmly rooted itself in the minds of the people and this is obvious from the loose talk that one hears in Poona and Bombay. This loose talk is so misplaced and foolish that it is hardly necessary to repudiate it.”\textsuperscript{114}

The havoc of plague, the appointment of Mr. Rand as Special Officer and his murder, led to arrest of Tilak. Interestingly, these incidents increased the awareness and developed the spirit of nationalism not only in Maharashtra, but also in Bombay Karnataka.
Later Famines

Under the colonial rule there was no respite to the people of Bombay Karnataka, recurrence of famine was very common, closely on the heels of 1896-97 disaster followed. Again famine began in 1898 and ended in 1902, as usual Bijapur suffered the most.

In the year 1904-05 and 1905-06 Bombay Karnataka was once again under the grip of famine followed by the famine cholera broke out in Bijapur and Belgaum, 1752 in Bijapur and 1728 in Belgaum perished due to it. At Bijapur due to plague birth decreased from 39.77 to 35.68 per mile. The year 1910-11 were again calamities years, severe plague broke out all over Bombay Karnataka. Belgaum and Dharwad were worst hit, about 7,584 and 10,150 people died due to plague in Belgaum and Dharwad respectively. The plague continued to play havoc in and in 1911-12 33,178 or 8.23 percent of the total population succumbed to it in Dharwad alone. In 1916-17 plague appeared all over Bombay Karnataka once again, there were in all 35,369 cases of attach and 23,851 deaths were reported.

In 1937-38 there was again a total failure of rain in Bijapur district. About 3,629 as square miles area and 4,75,842 people were affected. Gradually the scarcity spread over 4,525 square miles and 6,51,356 people were affected. Interestingly, the mismanagement and half hearted relief exposed that only 2,903 people attended the relief works.

Pressure from the nationalist leaders to reduce the recurrence of famines

The INC took up the issue at Calcutta Congress in 1896, it discussed the cause of the famine, expressed its regretness on the failure of government, and urged to
take immediate steps to mitigate human sufferings. The nationalists felt that the provisions of existing famine code were inadequate (as regards wages and rations) and appealed the government to redeem its pledges. And also stressed on the necessity of private charity. After the ravages of severe famine of 1896 which continued even during 1897, the president of Amrothi Congress (1897) C. Sankaran Nair dealt at length on the question of famine, and said the terrible famine that has devastated our country first claims our attention. He pointed out that the root of these famines was the great poverty of India. He asserted, it shows itself in the poor condition of the labouring population and of the great majority of ryots who are underfed, and who are without, not only the comforts but even the absolute necessaries of life and who lead a life of penury and toil unredeemed by any hope of provision against the frequent vicissitudes of the seasons, sickness or old age when they must be dependent on relatives or strangers. The once well to do ryots are becoming reduced to the position of poor tenants, their poverty preventing them from carrying on any cultivation that requires capital. Thus even a partial failure of crops in one year leads to terrible scarcity or famine. He further said the government is morally responsible for the extreme poverty of masses, for the scarcity that prevails almost every year in some parts of the country or other, for the famine that so frequently desolates the land and claims more victims and creates more distress than under any civilized government anywhere else in the world.

At the Lucknow Session of Congress in 1899 R.C. Dutt in his presidential address said 'India was suffering from a famine which had spread over a large extent of country than had ever before visited by famine in any single year. The famine of 1897 was not only calamity of that year. It was accompanied by a war
outside our frontiers which cost us some millions and many brave lives, and it was accompanied by a plague'. Dutt also pointed the alleged and real causes of famine and felt that the government failed to tackle the famines and suggested several measures to prevent the recurrence of famines.124

N.G. Chandavarkar, who hailed from Bombay Karnataka, in his presidential address to the Lahore Congress in 1900 discussed in detail all the aspects relating to famine, he stressed that due to fault in the administration, the poverty, indebtedness, heavy land revenue reduced the staying power of the people and therefore the frequency of famine was more. Chandavarkar criticized the government for failure and asserted the government has not approached its solution in a broad, comprehensive masterly spirit. He gave an example that often the 1875 riots the commission pointed out rigidity of land revenue was one of the cause of poverty and backwardness of agriculture but government legislation controlled the moneylender, but the mischief of the rigidity of the land revenue system was left untouched.125 In fact, the rigidity of land revenue continued in whole of Bombay Presidency and we have seen that despite famine the collection of land revenue was continued in Bombay Karnataka, and actually people were forced to sell their belongings or land were confiscated and auctioned to the sawakars to get land tax, that is why Tilak started the No-Tax campaign. Chandavarkar said in clear-cut manner ‘the fact is that it has been more or less a policy of drift, it has left an evil to grow till it become acute, and then it has tried to gripple with it on the surface, and that too by fits and starts, thus he urged the government not to sit idle until the next famine comes, and then bewil the mysteries of providence.126
D.E. Wacha in his presidential address to Calcutta Congress in 1901 discussed at length the question of famine particularly he emphasized the famine policy of Bombay Government. Wacha pointed out the defects of Bombay Government and stressed more on faults found by the famine commission in Bombay Presidency. Despite severe sufferings, government did very little in Bombay Presidency and he said it was because, in plain words, the defence of the Bombay Government amounts this – that it refused to do its obvious duty because it had been warned by the circular to be careful how the money given to it was spent. It is clear that the Government of India wanted run famine cheaply. He further quoted from Times of India that while the critics of Bombay Government's policy admit that their arrangements were not sufficient to meet adequately the emergence which arose. But the Government of Bombay pleads the following; the recurrence within two years of a more extensive famine than those of 1876-77, and 1896-97 was not considered to be a danger to be seriously anticipated. How fatuous is this reasoning and how strange indeed that a responsible Government should give it currency, when common sense informed the presidency at large that one famine following closely at the heel of another, without having afforded any breathing time to the ryot to recuperate himself to however small an extent, cannot but hit him harder, and suggested that, therefore, the state should be fully prepared for the more distressing emergency certain to arise. In fact such a negligent policy was followed by the Bombay Government. Thus D. Wacha said 'the abnormal did happen.' It was pointed out at the earliest stage by all outside critics, even the most friendly, that the second famine was of abnormal intensity, and yet the Government of Bombay obstinately adhered to that attitude of non-chalance, as if the thousands of deaths by starvation which undoubtedly resulted from the attitude were nothing to it! As a matter of fact, the
wonder was that the Bombay Government had no sufficient knowledge of the conditions and economy of districts at its headquarters.

In 1902 Surendranath Banerjee at Ahmedabad Congress in his presidential speech gave the statistical data of people perished due to famine and famine related epidemics. He said ‘poverty amongst the labouring classes (in Bombay Presidency) of the mofussil most certainly exists, but not only does it exist, but represents the normal conditions of these classes. Their houses are poor, their belongings are poor, their food is poor, their clothing very poor. It was only to be expected that they would succumb on the first appearance of scarcity, and it is no wonder that they died in their millions when they were overwhelmed by the greatest famine of the century. Their poverty added to the intensity of the famine conditions and swelled the record of famine mortality. It was the reality of famine struck districts of Bombay Karnataka particularly Bijapur.

Hence it is obvious that the nationalist leaders continuously discussed the effects of famines and passed resolution urging the government to take necessary steps but all their demands fall on the deaf ears of government.

Causes for the recurrent famine

According to the nationalists following were the causes for recurrent famine.

1. Famines in India occur repeatedly mainly due to the great poverty of the people. The causes for poverty were the decline of all indigenous arts and industries, which was result of British free trade policy to promote Lancashire and Manchester industries and the drain of the wealth from India.
The excessive taxation and over assessment of land revenue, consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the government both in the civil and military departments.\textsuperscript{133}

Contrary to this the British authorities gave different reasons.

(i) The famines occur repeatedly due to monsoon failure.

(ii) Due to increase of population.\textsuperscript{134}

In fact, the government held the view, in the words of Tilak "we are not responsible for the occurrence of famine, if God does not send rain. If plagues spreads out in spite of the preventive measures adopted by Government, the Government is helpless. So with poverty, famine and plague. We have given you place, we have given you railways, what more do you want? We are certainly not responsible for the calamity."\textsuperscript{135} This view about famine predominantly persisted among the officials.

The nationalists strongly criticized their views and exposed the reality with evidences. N.G. Chandavarkar said in his presidential speech at Lahore (1900) that, 'famines occur because the monsoon fails no one denies. In a sense they are inevitable in India, but no more inevitable, for instance, than in Ireland or Egypt. If the latter country was able to tide over this year of the lowest Nile in the century with a famine, why should not India be able to do the same when the rainfall fails?'

No famine policy in worth the name which does not discard the pusillanimous doctrine that famines are inevitable and that, therefore, not much can be done.\textsuperscript{136} So we pointed out that the famines were due to bad policies of government and not just monsoon failure. Surendranath Banerjee asked the Government – is drought
confined to India?, and asserted Nature is impartial in her dispensations – in the distribution of her favours and disfavours, other countries suffer from drought, but they do not suffer from famine. We must therefore look deeper for the causes of Indian famine. Drought alone will not account for it. Destitution is the root-cause of Indian famines.\footnote{\thefootnote}

Tilak said in his resolution at 1905 congress session, the soil of England does not produce food enough for the population for three or four months in the year. If the English Government were to say 'we cannot help, the soil is not productive, it only produces food for four months, you ought to go for eight months' what will people in England say? They will certainly go against the Government of England and will ask the Ministry to resign. If you cannot give food for twelve months you had better resign, and we shall have another ministry and another parliament. That is what they will say.

Something like that is a question here also. If there is inequality of rain the Government of India ought to adopt some means by which the effect of inequality may be neutralized. If the rainfall is unequal, some means must be devised by which the supply of water may be regulated such as by irrigation and by others. If the wealth that is produced in the country does not remain but is drained away, it is the duty of the Government of India to take steps by which that wealth may not be drained. If as I said there is plague in the country, and if it is clearly shown that it is due to poverty and starvation, it is the duty of the Government not to adopt repressive measures, but to remove poverty and starvation. So that we may be better able to combat plague. These are the duties of the Government and our contention is that the Government of India should be forced to do its duty.\footnote{\thefootnote}
The Government’s theory of population increase was severely attacked by the nationalists. R.C. Tutt said ‘it is asserted that the poverty of the people and the famines are due to the over-increase of population, but that is not so, the population of India does not increase as fast as it does in many European countries like Germany and England.

He further said, sometime it is asserted that the poverty of the Indian agriculturists is due to his own improvidence, wastefulness, and folly, but I will tell you that the Indian cultivator is about the most frugal, the most provident the most thoughtful about his future.\textsuperscript{139}

Chandavarkar said, the question which has been forcing itself on the attention of all serious thinkers and responsible administrators is not – why do famine occur? But why do they occur in increasing severity, and why is the staying power of the people going down? I do not thin that anybody seriously believe in the population theory which is so often propounded in certain quarters as an answer to the question. There are score of countries where population has been increasing much faster than in India, and yet they have not been struck down by the phenomenal poverty which is starving us in the face of this country.\textsuperscript{140}

Thus the reality was that the monsoon and population were not the real cause of famines but poverty of the population, and the real cause of poverty was as R.C. Dutt pointed out cultivator’s wretchedness and indebtedness is that, except in Bengal and few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years. Al our villages industries like spinning and weavings, have been killed.\textsuperscript{141}
In fact the land revenue system in Bombay Presidency was the major cause of poverty, the land revenue was the largest share of revenue, nearly 28 percent of the gross revenue was derived from the tillers of the soil. Thus every famine reduced the staying power of the masses, particularly in the ryotwary districts of Bombay Presidency.

The Government neglecting all sufferings spent more and more money in civil and military administration and drained large sum out of India.

**Remedies suggested by nationalists to prevent famines**

The INC passed a resolution in 1899, which urged the government to adopt the following measure to mitigate the distress caused by famine.

Firstly, the nationalists asked the government to improve the conditions of the cultivating classes. To improve the condition they urged to provide taqavi loans in time and make agricultural development.

Secondly, they urged the government to moderate the land assessment particularly in the ryotwary areas. Tilak in his resolution in 1905 said, the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the state demand of land.

Thirdly, the remission of taxes which press heavily upon the poor, perhaps it was one of the most important suggestion made by the nationalists because, as we have seen the stringency of land revenue without remission and suspension put great hardship on the peasantry.
Fourthly, curtailment of public expenditure both civil and military, as it reckless expenditure of the government forced it to levy heavy taxes on the people.

Fifthly, the nationalists urged to stop the drain of wealth from India since the large sum of wealth was drained yearly it reduced the staying power of the people and prevented agricultural and other improvements.

Lastly, they stressed the government to revive the old indigenous industries and the creation of new ones.\textsuperscript{143}

However, these suggestions fall on the deaf ears of government and practically although the famine commissions were appointed after every severe famine the recommendations of famine commission remained in paper more rather than implementation.

Summing up

Due to deliberate negligence on the part of the colonial government the recurrent famine had severe impact. Firstly the famines took very heavy toll of life. Surendranath Banerjee said ‘By a moderate calculation the famines of 1877 and 1878, of 1889 and 1892, of 1897 and 1900 have carried off fifteen million of people, while another calculation estimates the mortality at 26 million.\textsuperscript{14} As far as Bombay Karnataka is concerned it is very clear that the famine became very common phenomena and the human life perished uncountably. Only the famine of 1876-77 took away 3,65,444 souls from Bombay Karnataka.\textsuperscript{145} One can imagine the mortality under continuous famines and epidemics in Bombay Karnataka. Along with human souls crores of cattles perished, especially the district of Bijapur suffered the most.
Surendranath Banerjee analysed the famines in India into four periods of 25 years each (1800-1900) and asserted, during the first period, there were five famines with an estimated mortality of one million. During the second period there were two famines with an estimated mortality of 5,00,000. In the third period, there were six famines with a recorded mortality of five millions, and in the fourth and the last period (1875-1900) we notice that the increasing gravity of the situation and the terribly high record of mortality. There were eighteen famines during the last period with an estimated mortality of twenty-six millions, and the last famine of the last quarter of the 19th century was in the words of so high an authority as the Viceroy himself, the severest that the country had ever known. It will thus be seem that famine was an ever-constant calamity during the whole of the century, that it counted its victims by millions and that as the century drew near to its close, it became more frequent in its recurrence and more severe in its incidence. He asked, will anybody explain to me why the famines of the last half of the 19th century were severs and more frequent than those of the first half, why the famines of the last quarter of the 19th century were severs and more frequent than those of the preceding quarters – and why the last famine of the last year of the 19th century was the severest of them all? Do they not point to the growing impoverishment of the people? It was obvious that the first half of the 19th century the calamities were less because the staying power of Indian people was better than latter half. In the latter half of the 19th century taxes were increased, which impoverished the people ultimately increasing poverty and decreasing the staying power. Secondly, to mitigate the famines the nationalists urged to develop irrigation.
The Indian Spectator dated 27th December, 1891 wrote irrigation considered more urgent than railways for the relief of distress, but the government announced the famine relief fund would be utilized for railways. The Railway communication provides against famines only indirectly, whereas direct insurance is afforded only by canals and wells as a means of irrigation. People must have the means of purchasing grain brought by the railways. Whereas irrigation enables them to raise it on their own lands. Famine generally is the result of drought, and the majority of sufferers from it are those who have no means to purchase. Since the government was in different mood to drain more wealth from India stick to its idea and spent more money for railway construction and hardly spent on irrigation, as the Bombay Karnataka region required irrigation more than any other part. The Gokak canal and Doni were abandoned because it thought they requires more amount, which government was not ready to spend.

Thirdly, the government relief measures were inadequate, although the government took relief measures after the constant pressure from the nationalist newspapers and nationalists. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha's journal wrote that at least a sher (2 lbs) of food per day was necessary to maintain the body of a labourer in good working order but the reality was that the Relief Code adopted the exploded theory of one pound ration, and fixed the minimum ration for a Relief work labourer, at 16 ozs of grain per day that was 4 ozs less than the diet allowed to simple imprisonment prisoner and the maximum at 24 ozs that was grain less by 4 ozs than the ration given to prisoners on public works. This maximum scale of 24 ozs was equal to diet allowed to ordinary hard labour prisoners doning work in Jail. But in the first place it many be remarked that every Relief work labourers was not given
the maximum ration and again if by jail experience it is found that when hard labour prisoners were sent out to work on public works in the Deccan. Their scale of diet has to be increased of 28 ozs of grain per day exclusive of dal, vegetables etc. So the diet promised to the famine Relief people was far less than the common prisoners therefore the Sabha urged the government that the scale of diet of 1 to 1½ lb of grain exclusive of vegetables etc. should be at least raised to 1¾ to 2 lbs as the minimum and maximum limits respectively.\textsuperscript{148}

Fourthly, the wonder was that to provide relief extra tax was imposed but as above stated the government tried to run relief work cheaply but never hesitated to spend that money on wars. As D. Wacha said ‘we have only to substitute war for famine.’\textsuperscript{149} Chandavarkar said Lord Lytton in 1878 imposed a tax, every farthing of which it was promised should be applied to the mitigation of famine, yet that whole of the money was used for the purposes of the Afghan war. He asked why did they collect for one purpose, and spend for another?\textsuperscript{150}

The Indian Spectator dated 25th August, 1889 wrote from the official figures relating to the Famine Insurance Fudn, it would have been perceived that out of the 18 crores of rupees of taxation levied in the name of that sacred object since its inception in 1878, only 26½ lakhs has been spent on actual relief of famine, 5¼ crores have been bestowed on protective railway and irrigation works, 3½ crores devoted to the reduction of the public debt, and as many as a crores have been swept away amidst the general revenues or to speak plainly, misappropriated or diverted to other objects. This devotes both morally and financially a serious lapse deserving immediate attention, and the urgency of the question is enhanced by the fact that while famine was stalking over portions of the country and inflicting cruel sufferings
on the people,\textsuperscript{151} this was the reality of the colonial government’s famine policy. Why cannot famine reoccur frequently. This kind of inadequate policy led to the rise of prices arbitrarily and people died countlessly.

Chandavarkar said, while delivering lecture in England to appraise the people on 20 October, 1885, ‘during the past twenty years (1865-1885) there had had a series of famines, and the number of people who died from the want of food was 9,000,000.\textsuperscript{152} To know the reality of Bijapur, the Indian National Herald\textsuperscript{153} dated 1\textsuperscript{st} January, 1927, deserves detail reproduction: the district of Bijapur is again in the throes of the terrible famine. Accounts by disinterested eye-witness reveal harrowing screws of desolation and the wholesale desertion of homesteads as the result of successive years of drought. But the government are still indifferent to their full responsibility for resulting the district from the jaws of famine. The deserts of distant Sindh have received far more attention from the government than this district whose sufferings, as a result of scanty or no rains, have become chronic.... Wholesale desertion of villages which can no longer support a patient and long suffering peasantry in an alarming feature. One village situated on the confluence of the Krishna and Malaprabha, which should normally be a prosperous tract, presents, in the moving words of our correspondent, the appearance of a plague stricken locality. The fate of other villages is no better a serious situation such as this calls for determined action. No half hearted measures, not grudging doles to lighten the sufferings of the poor agriculturists will answer the purpose. It must be met by a well-influenced policy which does not minimize the limitations of red-tape. The so-called crop valuations, which are imperfectly understood and are still more imperfectly carried out by soulless minors of the Revenue Department, should not
be allowed to come in the way of government facing their responsibilities. A prompt remission of the revenue collections, takavi advances, a generous measures in the relief operations must be undertaken to meet the situation. On the government rests a great responsibility for the lives of the villagers and their cattle. Their staying power is weak, thanks to the constant neglect of authorities to bestow on the district even a little of the attention that has been lavished on the other parts of the presidency.... We hope government will approach their responsibility in no pettifogging or niggardly spirit. The first need of the situation in Bijapur is a large and generous measure of relief and the second in the formulation and execution of a constructive scheme of irrigation, including the undertaking of the once abandoned Ghataprabha project, which would transform the whole country side into a sweet smiling garden of rich harvests and contended peasantry. This is not the time for the tangles of the red tape, it is one the other hand an opportunity for bold initiative and swift action.154

This article clearly exposes the reality of Bijapur district under colonial rule and the paper stressed on the necessity to relieve the distress but the colonial government hardly took steps. Therefore, the misery continued, event he close of the British rule hardly saw the end of a long, long tiral of woe and ruin through which the ryot was passing. The heavy toll of life by constant epidemics, agricultural ruin and intermittent famines appear to be the familiar lot of the people in the Bombay Karnataka, especially in Bijapur district.155

Chandavarkar said, while delivering lecture in England in 1885, of the 200 millions in India three-fourths of them follow agriculture. The state of these three-fourths was illustrated by the statement of the Famine Commission in 1879 that only
one-eighth are well off as the negro in the late slave states of America. Neglecting all the suffering of the people the Bombay government continued to collect more revenue, it hardly gave any remissions or suspensions of land revenue. Despite corn riots the government export of wheat and other food grains could not stop. The money was spent on wars like water about the relief, the authorities said 'we have no money you have no right to ask others money, while the largest revenue came from the land. The Dharwar Vritt wrote in 1906 one feature of the Bombay Budget is that famine or no famine, the figures of actual receipt invariably show an increase over the Budget estimates, while as regards disbursement this is rarely the case. The figures of forest revenue in particular show a remarkable rise over the Bombay budget figures. Government make money by selling fodder, levying grazing fees especially in the days of famine. It shows that revenue was more important, therefore the cattle were sold for nominal price and died for want of fodder. Tilak said about the visit of authorities like Viceroy and Governor, as in the case of Lord Harris in 1892 to Bombay Karnataka. They were received wherever they went, by the well-to-do with all the grandeur. Thousands of rupees were spent 'Fields of the cloth of gold' were displayed, gorgeous banquets were given, fireworks were displayed, and every variety of luxury and prodigality was indulged in with a painful feeling. Tilak pointed out that all that money would have been better employed in clothing the naked and feeding the starving. It was indeed as the native opinion dated 14th February, 1892 wrote, Remission of the land revenue is the only means that will save the poor rayat, and the Government, whose coffers and filled by the rayat with crores of rupees annually, cannot be the poorer even if it allows remission to its downtrodden cultivator. The wonder is that while the purse-strings are being unstintedly opened to live still more profusely the pockets of a highly paid European
service in the whole world, there is no money to fall back up on in order to give a
tears relief to the cultivator. This is indeed, a case of Nero fiddling-over burning
Rome.  

To sign off, we can say that, the famine and plague in Bombay Karnataka,
despite severe sufferings caused by it, provided an opportunity for nourishing
nationalism in Bombay Karnataka. First the native news papers, quarterly journal of
Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the nationalist papers of Bombay Presidency played a a
vital role in spreading awareness. Later the agents of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and
Tilak by organizing relief work, spreading awareness about the provisions of famine
Relief code, especially remission land revenue created widespread awareness
particularly during 1896-97, the incidents made real impact on the people of the
Bombay Karnataka. Next under the nationalist leaders the local leaders followed
their foot steps and spread the spirit of nationalism among masses of Bombay
Karnataka.

References and Notes

1. Dutt R.C., EHI-I, op.cit., p.vi
2. Southard, “Famine” Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. VI, p. 85, quoted in
Bhatia, B.M. Famines in India – A study in some aspects of the Economic
History of India (1860-1945), Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1963, p.1
(hereafter referred to as Bhatia).
3. Leela Sami. “Gender differentials in Famine mortality Madras (1876-78) and
5. Ibid., p. 7.
10. Ibid
11. Ibid
12. The Mahratta, 1 Sept., RNNPB, 7th Sept., 1889, pp. 6-7.
18. Dutt, R.C., EHI-I, op.cit., p. vi.
24. Ibid., p. 325
25. The estimate is that of Famine Commission, 1880, cited in Bhatia, Famines in India, op.cit., p. 91.
33. The Bombay Samachar, 15th July, RNNPB, 18th July, 1880, p. 64.
34. QJPSS, October, 1878 (Vol. 1, No. 3), p. 7.
35. Ibid., pp. 11-12
36. Ibid., p. 23
37. Ibid.
38. Choksey, R.D., Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 114
39. Ibid
42. Ibid
43. Encyclopaedia of INC, 1896 Session (Vol. III) op.cit., p. 313
44. The Mahratta, 1st January, RNNPB, 21st January, 1882, p. 3
45. Encyclopaedia of INC (Vol. IV) p. 183.
47. Ibid., pp. 507-08
50. Ibid., p. 5
51. Bhatia, op.cit., p. 184
52. Ibid., pp. 161-62.
53. Ibid., pp. 173-74
54. Anglo-Marathi weekly published from Bijapur.
55. Ramdas, 7th Nov., RNNPB, 14th Nov., 1891, p.7.
56. Rasik Ranjini was the Kannada weekly published from Gadag
58. Quoted in Bhatia, op.cit., p. 137
59. Shri Siddheshwar was Kannada-Marathi weekly published from Bagalkot
60. Shri Siddheshwar, 26th Nov., RNNPB, 5th Dec., 1891, p. 15-16.
62. Ibid
66. The Ramdas was the Anglo-Marathi weekly published from Bijapur.
68. QJPSS, February-March, 1892 (Vol. XIV, No. 4), p. 35.
69. The Dnyan Prakash, 4th January, RNNPB, 9th January, 1892, p. 9.
70. QJPSS, February-March, 1892 (Vol. XIV, No. 4), p. 36
71. Choksey, R.D., Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 117.
72. Dharwar Vritt, 17th Dec., RNNPB, 20th Dec., 1891, p. 11
73. Karnataka Patra was the Kannada-English-Marathi weekly, published from Dharwad.
75. The Karnataka Patra, 4th January, RNNPB, 9th January, 1892, p. 6.
76. Ibid

212
77. Ibid
78. Ibid
79. Ibid
80. Ibid
82. Choksey, Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 117.
83. Ibid., p. 119.
84. Joshi, Writings, op.cit., p. 455.
85. Ibid
86. Choksey, Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 117.
89. The Hubli Patra, RNNPB, 16th Dec., 1899, p. 16.
91. QJPSS, April, 1893, (Vol. XIV, No. 4), p. 7.
92. Choksey, Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 121
93. Joshi, Writings, op.cit., p. 404
94. Ibid., p. 406
95. Ibid., p. 405
96. Ibid., p. 409
97. Tahmankar, op.cit., p. 69.
98. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 128.
99. Karmarkar, op.cit., p. 84.
100. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 133
101. Karmarkar, op.cit., p. 89
102. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 129
103. Ibid.
104. Tahmankar, op.cit., p. 69
105. Ram Gopal, op.cit., pp. 128-29
106. Tahmankar, op.cit., p. 69
107. Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 129
109. Karmarkar, op.cit., p. 87

213


117. Choksey, R.D., Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 122

118. Ibid., p. 123

119. Ibid., p. 126

120. Ibid., p. 129.

121. Ibid., p. 137.


126. Ibid., pp. 299-300


129. Wacha's Presidential speech, 1901, Ibid., p. 188.


131. Ibid., p. 372

132. Ibid., p. 373


135. Resolution on Famine, Poverty, Economic Inequity and Land Revenue, moved by Tilak, Banaras Congress (1905), In Samagra Tilak, op.cit., p. 424

136. Chandavarkar speeches, op.cit., p. 300


140. Chandavarkar speeches, op.cit., pp. 300-01


145. Choksey, Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 34

146. The Indian Spectator, English Weekly, published from Bombay

147. The Indian Spectator, 27th Dec., RNNPB, 2nd January, 1892, p. 11


149. Dinsha Wacha’s presidential speech to 1901 INC, in the Encyclopaedia of INC, Vol. IV, op.cit., p. 188

150. Chandavarkar speeches, op.cit., p. 263

151. The Indian spectator, 25th August, RNNPB, 31st Aug., 1889, pp. 5-6

152. Chandavarkar speeches, op.cit., p. 262

153. The Indian National Herald, English daily published from Bombay.


155. Choksey, Bombay Karnataka, op.cit., p. 137.

156. Chandavarkar speeches, op.cit., p. 265.


158. Cited in Ram Gopal, op.cit., p. 131.

159. The Native Opinion, 14th Sept., Feb. 1892.