CHAPTER IV
THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

With the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on political scene, Indian National Movement entered into a new phase. Never before was the movement so active, so awakened, so united and so determined as under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. While distinguishing the nature of neo-nationalist movement and the national movement under Mahatma Gandhi, it is generally said that prior to him national movement was divorced from popular aspirations, no less than it was from popular grievances in the country. But all this only misrepresented the national movement. The only difference was that under the neo-nationalists, the movement was confined only to the cities while after the entry of Gandhi on the political stage its perspective was broadened and it reflected the interests and aspirations of larger number of classes and communities. “Indeed, the most striking feature of the political campaign conducted by Gandhi was the changing profile of the social group which supported him at different stages of his struggle against the British Raj”.1 Thus, national movement entered a new phase with the politicization of new social groups in the country, disappearance of old and emergence of new issues in nationalist politics.

The Act of 1919 did not give Indians any hope to get Responsible government. It gave only responsive government. Historical developments changed the political scenario from 1919 and onwards. 1920 was an epoch making year. Mahatma Gandhi, who played the role of a co-operator, turned out to be the apostle on non-co-operation. Two events, specially, determined his attitude, having shaken his faith in British fairness and justice. One was the breaking of pledges given to Indian Muslims about the Khilafat. The Indian Muslims had loyally supported the British during the World War I having had promise that the Khilafat would be maintained in
tact. The end of the war saw the demolition of the hopes of the Indian Muslims. They were roused to a pitch of indignation. Gandhi sympathized with Muslim sentiment and his non-cooperation programmes which unfolded in a manifesto dated 10th march embraced the demand of the Indian Muslims. The passing of Rowlett Act and ruthless Jallianwalah bag tragedy in 1919 irked the sentiments of the lovers of human rights and made Indians to oppose the British rule with one voice. The other event that stirred people’s unbounded resentment related to the white washing report of the Hunter Commission on the Punjab incidents. This report published on may 28, 1920 appeared to the Indians as an attempt to justify Dyer’s action. On June 9, 1920 Gandhi condemned the Hunter Report, which he described as an ‘Official whitewash’. Gandhi became convinced that ‘the present representatives of the Empire’ had become ‘dishonest and unscrupulous’. He suggested total non-cooperation with the intention ‘so far to paralyze the government, as to compel justice from it’.

The famous doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation movement which Gandhi had issued in March 1920 was formally launched on August 1, 1920 in a special session of the Congress adopted though not without opposition, the resolution moved by Gandhi. The all India Khilafat conference had already decided on non-cooperation under the advise of Mahatma Gandhi. Lokmanya Tilak who had his own misgivings about non-cooperation had given his tacit consent and promised to abide by any decision of the A.I.C.C. But this stalwart patriot and fiery revolutionary who had founded Indian nationalism on the rock of his invincible faith, passed away on 31st July 1920.

In a special session of the Congress held at Calcutta on September 4,1920 the Congress adopted the resolution of non-cooperation. It recommended.

1. Renunciation of Government titles.
2. Boycotting of the legislatures and the elections to be conducted under the provisions of 1919 Act.
4. Refusal of military, clerical and labour classes from offering themselves for recruitment for service in Mesopotamia and,
5. Great emphasis was laid on the promotion of Swadeshi goods by means of reviving hand spinning in every home. The adoption of non-cooperation ushered in a new era in India’s struggle for freedom and marked a turning Point in the history of the Indian national Congress. The attainment of Swaraj (self-rule) by all legitimate and peaceful means was now regarded as the fundamental object of the Congress.\(^5\)

Gandhiji and Ali brothers toured the country, educated the people, explained the meaning and implications of the movement and mobilized public opinion. The P.C.C.’s in the country had been asked to communicate their views and the AICC was in possession of them. All the committees approved of the programme whole-heartedly. Thus the country was prepared for a new movement, the like of which was never tried on such a large and massive scale for the achievement of political ends. The special session of the Congress which met at Calcutta from 4\(^{th}\) to the 9\(^{th}\) of September 1920 was fortified by the subordinate Congress committees and the enthusiastic response evoked among the masses by the nationwide tour which Gandhi and Ali brothers undertook explaining about the movement of non-cooperation which was to be launched. At the regular session of the Congress in December 1920 at Nagpur, non-cooperation received the impress of a nation’s enthusiastic and unequivocal approval. The creed of Congress was changed and the object of the organization was defined as ‘the attainment of Swaraj by all Peaceful and legitimate means.’\(^6\)

Thus the Nagpur session was momentous in that it made non-cooperation the accepted programme for the struggle for Swaraj, made Mahatma Gandhi the acknowledged leader of the
new movement for political liberation and changed the constitution of Congress notably, clarifying its creed and placing it on a workable basis. Nagpur marked a new era in the history of freedom struggle, opening new and unexplored vistas for the achievement of Swaraj and raising the whole movement to an ethical plane.\(^7\)

The fear naturally engendered in the minds of British masters by the resolution on non-cooperation and stirred them only to a superficial searching of hearts. Evidence of this was visible in the speech of the Duke of Connaught inaugurating the new reforms in which he showed a repentant mood. When he said “I appeal to you all—British and Indians— to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstanding of the past to forgive where you have to realize the hopes that arise from today”. These words sounded so shallow carried such scanty conviction that the determination of the nation to progress towards Swaraj on the path set by the Congress remained unshaken.\(^8\)

The response in the country to the movement of non-cooperation was enthusiastic, especially from the youth. The leaders were going cautiously with the new movement, based on truth and non-violence: Success depended much on discipline, on a clear understanding of the principles which was possible only through purity of heart of all the boycotts enunciated in the non-cooperation programme, the no-vote campaign was the most successful. With unprecedented zeal, people stayed away from the polling booths. In regard to schools and colleges, also the boycott was more successful than was anticipated. To provide education for youth who came out of educational institutions, National schools and colleges sprang up in every part of the country. Lawyers, though in smaller numbers, ceased attending courts. Gandhi returned his Kaiser–E–Hind title and Rabindranath Tagore his ‘Knighthood’. \(^9\)
**Intensity of the Movement in Bombay Karnataka.**

**Dharwad District.**

It is needless to say that Karnataka whole-heartedly supported Gandhiji and from as early as 1920 it began to be called a ‘Gandhi province’. While on the national front, Karnataka was wholly with the Congress. Leaders of Karnataka were very keen that Karnataka should have a separate Congress province to start with. In 1920, Raghvendra Rao Kadpa, the dynamic protagonist eight hundred delegates for the Nagpur session of the Congress and put the demand vigorously before Gandhiji. In the new constitution of the Congress passed in December 1920 at Nagpur, Karnataka was given a separate province and it began to function with its headquarters at Gadag from then onwards.\(^\text{10}\)

Once there was a Congress province, the nationalist forces in all parts of Kannada speaking region rallied to the call of Gandhi. The history of the Congress in Karnataka really started after Karnataka began to function as an organized unit under the designation of Karnataka provincial Congress committee.\(^\text{11}\)

This period was to Karnataka what the *Swadeshi* movement era was to Bengal and Maharashtra. Karnataka was fast coming into its own, ‘Hundreds of students boycotted schools and colleges and joined the newly started national institutions and took to village work, about a hundred lawyers suspended practice and actively participated in the movement. *Khadi* came into universal popularity and at many places liquor shops were picketed. 48 national schools came into being with more than two thousand students on their rolls. But more than all these, the popular awakening was phenomenal and led to the utter hatred of foreign rule’.\(^\text{12}\) Gandhiji occupied a place of pride in the hearts of even those who did not actually join the movement. When the non – cooperation movement was suspended in 1922, the province of Karnataka emerged wholly different from what it was before the movement.\(^\text{13}\)
Role of Journalism.

The movement conducted under the guidance of the Karnataka provincial Congress committee, which came into being in 1921, permeated all parts of the province and gave the people a sense of oneness which was never seen before. The brunt of the work for the spread of Gandhism naturally fell on the press. The Kannada weeklies viz. Karmaveera and its later English counterpart, Navashakti, Karnataka Vaibhava, Karnataka Vritta, Rashtra Bandhu, Vishwakarnataka, Lokamata, Satyagrahi, Sharana Sandesha and numerous others contributed substantially to the spread of the movement.14 They wrote articles in the language of the people (Kannada) condemning the colonialism and imperialism of the British and inspired the people to fight for liberty. Journalists of the district including Hanumanthrao Mohare, Hardekar Manjappal, D.B.Puttappa and R.B.Joshi faced all trials and tribulations of the British for their nationalistic writings.

In Dharwad, which was the center of political activities in Karnataka, the movement spread quickly. “On March 26, 1919, Khilafat day was observed at Dharwad 26 Hindus and Muslims distributed the pamphlets signed by them and held meeting for Hindu–Muslim unity. This development paved the way for Hindu Muslim unity for which Gandhi gave a call in 1920.15 Kannada newspapers like Rajahamsa edited by Shambhu Rao V Pather, Vijaya edited by Hoskeri Annacharya 1920, Shubhodaya edited by K Vasudevacharya, 1918, Karmaveera edited by R. R Diwakar 1921, which were forced to stop publications due to Government repression, again rose to the activity and started spreading Gandhian ideas of Satyagraha, Non–cooperation and his social reconstruction in the region.16

Karnataka State Political Conference and the Aftermath.

This conference was held under the president ship of V.P Madhav Rao, the former Diwan of Mysore in may 1920 at Dharwad.17 It was at this conference that Kadpa Raghvendra
Rao called upon the people to attend the Nagpur session of A.I.C.C. and near about 800 delegates were sent from Dharwad district. The leaders and delegates from Dharwad demanded for separate Congress province which resulted in formation of Karnataka Pradesh Congress committee with its head quarters at Gadag. ‘Gangadhar Rao Deshpande became its president, Alur Venkatrao, its vice president. One year after R.R. Diwarkar became its vice–President and Rama Rao Hukkerikar its secretary. Congress supported the Khilafat movement and held rallies in different places of the district in support of the movement’.

In September 1920, after the Calcutta Congress Gandhiji visited Dharwad, Gadag, Hubli, Annavar, Nandgarh, Haveri, Akkihalur and Khanapur addressed large gatherings and collected contributions for ‘Tilak Swaraj Fund’. A huge public meeting was held at municipal grounded Gadag under the president ship of Gururao Kurtakoti. Shaukhat Ali who had accompanied Gandhi also addressed the meeting. At Gadag Binkadkatti Bhimappa, Ramachandrappa Kushtgi, Govindappa Kushtgi, Kalli Tippanna Shastri, Yecharappa Kundargi joined Congress. In Haveri taluka, Magavi brothers, N.L.Patil, Koliwad, K.F.Patil and others organised public meetings to enable Gandhiji to speak on the need to paralyse the British administration to liberate mother India from the clutches of British.

As the non-cooperation movement, started boycott of schools, colleges, Government offices, courts went on large scale. Ananth Rao Talihal in Gadag, Alur Venkat Rao, and K.B.Ankalgi, Kadpa Raghvendra Rao, Dambal Shrinivas Rao, Govind Rao Guttal, Vitthal Rao Joshi and Vishwanath Rao Joshi of Hubli, Purshottamacharya Raichur of Haveri etc. (all lawyers) Gave up their lucrative practice at court B.R. Patvardhan resigned from office as public prosecutor. All these lawyers became full time Congress workers and toward the entire district to organise and intensify the non-cooperation movement.
Jaya Ramacharya Koppal (Vadappi) resigned his job in Railways and started spreading national feeling through Hari Katha. Mudvid Krishna Rao and Shanthkavi (Sakkare Balacharya) also had been spreading nationalism among people through Hari Kathas. Inspired by Jaya RamaCharya, Kalli Tippanna Shastri also started Hari Kathas for spreading nationalism. The Keertanas, Hari Kathas and Bhajans gave political education to uneducated mass and instilled in them a sense of revolt and non-cooperation towards the British administration. Taluka committees were formed. In 1922 Taluka Congress committee was formed at Navalgund under the presidency of Jeevappa Anegundi. The Vedacharya Library of Navalgund became the center of Nationalist activities in Dharwad district. The Congress workers under his leadership took good deal of interest in spreading the library movement in and around Navalgund to educate people to agitate for democratic form of government.  

Students started boycotting government schools. To educate such students national schools sprang up at various places “In 1920 Karnataka Education Society started an aided school at Dharwad. But due to Non-cooperation movement it was closed after a year. In 1920 at Dharwad when Victoria High school was closed, National High school was started and Hukkerikar Rama Rao became its principal. S.B.Joshi, D.R.Bendre and Khanolkar joined this school as teachers. They performed two duties: They taught on the importance of national education and boycott for the prosperity of the nation. Out side the classrooms they advised Congress workers on as to how Satyagraha movement be launched under the message of Gandhiji, this school worked till 1927. At Hubli also a national school for boys and Tilak Girls School (Tilak Kanya Shale) were started in 1922 by Umabai Kundapur. At Gadag, Dambal Srinivas Rao an advocate from Dharwad established a National school in 1921. Shrinivasacharya Malgi (who had resigned from Katti college of Dharwad) Binducharya Joshi,
Shanthacharya Joshi, Srinivasrao Sahukar and Ananth Rao Sahukar (brothers) of Dharwad Victoria High School, Dambal Venkat Rao Khandekar etc. joined this school as teachers. In Gadag Betageri, in all eight National Primary schools were opened. At Haveri Makhanlal Gupta opened a National School. Pursothamacharya Raichur, Ramachar Gudi, P.G.Ganapule. Shrinivas Rao Torgal, Krishna Rao Torgal joined this school as teachers. This school worked for only some years. At Hanagal a school was started by shamacharya H. V. Karegudari, Dattappa Kapileshwar, waman rao Desai, A.N.Kundapur taught at this school. Mallari Bhatt Kaginelli opened a school for girls at Hanagal.22

As the movement grew stronger and stronger the government adopted repressive policy and took stern action. “On 30th June 1921 the collector of Dharwad Mr. H.L.Painter called R.R.Diwakar and Madhwarao Kabbur to his office and threatened them to stop their activities and said ‘I am thirsting for your blood’.23 Inspite of this people picketed liquor shops and one such picketing at Dharwad resulted in police firings and large scale arrests. The following are the details of this incident.

Apprehensive of the growing volume of the movement, the bureaucracy launched prohibition of speeches and writings. The government imposed censorship on newspapers and journals. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was sentenced to six months imprisonment, R. R. Diwakar and many others were sentenced for a year or more. But, the happening that attracted the greatest attention was, the police firing at Dharwad on a peaceful assemblage of people in front of the liquor shop being picketed on the evening of June 30, 1921,24 in protesting against the arrests of two Khilafat agitators who were sentenced to six months imprisonment.25 Police opened firing on their unarmed and peaceful picketers on pretext of attempt to burn the liquor shop, arson and destruction of the shop. Three persons Mallik Sab-Bin-Mardan Sab, Gous Sab-Bin-Qadar Sab
and Abdul Qadar died on the spot, 39 agitators were severely injured. The A.I.C.C. appointed a committee consisting Abbas Tyabji, Bhavanishankar Niyogi and N.S.Setlur to enquire into the incident. This committee found the firing wholly unjustified and uncalled for, the committee report was made public which helped people to develop anti British attitude.

Following the firing, the vindictive authorities lodged a false case against 27 persons including Khilafat leaders, prominent political workers, lawyers and journalists, for alleged rioting, arson attempt to murder etc., All India leaders advised the accused to offer no defence. perjured evidence was concocted against their and 23 of them were sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonments extending to 3 years. The hearings of these cases went on for several days. In the meanwhile, Lala Lajpat Rai visited all these prisoners at Dharwad and gave encouragement. Diwakar, who was also an accused, refused with others to participate in the proceedings. His statement before the court created a great effect on the people and 5,000 copies of the statement were sold out in a few hours. He had uttered before the court. “In the court, defence is offered to get justice. But it is sinful to offer defence in the proceedings when I know that justice is impossible here”. This stirred the mind of all other people present there.

R. R. Diwakar, Hanmanth Rao Deshpande and Madar Sab Katagar were released. Madhavarao Kabbur, Venkat Rao Mudvid, Damaodar Herlekar, Abdulla Khulasi (president, Khilafat committee) and Abdul Rahiman Rotiwala were sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment. Ananth Dabade, Usman Mulla, Sultan Mohi–Uddin Darji, Abdul Khadar Attar, Mohammad Husian Rotiwala, Abdul Wajiuddin Daroga, M.Narsimha Narayan Bhise, Shalumbhatt and Budan Chhappar Bandh were sentenced for two years rigorous imprisonment. Tirumal Rao Joshi, Raghunath Waman Jatthar, Annacharya Hoskeri, Madhavacharya Kelkeri, Madhav Kamalapur, Imam Maniyar, Mohammad Sab Saudagar and Govindachar Gutthal for
one year rigorous imprisonment.31 “The British administrators seized this opportunity to spread mis-understanding between Brahmin and non – Brahmins. Muslims were supporting the Congress, as it supported the cause of *Khilafat*. Painter, the commissioner of Dharwad while creating false cases, needed Lingayath witnesses to play Brahmins against Lingyaths and divide them politically in order to safeguard the interest of British. To achieve this object he arrested 29 non-Lingayat agitators. Among the 29 arrested fifteen were Brahmins, thirteen Muslims and one was Maratha.” 32 The following evidences show how perjured the witnesses were:

“Annacharya Hoskeri was Linting, Madhvarao Kelkeri, Tirumal Rao Joshi and Ananth Rao Dabade were too old to lift a mound of stones and throw on the liquor shop, but the witnesses did not hesitate to accuse them of loot, arson and throwing of stones on the liquor shop.33

R. R. Diwakar says, “In the evening when the firings were resorted I was at *Khilafat* Maidan speaking to open public, where I was informing about the activities at Dharwad district, memberships, collection of Tilak *Swaraj* fund etc. I was half mile away from the place of firings”. He also said “This incident attracted the leaders and the people at national level towards Dharwad and Karnataka”. 34

Gandhiji withdrew the non-cooperation campaign in 1922 in Bardoli on account of the Tragic happenings in Chaurichaura in U.P where 21 constables and a sub – inspector were taken to the police station where they were confined and the station was set on fire reducing them to ashes.35 He was sentenced to six years simple imprisonments for sedition and taken to Yervada on March 10, 1922. 36 Though the movement was suspended the political events were not at stand still. Important developments took place in Dharwad district they were the establishment
of Hindustani Seva Dal and the non-Brahmin movement, which made Congress more strong and social based.

**Bijapur District.**

Prominent persons from Bijapur like Kaujalagi Hanumantha Rao had attended the Nagpur session of the Congress and were inspired by its programme of non-cooperation. At the Nagpur Congress Session Gandhiji, gave a call to the nation to express its non-cooperation with the government by refusing to attend the courts, offices, schools and colleges. Accordingly, when national leaders like Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das, C. Rajagopalachari etc. renounced their practice at courts it had its impact on Bijapur district also. In a public meeting held at Bijapur, Jaya Rao Nargund, Srinivasa Rao Kaujalagi, Ranga Rao Tiligola and Jenab Janavekar etc. spoke, renounced their practice at courts and participated in the non-cooperation movement. With them Kirasur, Katti, Balacharya, Kerur etc. also joined their hands. On that occasion Kaujalagi Hanumantha Rao had gone to Hunagund on some court work. After returning to Bagalkot he got the information about the developments in Bijapur and the very next day a public meeting was summoned at Bagalkot where he renounced his practice of advocacy and plunged into the non-cooperation movement.³⁷

For the propagation of non-cooperation Kaujalagi Srinivasa Rao and Hanumantha Rao visited the villages, conveyed the message of Gandhi about propagation of khadi and prohibition of alcohol by creating awareness among the people and tried to attract them to the non-cooperation movement. British government naturally could not tolerate that. Therefore, on the charges of inciting the public against the government under section 108, a case was registered against Hanumantha Rao. The inquiry into case came before Handerson, the district magistrate. When the police brought Hanumantha Rao before the court, he was wearing the Gandhi cap, Handerson became very angry looking at the shining Gandhi cap on Hanumantha Rao’s head.
Those were the bad days when the British hated to see the Gandhi cap. Yet Handerson politely ordered Hanumantha Rao to go out of the court remove the Ganghi cap and then report back to the court. But Hanumantha Rao who went out, returned to the court again with his cap. Looking at Hanumantha Rao who had not headed to his orders, Handerson became more furious. Handerson tried at least three times by ordering Hanumantha Rao to remove his Gandhi cap, every time imposing a penalty of rupees 200. Yet Hanumantha Rao repeated his appearance in the court without removing the cap and tried to justify its wearing. On his third appearance Handerson did not go to impose further penalty but transferred the case to be tried under section 268 of the IPC to Hiremut’s bench. Advocate’s circle of Bijapur prepared to go on an appeal against the imposition of penalty of rupees 200 on two occasions on Hanumantha Rao by Handerson. Panduranga Rao Desai took up the case to defend on his own.38

This Gandhi caps issue of Bijapur got highlighted in the news papers of all languages in the Bombay province. “Karnataka Vaibhava” that was being published as a weekly from Bijapur came out in its issue dated 21-06-1921 with an editorial by Jaya Rao Nargund criticizing the action by Handerson as “Monkey’s mischief”. Kesari, the Marathi paper started by Tilak severely condemned the attitude of Handerson and warned him that if he had ordered for the removal of one Gandhi cap he should remember that hundreds and thousands of them would dance before him. Lokasangraha paper called Handerson as “Dadapashahi” and whole heartedly appreciated the patriotism of Hanumantha Rao. Subhodaya, that was being published from Dharwar compared the British administration with “Sudugadu Siddhas” and reported that their attitude was silly. That incident attracted the attention of Gandhiji also. Gandhi in his paper the ‘Young India’ called it as the highhandedness of the Magistrate and further stated that the British officials were welcoming the non-coopeators to violate their legislation. He appreciated
the politesess of Hanumantha Rao in breaking the orders of the court and advised the non-cooperators to take the matter with enthusiasm. Thus in Karnataka, as a pioneer of civil disobedience movement Kaujalagi Hanumantha Rao helped Gandhiji to go deeper in his sincere thoughts in civil disobedience movement itself. 39

The case against the imposition of a fine of rupees 400 by Handerson on Hanumantha Rao filed by Panduranga Rao Desai came before the district Magistrate Elison for hearing. He ruled that the imposition of penalty was wrong, forbade the fine and passed orders for the refund of the penalty so collected. Put to shame by such an order Handerson wanted to somehow punish Hanumantha Rio and filed a false case against him under section 108 of the Cr PC. Upon the request made by Hanumantha Rao the case was transferred for hearing to the district Magistrate court at Sollapur. In the enquiry conducted before the judge at Sollapur, Handerson brought false witnesses. Towards the end the court ruled that Hanumantha Rao should furnish a bond for his good behaviour for a year or suffer a simple imprisonment for a period of one year. Hanumantha Rao was ready to undergo imprisonment but, his maternal uncle Govinda Rao Belagal himself personally met the Magistrate and on behalf of Hanumantha Rao he gave the undertaking for Hanumantha Rao’s good conduct, obtained his release and returned to Bagalkot. 40

Upon his return to Bagalkot Hanumantha Rao made a parallel thinking with his friends Mohare Hanumantha Rao, Sali Ramachandra Rao, Ranga Rao Tilagola and Nana Sahib Masoorkar and decided that suffering imprisonment was more appropriate. Without informing anybody at home he went to Sollapur along with Masoorkar and Tiligola, met the District Magistrate, requested him to return the undertaking furnished by his maternal uncle and impose the punishment of imprisonment and accordingly came to Bijapur jail. Thus, Hanumantha Rao’s Gandhi cap episode became a historical event. This had such an impact that Lala Lajpat Rai,
who used to wear the Indian traditional head gear (Rumal) renounced that and began to wear Gandhi cap. It may not be wrong if it is said that this gave a definite shape to the civil disobedience movement that was being thought out sincerely by Gandhiji. Hanumantha Rao established a professional drama group called as “Sri Krishna Drama Company” at Bijapur and through that staged Sandhya Raga, Yachemma Nayaka etc at Bijapur, Bagalkot and Guledgudda which provided publicity to the national movement.41

As a part of non-cooperation movement the National schools were established at Bijapur, Bagalkot and Hunagund. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande called upon the students to boycott going to schools and colleges. Purohit returned to Bagalkot and began his service in the National school as a teacher. Similarly, Mohare Hanumantha Rao gave up the school, returned from Bombay to Bagalkot and began to teach in National school as a lecturer. At that time National school was being conducted in the building of K.S. Deshpande, Ramalingeshwara temple at Hunagund was a centre of the National schools. Jaya Rao Nargund worked there as a teacher for some time.42

Likewise, among those who had left the schools and reached their native places were Guru Rao Venkat Rao Jorapur, Krishna Rao Jorapur, R.S. Mugali and Neeralakere Srinivasa Rao etc. Narayan Rao Ragavendra Rao Desai, Madhva Raj Pyati, Basettappa Balutagi, Praneshacharya Guddada etc. from Hunagund participated in that program. Non-cooperation movement was strong in many other places near Bijapur like Nagatana, Chadachana, Galagali, Indi, Yalagur, Guledgudda, Badami, Cholachagudda, Hunagund, Ilkal, Gudur, Kamatagi etc. Kaujalagi Hanumantha Rao engaged in the propagation of khadi in the company of Praneshacharya travelled in Amingad, Ilkal, Kamatagi, Gudur, etc. and created awareness among the public. Kaujalagi Hanumantha Rao also visited Sirsi and made speeches to spread the message of swadeshi and non-cooperation.43
Srinivasa Rao Mangalavede gave up the college in protest and began to publish the literature for propagation of the non-cooperation movement. A Khadi manufacturing centre was started in Bijapur. Sali Ramachandra Rao translated the articles from Navajeevana and Young India papers being published by Gandhiji, into Kannada and got them published in the Kannada weekly paper that was being published by Mangalavede. That paper became famous with “Kannadiga” as its name and played a significant role. In the same situation, advocate Yalagurda Dharwarkar started a weekly entitled “Nava Bharat” from Bagalkot for a year and propagated national issues.44

Gandhi started enlisting the public opinion in support of non-cooperation movement with a slogan Swarajya in one year and tried to collect rupees one crore to Tilak’s Swaraj Fund. Gandhiji visited the district for the second time on 28th May 1921 and incidently made a visit to Bagalkot and Bijapur. To listen to Gandhji’s speech nearly eleven thousand people had gathered at the public meeting held on the same day. Gandhi collected a sum of rupees 1000 for Tilak’s Swaraj Fund. 45

Gandhiji travelled by bus from Bagalkot to Bijapur. On his way people waited for several hours in groups with garlands, sandal paste, bouquets and aarathi for a darshan of Gandhi. Mahartna Gandhi reached Bijapur in the evening, participating first in a meeting organized by women and there after, Gandhi addressed a public meeting in support of the non-cooperation at Tajbavadi playgrounds where twelve thousand people had gathered. At that meeting the town council and on behalf of the traders associations two separate felicitations were presented to Gandhi. Shabadi Gundappa a leader of the non-brahmins was also permitted to speak at that meeting. He criticized the Brahmins and said rather rudely that Gandhi was a puppet in the hands of Brahmins and the call to boycott the schools and colleges was a clean garland of
deception practiced by Brahmins on the non-brahmins to keep them off the employment opportunities provided by the government. Replying to the question posed by Shabadi Gundappa, in relaxed mood Gandhi clarified that he was himself a non-brahmin and called upon him to forget about hating Brahmins and unite to fight against the British. Seth Ramdas of Bagalkot announced in that meeting his decision to renounce the title Rao Sahib conferred on him. Contributions were received to Tilak’s Swaraj Fund at that meeting. Feeling unhappy over the presence of only 1400 spinning wheels in the entire district he said that the spinning wheel is like insurance during droughts and when the wheel moved in every house Swadeshi would grow and that also amounted to the boycott of foreign cloth. He reminisced Tilak’s slogan “Swaraj is my birth right” and said that the wheel would give swaraj to them. Thereafter Gandhi travelled to Sollapur from Bijapur.46

At Dharwar On July 1st 1921 picketing in front of a toddy shop had resulted in police opening fire and killing three persons. In that connection, among the Congress executives who courted arrest on charges of false allegations were R.R. Diwakar and Anantha Rao Dabade of Bijapur. They also suffered a punishment of one year in jail. At that time Srinivasa Rao Kaulalagi had gone to Dharwar. He inaugurated Madhura Chenna’s Sharadha Reading Room in Halasangi and began to think about national languages. Similarly, Kalakaleswara reading room was established in Hatharaki and that helped in the progress of national awareness. Non-cooperation meeting held at Nagatana was attended by Ranga Rao Tilagola, G. M. Deshpande Dasopant, Vithoba Nikkam and Hanumantha Rao Kaujalagi who made their speeches and sang keertana ‘Bhajanika Rashtram’, for propagation and also collected rupees 70. On that occasion they stayed in Nagatana for three days and Appa Rao Srinivas Kulkarni provided boarding and lodging facilities. By that time Siddaramappa Basappa Pattara had already tried to encourage the
propagation of the movement by weaving khadi and actively participating in its propagation which in turn influenced the people. When the Belgaum district parishad had its meeting at Gokak in June 1921 Srinivasa Rao Kaujalagi had presided.47

At the time of non-cooperation movement, Anantha Rao Dabade of Guledgudda, while on his way to Hubli learned at the Gadag railway station that there was a delay of half an hour in the departure of the train. He went near the cotton bundles tying there got inspired, shouted ‘fire fire’ to attract the people, conducted a public meeting, informed the people about the non-cooperation movement and resumed his travel to Hubli.48 Similarly, at the jatra of Yellamanagudda, Anantha Rao Dabade secretly gave rupees five as alms to each Jogamma and suggested them to tell others present in the jatra that if they did not wear the locally made bangles, their husbands would die. That led to the total sales of the bangles of Chodageri Factory but the shops selling the foreign bangles had to be closed down.49

In the executive committee meeting of the Congress held at Ahamadabad in 1922, Kaujalagi Srinivasa Rao was made the member of the All India Congress Executive Committee as Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was in jail. When the influence of the non-cooperation movement began to spread throughout the nation, Gandhiji declared his decision to undertake sathyagraha in Bardoli on 24-02-1922. But in the meanwhile the movement at Chauri-Chaura assumed violent form forcing Gandhi to change his mind. As a result Candhiji suddenly withdrew his Bardoi satyagraha against the wishes of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Chittaranjan Das etc. Yet Gandhi withdrew the satyagraha and by way of repentance undertook fasting. Gandhi was arrested on March 10, 1922 and sentenced to six years imprisonment and sent to Yaravada jail.50

Jaya Rao Nargund the editor of Karnataka Vaibhava died in July 1922. During the same year under the leadership of Marugaiah Jangin, the all Karnataka exhibition had been arranged at
Bagalkot. It was indeed another significant incident. By that time the chief editor of Karnaraka Vaibhava paper Ranga Rao Tilagula and sub-editor Mohare Hanumantha Rao had published their editorial comments on the day of the anniversary of firing at Dharwar. He was fined rupees 300 as fine or three months in jail. In September 1922 Mohare Hanumantha Rao became its editor. Mohare was also well known for his sharp editorials. He called into question the high handedness of Handerson the district collector, who engaged in the collection of donation for the construction of a hospital for the blind and became a target of public attack and subject to the fury of the government. A case against Mohare was filed on alleged charges of him being a traitor in April 1923 and it earned him a punishment of rigorous imprisonment for two years and a fine of rupees 1000. Mohare was also sent to Yaravada jail. Kaujalagi Hanumantha Rao who had by then become the editor of Karnataka Vaibhava called a meeting at Bijapur to felicitate Mohare. He published an editorial under the title “Same God with a different priest”. After his return from jail, Mohare became its editor upto 1933.51

Hardekar Manjappa, well known as Karnataka Gandhi, established a sathyagraha ashrama at Harihara. In search of worthy Followers, he had visited Bijapur, Bagalkot, Bilagi, and Galagali and carried on publicity on sathyagraha. When the case of Kaujalagi Srinivasa Rao was in progress, communal rivalry between Brahmins and Lingayats had reached a serious stage. During non-cooperation movement Bombay government had forbidden the VyasaTolu procession in Athani. Despite that, with the help of Sathya Shodaka Samaj the Lingayats carried on the VyasaTolu procession in the villages. As a result of that, the Athani incident had become a hinderence to the campaigning of the non-cooperation movement. To solve this issue, Gangadhar Rae Deshpande and Kaujalagi Srinivasa Rao came together from Bijapur to Athani, met the prominent members of both the communities and succeeded in striking a compromise.
Accordingly, permission was accorded to the Lingayats to conduct the Vyasaṭolu procession 2 to 3 times in a year at such places where the Brahmins did not reside.  

At the same time, there was a criminal case under section 108 of the CrPC against Srinivasa Rao Kaujalagi in Bijapur and he was given simple imprisonment for one year. A public meeting was organized to felicitate Kaujalagi Srinivasa Rao who had been sentenced to imprisonment and to condemn the attitude of the government that had awarded the punishment. That public meeting was presided by advocate Angadi and Gangadhar Rao Deshpande actively participated in that meeting and spoke on the occasion. The government warned Angadi for his participation in that meeting, as a result of which he distanced himself from the activities of the Congress. By that time, Simpi Linganna through the enactment of the drama Mare Muchchka had profounded the eradication of untouchability. That drama had also been staged in the annual fair of Godihala and on that occasion interdinning for all was arranged and that was a noteworthy sight.

**Belgaum District.**

In Belgaum district in response to the call for non-cooperation, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Dattopant Majali and Krishnarao Karguppi of Belgaum gave up their legal practice. Dondo Yallo Kulkarni, Venkatrao Jalihal, Dayananda Aralikatti and Venkanna Nagar resigned their government jobs. National schools were started for those who gave up schools, at Belgaum, Nipani (Tilak Rashtreeya Pathasala), Yamakamamardi, Nandgad, Pachapur (1923) and Hudali. The one at Belgaum was a high school, the rest were primary schools (Though all these closed down in four or five years, the Nipani school continued till 1936). Swarajya Ashram with Pundlikji Katgade as its head was founded at Belgaum to train workers. A similar ashram was started by Gangadhar Rao at Kumeri near Hudali. A newspaper (weekly) Tarun Bharat (1928) was started in Belgaum by Baburao Thakur and others, and Belgaum Sainachar of considerable
antiquity came to be edited by nationalists like Shankar Rao and his son Prabhakar Parulekar. Boycott, public meetings, processions and picketing of liquor and foreign goods shops were resorted to in many towns and villages of the district.\textsuperscript{54}

District political conference was organised at Gokak in June 1921, Srinivasrao Kaujalgi of Bijapur presiding. The Belgaum District Khilafat Conference was also organised at the same time and Ali Brothers and Dr. Kichlew attended it. Ali Brothers were honoured with a civic address by the Belgaum municipality. Soon after, Gangadhar Rao was tried under Sec 124 A of IPC for a speech he had delivered at Navalgund in Dharwad district and sentenced to six months’ Rigorous Imprisonment. Dattopant Majali, Keshavarao Gokhale, Ramachandra Joshi, Baburao Thakur and Shivrao Koppal, were among those imprisoned from Belgaum during the Non-Co-operation movement. Hanumantrao Naik from Nandgad, Vishwambhar Deshpande from Pachapur, Dinkar Dambal from Athani, Tammanah Mahajan, Umar Kachi and 15 others from Gokak were convicted. Belgaum district’s share of the imprisoned was about 25 out of a total of about 70 from Karnataka during the Non-Co-operation era. Activities like propagation of khadi were vigourously carried out. Khadi production centres were at Kumari Ashram, but also at Pachapur, Bhagojikop, Hoskoti and Gurlhosur. Khadi received a good momentum in the district as propaganda was conducted among the Lingayats that wearing clothes not spun and woven by a Lingayat was against the tenets of the religion.\textsuperscript{55}

In 1923, a batch of 10 led by Damu Anna Lengde was sent from the district with volunteers from Pachapur, Nandgad, Athani and Chikodi to the Flag Satyagraha organised at Nagpur and these were all arrested and convicted at Nagpur. Lengde became an important worker of Hindustani Seva Dal, launched by Dr. Hardikar soon after.\textsuperscript{56}
The next historic event in belgaum was the 39th Indian National Congress Session, which will be discussed elaborately in the proceeding Chapter.

**Uttara Kannada District.**

In 1920, Karwar congress Committee was founded with Mangesh Ramakrishna Telang as its president and Krishna Rao Haldipurkar and M. D Nadakarni as secretaries. A batch of 12 youths from the district, who had given up their studies from the colleges at Bombay and Pune in response to Gandhiji’s call of non co-operation came to the district in around March 1921. They included Shankar Gulvady and Devanna Koppikar. They ceaselessly toiled in the district to create national awakening. In October 1920, Vaman Hodke had given up his studies at the Teachers’ Training School at Dharwad and opened a nationalist school at Sirsi whose students were regularly conducting *prabhath pheris* in the town and the school had become a centre of nationalist activity. In the beginning of 1921, the District Congress Committee was founded with S. S. Shastry, an advocate of Honavar as the President. He later gave up his practice in response to Gandhiji’s call. Timmappa Nayak, who was the head master of the Anglo-Vernacular School of Sirsi resigned his job and became the headmaster of the nationalist school of Sirsi. Both these were highly respected persons asset to Congress in the district.\(^{57}\)

The Khilafat movement launched by Congress attracted many Muslims to Congress. At the prayers said at the Sirsi Marikamba Temple together with “Har Har Mahadev”, “Allaho Akbar” was another slogan raised. One Habibulla Khan, believed to be from Peshawar, who claimed to have been wounded in the Jalianwala Tragedy of 1919, visited the district in June-July 1921 and addressed public meetings in all towns of the district. He criticised the corrupt bureaucracy and condemned it in very severe terms for its slavish mentality. His mode of talk would appeal to the most common people too. He insisted on the opening of nationalist schools. His speeches attracted a large number of Muslims to the Congress in the district. It was due to
his efforts that the nationalist school at Siddapur was opened. Similar schools were also started later at Kumta and Bilgi. Most of the boys and girls that studied at these schools later became active workers in the national movement.\textsuperscript{58}

An event 1920 took place in 1921, this time in Siddapur. An Assistant Commissioner called Coimbatore who was on a visit to the district, had camped at the house of Narayana Hegde of Dodmane. He took exceptions to Narayana Hegde’s participation in nationalist activities. Narayana Hegde replied that anybody opposing his activities had no place in his house and he asked the Assistant Commissioner to quit his house. There was a heated exchange of words and the Assistant Commissioner threatened Narayan Hegde of dire consequences for his behaviour. The news went round and the Assistant Commissioner could get no help from any quarters during his tour after his ouster from Narayan Hegde’s place. In fact, most of the patels, nearly 80 of them, in Siddapur taluk, resigned spontaneously. The officer had to eat an humble pie. Of these, many patels who resigned was Kelaginamane Nagesh Hegde whose family took a leading part in the movement during later years. The visit of Keertankar Jayaramacharya Koppal during the Dasara (1921) further helped to take matters to a pitch as he conducted keertans in all important towns.\textsuperscript{59}

The prabhat pheris, public meetings, holis of foreign goods, picketing of liquor shops, etc were conducted in the district. But, the Collector of the district, Haig an Englishman, wanted to just ignore these activities so long as they did not disturb peace. Except preventing Habibulla Khan from delivering lectures within the limits of the town in one or two places, there had been no open official opposition to the nationalist activities. Spinning and weaving, picketing of liquor shops on a very large scale and many other such programmes were going on in all taluks of the district. Sirsi, Siddapur, Bilgi, Gokarn, Kumta and Ankola were the most notable centres.
But Congress propaganda had stirred every village in the district by 1921. Abdus Sammad of Sirsi, Mohiyuddin of Bhatkal, Badruddin Pirzade of Ankola, Abdul Khader Maniyar front Haliyat, etc., were some of the notable leaders of the Khilafat movement.60

The local officials, who were boiling with anger for their open criticism, both from the platform and in the press, were waiting for an opportunity to strike. Chance came when Bedkani Chanda Nayak made a speech condemning the Government and spoke of “rolling of heads” he was arrested and sentenced. He was the first political prisoner from Uttara Kannada. This was followed by the conviction of Dattatreya Joshi and Narayan Marathe, two teachers of the national school at Sirsi in January 1922. Later, the headmaster of the school Timmappa Nayak was also arrested and sentenced. Another convict was Puddi Saheb, a Muslim cultivator for continuing nationalist activities.61

Many students Boycotted English schools, in 1921 a National School was started by Kalyanpurkar at Kumta which had nearly 150 students. But this school was closed in 1924.62

**Hindustani Seva Dal and its Impact.**

Narayan Subbarao Hardikar and six others from Karnataka had been to the Nagpur flag Satyagraha of 1923. Police arrested him along with many Congress volunteers. Some inexperienced youths got released on their apology, as they could not bear the tortures at Jail. N.S.Hardikar writes, “The condition in the jail was like a hell. Some youths scared of the conditions in the jail got themselves released through apology letters. When I came to know the matter some of us discussed about the causes for this and decided to build a youth voluntary organization and bring discipline, tolerance, patience and enhance physical build up in the youth. It was decided to call an ‘All India Volunteers’ conference’.63

He met Jawaharlal Nehru on November 14,1923 and put the above matter before him Nehru promised his full support to the idea. Hardikar requested him to chair over the volunteer
organization conference that was to be held during Cocanda (Kakinada) Congress of 1923. In the first session of the ‘All – India Volunteers’ conference, which was held in cocanada on 25th of December 1923, the chairman of the reception committee K. Nageshwara Rao Pantulu and the president, Jawaharlal Nehru had made an earnest plea for a trained volunteer army ready to respond to the call of the Congress in any capacity. The Decision of this conference received approval in the 38th Congress session of the 28th December 1923.

‘In this session the seva dal was launched, Jawaharlal Nehru became its president and N.S.Hardikar its secretary with its all India headquarters at Hubli. Pattabhi Sitaramayya says “The Hindustani Seva Dal carried on their work of training volunteers in various parts of the country. Most of this work was done in Karnataka, where the head office of the Dal and their academy of physical culture were situated. But many camps were held in other parts of the country and the demand of trainers had been greater than the supply. The Dal helped greatly in enrolling members for the Congress and in the boycott of foreign cloth. The volunteers of the Dal fully co-operated in organizing an efficient volunteer corps for the Lahore Congress”.

It played prominent role in organizing Congress session of 1924 at Belgaum, organizing Satyagraha movement, propagation of Ghandhian discipline and inducing people to show respect to national flag hoisting (a regular political ritual at Congress functions). Thus, Hindustani Seva Dal injected a new blood of courage and conviction in the minds of freedom fighters for the noble cause of freedom.

Speaking about these volunteers and on their disciplined services, A.M. Zaidi and Dr. S.M.Zaidi state, “The volunteer organization was another unique feature of the Belgaum Congress. Early in April, Dr. Hardikar had prepared an electorate scheme for securing ‘trained’ Volunteers for the Congress. Owing to the dearth of funds the scheme could only be partly
carried out. The strength of volunteers was 1156 consisting of 817 Sahayaks, 141 Sahayikas (lady volunteers) and 198 scouts-all recruited solely from Karnataka and Kannada residents of Andhra, Maharashtra and Bombay. Of these, about 275 Sahayaks had received full time training in camps specially opened for the purpose and an equal number were given instructions in classes conducted by some of the regularly trained volunteers. Taking into consideration the fact that, the volunteers had onerous and heavy duties such as crowd and traffic control, night patrol, and guard duty to perform, it must be noted with gratitude that they acquainted themselves quite credibly under the able management of the captain and other officers of the volunteer organization”.

The 1700 Hindustani Seva Dal volunteers trained by N.S.Hardikar attracted praise and appreciation for their discipline sense of dedication and patriotic fervour.

Launching of a lady wing of Seva Dal was also in the mind of Dr.Hardikar. He says “I was trying to start a ladies wing of volunteer corps within the Seva Dal since 1927. But the All India seva Dal did not permit for that. But I succeeded in Lahore in 1929. women established their own wing in the All India Seva Dal. These women volunteers played prominent part during salt Satyagraha.”

“It was decided to expand the women’s corps at the Karachi session in 1931, accordingly efforts were made to establish Lady Seva Dal organizations all over the country. Kamala Devi Chattopadhya and other women of Bombay played important role for this. When the Congress merged the Seva Dal into its (Congress) organization Jawaharlal Nehru and myself tried to organize the women wings. Congress working committee also gave its accent for this. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Sophia Somji and myself traveled North and South India. We held a training camp for women at Matunga near Bombay”. Says Dr. Hardikar.
The Seva Dal also rendered valuable service during the salt Satyagraha in Ankola in 1930. Lakhs of volunteers both men and women were arrested and jailed. In 1931 when the civil Disobedience movement was resumed (after the Gandhi Irwin pact), the seva Dal along with the Congress was declared an illegal organization and was banned by the government. Government seized all the property of the Seva Dal including ‘Tilak Library’ in Sri Shewde’s house at Hubli. This library, when seized in 1931 had 6000 books worth Rs.15000. When the Government lifted the ban on the Seva Dal in 1934 there was nothing left in the library. 72

There were still more misapprehensions with regard to the place of the Seva Dal in the Congress organization. The working committee of the Congress, in its meeting on the 20th of July 1931 recognized the Dal as “the central volunteer organization of the Congress working directly under the authority of the working committee, or such person as it might appoint in this behalf. Its functions were categorically mentioned. Provincial Congress Committees were authorized and required to form duly recognized volunteer corps, all the members of which were required to be members of the Congress, and must conform to the discipline of the central volunteer organization. The Seva Dal, which had held its first All–India conference at cocanada and was doing splendid work ever since under the guidance and leadership of Dr. Hardikar, was made an affiliated body of the Congress, pledged to its creed of legitimate and peaceful means of attaining Swaraj.” 73

Jawaharlal Nehru had such admiration for the work of Dr.Hardikar that he readily responded to the call of the latter to visit Karnataka and inspire its youth. This is what Nehru wrote in his autobiography “… I hurried south to the Karnataka to fulfill a long promise made to my old comrade of the Hindustani Seva Dal, Doctor N.S.Hardikar. The Seva Dal, the volunteer wing of the national movement, had all along been an auxiliary of the Congress, though its
organization was quite separate. In the summer of 1931, however, the working committee decided to absorb it completely into the Congress organization, and to make it the volunteer Department of the Congress. This was done, and Dr. Hardikar and I were put in charge of it. The Headquarters of the Dal continued in the Karnataka province at Hubli, and Dr. Hardikar induced me to visit the place for various functions connected with the Dal. He then took me about on tour for a few days in Karnataka and I was amazed at the tremendous enthusiasm of the people every where.”  

The Dal by its activities and effective work in the struggle for freedom during the critical period of Civil-Disobedience Movement (1930–34) became so prominent that the Government refused to lift its ban on it. For British, it was an unlawful organization. N.S. Hardikar says “The government though lifted the ban on Congress it did not do so in case of the Hindustani Seva Dal. The Seva Dal had to be disbanded from this in April 1934.” Though the government had banned the Seva Dal in 1932, the youth trained by the H.S.D. participated actively in the Quit India Movement. Hardikar further says, “Shah Nawaz Khan who was in the Indian National Army had called a convention of All India Seva Dal volunteers in 1946 and I was made the president to that convention.”

The volunteer army of the Congress, the edifice of Dr. Hardikar, played a prominent and memorable part in Karnataka’s fight for freedom. Dr. Hardikar built up, slowly and steadily, the edifice of this volunteer organization, and handed it over to the nation. Karnataka is justly proud of its contribution to the national struggle, and is proud also of Dr. Hardikar, who organized and led this devoted band of patriotic youths for freedom and integration of nation under the banner of non-violent revolt.
The Non-Brahmin Movement and its Repercussions on the Movement.

The rule of Peshwas, the mal - administration of Baji Rao II, the high positions given to the Brahmins during that period, the importance given to Marathi language all made the people of Bombay Karnataka region to welcome the British administration. When some intellectuals amongst the Brahmins started resenting the British rule and manifesting their desire for freedom, the Non–Brahmins started doubting that these Brahmins were revolting to regain the lost kingdom of the Peshwar. They also doubted that the Brahmins were resenting against the education and job opportunities the Non–Brahmins were getting, and because of which they were losing their monopoly in administration. 79

The anti-Brahmin associations started emerging in Madras, Bombay, Kolhapur and Pune. The main objective of these associations were to educate and organize the non-Brahmin castes so as to enable them to get government jobs, participate in representative bodies and frame policies for uplift of Backward classes and safe guard the right of these classes in both rural and urban areas. Karnataka could not with stand the waves of this movement. The Satyashodhak Samaj of Jyotirao Phule and Vitthal Ramji Shinde’s Depressed Classes Mission Society (1906) of Pune had their influences on the socio-political happenings in Dharwad district. A branch of Shinde’s Depressed Classes Mission Society was opened at Hubli. Different non–Brahmins started founding associations suitable to their castes and opened schools and hostels. Lingayat Vidhyabhivrudhhi Samsthe founded in 1883 at Dharwad was one such great institution. Prominent Veerashaiva leaders of Dharwad like Gilganchi Gurusiddappa and Artal Rudra Gowda, Bapu Gowda Patil, N.L.Patil of Haveri were responsible in opening this institution. This institution used to give financial assistance to he Veerashaiva students for higher education. In 1893 Maratha Vidhya Vardhak Mandal were opened at Belgaum and at Dharwad which started a middle school at Dharwad, but it was closed in 1897 due to plague. 80 These non-Brahmin
institutions helped people of all castes to receive education and fight for their civil and political rights.

The *Veerashaiva Vidhyabhivruddhi Sangha* not only gave assistance to the R.L.S. high school started by R.L.E. society in 1922 at Dharwad but also opened a hostel for Lingayath students. But more important was the conference of the *Veerashaiva Mahasabha* held under the auspices of Sri Kumaranswami of Hanagal at Dharwad. He appealed to the *Veerashaivas* gathered there to take over to trade also and not to depend only upon agriculture. The *Veerashaiva Mahasabha* started multipurpose scheme for over–all development of the *Veerashaivas*. 81

The *Namdev Shimpi Samaj* conference, the *Maratha Sikshan Samaj* conference held at Belgaum in 1915 also gave further impetus to the non–Brahmin movement in Dharwad district. The convention of the Mohammedan education conference of Bombay was held at Dharwad on 16–17 April 1917. During the same period *Murugha Rajendra Nilaya* in 1916 and Karnatak College in 1917 were started at Dharwad. The Justice party of Madras (1916) and the *Praja Mitra Mandal* of Mysore (1917) also started influencing the non–Brahmin movement in Dharwad district. 82

Brahmanetra Parishat conferences were held at Hubli with Sir Siddappa Kambli as the reception committee Chairman, and at Belgaum. In 1918, Indian Maratha Political Conference was organised at Belgaum. But, as resolutions supporting Congress were passed, efforts were soon afoot to wean the Maratha leaders away from Congress. The attitude of the leaders of the non–Brahmin community towards Congress is illustrated by a statement quoted by a veteran Congressman Paramanna Hosmani of Karjigi, who speaks of a discussion held at Athani where an advocate spoke to him thus : “Now the British government has been honouring our people by
offering them good posts and respectable titles. They are providing scholarships to our children and helping them to achieve progress. In such a situation, if we support Congress, we will have to remain backward. In case we are to attain Swaraj immediately as a result of this movement, most of our people being uneducated and Brahmins being mostly educated, the latter will occupy important posts in free India and try to keep our people in ignorance."  

The plight of the Lingayat community and its eagerness to extend educational facilities to its youngmen is reflected in the founding of the K L E Society in 1916 at Belgaum.  

Veteran Lingayat Sir Siddappa Kambli was invited to preside over the first Karnataka Unification Conference held at the venue of Belgaum Congress (1924). The Brahmanetara Parishats Conference was also held at the time of Belgaum session, Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar presiding over it. Serious efforts were made to organise aggrieved groups in the rural areas like the village servants (Shetsandis and Volekars) and peasants. 

Due to the above developments the gulf between the Brahmins and other classes started widening. The Government also did not hesitate to further widen this gap and spread misunderstanding between these sections. We have already studied in the preceding pages how the government officials created misunderstanding between the Brahmins and non–Brahmins after the firings at Dharwad on 1st July 1921. “This gulf is evident from the declaration of the Brahmanetra Parishat in 1920 advising its members at its meetings to keep themselves aloof from the Congress.” 

As a pinnacle to all these developments Siddappa Kambli an advocate convened Bombay state Brahmanetra Parishat at Hubli. The Maharaja of Kolhapur Shahuraje inaugurated the conference. Tyagraj Chetti the leader of justice party of Madras presided the conference. Jain leader Anna Saheb Lathe, Maratha leader Keshav Rao Jedhe of Maharashtra attended this
conference. This conference created awareness amongst the non-Brahmins. It spread the feeling on oneness amongst the non-Brahmin classes. Rao Bahadur B.L. Patil, A.F.Pathan, Siddappa Banagar, Dr.Kurudkeri were other prominent leaders of the district who assisted Kambli in convening this *Brahmanetra Parishat*. 87

**Period of Rift and Rivalry.**

One of the prominent non-Brahmin leader and participant of Non-Cooperation movement by name Paramanna Hosamani writes, “*Brahmnetara Parishat* was started to oppose reactionary policies of the Congress. Brahmins were advocating the ‘merit criteria’ for giving good jobs and titles. In such conditions I, though being a Lingayath appealed the people to support Congress through my speeches. I visited Belgaum and appealed to the people to support Congress. When I visited Athani I met a *Lingayath* advocate, Rao Saheb Swal Basappa Mangsuli. He opposed my view of supporting the Congress on the ground that the government is giving the non-Brahmins good posts and titles and granting scholarship to the children and helping them to progress. In such condition supporting the Congress is as pulling ourselves back forever”. He also says that the Lingayath leaders generally held that the Brahmins only talk about helping the backward classes and about *Swaraj*. But after *Swaraj* is attained they will forget the development and progress of the non-Brahmins. 88

The non-Brahmins generally started believing that the Brahmins were jealous of the education and administrative positions that the non-Brahmins were getting under British rule and the claim of *Swaraj* was only pretence. Brahmins support the Congress only to defend their rights and status. Against this background, *Lingayaths* criticized Paramanna Hosamani for working in Congress by saying ‘He must be a *Lingayath* born to Brahmin’. 89 This was a social state of affair when the movement was launched. The need of the hour was to ensure mutual trust between Brahmins and non-Brahmins.
The non-Brahmin opposition to the Congress proved fatal to the rising spirit of nationalism. Gandhiji met Siddanna Kambli during his visit to Hubli in 1920 and held secret meeting to whitewash the dispute between the Brahmins and non–Brahmins but without any result. R. R. Diwakar who came to know about the details of this meeting afterwards says that Kambli criticized Brahmins as pretenders and they had organized the boycott of education to keep the backward castes away from education and job opportunities. He further says “No prominent non–Brahmin leaders joined the Congress till 1930, only Brahmins and Muslims (for the sake of Khilafat) joined the Congress.”

On 20th May 1920, Gadigeyya Honnapurmath of Dharwad, Sangangowda Patil of Abbigeri and Karaveerappa Kulkarni organized a political conference at Dharwad. But the non-Brahmin activists opposed it. They declared through pamphlets that Sangangoda Patil and Karaveerappa Kulkarni had not agreed to participate in the conference and even after their refusal, their names were printed on the invitations and they decided to disturb the conference. When Gadigeyya stood up and asked the above two leaders to clarify their stand, the crowd became silent. ‘But it was only when both the persons agreed to extend support to the conference in pursuance of Ghandhian social philosophy, the shouting of anti Congress slogans and distribution of pamphlet were stopped. Then only conference went on smoothly.’

Prominent socialist Lingayaths did not participate in the non-cooperation movement. To please this community, the government also accused only Brahmins and Muslims responsible for Dharwad firings of 1st July 1921. Most of the witnesses gathered against the Congress workers in that case were Lingayaths. R. R. Diwakar says “That period was like that, only history will reveal who was right and who was wrong, non other than it”. But some Lingayath leaders of Congress like Paramanna Hosmani from Karjigi of Dharwad district were doing their
best to bring down the differences between Brahmins and non-Brahmins to give secular and nationalistic outlook to the freedom struggle.

**Movement gained Nationalistic Character.**

But regular visit of national leaders, their speeches and the writings in newspaper like *Karmaveera, Vijaya, Rajahamsa, Dhananjaya, Wagdevi, Sadbhoda Chandrike, Karnataka Vaibhava* (Bijapur), *Lokmath* etc., changed the minds of the youth. The rural non-Brahmin youths of Dharwad district were further influenced by the speeches of local leaders like Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Alur Venkat Rao, Kadpa Raghvendra Rao, Mudvid Krishna Rao, Parmanna Hosmani, K.F.Nariman (who visited Dharwad in 1928 to attend political conference), etc in Hubli and Dharwad. They were also influenced by the series of articles published in newspapers about Gandhi and Nehru’s philosophies. Hallikeri Gudleppa the principal of the National High school of Dharwad also had great influence on the youths. All these brought the students and youths into political arena and they actively participated in the agitation against Simon Commission in 1927–28 and held “Simon Go Back” processions.\(^9\)

Around 1927 Venkatesh Magudi and some of his friends organized *Taruna Sangha* a nationalist association. N.B.Hiremath became its founder president and Venkatesh Magadi was its secretary. Later K.S.Patil became the secretary. Nationalist ideas were spread through this association.\(^9\) Dramas also played their part in instigating national feeling in the minds of the Lingayath youth and inspired them to join the Congress. ‘Naragunda Bandaya’ (by Huilgol Narayanrao), ‘Kittur Chennamma’, ‘Sangolli Rayanna’ were some important Dramas enacted during this period (1920 – 30). These activities inspired people to join national movement.\(^9\)

The communal colour, hitherto pervaded in Congress movement owing to Brahmin and non-Brahmin activities, however started fading from 1930. “A meeting of *Lingayaths* was held at Belgaum in May, 1930, in which the *Brahmanetra Parishat* advised its followers to join the
C.S.Hulkoti of Gadag, Timmappa Neswi of Hansbhavi and Siddappa Hosmani of Haveri were some prominent Lingayath leaders joining the Congress. They clearly explained to secular credentials of Mahatma Gandhi and called upon the non-Brahmin to have firm faith in the social philosophy of Gandhi and in his leadership for the good of the society, communities and the nation. With this, non-Brahmins started to support the Congress and joined the congress forgetting the personal rivalry with Brahmins. Now, both the factions decided to work together. At this juncture Siddappa Hosmani, a dominant non-Brahmin leader became the president of K.P.C.C. in 1934, also got elected to central Legislative Assembly as Congress contestant. T.R.Neswi and K.F.Patil joined a private school at Hansbhavi and prepared nationalist students in that school. A youth organization was formed at Haunsbhavi with Mylar Mahadevappa, Venkatesh Magadi, Kariyappa Sangur, Mooru Savirappa Inchgeri etc., as its members. Many non-Brahmin youths joined thus several training in 1931 and received certificates from Nehru on May 12, 1931.  

“During 1933–34, eleventh session of the All India Veerashaiva Mahasabha was held under Rao Saheb Halkatti at Dharwad. In this meeting K.F.Patil and others played an important role in prevailing upon Veerashivas not to show loyalty with British. The soul reaching discussion ultimately succeeded in making Veerashaiva leaders to give up anti–Congress attitude and join national movement”.  

But it is appropriate to remember that the Brahmanetra Parishat, which met in 1930 at Dharwad, had advised the Veerashaivas to join the Congress. Against this background and due to the efforts of leaders like K.F.Patil, Parammanna Hosamani, T. R. Neswi, Venkatesh Magadi
and others the Veerashaiva Youth started flooding into the Congress. “The people of Veerashaiva Samaj met at Haveri and decided unanimously to plunge into the arena of freedom movement under Congress. This created a strong sense of nationalism among people. Men, women, and student leaders all joined the movement and sacrificed their pleasures to secure freedom. 99

Significance of Non-Brahmin Movement.

Speaking as a whole the Non-Brahmin Movement, which was originated in Madras and grew in the princely state of Mysore also reduced its own repercussions in mobilizing the support of common people including the urban and rural folk for the congress movement in Dharwad district. From the analysis non-Brahmin movement the following conclusions emerge.

1. In the beginning of Non-Brahmin movement, the majority of the people in the districts were hesitant to extend support and sympathy to the congress as the congress in the district was represent only by Brahmin leaders. They were also under the impression that supporting the congress for securing Swarajya would not create congenial political atmosphere to protect the interests of non-Brahmins. They were apprehended and their initial belief was that, Brahmin politics was more dangerous than the imperial designs of the British. Hence the congress did not enjoy the will of common people till political leadership was changed from Tilak to Mahatma Gandhi.

2. The non-Brahmin movement though created rift and rivalries particularly between the Brahmins and the majority Veerashaivas in the district ultimately due to the untiring and selfless efforts of mass leaders like T.R.Neswi, Paramanna Hosmani, K.F.Patil Siddappa Hosmani and others a conducive environment was created through holding rallies and conference like Veerashaiva parishat and Brahmanethra parishat to create an impression that joining congress movement for freedom under the noble Non-Brahmin leadership of Mahatma Gandhi would definitely safeguard the socio-economic interests of all communities even after securing political freedom.

3. Non-Brahmin movement hence witnessed the losing of political hold in the congress by Brahmins and it paved the way for emergence of new political force in the congress in
Dharwad district from the period 1923-30 and onwards by non-Brahmin i.e., by Veerashaiva leaders. Thus non-Brahmin movement helped the congress to gain finally the support of common people for launching Satyagraha movement for freedom and integration vigorously particularly from 1930 and onwards.
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