CHAPTER - III

COMPULSIONS AND INCENTIVES
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There were numerous causes for the Catholics to move out of the district and migrate. These causes of migration can be explained in terms of "push" and "pull" factors. In fact, they are the internal and external forces for the migration of the Catholics. The "push" and "pull" factors do not remain the same. As time passes, the circumstances undergo change and new compulsions emerge. The land tenure system and resultant poverty, lack of development, large size of the families, evil social practices, availability of transport facilities to the areas where opportunities were available and so on, were some of the push factors. Opportunities in Bombay, the princely state of Mysore, opportunities in government services were some of the pull factors. An effort is made to analyze these factors below. For convenience of study they have been broadly referred as 'Compulsions and Incentives'

THE COMPULSIONS:
The Land Tenure System:

When Canara came into the hands of the colonial government under the Madras Presidency, it retained the ryotwari system of land tenure. This land tenure system differed from other such systems in other parts of the Presidency. It recognized the system of private property as it had done in Malabar and the State dealt directly with the ryot. Under this system the landlords rented out their lands to inferior ryots. Renting out lands to inferior ryots was called the gueni system. There were four types of guenis or four classes of tenants- 1. Mulgueni. 2. Kayamgueni. 3. Vaidegueni and 4. Chalgueni. Mulgueni was a permanent tenure, which could not be terminated

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1Everret Lee expounded this theory of migration, in 1960. Though new theories have been put forward by various social scientists many scholars have utilized this theory to explain the causes of migration.
2H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p.224.
so long as the tenant paid the fixed rent. However, there were very few such Mulgueni tenants. The Kayamgueni was same as the Mulgueni. The Vaidegueni was a tenure for a particular term. The Chalgueni tenure was called tenants-at-will which could be terminated in any assessing year and they were the temporary leases. In this tenure, the rent could be enhanced every assessing year.

The Conditions of Various Tenancies:

To understand the plight of the ryots during the colonial period an analysis of the various tenancies is essential. The colonial writers had acknowledged that the position of Mulgueni tenant was not different from the ordinary ryot. The Vaidegueni tenure was for a limited period and could be extended for further term by the landlord. But, there was no permanency. Therefore, they did not differ from the other tenures. The Chalgueni tenure created the ‘tenants-at-will’ which meant rents could be raised and the tenant was liable to dispossession at the termination of leases. As rents were payable either in grain or in money, landlords did raise them by converting money payments into grain and vice versa, as it pleased them. The colonial

3In mulgueni tenure the rent could not be enhanced. Therefore whenever it was given, the rent was fixed at a very high rate. In majority of the cases it was higher than the chalgueni leases. Towards the beginning of the 20th century, the Government was contemplating to increase the rent of the Mulgueni leases of old date where there was less rent. Paragraph 19 of G.O. no.757, Revenue dated 25th August 1902 as quoted in J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.31.

4The total mulgueni occupied area was less than 10 per cent of the total occupied area. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p. 30.

5H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p. 227.

Though, the rent was fixed, depression affected them. The archaic form of implements, traditional manures and obsolete agricultural techniques which were in vogue in the district restricted their income and their savings were limited. They had the security of the tenancy only as far as they paid their rent which was higher. Thus, though their tenure was permanent, they too were in poverty.


The chalgueni tenants who were in majority were entirely on the mercy of the landlords. A few among them of better classes were free from debt. It is estimated that less than 5 percent were in good condition. About 20 percent were obliged to contract debt to keep the agricultural stock and implements up to the required strength. Always a year’s debt only be repaid the next year and not the same year and it was hanging on their heads. Only in case of a better crop in a particular year could enable them to repay their debt. About three-fourths of the tenants were no better than the farm labourers. They could not subsist on the profits of their cultivation and were frequently in arrears in payment of their rent and were forced to borrow during the rainy season and to work for others. H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p.227.
administration extracted maximum agricultural surplus. The situation in the other parts of the Presidency gives certain insights. The Madras Presidency was the most highly taxed in this respect. In Canara it was found that the Government demand absorbed the whole of the landlord’s share. As for the other districts of the Presidency the pressure of land revenue was not so severe owing to increased cultivation of the more remunerative crops such as cotton, sugar and indigo, as well as rice, besides improved irrigation facilities. In Canara no new crops were introduced.

Almost all the Collectors of the Presidency had favoured a reduction of the assessment. Their proposals were carried into effect in the course of the second half of the century. However, again it is difficult to ascertain whether the new assessment in the second half of the 19th century benefited the ryots. Whenever the government remitted a part of the assessment in

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7 See, N. Shyam Bhat, op.cit.
8 The assessment was so high that only the better class of farmers could pay the full revenue in ordinary seasons. It resulted in an unsettled system of cultivation, the poorer ryots wandering from farm to farm and even from district to district in search of better conditions. Munro had observed that most of the ryots though held the same field for many years and about 20% had a tendency to migrate in the Madras presidency. In 1821, Mr. Campbell, Collector of Cuddapah reported as follows. “The principal farmers of former days are reduced to poor and dispirited bankrupts…. And I have frequently found the ryots compare to me with regret, their present condition under the British Government, with the comparative ease they formerly enjoyed, even under the dominion of Tippu Sultan”. Ryots were driven from the highly assessed fields to the inferior and lower assessed ones, as a result the best black lands were lying waste. Even the “middling” ryots were in an extremely precarious position and the slightest misfortune, such as the loss of a crop, a bullock or long illness used to reduce them to ruin. The Board of Revenue had to admit that “an overstrained anxiety for a full treasury had in a great measure been the cause of the district being reduced to its present state.” Formerly, though there were greater exactions, the levy was irregular and evasion was possible. During the colonial rule, the revenue was rigorously collected. Though, remissions were granted if crops were lost, there was no relief when crop was deficient, which was a frequent occurrence. The result was considerable increase in agricultural indebtedness. The Collector of Tinnevelly had similar complaints, while in North Arcot the assessment was found to be “.....excessive beyond measure” and productive of great hardship among the ryots. The studies showed that the land revenue demands were indeed more than the country could bear, “being half and even over than half the gross produce”. A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., pp. 49-50.
9 It had been computed that for every 100,000 of the population the amount realized as land revenue was Rs 10,05,455 in Bengal, Rs 16,71, 965 in Bombay and Rs 23,12,465 in Madras. It is not surprising that much of the revenue was realized by torture throughout the period. Ibid. There has been evidence of landlords beating their tenants for nonpayment and minor mistakes and misbehavior in the district during the period.
10 See, Selections from the Records of the Collector of South Canara: Report of Mr. F. N. Maltby, Principal Collector on the Settlement of the land Revenue of Canara District for Fasli 1262 (1853) The South Canara Collectorate Press, Mangalore, 1910.
11 A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., pp. 51-52.
12 The demands of the ryots of the district, later on, suggest that the reduction of assessment had not
consideration of failure of crops which usually took a year, hardly ever
reached the tenant, but always was appropriated by the landlord. Thus the
majority of the tenants suffered under the land tenure system and excessive
eextraction of the surplus, throughout the period. The landlords in turn
collected it from the Chalgueni tenants. The chalgueni tenant was the only
source from where the landlord could collect more. Whenever landlord
wanted money he increased the rent of the Chalgueni tenants since there were
no other avenues. If there was depression the landlord increased the rent.
Such tenants fell in arrears and those who were evicted were forced to seek
tenancies elsewhere. The evicted tenants were actually 'on streets', till they
approached another landlord. Apart from high rate of rent and insecurity of
the tenancy, the Chalgueni tenant was subject of certain obligatory customs
which were a part of the chalgueni tenure, which led to his further
impoverishment.

Those who could not reach a settlement could not reap the crop, and possibly lost the tenancy or fell again in arrears. In addition to the chalgueni compulsions, the ryot in general was victim of general customs and usages of the society. Though many of the colonial writers had projected

benefited the ryots. In 1927 a conference of the landlords and wargdars to oppose the excessive
taxation was called by MLC J.A. Saldanha at Mangalore. Excessive Burden of Land taxation: K.D.,
16 October, 1927, eng. supp. p.i.
In 1930 the Kanara Indian Christian Civic league sent a memorandum to the government demanding
the necessity of low Revenue Settlement of South Canara with due regard to the excessive rates
fixed at the last settlement and the slow economical development of the district and its people." The
13 A Note on the Chalgueni System by the editor: RAKNO, 20 February, 1942, p.2.
14 There were cases of landlords who in spite of paying the rents, in the absence of receipts, which he
often did not issue, used to evict the tenants.
Saguali Garano Satrai (Farmers beware!): K.D., 2 April, 1927, p.59.
Chalgueni tenancy had led to the deserting of the village and many lands had remained fallow.
The difficulties of a tenant to fill his stomach were reported often picturesquely by certain writers.
Pottu Gazaligi? (Is it useless talk?): Agragar. K.D., 16 August, 1927, pp.143-144.
15 The two important customs were Biti and Bulaikanike. A Chalgueni tenant had to perform Biti or
Gratuitous labour during various ceremonies in the house of the landlord. He also had to give
Bulaikanike or 'crop present', before reaping the crop. Samuel Miley, 1st ed., op.cit., pp.41-42.
Before accepting the Bulaikanike the landlord looked into the accounts and found out arrears, if any
and there had to be an agreement between the two about settling the same. Acceptance of the
Bulaikanike meant intimation to the tenant to reap the crop. John Sturrock, op.cit., p. 204.
16 These customs had intimidating undertones to the tenant.
17 He had to celebrate certain ceremonies considered obligatory in the society such as marriage,
festivals and so on. These ceremonies made him spend further. As a result there were instances
where farmers pledged their land or jewellery which further led to their indebtedness. H. A. Stuart,
op.cit., p.228.
a comfortable picture of the peasants in general during the colonial rule, Mr. Cromyn, a former Collector admitted that only one percent of them were in affluent circumstances. \(^{18}\) At times peasants borrowed, for making improvements to farms or for purchase of cattle and so on. \(^{19}\) Though some scholars have argued that Chalgueni was as permanent as and as secure as the Mulgueni, it was true only in the cases of the large Chalgueni tenants and tenants who held the tenure for more than one generation. \(^{20}\) Ironically, the colonial writers themselves have admitted to the sorry state of affairs of the tenants.

Under these circumstances the majority of the ryots of all tenancies lived from hand to mouth. As a result there were many families which were constantly on the move from one place or from one landlord to another. \(^{21}\)

\(^{18}\) According to Mr. Cromyn, a former collector, one-half of the peasants were poor and about 35 per cent of the people were very poor and involved in various kinds of debts. H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p.226.

\(^{19}\) This was also evident from the fact that about 50% of the ryots in the district paid the state less than Rs.10 per annum. Towards the close of the 19\(^{th}\) century, the total number of the Patta holders was 45,534 and those under Rs. 10 were about 21,347. Ibid., p. 161.

\(^{20}\) In 1880's, colonial writers who projected the tenants and ordinary ryots as 'well to do' argued that since they possessed a little piece of some land eventually, on a future date they would rise to the above class. Ibid., p.228.

\(^{21}\) This happened only in 1974 when the Karnataka State Government promulgated the Land Reforms Act after years of somnambulism. The independent Indian Government too did not show much enthusiasm to bring this sorry state of affairs to an end due to the electoral compulsions and politics and the influence of the landlords on people.
Conditions did not differ much in the later part of the 19th century. This state of affairs continued throughout the colonial period and till the Land Reforms Act of 1974 was introduced in the state of Karnataka in independent India.

The Status of Catholic Tenants:

There is no statistical data available to show how many Catholics were in various types of tenancies. A few of them were landlords as acknowledged by recent scholars. The rest of them were in various tenancies spread all over the district. It is also difficult to determine the percentage of the Catholics who were small Chalgueni tenants. However, since the other tenancies were not common it can be surmised that majority of the Catholics were Chalgueni tenants or in impoverished conditions.
The Chalgueni tenants did not have incentives to improve the land, and it resulted in lack of development of the land and in turn led to a vicious cycle of poverty.\textsuperscript{27} Poverty was so much that in some cases the Catholic tenants did not have enough to eat.\textsuperscript{28} As a result during the 1930’s, few farmers having small holdings were forced to relinquish them either to the moneylender or migrate to towns to become factory labourers or odd-jobbers.\textsuperscript{29} Some Catholics migrated to Mangalore during this period.\textsuperscript{30}

In 1938, when the Diocese of Mangalore was raising funds for the Eucharistic Congress the conveners decided to collect the subscriptions within the Diocese only after the harvest.\textsuperscript{31} The plight of the Catholic tenants in the district was vividly described by a speaker in the Eucharistic Congress.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{27}Social and Economic Problems of Our Community: K.D., 26 February, 1926, eng. supp. p. i.
K.D., 2 June, 1923, eng. supp. p.iii.
K.D., 26 February, 1926, eng. supp. p. i.
K.D., 2 June, 1923, eng. supp. p.iii.
K.D., 26 February, 1926, eng. supp. p. i.
K.D., 2 June, 1923, eng. supp. p.iii.

\textsuperscript{28} Potta Gazaligi? (Is it useless talk?): Agragar K.D., 16 August, 1927, pp.143-144.

\textsuperscript{29} J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.272.

\textsuperscript{30} Though there is no ample evidence about the Catholic migrants to the town of Mangalore, there was a number of beggars in the town of Mangalore in the first decades of the 20th century. I surmise that this must have been the result of such distress. There were remedial measures started by the Catholic community to deal with the problem in the town of Mangalore.

\textsuperscript{31} Souvenir, Mangalore Diocese First Eucharistic Congress, op.cit., p.8.

\textsuperscript{32} Majority of the Catholics were farmers and agricultural income was the only source of income. They had some savings only during the harvest times.

\textsuperscript{33} According to the speaker, the landlords were of the opinion that the tenants had “right only on hay and the left over paddy on it”. Whatever was produced by the tenant went to the landlord. Whatever written in the Geni Chiti (rent agreement) the tenant had to give to the landlord. As a result the tenant did not have minimum necessities of life including clothing. Apart from it the tenant had to give gueni, Biti and on certain occasions a vojem (load of useful articles) to the landlord on feast times or on such occasions. As a result the tenant could not have his livelihood for even six months. Many tenants went for coolly labor to earn their livelihood and sustain their families. During the rainy season due to the agricultural work could not go for coolly. Thus during rainy season many did not have enough to eat. As a result many went for the debt and borrowed with heavy interest. In the 1930s the moneylenders introduced Kadadharane (rate of interest), with about 100% interest rate. The tenant had to repay the debt before January 14th every year. When the tenant couldnot repay, those moneylenders were ready in the house of the tenant on the day of harvest to take away the paddy, which was ready in sacks. The moneylender would take only the interest and not the principal amount. Thus the moneylender would come every harvest time to take his share keeping the principal amount intact with the tenant. When the moneylender took away everything there was nothing left to the tenant, neither to eat. This led to eviction and slavery. The speaker suggested forming a Union of the Catholic tenants on the lines of Catholic Labour Union, which would device methods to ameliorate the plight of the Catholic chalgueni tenants in the interiors. He further added that the ‘union’ should have its branches in every parish indicating that the majority of the Catholics were in rural areas. He further suggested that the Catholic tenant should not fall in the trap of ‘marwadi type’ of moneylenders and therefore there should be arrangements made to provide rice at a reasonable rate and other help. The speaker went on adding that it would be an excellent way by which the “Catholic peasants will not fall in the hands of the ‘Kisan Sanghs’ formed by the Socialists!”  Souvenir, Mangalore Diocese First Eucharistic Congress, op.cit., p.120.
During the period a few Catholics suggested to create an agricultural fund, new avenues of commerce and business and introduction of education among the poor Catholics in the interiors. Some accused that the landlords too kept the tenants in impoverished state deliberately so that they would get labourers for their fields and servants to their houses. In fact, at times the landlords appropriated what was due to the tenants. From 1940s onwards the educated Catholics were getting uneasy with the imposed poverty.

Numerous social customs and ceremonies such as elaborate marriage festivities, feasts, cradling, naming ceremonies and so on made a Catholic householder spend more than he earned and led to his further impoverishment. In addition, dowry was an integral part of a marriage. There were laments that poor Catholic farmers could not give their daughters in marriage. Colonial writers have referred to this practice towards the close of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. Thus the Catholic peasants in addition to the misery of Chalgueni had to bear the debt due to

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34 Aranyamthlen Varen (Breeze of the Forest), Aranyavasi: K.D., 2 November, 1933, pp. 207-208.
35 For instance, in case the government remitted a part of the assessment in consideration of failure of crops, which usually took a year and it was always appropriated by the landlord. A Note on the Chalgueni System by the editor: RAKNO, 20 February, 1942, p. 2.
In 1942 a prominent Catholic landlord wrote that recovering legitimate rent from the tenant had become difficult. Lack of development and indebtedness had led to such a predicament. The Plight of Chalgueni Tenants-The Other Side of the Picture: M.S. Shresta: RAKNO, 16 January, 1942, p.4.
36 Reports on the evils of chalgueni and its impact on the Catholic wellbeing and the need of reforms in the land tenure system were continuously reported in the pages of Konkani Dirven and later in RAKNO.
In 1940, a retired government official advised the chalgueni tenants to work hard, and in case of trouble leave the landlord and approach another, use commonsense as a way out from the poverty which was imposed on them by the government. Amcha Hallench Abivriddhi (Progress of Our Villages): Rao Sahib Dr. B. Colaco. RAKNO, 7 June, 1940 p.4.
In 1950, one of the Chalgueni tenants wrote in RAKNO, that "if the farmers of South Canara were not educated and civilized, the district would have become a part of Telangana," where a powerful, violent movement was targeted against the landlords. Chalgenichin Voklan (Chalgueni Tenants): RAKNO, 15 September, 1950, p.3.
37 Mr. S.B.P. Coelho, one of the tile manufacturer spoke in the Congress while supporting a resolution in support of the poor peasants and laborers. He criticized the tendency of the Catholics feasting every time leading to poverty. He suggested that the money saved could be spent for the benefits of the poor through charity. Souvenir, Mangalore Diocese First Eucharistic Congress, op.cit., p.120.
39 Generally men used to receive dowry. Men of good position expected more dowries. There was dowry among the poorer classes. Samuel Miley, 2nd ed., op.cit., pp.18-19.
dowry, debt in order to pay the landlord, debt on the hypothecation of jewellery and so on which were often inherited by their children.  

It cannot be said that the majority of the Catholics were very poor according to the standards of the time. The income and savings of tenants of Mulgueni leases which were permanent and secure and of large families who held big Chalgueni tenancies and Chalguenis held for a longer period were also limited and meagre. In 1920s when there were debates that the state of affairs had led the Catholics to migrate to Bombay and work as cooks and maidservants, a writer expressed fears that the Catholic community will be left with only “young wives and old widows in South Canara.” Some expressed happiness over the available opportunities. They visualised a bleaker situation in the absence of such opportunities. Many Catholic peasants had to bear various kinds of debts. Such situation continued till 1950s when there were complaints made that more Chalgueni families had been affected. During the period debates on Chalgueni tenancy was taking place and the Catholics gave memorandums to the government. The Land

40 Many women went to Bombay to repay debt. Some women could not marry in time and and later on went to Bombay to earn. At times parents themselves sent them to Bombay in order to support other younger children. Some writers had pointed out that if women were exploited in Bombay dowry was the main reason. Dothivine Kazar (Marriage Without Dowry): RAKNO, 4 August, 1939, p.1.


42 To avoid this scenario reforms were considered to be inevitable, by the writer. Social and Economic Problems of Our Community: K.D., 26 February, 1926, eng. supp. p.i.

43 Migration to Bombay "enabled them to pay overdue debts and rents. But for the prosperity of these emigrants the lot of hundreds of our Catholic village population, would have been much more depressing and distressful than it is. Otherwise the Catholics would have been suffering under the landlords and Sawkars. The migrants were remitting money to parents, sisters and brothers and saving them from starvation." Emigration to Bombay: Jerome A. Saldanha, K.D., 2 August, 1933, eng. supp. p.ii-iii.

44 The debt incurred due to dowry, debt incurred in order to pay the landlord, debt of hypothecation of jewellery and so on was inherited by his children. Dothivine Kazar (Marriage without Dowry): RAKNO, 4 August, 1939, p.1.

45 In 1950s even the educated could not find employment. The plight of the Chalgueni tenants was still worse. Kama Naxat (no jobs): RAKNO, 27 February, 1953 p.4.

46 In 1951, L.C. Pais, M.L.C. and others submitted a memorandum to the Government explaining the difficulties of tenants and requested that they should not be evicted. RAKNO, 28 September, 1951 p.1.

Similarly, In 1966 the landlords under the name South Canara Krishik Sangh lodged a writ petition in the Supreme Court. Bhu Masoode Virod Rit Arji (Writ petition against land reforms): RAKNO, 24
Reforms Act in the state was implemented on 1st March 1974. However, poverty among the Catholic tenants in the district continued. "The land which had given him birth could not give him bread" - a saying that was popular among the Catholics in the beginning of the 20th century continued to be true throughout.

The Conditions of Agriculture:

The district was basically a rice growing area. It did not see a variety of crops like Indigo or Cotton like some other districts of the Presidency. Except some adventurous individuals, there have been no other efforts to improve cultivation or to shift to crops which were more profitable. Areca nut was cultivated by some few prosperous ryots and landlords. However, during the rainy season, betel leaves, vegetables and grains were cultivated as subsidiary crops by a few adventurous farmers. There was no practice of rotation of crops to retain fertility of the fields.

In the accounts of the early nineteenth century we do not hear about improvement in agricultural techniques. Agricultural methods in the district


RAKNO, 10 March, 1974, p.12.

Programmes such as 'Belthangady Package Programme' suggested that there was poverty rampant in the district even after the passing of the Land Reforms Act. Belthangady Samagri Grameen Abhivriddhi Yojan (Village development scheme in Belthangady) RAKNO, 12 January, 1978, p.13.

As the number of educated Catholics went on increasing, there were no sufficient employment opportunities in the district. M. M., Vol.I, 1897-1900, pp.33-34.

A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., pp. 51-52.

One of the planters, Mr. Simpson, went to South Canara to introduce New Orleans cotton (high yielding cotton, apparently for the benefits of Lancashire Industries) and reported that it was not feasible in about the beginning of the 19th century. A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 100.

The cultivation of betel nut, which could bring additional income, was not possible in the chalgueni system.

Towards the close of the 19th century, in Mangalore there were women who used to sell betel and flowers even after sunset. A priest named Urban Stein tried to stop this practice. Fr. Urban Stein: K. D., 27 November, 1925, eng. supp. p. i.

Though some ryots grew such crops they were not in a large measure. Vegetables and grains were sufficient only for domestic consumption. The little surplus, whenever available was sold in general which did not bring considerable income.

Except the system of cultivation known as Kumeri where a crop was grown only once in a series of years and not again until the field became a jungle when it would be burnt and another crop sown, no other method of rotation of crops and no fallowing were practiced in South Canara which had its own impact on the yield. A. Sarada Raju, op.cit., p. 60.
were primitive. The ryots used wooden plough and obsolete fertilizing methods such as cattle manure (the cow dung with leaves) led to limited yield. The irrigation system was also archaic. Most ryots gambled with monsoons, though the district generally had good monsoons. The position of the ryot was such in the colonial economy that it would preclude the possibility of experiment and speculation. The vast majority of the agriculturists, the Chalgueni ryots were so poor that they were obliged to borrow money at exorbitant rates to cultivate the coarsest of grains, and even for their very subsistence. The slightest mishap to the crop left them destitute of the bare necessities of life. There was also lack of easy credit to the ryots. In 1930s the colonial writers attributed the reduced area under cultivation due to the migration of the ryots as seasonal labor to the neighboring districts. It only showed how cultivation of land was unprofitable to the ordinary ryots. The lack of change was no new feature and had characterized India for centuries, for agricultural conditions tended to be static rather than dynamic. This state of affairs continued even till 1960s and 1970s in the independent India.

Absence of Alternative Employment:

Most of the Catholics were agriculturists. But they worked as masons, carpenters and so on. The weaving and tile industries became popular towards the end of the 19th century which provided employment to some of

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55 The cattle and bullocks were often sent to the ghat region i.e. Kudremukh area during the rainy season after harvest by the ryots who did not have suitable and enough grazing lands at their disposal. K.D., 6 August, 1926, p. 266.
Even if there were such grazing lands they were not accessible to the ordinary ryots. Partly it must have been due to the climate, environment and topography too.
56 Picotah was a hand brake pump which was the only irrigation systems prevalent in the district.
57 A. Sarada Raju, op. cit., p. 61.
59 "To some extent for the reduced area under cultivation observed in particular places in the district, is attributed to the diversion of a large labour supply to the neighboring coffee planting taluks of Mysore and Coorg." J.F. Hall, op. cit., p.234.
60 A. Sarada Raju, op. cit., p. 60.
In the Presidency as a whole there was no great accumulation of wealth. This decline was attributed to the high assessment, the fall of prices, the 'drain' in various forms and the decline of the textile industry and trade each acting and reacting on another to aggravate the situation. The stock and property of the country therefore showed no improvement. Ibid., p.264-265.
the Catholics.\textsuperscript{61} These industries were not labour intensive. \textsuperscript{62} Though Mangalore town was the main centre of these industries, small weaving establishments were also present in the interiors among the Catholic households.\textsuperscript{63} The cottage industries including weaving industry, oil pressing, pottery, gher-making, carpentry and such others were not labour intensive and involved only members of a family or a joint family belonging to certain community or caste. They supplemented the subsistence agriculture. There were no other industries to absorb the excess manpower. It is said, in South Canara there were scarcely any industries worth the name in the middle of the \textsuperscript{19th} century when the migration to Bombay started to trickle. In 1940s the Beedi rolling industry provided some employment to women.\textsuperscript{64} According to one prominent Catholic writer want of subsidiary cottage industries aggravated the plight of the tenant.\textsuperscript{65}

In the absence of labour intensive industries which could provide employment to the surplus labour the Catholics had to explore employment opportunities elsewhere. Their population was increasing but their economic circumstances did not improve. The establishment of a port, a new railway line connecting to Bangalore or an airport in the 1960s did not bring much change. Rather they helped in pushing people out. Establishment of industries such as MCF in 1970s only provided opportunities for few.

Pressure on Agriculture:

The colonial writers in their administrative manuals have referred to

\textsuperscript{61} There is evidence to suggest that the Catholics were involved in weaving industry especially in the second part of the \textsuperscript{19th} century. Pascal Lasrado of Attavar and his son- in-law Raymond D'souza employed about 150 people in their weaving establishments in 1916. K. D., second issue of the month, May, 1916, p.115.

\textsuperscript{62} They absorbed minimum labour and could not attract any surplus labour. Therefore one does not see in-migration in any large scale to the district.

\textsuperscript{63} Interviews with S.S. Prabhu and Daniel Pinto revealed this fact.

\textsuperscript{64}During 1940s Beedi rolling industry became popular. There were many such beedi factories established in the district during the period. However, men did not take up this occupations which was sedentary in nature. A catholic gentleman established V. Beedis (Victory Industries) in Mangalore in 1941. RAKNO, 8 August, 1941, p.1.

\textsuperscript{65}The Plight of Chalgueni Tenants: The Other side of the Picture: M.S. Shresta : RAKNO, 16 January, 1942, p.4.
the pressure of population in each taluks. Though they were meant to show how more land was brought under cultivation it also indicated the pressure on land. As the population increased there was less land available for cultivation. This must have led to migration within the district as well as outside. There was also fragmentation of land due to the dividing of the property between the members of a family which made the holdings smaller increasing pressure on land. The Catholic population which was estimated at about 10,000 in 1800 had increased to about 1,10,000 in 1931. This indicates pressure on land among the Catholic community, which resulted in their migration.

Social Evils of Dowry and Alcoholism:

Dowry was an integral part of the marriage ceremonies in the Catholic community. The social norms that girls had to be given in marriage early, pressurized the Catholics. The all round poverty in the colonial economy and the societal compulsions made them poorer. In 1920's, there were

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66 It was highest in the coastal taluks whereas in inland taluks such as Karkal and Puttur less. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.299.
67 Emigration to Bombay: Jerome A. Saldanha, K.D., 2 August, 1933, eng. supp. pp.ii-iii.
68 The parents decided the dowry and many occasions the betrothal fell due to the less offer of dowry. The colonial writers have pointed out how a father of many female children among the Catholics was impoverished due to dowry. John Sturrock, op.cit., p. 186.
69 These aspects were discussed very often among the Catholics. The system of dowry was one of the important factors for the migration.

In one hand Chalgueni tenancy, on the other pressure of dowry made many girls to remain spinsters throughout their life. There are instances how the chalgueni tenants could not give dowry and many girls could not be given in marriage. Samajichi Sanskrith (Customs of a Society): Agrargar, K.D., 2 November, 1937, pp. 223-25.

Some of the elders in the family motivated the younger ones to migrate to places where employment was available, earn more in order to get rid of the precarious situation. Many times the peasants had borrowed money to give their daughters in marriage which debt was bequeathed to their children. Many women went to Bombay to repay this debt. Some women could not marry in time and later on migrated to Bombay to earn. At times parents themselves sent them to Bombay in order to support other younger children. Some writers had pointed out that if women were exploited in Bombay dowry was the main reason. Dothivine Kazari (Marriage without dowry): RAKNO, 4 August, 1939, p.1.

The Catholics considered women migrating to Bombay was thing of a shame for the community especially when they were working in non-Catholic households. The reason being dowry in the native district. Bombaik Yevnchi Sakran (Servants who come to Bombay): RAKNO, 16 June, 1939, p.2.

There were also certain isolated cases when a daughter in law brought fewer dowries to the discontent of the mother-in-law. When discontent led to quarrels the daughter in law left the in-laws and ultimately migrated to Bombay. Thus there were cases of married women migrating to Bombay.

Vaspyanchi Vol (Reader’s Column): Avalakshanachi Sun-I(inauspicious daughter-in-law-1):
efforts to establish a Dowry Fund, which indicates the intensity of dowry and its evil effects. 70 Here and there some ‘ideal marriages’ without dowry also took place. 71 There were also other efforts to combat the evil such as formation of a Dothichen Sain (Dowry Army). 72 However, economic situation of the people did not undergo any change. As a result the efforts of the community to fight the evil did not bear fruit. Therefore the Church created another fund to help the poorer sections in 1940s. 73 This indicated the deep-rooted social custom of dowry. 74

Alcoholism in some sections of the Catholics was another evil which impoverished families. Serving country brewed arrack, or in some cases cashew arrack in feasts and in other ceremonies had become an accepted norm among the Catholics. Some of them were also convinced of its medicinal value. They even distilled the same illegally. 75 Their easy availability in functions and festivals led sometimes to reckless consumption of the brew, and a section among the Catholics became victims of alcoholism. 76 This combined viciously with the flourishing poverty, and

70 K.D. Silver Jubilee Souvenir; 1912-1937, pp. 95-96.
71 A Jesuit cleric named Manuel Coelho initiated many other efforts to stop this evil practice. K.D., 16 September, 1915, p. 173.
72 Under the leadership of the Church the community made efforts to bring transformation in the society by bringing reforms and stop the practice of dowry in the early decades of the 20th century. In 1923, an ‘Army against Dowry’ (Dotichen Sain) was established to oppose the dowry system.
73 In 1944 the Capuchin priests who arrived in Mangalore took up the leadership to fight the evil practice. They along with some Catholic gentlemen organized a ‘Fancy Fair’ to raise funds for helping the poor grown up girls to be settled in life. A Fancy Fair: RAKNO, 24 March, 1944, p.1. By 1945 they had established a dowry fund. Dothik Adaar (Help for Dowry): RAKNO, 20 July, 1945, p.3.
74 Since education spread, dowry came to be considered a social evil. In the post-independence period especially in the 1970’s it became a non-issue. This period saw much larger migration to West Asian countries and progress in education. Spread of education among the Catholics and a large population which had migrated to various places which had better exposure did not continue this ancient practice. When women were employed, the men could not demand dowry separately. The practice of equal share in property to the female child was also coming into vogue. Thus dowry took a different shape among the Catholics however it had intensified in some other local communities of the district. By 1980 the so called dowry disappeared. However in some cases golden ornaments were accepted and given through mutual understanding.
75 The problem was so much that in 1915 Mr. Couchman, the District Collector, strongly recommended the legalization of the cashew arrack. The district administration had found it impossible to suppress it; Other communities too consumed the same due to the same opinion. It was given to women before and after childbirth. J.F. Hall, op.cit., pp.289-290, 311-312.
76 Except the farming activity small farmers did not have other sources of income in the colonial
there have been cases of tenants losing their tenancies due to bankruptcy. In some families most of their earnings went to the liquor shops.77

Towards the close of the 19th century Temperance Literature was circulated among the Catholics.78 In 1920s Manuel Coelho a Jesuit cleric tried to fight the evils of alcoholism by establishing a Temperance Society.79 But the problem of alcoholism was so rampant that in 1945 the editor of Rakno gave call to end alcoholism. There was also an isolated case of an alcoholic father selling his baby boy.80 It was a mixture of poverty and alcoholism. During 'Prohibition', in 1949 the civil authorities informed the Bishop of Mangalore that Catholics were the highest defaulters in the district.81 In 1950s the Capuchin priests continued to fight against this evil. Thus alcoholism led some sections of the community to poverty. Those Chalgueni tenants who were poor became further impoverished, which compelled some of them to migrate.

Large Size of the Families:

Large family and general poverty among the ryots was an important aspect for the migration of the Catholics. The families have been very large in size during the period under study.82 According to one estimate even a small Catholic family at least had a minimum of six to seven children.83 Most times and illicit manufacture and selling, since there was demand, raised some money for their livelihood. Some catholic families illegally brewed the liquor which led to its promotion.77 The colonial government had introduced liquor shops and many consumed liquor from them.78 They brought Temperance literature from St. Ann’s Temperance society’s publication. M. M., Vol. IV, 1907-1909, pp. i-vi.

Manuel Coelho started the Temperance Association in Mangalore and in the interiors in Parishes such as Gurpur. In Gurpur Parish in 1925 there were about 65 members in the Temperance society established by him. K. D., 23 October, 1925, p. 309.


In the 1920's and 1930's there was an effort to give up alcohol. The Mogaveera community also had such plans. There were wedding ceremonies, without alcohol, were celebrated in the town of Mangalore. In the parishes such as Kinningoly 'ideal wards' were made, in order to fight the evil.85

Burgyak Vikullo Bapui (The father who sold his child): RAKNO, 5 May, 1944, p.3.

It is said that many Catholics were also tools in the hands of the rich and influential communities and were under obligation and as a result became defaulters. From the Bishop: RAKNO, 3 June, 1949, p.1.

83 In the absence of any conscious methods of family planning, this was the general phenomenon in the district; though the concept of family planning was irrelevant at that point of time.

84 It is evident from the interviews conducted among the Catholics.
of the Catholic tenants only lived a hand to mouth existence and large families further aggravated the situation. More children were welcome in an agricultural family. Agriculture was seasonal and labour intensive. It required a number of people during planting and harvesting. Large number of children were occupied in various household chores during the harvest season. Large families also aggravated poverty as too many mouths had to be fed. When there was failure of crop, or depression the Catholic peasants suffered. Under the circumstances grown up children sought opportunities outside. In some cases parents themselves persuaded their children to go to Bombay to earn their livelihood. 84

Lack of Education:

In the rural areas, the parents generally sent their children to school if they were nearby. After elementary school, parents stopped their education. The requirement of children at home for various household chores and other duties during harvest time was one of the reasons. Ignorance of the parents regarding the usefulness of modern education, general poverty and expensive school education, sparseness of schools in the rural areas, fear of sending children to far away schools especially in rainy season were the factors responsible for slower spread of education. 85 There was a very high school dropout rate during the period. 86 Higher education did not spread among the poorer section due to lack of facilities and high cost. Lack of education prevented the villagers from availing the opportunities offered by the colonial government. Practice of dowry, Chalgueni tenancy and poverty, lack of education, expensive social customs impoverished the Catholic peasants. When the children grew up they sought opportunities elsewhere.

84 Dothivine Kazari (Marriage without dowry): RAKNO, 4 August, 1939, p.1.
85 According to the colonial writers parents stopped sending their girl children to the school as they reached the age of puberty. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.254.
86 In the later decades of 20th century, among the Catholics of the interiors, one sees the phenomenon of sending one male child, to the school out of the many. Many such examples can be cited.
87 In the last decades of 19th and first decades of 20th century a very high dropout rate from school has been reported. J.F. Hall, op.cit., pp.253-254.
Natural Calamities:

The natural calamities which visited the district from time to time impoverished the people further. In the 1870's a great famine visited the district.\(^{87}\) Though there is no written evidence it can be surmised that people would have sought recourse to migration, when there was depression and price rise. People migrated to Mysore and Coorg regions and even to Bombay. Similarly, a great flood ravaged the parts of the district in the months of July and August in 1923 destroying a lot of wealth, buildings, bridges and so on. Another flood visited the district in the following year. \(^{88}\) The Catholics in Udupi, Kundapur and Bantwal areas were severely affected.\(^{89}\) The Bishop of Mangalore started a flood relief committee in 1923 to help the people.\(^{90}\) Calamities such as floods and famines impoverished and distressed the people further. When there was inflation and food scarcity people migrated to places where employment was available. For instance, the Catholics of flood-affected areas of Kundapur migrated to Bombay in large numbers, during the period.

The Density of Population:

The density of a tract depends to a large extent, on the fertility of its soil, rainfall or irrigation facilities, communication, industries, trade and commerce. All these factors have been responsible for the high density of population in the district. As pointed out earlier in 1930s the colonial writers

\(^{87}\) It affected the population growth during the period between 1871 and 1881. It was one of the lowest in the districts of Madras Presidency i.e. 4.48%. It was also much lower between 1881 and 1891. It was attributed to the famine of 1870s. During this period the prices of commodities had gone up considerably. H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p. 2.

\(^{88}\) In 1925 there was a sharp drop in birth rates, which was attributed the high prices of foodstuffs which was the result of the two disastrous floods during 1923 and 1924 which had caused widespread havoc. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.232.

\(^{89}\) Some Catholic families of Tonse, Kambala, Baikady, Uppoor, Udyavar, Barkur lost their houses. Some took shelter in Kallianpur, Giri, Kemman hills. During these period the two Catholic Patels (potails) of the place Peter Rebello and Albert Aranha helped these families by offering them employment. K.D., 2 August, 1923, p.165.

CASK provided Rs. 300 to the flood sufferers in 1923 of this area. The Catholic Association: K.D., 16 August,1923 eng. supp. p. iii. The Catholics of Farla and Omzoor in Bantwal region too were affected by the floods of 1923. K.D., 16 August, 1923, p. v.

in their administrative manuals referred to the pressure of population in each taluks. It was highest in the coastal taluks and less in inland taluks such as Karkal and Puttur. As the population increased there was less land available for cultivation in these areas.

The population of the Catholics made steady progress during the period under study. It was estimated at 90,000 in 1914. In 1915, there were about 25,000 houses of Catholics and 1,00,000 Catholics in Mangalore Diocese. In 1921, the total Christian population was 1,06,203 in the district. In 1931, it was 1,22,216. In 1941 the population rose to 131,005. In 1961, there were 1,63,365 Christians and in 1971 it was 1,87,570.

In 1901, population of the District excluding Kasargod was 8,98,380. In 1971 the population was 19,39,315. In seventy years, the difference was 10,40,935, which worked out to +115.87 percent. Similarly from 1914 to 1971 the population of the Catholics had doubled. Statistics indicate a general increase in the density of population. Such increase in the density of population leads to increased demand for land, price rise and other developments such as scarcity of cultivable land. As pointed out earlier in the district increase in population led to fragmentation of land, leading to smaller holdings which forced the people to move out.

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91The colonial writers have shown how more land was brought under cultivation. However it also indicated the pressure on land. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.299.
92Catholic Association and other smaller associations: K.D., 16 October, 1914, p.198.
The Diocese of Mangalore at that time included certain parts of the Kasargode district and parts of Malabar. In 1925 a new Diocese called Calicut Diocese was carved out of Mangalore Diocese.
94In this figures the Protestants are included, though their absolute number is quite small. For instance, in 1941, their number was 8000 only. Census of the Madras Province for 1941: RAKNO, 2 April, 1943, p.2.
95Census of the Madras Province for 1941: RAKNO, 2 April, 1943, p. 2.
96K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.95.
Separate figures for the Catholics are not available in this State Gazzetter of 1973.
97K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.87.
The district continued to be one of the populous districts in the post-independence period. In 1970s, after Bangalore, district that includes the metropolitan city of Bangalore and Mandya district, South Canara was the most thickly populated district of the state of Karnataka. In the year 1971 the density of population of the district was 230 per sq. km, while it was 421 in Bangalore and 233 in Mandya. In the state of Karnataka average density of population was only 153. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.86.
Economic Distress:

The first part of the 20th century witnessed three major events which had an impact on the life of the people. The First World War broke out in 1914 which continued till 1918, in 1929 the world faced the economic crisis—The Great Depression and in 1939, another World War broke out which continued till 1945. The distress during the period must have added to the miseries of the Catholic tenants and the poor. Though there is no specific data, it can be surmised that the distress during the period must have pushed people to Bombay and Chickmagalore areas.

During the First World War (1914-1918) the Catholics were migrating to Bombay in larger numbers due to the economic hardships in the district. This has been hinted at in the Catholic literature and newsmagazines of the time. In 1920s the number of Catholics travelling to Bombay had increased. The trend seems to have continued even in the post-war period. Though there were fewer jobs in Bombay, migration continued to unabated.

During the Great Depression (1929) there is ample evidence to the migration of the Catholics to Bombay and the Western Ghat Region. The poverty and distress had made people to suggest migration to far off lands

98 A writer wrote from Bombay to the Konkani Dirven that hordes of people including children and women from Kinnigoli area were arriving in Bombay. They were mainly from the villages and with little education. They must have sought employment such as cooks, drivers and housemaids and so on.

In 1915 there were reports of large number of beggars in the town of Mangalore and Catholic Association was requested to bring reforms. The Plight of the Christian Beggars: K.D., 16 January, 1915, p.17.


99 Catholics were writing in K.D. about the difficulties they were facing in the steamships. K.D., 2 June, 1923 eng. supp. p. i.

100 In 1926, rice became expensive. Rice from Rangoon was imported during the period. Certain Catholic leaders along with the clergy imported rice from outside and provided to the poor in the town of Mangalore and certain parishes in the interiors. K.D., 26 February, 1926, p.79.


K.D., 16 September, 1928, p.200.

such as Brazil during the period. 102 Though there were references of large number of people in Bombay thrown out of employment during 1933 the uneducated found a number of opportunities. 103 During this period a number of illiterate and less educated women migrated to Bombay in search of work. 104 In 1930s various initiatives of the Catholics of the district amply exhibited the economic distress they were facing. 105

During the Second World War the Archbishop of Bombay warned in *Examiner* newsmagazine, that priests should not give recommendation letters to the people to get employment in Bombay indicating large exodus of people to the city. 106 Inspite of the scarcity of job opportunities in Bombay, migration continued. 107 In 1941, the editor of Rakno suggested the Catholic youth to join Army during the Second World War, due to the rural unemployment. 108 Towards the close of the War, situation improved and many found jobs, at

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103 "for the uneducated, the call of Bombay is as intense as ever". Emigration to Bombay: M.S. Shrestha. *K.D.*, 16 July, 1933 eng. supp. pp.i-ii.  
104 Land Revenue Settlement of South Canara(editorial) *K.D.*, 2 September, 1933, eng. supp. p.i-ii.  
105 In 1930s many Catholics migrated to Bombay from the “arid tracts of South Canara and arriving in Bombay in ship loads in the city for domestic service.” Our Bombay Notes: *K.D.*, 2 September, 1936, eng. supp. p.i.  
106 During the period M. S. Shresta wrote in *K. D.*, in 1933 about the evils of women migrating to Bombay. He quoted the article from ‘Bombay Chronicle’ titled “the lure of the city – a grave problem for Christians” and strongly recommended the improvement of domestic servants in Mangalore and create an employment bureau. He also suggested creating avenues of employment in the district especially in Mangalore. Emigration to Bombay: M.S.Shrestha *K.D.*, 16 July, 1933, eng. supp. pp. i-ii.  
107 In 1933, the CASK wanted to initiate a fund for a poor students hostel through raffles. Old Students working in Africa and Burma asked the extension of the raffle. The collection was either limited or delayed. It was the period of financial depression. Poor Student’s Hostel: *K.D.*, 16 February, 1933, eng. supp. p. v. Poor Student’s Hostel fund: *K.D.*, 2 May, 1933, p.98.  
108 In 1934, the Catholics of India demanded equal representation keeping their educational advancement in government offices and various committees indicating lack of jobs to the Catholics. Representation of Indian Christians in the Services and Committees: *K.D.*,16 August, 1934, eng. supp. pp. i-ii.  
109 In 1930s there were labor unions formed in Mangalore by the communist parties and many Catholic men and women had joined them. *Souvenir, Mangalore Diocese First Eucharistic Congress*, op.cit., p.117.  
110 These developments indicate the distress in the community.  
111 The Bishop had emphasized that unless one has job ready in Bombay nobody should be allowed go to there. Firms and offices said to have been giving importance to such letters. RAKNO, 12 April, 1940, p.2.  
112 During the period even the educated joined hotels as cleaners or as ‘Boy’s in the houses of Parsis. Towards the beginning of the war even such jobs were scarce. Those who could not find jobs did not have enough to pay for the steam ship in their return journey. However the Catholics were going to Bombay in large numbers. RAKNO, 12 April, 1940 p.2.  
113 Reply to the letter to the editor: RAKNO, 19 September, 1941, p. 2.
In the post-independence period India struggled to cope up with its population, large scale poverty and unemployment. The district had its own share of woes. Towards the close of the 1940s many lost jobs, in the district. The Chalgueni tenants suffered the most. In 1960s there was also food scarcity and labour unrest. In 1966, the Jana Sangh organized a large demonstration in front of the District Collector’s office demanding the government to control prices and its expenditure, to make food available to the workers, to the poor, to abolish food regions and allow free trade, to remove octroi, reduce bus rates and so on. Food shortage was followed by labour unrest. The distress continued from 1940s through 1960s.

109 Gradually the situation underwent a change in Bombay. When Europeans said to have left Bombay due to the war demand for people increased. As a result new job opportunities were available. The educated section of the Catholics got clerical positions in during this period though the salary was less. Bombainth Kama Jobs in Bombay: RAKNO, 21 July, 1944, p.3.

110 In 1946, there was scarcity of yam and as a result many lost employment in the weaving establishments at Mangalore. RAKNO, 15 February,1946, p. 4.

111 In 1950s due to the the import of mill made cloth many looms in Mangalore were closed and many lost jobs. RAKNO, 10 October, 1952, p.4.

112 It was a general phenomenon and in South India it was estimated that there were about 25 lakh unemployed people. In 1950s there were complaints that the educated as well as the poor had no jobs in the district. Kama Naanth No jobs: RAKNO, 27 February, 1953, p. 4.

113 In 1964 food prices had gone up in the district. When the traders started hoarding, the people protested by organising precessions. The government resorted to arrest those who hoarded essential commodities in 1965. RAKNO,26 May, 1965, p.7.

114 In 1966 the Government announced that in Hotels atleast one day in a week rice should not be served. Hotelani Hapthak Ek Dees Shith Asanaye (No rice in hotels once in a week): RAKNO, 13 July, 1966, p.9; Shortage of food led to such distress.


116 Political leaders such as T.A.Pai and K.K. Shetty demanded fair price shops in the district. Niti Molachyo Angdi Garz (Fair price shops are needed) : RAKNO, 7 September, 1966, p.9.

117 In Mangalore, 36 tile factories went on strike causing a lot of loss in 1968. Mangluranth Nalya Kamagaranchen Muthkur Kityak Saltha? (Why there is Strike of Tile factory workers in Mangalore?) RAKNO, 7 February, 1968, p.3. There were labour disputes which were referred to labour courts. Canara Transport Company, Commonwealth Hosiery factory, Pierce Leslie and Co. and Highland
Though there is no statistical data to prove the migration during this period it may be surmised. Besides, in post-independence period, except beedi rolling where mainly women were involved, no major employment opportunities were available in the district till the 1980's. There were no labour intensive industries. Though a port and an airport were established, the industrial development was slow. Agriculture continued to be the mainstay of employment which could not absorb the additional human resources. Due to strikes many workers lost jobs. Food shortages forced the people to seek employment opportunities outside the district.

**Transport and Communication Facilities:**

Access to transport and communication facilities are essential for any migration of people. Major migration of the Catholics was to Bombay and various transport and communication facilities promoted migration. Access to transport from about 1850 facilitated this migration.

The steam ships were the earliest modes of transport available to the migrants of the district to reach Bombay. Prior to 1839, when the East India Company's monopoly was abolished, early tramp ships were landing at Mangalore to market European goods.\(^{115}\) The early commercial venture of providing sea transport to Mangalore was by the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, which made a start in 1845 plying between their homeport and Ceylon, calling at Mangalore and other intermediate places en route.\(^{116}\) A few trips sufficed to prove to the promoters of "Bombay Steam" that the venture was premature; and it was not until about 1860, when the Bombay Coast and River Co., Ltd., took up the broken thread of inter-communication, that Mangalore again enjoyed the benefit of accelerated sea travel.\(^{117}\)

Coffee works in 1966 were involved in these kinds of labor disputes. *Odyamik Vivaad* (Industrial Dispute): RAKNO, 17 August, 1966, p.9.

\(^{115}\) T.W. Venn, op.cit., p.140.

\(^{116}\) They advertised a regular shuttle service with steamers 'Tilly' and 'Victoria' to connect with the newly inaugurated Peninsular and Oriental line from Calcutta and China. The fares at that time from Mangalore to Bombay were: First Class Rs.100, Second Class Rs.50 and Third Class Rs.8. (each Class had varied facilities). T.W. Venn, op.cit., p.140.

\(^{117}\) Their vessels were ill-adapted for freighting on large scale which was required by the increasing
Bombay Steam Navigation Co., Ltd (Shepherd's) opened its service to Mangalore in 1887 with steamers named 'Krishna' and 'Bhima' with unfailing regularity. The transport facilities not only led to migration to Bombay but also brought visitors to Mangalore. In 1920s two steamships were plying. Later on they were referred as the 'speed boats' (fast steamers) and the 'slow boats' (cargo steamers). In 1939, the Bombay Steam Navigation Company fares for Cabin were Rs. 28, for first class-11-8-0, for second class -9-8-0, toll tax- for adults 2 annas and children 1 anna. During 1966, every Tuesday Chowgule steam ships plied between Bombay and Mangalore.

In 1926, there was a railway line from Poona to Bangalore. It touched Kadur in the present Chickmagalur district. The district had a road link through the Charmady Ghat to Kadur in Chickmagalur area of the export trade of the Province. Hence it was the British India Steam Navigation Co. that became the true handmaiden of the Mysore and Coorg coffee trade, having its outlet at Mangalore. T.W. Venn, op.cit., pp.140-141.

The sea travel to Mangalore developed mainly due to the availability of tiles, coffee, rubber or cashew kernels. T.W. Venn, op.cit., pp.140-141. During the rainy season port of Mangalore used to be closed. The people had to make their journey to Bombay before the rainy season.

Apart from various visitors, traders and missionaries there have been few patients too among these migrants. From about 1881 two leper asylums were established in Mangalore by the Christian Missionaries. From Bombay too lepers had flocked to these leper asylums. H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p.86.

In October 1923 weekly, every Wednesday Bombay Steam Navigation Company introduced speed boat (Passenger Steamer) which took only 43 hours to Bombay. K.D., 2 November, 1923, p.247. By 1925, it had two steamers separate for travellers and for cargo. K.D., 7 May,1926, p.156.

In 1926 Indian Steam navigation company manager visited Mangalore to introduce weekly transport ships to Bombay from Mangalore. K.D., 3 December, 1926, p.414.

'Parvathy', 'Bhadarvathi', 'Kalavathi' were some of the steamers plying between Mangalore and Bombay in 1939. Bombay Steam Navigation Company: RAKNO, 25 August, 1939, p.6. During the War of 1939-45 all the steamers were taken by the Government. As a result people had to travel through bus and train especially through Kadur. RAKNO, 26 October, 1945, p.6.

When the Transport minister A.P. Sharma visited Mangalore he had been requested by the people of Mangalore to introduce steamer service to Bombay due to the large traffic between the two cities and the paucity of land transport system. The traffic between Mangalore and Bombay had increased considerably. Editorial: Jillyanth Nove Shikshan Samsthe (New Educational Institutions in the District): RAKNO, 19 June, 1980, p.2.

Mysore Princely State. It was an easy access route during the later time to reach Bombay. From 1964 onwards a direct train coach was attached, from Mangalore to Bombay, thrice a week which passed through Arakonam.\textsuperscript{125} The next year a train was introduced to Delhi which also passed through Bombay twice a week. It facilitated people travelling to Bombay.\textsuperscript{126} In 1906 train service was introduced from Azhikkal to Mangalore which provided transport facilities to Madras. Previously people travelled through steamships or travelled up to Azhikkal and then took a train to Madras. In 1965 West Coast Express was introduced to Madras from Mangalore.\textsuperscript{127} In 1979 Mangalore-Hasaan railway was inaugurated and goods trains began operating which provided train transport to Bangalore apart from bus transport.\textsuperscript{128} Earlier there were trains to Bangalore which passed through Jolarpet.

In 1948, plans were mooted for an airport at Bajpe.\textsuperscript{129} Air service between Mangalore and Bombay was introduced in 1952.\textsuperscript{130} In 1960's Bombay, Belgaum, Goa, Mangalore and Bangalore flight service was introduced.\textsuperscript{131} In the 1970's there was a daily flight operating from Mangalore to Bangalore, Belgaum and Bombay. From these centres connections were available to major cities.\textsuperscript{132} In 1977, a Boeing plane was introduced between Mangalore and Bombay.\textsuperscript{133} Though air journey was expensive the opening of

\textsuperscript{125}RAKNO, 23 September, 1964, p.1.
\textsuperscript{126} RAKNO, 17 March, 1965, p.7.
\textsuperscript{127} RAKNO, 17 March, 1965, p.7.
\textsuperscript{128} Jillyacha Pragathechen Daar Ugadlen (Door opened for the progress of the district): RAKNO, 31 May, 1979, p.1.
\textsuperscript{129} Mangluraanth Viman Nildaan (Airport in Mangalore): RAKNO, 5 March, 1948, p.4. Air port was ready in 1951. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.348.
\textsuperscript{130} Manglur-Bombay Viman Chalavan (Flights from Mangalore to Bombay): RAKNO, 12 December, 1952, p.1.
Before the reorganization of the States Mangalore was served by a Dakota passenger service once in a week. Due to the repeated representations by the public a non-scheduled air service once a week between Bombay and Mangalore via Bangalore was introduced from the 29th December 1957. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.348.
\textsuperscript{131} In 1964 another flight was introduced. Manglur Bomboi Modhen Anyek Viman (Another Flight between Bombay and Mangalore) RAKNO, 23 September, 1964, p.7.
\textsuperscript{132} There were also daily flights from Bombay to Madras via Mangalore. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.348.
\textsuperscript{133} Mangluraak Boeing Viman (Boeing Plane to Mangalore): RAKNO, 18 December, 1977, p.12. In 1979 Boeing plane which had 126 seats started operating from Mangalore to Bombay. Previously Avro planes which had only 48 seats operated. Mangluraak Boeing Viman (Boeing flights to Mangalore): RAKNO, 1 November, 1979, p.9.
the airport opened its links to Bangalore and Bombay. Later on it facilitated air travel to the West Asian countries.

The bus service was introduced to Bombay from Mangalore when new bridges were built along the Canara coast.\textsuperscript{134} Thereafter private transport companies introduced buses to Bombay. In 1972 the Mysore Road Transport Corporation introduced three buses to Bombay, implying more traffic between the two places.\textsuperscript{135}

By the year 1964 there were four routes to go to Bombay apart from the air service. They were- through Arakonam (train), Harihar, Kadur (train) and steam ships.\textsuperscript{136} More transport facilities signified growth and progress of the district and more access to the people to the other cities. The availability of various modes of transportation at various points of time facilitated the movement of the Catholics to various corners of India and cities of Bombay, Madras and Bangalore.

\textbf{Spread of Education:}

Spread of education was an important motivating factor for migration of the Catholics of the district.\textsuperscript{137} As pointed out earlier towards the close of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century there was a pool of matriculates and graduates in the district due to the availability of educational facilities. In the rural areas too Catholics were availing elementary and secondary education. The educated sections who found no opportunities in the district had migrated to various destinations such as Chikmagalure region in Mysore Princely state, city of Bombay, Madras and various headquarters in Bombay and Madras presidencies.\textsuperscript{138} In

\textsuperscript{134}Bridges to Pavanje, Mulky and Udyavar rivers were planned in 1954. \textit{Jillyancha Naink Sankov} (Bridge for the rivers of the district): RAKNO, 19 May, 1954, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{135}Manglore Bomboy Modhen Sarkari Bussan Chalu (Government buses between Mangalore and Bombay): RAKNO, 10 September, 1972 p.11.

\textsuperscript{136}Ships alighted at Princess Dock in Bombay. RAKNO, 11 November, 1964, p.5.

\textsuperscript{137}Spread of education among the Catholics in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century has been explained in the previous chapter.

\textsuperscript{138} Though gazetteers claimed that the native Christians were ahead in other fields of education they were a small minority. Opportunities of higher education were available to the people of Mangalore and a tiny well to do section of the interiors in the last decades of 19\textsuperscript{th} and beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th}
In the rural areas whatever available was elementary and primary education and in some cases the secondary education.

Though education meant that majority merely knew how to read and write, the Catholics were ahead. H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p. 111.

For females, there was matriculation and teachers training course offered by St. Ann's institutions. There were 65 Catholic (native Christians) female scholars in English Middle schools out of a total 81 female scholars in the district. Among the 14 schoolmistresses 6 were from the Native Christian community. In the Vernacular middle schools (likely to be rural schools) all the 27 female scholars were of Native Christian community. H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p.112-113.

However, among the women too only the affluent sections had availed education which led to the migration of female teachers. "Among the women only few were educated and majority of the women of the villages were left behind". Union and Progress of the Kanara Catholic Community: K.D., 16 March, 1925, eng. supp. p.i.

Towards the beginning of the 20th century apart from St. Aloysius College, and Apostolic Carmel schools, there were 47 seven boys schools run by the Catholic Church with 2,185 pupils. St. Aloysius College had 400 students. M. M., Vol. Ill, 1904-1906, pp.17-18.

In 1903 there were a total of 70 schools run by the Church in the Diocese of Mangalore which consisted of the undivided South Canara, including the North Malabar with six thousand pupils and a third of whom were girls. M. M., Vol. Ill, 1904-1906, pp.46-52.

Milagres and Rosario schools were established in the early part of the 19th century in Mangalore which provided education for the Catholics of the town and the outskirts. In 1905 Milagres school claimed that it was an important school in the town, students to which came crossing about three schools on their way. The Catholic students from Cordel, Bojape, Taccode, Udupi, Moodabidri, Kallianpur and such other places of the interiors were attending this school. It indicated that some families, which were well to do, were sending their children to such schools in the town of Mangalore. The school also claimed that most intellectuals and most enlightened among the Catholics of Mangalore had studied in this school. M. M., Vol. IV, 1907-1909, pp. 31-32.

The schools which were about 45, in 1904, under the Bishop of Mangalore increased to 87 in 1916 including St. Aloysius College under his control. Quoted from Catholic Calendar of the Diocese of Mangalore 1916: K.D., second issue, January 1916, p. iii.

In 1930s the Milagres Secondary School offered fewer fees to the students from poorer families and provided meals for the students from outskirts. K. D., 16 May, 1937, p.104.

In 1939 Milagres High School boarding house was established. Advertisement: RAKNO,12 May, 1939, p.6.

The Catholic gentleman too with their own initiative had established some schools in the district. Prior to the establishment of St. Aloysius College in 1880, there existed St. Joseph's school at Codialbail, on the road leading to the District and the Sessions court, which was recognized as a public school of South Canara. It was run by Santan Menezes and his lieutenant Zuav Mascarenhas. The Educationists: K.D., 2 April, 1927, eng. supp. p.i.

St. Xavier's School, Kadri, later known as 'Pioneer Higher Elementary School' was established in the last decades of the 19th century. Marcel D'souza was the popular and articulate manager of this school. Carpentry classes were taught there. Sir N.G. Chandavarkar had visited this school in 1915. K.D., 15 March, 1915, p. 60.

John Rego had established St. Ann's School at Ambembal in August 1914 in which there were about 18 Catholic and 7 Hindu Children were studying. Havshili Thevshli Kabar (News from here and there): K.D., 16 September, 1914, p.179.

In 1920's Marcel D'Souza of Kadri who was administrator of Kadri School who had joined the Congress party, wanted to start a Board of Elementary Education on the lines of Catholic Board of Education of the time. Article "Marcel D'Souza" by Alex Pais. K. D., 2 October, 1937, eng. supp. pp. i-iv.

In 1925 Marcel A. M. D’Souza, of the Kadri Pioneering School, made an appeal in the K. D. for financial help from the community to start an industrial school. K. D., 13 November, 1925, eng. supp. (a separate section).

The Pioneer school started by Marcel D’souza later became St. Sebastian’s School under the Bendur Parish. Bendur Iscolaso Vajrotsav (Diamond Jubilee of Bendur School): RAKNO, 3 December, 1972, p.12.

'The Parish Association' at Udyavar was running a Higher Elementary school which was established
Though the colonial records claim quite a phenomenal advancement of elementary education during the first half of the 20th century it was only in comparison with the previous decades. Though the female education made some headway, it was somewhat slow. Western education did not become popular among the rural Catholics mainly due to poverty, fewer schools, ignorance, fear and lack of knowledge regarding the benefits of western education and the need of children for household chores. However, education did spread steadily and slowly among the Catholics particularly in the rural areas. The Catholics also attended board and other schools apart

in about 1924, was handed over to the Parish Priest and the church authorities in 1939. RAKNO, 15 December, 1939 p.5.

Many such schools later on came under the Catholic Board of education under the Bishop of Mangalore. The Bishop of Mangalore directly and indirectly forced these gentlemen to hand over these schools to him under the pretext of Christian education. Bishop V.R. Fernandes had taken over about 50 schools run by the individual Catholics in the Mangalore diocese area in 1930s. Education and Public Health(1936) Department- G.O. No. 1145 -Education -dated 23-7- 1941( The Letter of the Bishop of Mangalore, Letter of J. B. Machado, Confidential Report of the Director of Public Instruction: R. M. Stratham Esq., to E. C. Wood, Esq., ICS, Secretary to Government)

The Catholics were studying in board and other schools too.

140 In 1893 there were about 437 elementary schools for boys with a strength of 16,011. They had increased to 1,179 with a total strength of 86,309 pupils in 1934. The total number of aided mission schools (Roman Catholic and the Basel mission schools) was 473. Nearly 50% of the total strength of pupils in elementary schools was studying in these mission schools. The Catholics in general availed this elementary education, which was provided by these mission schools. The gazetteers suggested progress in education only in comparison with the previous decades. There was also high dropout rate. During 1934 only1% of pupils who admitted to the schools reached the fifth standard. The general practice among the people was to stop schooling and take the children to help in the hereditary work of the family or parents or send them to earn for the family maintenance. And for the female students generally parents stopped schooling when the girls grew up in age. J.F. Hall, op.cit., pp.253-254.

141 In the early decades, there was also an opinion among the affluent Catholic ryots that if they send their children for higher education they will go to Bombay for employment rather than look after their land and agriculture. Therefore they gave education up to the fourth form only. Editorial : K.D., 1 April, 1915, p. 62.

142 In 1907, the MRCP (Mangalore Roman Catholic Provident Fund) decided to forward educational loans for students pursuing the courses in Professional colleges, schools or colleges of special education and separate funds were raised for the same. M. M., Vol. IV, 1907-1909, pp.70-71.

The CASK initiated technical education in the rural areas in 1915 . K.D., 16 October, 1915 p. v. In 1915, the CASK offered Rs. 5 for the Catholic students of poorer families to train in industrial and technical education. K.D., 1 August, 1915 p. iv Advertisement Section.

In response to appeals of Catholics of the rural areas certain Catholic organisations attempted to promote primary and technical education by offering scholarships and other aid during the first decades of the 20th century. K.D. second issue, February, 1916, p. 45.

Loan scholarships of CASK to students in medicine, law, engineering, commerce and agriculture in 1923 were awarded. K.D. 16 March, 1923, pp. ii-iii.

Parish Schools such as Bajpe, Borimar, Ullal, Gurpur, Fenchar, Mogamad, and Vorkady were given grants by the CASK in 1923. The Catholic Association: K.D., 16 August, 1923 eng. supp. p. iii. In 1925 ten scholarships of Rs.25 each were offered by CASK. K.D., 5 June, 1925, eng. supp. p.iv.

In 1928 when the new local Bishop was consecrated, the laity read an address in which they demanded education for rural masses, “where majority were illiterate.” Address of the Clergy and
from those run by the Church. In 1925, the Catholics established many schools since the Government wanted to start schools in every village having a population of 500. However, there was need of more schools especially in the rural areas. The establishment of new schools continued in the district. In 1939, the Diocese of Mangalore opened an Education Fund and collected donations from the Catholic public and migrants and established about six high schools in various parts of the district. During the period between 1938 and 1941 there was substantial growth in Catholic female education in the district with the establishment of new schools by the

Laity to the new Bishop on his consecration: K.D., 16 April, 1928, eng. supp. pp. ii-iv.
In 1933, the CASK initiated Poor Students Hostel Fund through raffles. Poor Student's Hostel: K.D., 16 February, 1933, eng. supp. p. v; Poor Student's Hostel fund: K.D., 2 May, 1933, pp.98.
In Puttur, the Catholics girls were attending Board Secondary School. Therfore, in 1923 they demanded a school run by the nuns. K.D., 16 March, 1923, p. 70.
In Mangalore town the Catholics were attending the Government College, in spite of the warnings from the Bishop. Our Catholic children: Layman. K.D., 16 July, 1923, p. iii.
Catholic girls attended the Taluk Board school at Bijai established in 1926 in spite of the opposition from the religious authorities. K.D., 18 June, 1926, p. 204.
The government had offered to give grants, furniture grant and so on to new schools. A writer in K.D. called upon the community to start as many schools all over and take it up as a rare opportunity. Vivid Vishay (Various Subjects): K.D., 24 July, 1925, p.198.
Therefore, CASK wrote to the Parish priests the feasibility and the possibility of opening schools in their parishes. The Catholic Association of South Canara: K.D., 16 October, 1925, eng. supp. p. ii.
In 1926 there were 85 schools run by the Church in the Diocese of Mangalore. Quoted from “The Missions entrusted to the Society of Jesus among the Heathen” K.D., 26 March,1926, eng. supp. p. i.
In 1930' the Catholics emphasized the primary education of the youth of the villages. Prathamik Shikap(Primary education-Editorial) K.D., 2 February, 1933, p.21.
From 1935 onwards under the leadership of people such as U.Kannappa. M.S. Shresta, J.A. Saldanha emphasized elementary school for the Catholics. K. D., 16 August, 1938, eng. supp. pp.ii-iii.
The government had established 825 Board schools in 1924-25 period, 1469 Board and 478 private schools in 1925-26 and in 1926-27 period 566 Board and 642 Private schools in the Presidency. K.D.,2 April, 1927, p.60.
By 1934, there were seven Secondary Mission Schools run by the Christian Missions. Four of them were run by the Jesuits. They were the secondary department of the St. Aloysius College, at Mangalore, Kallianpur Milagres High school and two middle schools run by them in Mangalore-the Milagres and the Rosario school. There were two teachers training schools i.e elementary and secondary training school for males in Mangalore maintained by the government. J.F. Hall, op.cit., pp. 251, 255.
The high schools were in Kundapur, Udipi, Karkala, Mulki, Kasargod and Puttur. RAKNO, 17 March, 1939, p.2.
In 1940, the Catholic bodies were running 142 schools in the district. A Protest : RAKNO, 9 August, 1940, p.2.
In 1940s again many more schools were established by the Church. The Kanara Catholic Cooperative Educational Society Ltd., in the town of Mangalore, established in 1944, offered loans for poorer sections of the Catholics. In 1946, the Bishop declared that the Sunday collection of the year 1946 would be utilized for establishing Catholic elementary schools in the rural areas indicating more schools for rural Catholics.

Thus from 1900 onwards there was considerable growth in primary, secondary and high school education. When the number of churches and chapels increased the number of schools too had increased. On the eve of the independence there was considerable growth in elementary, secondary and high school education among the Catholics of the rural areas. The elementary and secondary educated Catholics especially of the rural areas sought avenues, of employment in the Government and in other establishments outside the district. Bombay was their favourite destination.

148 In 1938 there were 15 Catholic girls' schools in the district. By 1941, 18 more were added by the Apostolic Carmel, Bethany Sisters, Parish priests and the Catholic Board. Schools like St. Mary's School, Falnir, Lady Hill, Urwa and Capitanio were raised to the higher levels. RAKNO, 21 February, 1941, p.2.

In 1940s, St. Aloysius and Agnes colleges enrolled highest number of students indicating general spread of education. In July 1942 St. Aloysius College institutions had two thousand students. St. Agnes high school had more than one thousand students. RAKNO, 24 July, 1942, p.3.

149 Secondary schools at Shirva and Puttur were sanctioned in 1944. RAKNO, 14 April, 1944, p. 2.

Bajpe Secondary school started in 1944. RAKNO, 20 April, 1945, p.2.

In 1944, Two Catholic High schools at Milagres and at Padua were started in 1944. RAKNO, 14 April, 1944, p. 2.

Secondary school in Kirem was established in 1945. RAKNO, 11 May, 1945, p.3.

Rosario High school was established in 1946 in Mangalore. RAKNO, 17 May, 1946, p.6.

High school at Shirva was established in 1947. RAKNO, November, 1946, p.1.

150 In 1944, The Kanara Catholic Cooperative Educational Society Ltd., which was started in Mangalore by some philanthropic and enterprising Catholics, helped the poorer section of the students with loans. The Kanara Catholic Co-operative Educational Society Ltd., M'Lore: RAKNO, 24 November, 1944, p.1.

The Kanara Catholic Educational Co-operative Society, Ltd., RAKNO, 10 August, 1945, p.4.

It fostered higher and technical education among the Catholics of the poorer sections. Kanara Catholic educational cooperative society Ltd.: RAKNO, 25 March, 1949, p.5.

Kanara Catholic Educational Cooperative Society: RAKNO, 2 February, 1951, p.5.


In 1900 there were 31 parishes or chapels in the district which were multiplied into 52 parishes, 22 Chapels and 85 schools in 1923. In 1938 they rose to 93 parishes and accordingly there was increase in the number of elementary schools. RAKNO, 26 February, 1939, p.2.

In 1940, there were 69 parishes and 54 chapels with 146 schools and two colleges. Thus from 1923 to 1940 i.e. in 15 years about 80% growth in Catholic schools had taken place which benefited the rural Catholics. Recent Progress in the Mangalore Diocese (1923-1940): Jerome A. Saldanha, RAKNO, 9 May, 1941, p.3.
In the post-independence period the governments both at the centre and the states gave greater thrust to primary and higher education. More primary and secondary schools were opened in the rural areas. New arts colleges, medical, engineering, technical training nursing institutions both private and government were started. The Church too utilised the government grants to open more schools which led to further progress of education and thereby migration of the Catholics.

In 1954 there were about 15 high schools in the town of Mangalore and a total of 4 colleges, 2 training colleges, 75 high schools in the district.\(^{153}\) Thereafter, many schools were established in various parts of the district by the government as well as the Catholic Church authorities.\(^{154}\) There were also efforts by the Catholics to provide accommodation for the rural catholic students in the town of Mangalore so that they avail higher education.\(^{155}\) After the district came under the Mysore state there was more progress.\(^{156}\) In 1966 secondary education was made free in the state of Karnataka.\(^{157}\)

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\(^{153}\) St. Ann's, Ladyhill, Urwa, Capitanio, St. Agnes, Sacred Heart Kulshekar, Cascia, Milagres, St. Aloysius, Rosario, St. Joseph's Bajpe, Padua, Basel Mission, Canara, Canara (Urwa), Ganapathi were the High schools in Mangalore. S.S.L.C. Palitamsh (SSLC Results): RAKNO, 9 June, 1954, p.1.

\(^{154}\) In 1954, 36 schools were sanctioned in the district. Jillyak 54 Novin Iscolan (36 new schools for the district): RAKNO, 29 September, 1954, p.6.

\(^{155}\) In 1955, a hostel for the poor Catholic boys of rural areas in Mangalore was opened by the Capuchin priests. Kolovni (notice): RAKNO, 25 May, 1955, p.3.

\(^{156}\) When the district came under the state of Mysore in 1956, there were 64 high schools, 1168 primary schools and 4 Colleges. In 1969 they rose to 160, 1533 and 15 respectively. Mysoraak Thera Vorsan Borlin!(Mysore is thirteen years old!) RAKNO, 5 November, 1969, p.2.


Many more High Schools were opened thereafter. In 1966 the Catholics opened five new high schools in the district. They were at Kundapur, Barkur, Gangolly, Urwa and Naravi. Amcha Paanch Firgazuni Novin High Schoolan (Five new High Schools in our parishes): RAKNO, 22 June, 1966, p.1.
elementary and 60 elementary schools in the Diocese. From the 1950s onwards many first grade colleges were established in the district which benefitted the Catholics of the rural areas. The government of Mysore in 1970 had offered scholarships for higher education on various subjects above S.S.L.C. Towards the close of the decade of 1970s there was a lot of demand for educational institutions, as a result of which schools and colleges were further established. However the demand was not met. In 1968, a post-graduate study centre had been established by the Mysore University in Mangalore. The opening of the University centre provided Post-graduate 

In 1968 Catholics had total of 188 educational institutions in the Diocese. Manglur Diyesejechi mahet (Statistical details of Mangalore Diocese): RAKNO, 18 December, 1968, p.19.
In 1969, five high schools were started in the district in Sanoor, Nadumoor, Mundaje, Sulyapadav and in Kota. Jillyanth 5 Novin High Schoolan (Five new High Schools in the district): RAKNO, 18 June, 1969, p.11.

159 In 1958 St. Philomena College was inaugurated. Putturaak Ek College (A College for Puttur): RAKNO, 28 September, 1955, p.7.
In 1960 an Arts college had been established at Karkal. San Louis College (St. Aloysius College): RAKNO, 16 November, 1960, p.7.
In 1963, Vijaya College in Mulky and Bhandarkar's college at Kundapur were started. RAKNO, 24 July, 1963, p.8.
In 1967, Milagres College at Kallianpur was established. Kallianpuranth Milagres College (Milagres College at Kallianpur): RAKNO, 5 July, 1967, p.9.
In 1969 Canara College was planned by the Canara College management. Mangluranth Novi college zatheli (A new college will come up in Mangalore): RAKNO, 9 July, 1969, p.11.
In 1969 the Shri Venkataramana College was established in Bantwal. Bantwal: RAKNO, 6 August, 1969, p.12.
In 1971, Besant Women's College was established in Mangalore. Mangluraanth Novi Shthriyanchi College (New women's College in Mangalore): RAKNO, 19 June, 1977, p.11.
In 1980, Shirva St. Mary's College was established. Hya Haphiyanth Rakno :Ullas Patoisha (This week Rakno: Congratulates): RAKNO, 10 July, 1980, p.10.

160 Metrika Nantarcha Shikpak Sarkari Sahay (Help to students of S.S.L.C and above by the government) RAKNO, 11 July, 1971, p.11.

In 1971 St. Aloysius College established a night High School. San Louis Rathicha High Schoolasod Dees (St. Aloysius Evening High School Day), RAKNO, 10 January, 1971, p.3.
In 1970s English medium schools were becoming popular in Mangalore. In 1973 St. Ann's intitutions opened a section Teacher Training school for English medium students. Advertisement: RAKNO, 10 June, 1973, p.4.
In 1978 St. Aloysius College planned to begin Business management course to commemorate its Centenary. San Louis Colleginth Novo Course (new course in St. Aloysius College): RAKNO, 10 August, 1978, p.10.

162 Mangluranth Post Graduate Course (Post-graduate course in Mangalore): RAKNO, 8 November, 1967, p.9.
In 1968 there were 25 colleges in the district. Snatakottar Kendr Vegins Viswa Vidyalay Zavunso
education to the people of the district. It became a full pledged University in 1980.  

Earlier the students had to go to Mysore, Dharwad or Madras for post-graduate education. By 1980, there were about 1705 primary and elementary schools, 190 High schools, 34 Colleges, 21 technical schools in South Canara. However, there was more demand for educational institutions. There were complaints that classes were overcrowded. In 1980, the government opened three Government high schools, 10 private high schools, 1 junior College and one first grade college. The district stood second only to the city of Bangalore in education. Apart from formal education there were also tutorial colleges in Mangalore which imparted education.

There were certain professional and technical schools in the district especially in Mangalore in the last decades of 19th century. Book keeping, typing and such other job oriented technical cum professional courses were taught. Gradually, more such schools were established in the town.

_Sandarb Asa (Post graduate Center will become a University soon): RAKNO, 28 August, 1968, p.2._

_163 Manglur Viswavidyalay (Mangalore University): RAKNO, 3 April, 1980, p.9._

_164 Editorial: Jillyanth Nove Shikshan Samsthe (New educational institutions in the district): RAKNO, 19 June, 1980, p.2._

_165 In 1968 there was tutorial College called the ‘Mangalore Tutorial College’ which helped students to pass S.S.L.C., Intermediate and B.A. Iscoalk Vosanasthana Shika (Study without going to school): RAKNO, 15 May, 1968, p.7._

_166Mangalore commercial night school was one of the schools which imparted instructions in Book-keeping and Commercial correspondence in the last decades of the 19th century. The students those who attended schools found various avenues in Bombay and Madras Presidencies. M. M., Vol.I,1897-1900, p.219._


_In 1937, St. Aloysius College trained students for Indian Merchant’s chamber’s Banking Diploma. K.D., 16 June, 1937, eng. supp. pp.ii-iii._

_Seven Catholics passed at St. Aloysius Commercial classes in 1939 . RAKNO, 12 July, 1940, p.5._

_167_ Tom, Victor & Co’s School at Milagres taught shorthand and type writing along with Accountancy in Mangalore. K.D., 2 October, 1915, p. i (advertisement section). The Mangalore School of Commerce which was established in 1915 imparted instructions in book keeping and typing. In 1923, it offered a scholarship of Rs. 25 to a poor Catholic boy. K. D., 2 December, 1923, p. 269; K.D., 2 May, 1923, Advertisement, p. v .

_Canara Writing Institution, in Pereira Building in Hampankatta, K.D., First issue of the month, June, 1916, p.127._

_The Kanara School of commerce was another school which trained students in D.Com and other Banking and Accountancy diplomas in 1937. K.D., 16 July, 1937, Advertisement, p. v._

_It imparted instructions in book-keeping, banking, auditing and shorthand and typewriting. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.257._

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Those trained as accountants and stenos, later went in search of opportunities outside the district.

Certain lower technical or mechanical trades were also available in Mangalore. Many of these trades were also learnt by people working with


In 1954, in Milagres high school book keeping, shorthand, type writing was taught in its ‘youth occupation centre’. Youth Occupation Centre: **RAKNO**, 23 June, 1954, p.5.

In 1964, the Dubois School of Commerce was established in Kulshetkar. **Cordelaanth Novo Sansth** (New Institute in Cordel). **RAKNO**, 30 September, 1964, p.8.


St. Joseph's Assylum in Mangalore had training in shoe making, statue making and so on towards the close of 19th century. Later on carpentry, turner’s work, black smithy and motor repairs were taught.

In 1929, the government planned an industrial school in Mangalore. **K.D.**, 2 June, 1929, p. 130; **K.D.**, 16 June, 1929, p.131.

Mechanics, Motor training and Carpentry were introduced in the government trade school. **K.D.**, 2 August, 1929, p.177.

Later on training was imparted in wood work, engineering trades such as electric wiring, mechanics etc. There was no fees charged for tuition, which benefited the people. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.295.

Some of those who were trained at St. Joseph's Industrial School later opened their own firms. Albert Martis & Co and Simon & Co., were the two firms in statue making. **K.D.**, 4 January, 1940, p.8.

In 1939, the Government trade School was teaching carpentry, and mechanics free of cost. **RAKNO**, 26 May, 1939, p.6 . It was converted into a polytechnic in 1946. Polytechnic for Karnataka opened: **RAKNO**, 13 December, 1946, p.2.

By 1934, there were three industrial schools in Mangalore i.e. Government Trade School at Mangalore, The Commonwealth Trust, The Roman Catholic Industrial Home (St. Joseph's Asylum and the Industrial school). In 1934, the Government Trade School at Mangalore had a strength of 56 boys. The Commonwealth Trust trained about a dozen students. The Roman Catholic Industrial Home taught the same trades which were taught at Government Trades School. J.F. Hall, op.cit., pp. 256-257.

In 1950s new courses such as the course of overseer, motor mechanic and other industrial courses were offered in Karnataka Polytechnic. Karnataka Polytechnic: **RAKNO**, 1 April, 1949, p.7.


In 1969, the ITI offered free courses such as mechanic motor vehicle, refrigeration and air-condition, welder, draughtsman, electrician, fitter, mechanic composite, turner. **Engineering Ani Her Vrittenh Dharmak Tarbeti** ( Free training in engineering and other trades): **RAKNO**, 28 May, 1969, p.9.

In the 1970's the engineering department of the St. Joseph's Asylum had various trades such as foundry, machine shop, welding, fitting, carpentry, furniture manufacture and so on. Some orphan girls were trained in this Asylum under the Sisters of Charity in some trades. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p. 703.

Apprenticeship was offered in St. Joseph's Asylum Industrial workshops to a limited number of students in 1970s. **RAKNO**, 1 July, 1970, p.10.


In 1970s the Catholics were given guidance on apprenticeships and self employment schemes by experts in the field such as C.P. Currie and J.J.A. Fernandes through **RAKNO** and parish priests.
the professionals—on the job training. The industrial training provided them with new opportunities. As the new courses opened new opportunities were also opened for the Catholics.

Bombay, Madras, Poona were centres of higher professional education in the colonial period. From about the second half of the 19th century some Catholics from the district used to go to Bombay or Madras for professional education such as law or medical degree. There is evidence of Catholics going for such education. From 1950s onwards such education was available in the district. The establishment of professional colleges benefitted the affluent sections among the Catholics.

Karnataka Apprenticeship Scheme: Swonth Dando


For instance, a pupil who worked with a carpenter, learnt carpentry. Similarly motor repairs, tailoring and so on. Such learning continued in the district without any formal or theoretical training. Therefore, though there were few pupils in the trade schools there were many others who had the expertise of these trades. Many such tailors, mechanics migrated especially to Bombay.


In 1920s and 1930s Catholics were going to various centres of higher professional education. Mr. J.A.Pinto who went for B.A. (Hons.) did Law course in Madras Law college in 1918. Mr. Joachim Sequeira did his B.L. Course at Madras. Mr. James Sequeira did Law course in Poona Law College. In 1943 in Grant Medical College, Bombay there were 11 old students of St. Aloysius College studying for medicine. (Photograph of Aloysian with the Staff of the Grant Medical college, Bombay). Mr. Hugh Pinto and J.A. Pinto went to Presidency College. Madras for B.Sc., (Hons.) and B.A. (Hons.) respectively. Godfrey Saldanha went to Trichinopoly for the B.Sc., course. Aloysian, 1943, pp.7-9.

In 1940s Catholics went to Bombay to qualify for different degrees. Results in Bombay and Mangalore: RAKNO, 14 June, 1940, p.5.

Newsmagazines such as M. M., K. D., Mangalore, Aloysian and RAKNO give number of such details.

In 1951 plans were mooted to start a medical college in Udupi by T.M. Pai under Academy of General Education. Udupath Medical College (Medical College in Udupi): RAKNO, 5 October, 1951, p.4.

In 1958 there were plans to establish an Government Engineering College in the district. Mangaluraak Engineering college (Engineering College for Mangalore): RAKNO, 12 November, 1958, p.8.

In 1963, four colleges namely Teacher's training, Physical Education, Veterinary and a Dental college were started in Manipal. Manipulanth Chaar Novyo Collegyo (four new Colleges in Manipal): RAKNO, 6 November, 1963, p.7.


Only a few Catholics of South Canara studied in St. John's medical college. In the first year Allen Fernandes was the only student. Catholic Medical College A mbh Zali (Catholic Medical college has been started): RAKNO, 10 July, 1963, p.1.

In 1961, there were 75 Catholics students in Manipal engineering and medical colleges. A total of
Female education also made considerable progress by 1980. Towards the close of the 19th century in the rural areas the Catholic females attended the primary and secondary schools of the localities either run by individuals or boards or the Church.\(^{174}\) In the 20th century there was greater progress in female education.\(^{175}\) The demand for female education was so much that in the district, girls got admitted freely in schools meant for boys.\(^{176}\) Though for girls marriages were usually at an early age, female education in general made some progress in the district in the early decades with comparison to other districts of the Presidency. However, education was expensive throughout as is evident from the attractive advertisement of the boarding houses of students.\(^{177}\) In 1921, a first grade college was established for females by the Apostolic Carmel nuns of St. Ann Educational Institutions.\(^{178}\) In 1930s there

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\(^{174}\) Catholic girls attended private and board schools in rural areas from about the later part of the 19th century. The colonial writers have claimed that they were ahead in education. For instance, there were 65 Catholic or native Christians female scholars in English Middle schools out of a total 81 female scholars and 6 schoolmistresses out of the 14. In the Vernacular middle schools, all the 27 female scholars were of Native Christian community. H. A. Stuart, op.cit., pp. 111-113.

\(^{175}\) In Mangalore, St. Ann's institutions provided highschool and Matricualtion courses from 1902. In 1907, it had produced 29 matriculates. \textit{M. M.}, Vol. IV, 1907-1909, pp. i-vi.

\(^{176}\) The training department which was opened in 1890 for the mistress had trained by 1923 about 600 female teachers. \textit{K. D.}, 16 May, 1923, eng. supp. p. i.

\(^{177}\) In 1934 there were 34,567 girls in the 131 elementary schools. About 2,983 female pupils were there in Secondary schools. In the first grade college, there were 92 girl students, which was highest number in the presidency after Madras. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p. 254.

\(^{178}\) In the year 1935-36 the strength of St. Agnes College was 115. The total expenditure occurred was 25,780 and rupees 4,975 were collected as fees, which again implies the cost of education for the common people. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p. 248.

One of the advertisements of St.Ann's Boarding school in 1907 ran thus... “In the last five years 29 pupils passed Matriculation examination and 84 students received teacher's certificate... Vocal and instrumental music, plain and ornamental needlework etc are carefully taught” and so on. \textit{M. M.}, Vol. IV, 1907-1909, pp. i-vi.

St. Agnes College was founded with St. Ann's High school opening the intermediate classes. In 1924 it opened the B.A. classes and became the only first grade college in the West coast of the Madras presidency. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p. 248.


In 1927 a request was made to Governor Lord Goshen who visited Mangalore to grant permission to start a science section. \textit{K.D.}, 2 November, 1927, eng. supp. p. i.

In 1937 the College had three scholarships and eleven endowments for prizes which helped a few students. \textit{J.F. Hall}, op.cit., p. 248.
were a total of six secondary schools exclusively for girls in the district. In 1940s more schools for girls were established by the Catholics in Mangalore and in the interior regions.

There was teachers' training institute run by St. Ann Institutions in Mangalore for females. These trained teachers were migrating to various parts of the Madras and the Bombay Presidency and to the neighbouring princely state as early as the last decade of 19th century. Christian girl-students strength was the highest in the training colleges of teachers in the Madras Presidency between 1907 and 1912. Catholic girls from the district were also going to Madras for higher education in teaching in 1920s. Towards the close of the 1920s there were more teachers training schools


In 1939, it established a hostel which benefited the affluent sections of Catholic females of the rural areas. Advertisement: RAKNO, 19 May, 1939, p.6.

In 1934, there were 92 students in St. Agnes College. In 1934, the high school department of St. Agnes College was one of the biggest secondary schools where the strength was 798. Of these 658 were Indian Christians. They would have included some Protestants and Catholics from the present Kerala state (Malabar and Travancore). In St. Ann's Secondary School out of the total strength of 411 pupils 174 were Christians in 1934. J.F. Hall, op. cit., p.254.

Except the Government Secondary and Training school for women at Mangalore all others were run by the Roman Catholic mission, indicating that there was a boost to female education among the Catholics. Towards the close of the 1930s the higher rate of literacy in the Presidency among Christian women was attributed to the Christian Missions in the district who provided education for their congregation wherever any fair number of Christians lived. J.F. Hall, op.cit., pp.247, 254.

St. Cecily's High school at Udupi, Captaino High school in Mangalore, Bethany school at Kulshekar came into existence in 1944. RAKNO, 13 April, 1945, p.1.

In 1944 a girl's secondary school was opened by the Catholic Board at Shirva. A call was given to Gurkars and other leaders to persuade parents to send their children to school. Girls used to go to Bombay as maidservants from Shirva. Shirva: Saliyanchen Iscol (Girls School): Editorial: RAKNO, 26 May, 1944, p. 4.


The training department of teachers was started exclusively for the teachers by St. Ann's institutions in the last decade of the 19th century. In 1887 on the request of the Director of Public instructions the benefits were extended to a wider circle of schools. In 1891, an upper secondary training school was started. By the year 1907 the training department had trained 210 teachers. These teachers who were trained in these schools were employed all over South India and the Bombay Presidency.


In 1928 three Catholic females from South Canara along with two nuns of Apostolic Carmel passed their L.T. examinations from Lady Wellington College at Madras. K.D., 2 June, 1928, eng. supp. p. iii.
opened in the district. It is observed that even in the Government teachers training schools there were more Catholic girl-students. During the Second World War and after, the government encouraged teachers training courses probably due to the paucity of teachers by offering stipend money, which must have encouraged Catholic girls to join the training schools. During the period, since more women were availing education, there were suggestions made by the Catholics to enhance their job prospects. In the post-independence period more training colleges were established which benefited the Catholics. The trend of trained teachers migrating continued. Presence of many teacher training institutions led to the recruitment of teachers from the district, which is evident from the large number of advertisements appearing in the Rakno weekly specially by the missionary schools from outside the district.

From about 1940s onwards the Catholic women also trained themselves as nurses. Fr. Muller Nursing Institute was one of the first such

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184 In 1929, a lower grade Government training school for women had been opened at Udipi. K.D., 2 September, 1929 eng. supp. p. iv.
185 In 1930s, there were three schools which trained female teachers. J.F. Hall, op. cit., p. 255.
186 In 1940 there were 26 Catholic female students out of 43 in the Government training school in Mangalore. In Udipi in the Government Higher Elementary Training school out of 27, 17 were Catholic females. Results in Bombay and Mangalore: RAKNO, 14 June, 1940, p.5.
187 RAKNO, 6 October, 1944, p.1.
188 In 1945, Bethany Higher Elementary Grade Training school for mistress at ‘Rosa Mystica’ was established. Bethany Convent, Mangalore: RAKNO, 11 May, 1945, p.1.
189 In 1946, emergency teacher’s course with enhanced stipend was introduced at St. Ann’s Training School. RAKNO, 15 February, 1946. p.4.
190 In 1940 a writer suggested women careers such as stenographers, lady secretaries, saleswomen, jobs in insurance companies, female operators in industries, factories and so on. Commercial careers for ladies - by G.C. RAKNO, 19 April, 1940, p.4.
191 In 1949 fee concessions were introduced for teachers training courses. Iscol Mestri Zavnk Sulabai (facilities to become a school teacher): RAKNO, 17 June, 1949 p.6.
193 From about 1940 onwards female Catholic teachers were recruited in present Karnataka region from the district. Wanted: RAKNO, 31 March, 1944, p.1.
194 Wanted: RAKNO, 14 April, 1944, p.2.
195 Many such advertisements appeared then onwards in RAKNO.
198 Umpteen number of such advertisements appeared in RAKNO in 1970s.
199 In 1936 a course of talks was arranged on hospital work and attention to the sick in Fr. Muller’s institutions. They then had a plan to develop a nursing institute there. K.D., 2 September, 1936, eng. supp. p. iv
in the district. In 1960s the nurses trained in Kankanady hospital had reached various parts of India and abroad. Another school was the Wenlock hospital in the town. From about 1950s some Catholic women were trained as social workers too. In 1970s a Polytechnic Institute for women was started in Mangalore. The starting of these courses like Nursing, Polytechnic and Social Work, led to the migration of the Catholics on a larger scale in search of lucrative employment.

Apart from the establishment of schools, the scholarships in various schools also educated a section of the Catholics. Since they were based on

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192 In 1959, a nurse’s training school was started with basic course in nursing in Fr. Muller’s Hospital. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.634.
In 1961 the first batch of nursing students from Fr. Muller’s Nursing College passed out. RAKNO, March, 1, 1961 p.2. The number of seats in this school was increased to 15 in 1963 and to 25 in 1965. In 1972 there were 100 students in this school. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., pp.634-635.


195 In 1956 St. Agnes College offered a one year diploma course in Social Service. RAKNO, 30 May, 1956, p.5.
In 1960, a institute of social service called Roshani Nilaya was established by a congregation of nuns called the Society of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary with a two year post-graduate diploma and a certificate course. Training for Social Work: RAKNO, 1 June, 1960, p.5.

196 Women polytechnic was established with courses such as telecommunications, library science and secretarial practice in 1970 in Mangalore. Manglurak Noven Polytechnic: (New polytechnic for Mangalore): RAKNO, 17 June, 1970, p.11.

197 From about the beginning of the establishment of St. Aloysius College the European Jesuit priests had introduced the idea of scholarships to help the needy students. Later on numerous scholarships were established in the College as well as other educational institutions. Of the first such scholarships was instituted by Countess Caroline Villa Vicencio, awarded to the student who passed highest in the Matriculation examination and continued his F.A. studies in the College. Mr. A.F. Cyril Rebello, chief superintendent in the Accountant General’s Office, Bombay founded Rebello scholarship in the 1890’s. Mr. Saturnine Mathias of Karkal, an old student of the College instituted a scholarship. M. M., Easter1901-Christmas1903, Vol. II, p. 288.

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merit and for academic excellence they did not necessarily promote higher education. The scholarships encouraged promising students who were in financial stress to prosecute their studies.\textsuperscript{198}

The land tenure system and resultant poverty, the colonial education policy, large size of family were some of the factors which made education unaffordable to a large section of the rural populace. From the close of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century the Catholic Church had established orphanages in various parts

\hspace{1cm} p. 154.
The management of the College encouraged people to establish scholarships on every auspicious occasion. To perpetuate the memory of wellknown people scholarships or some beneficent funds were also initiated. Silver Jubilee memorial fund, The Golden Jubilee Poor Students Fund, Fr. Baizini Scholarship, Fr. Denis Fernandes Scholarship, Diamond jubilee scholarships, Col. Albuquerque Scholarship were some of the scholarships in the college.

In 1926 Fr. Baizini Scholarship was introduced for the junior intermediate students. Fr Baizini Memorial Fund: \textit{K.D.}, 6 August, 1926, p.268.

In 1930 The Golden Jubilee Poor Students Fund was established. \textit{K.D.}, 2 February, 1930, eng. supp. p.i.


There were about 54 scholarships in the College of rupees ranging from 25 to 88 per year during the 1930's. J.F. Hall, op.cit., p.247.

In 1940 Diamond jubilee scholarships were initiated. \textit{K.D.}, 4 January, 1940, p.12.


Later on when educational institutions spread, such scholarships were established in other institutions. Scholarships were established in St. Agnes College. Migrants to Bombay, Africa and in later stages to Middle East countries established such scholarships in their individual parish schools.


In Pakshikere, an educational committee was formed in order to mobilize funds for the education of the poor in 1967. \textit{Pakshikerenth Vidya Samiti} (Educational Committee in Pakshikere): \textit{RAKNO}, 17 May, 1967, p.10.


In Pakshikere, an educational committee was formed in order to mobilize funds for the education of the poor in 1967. \textit{Pakshikerenth Vidya Samiti} (Educational Committee in Pakshikere): \textit{RAKNO}, 17 May, 1967, p.10.


Migrants to Bombay and Middle East countries were instrumental in establishing many of these scholarships.

\textsuperscript{198} This has been acknowledged by Alex Pais who was the editor of Konkani Dirven and a lawyer in 1920's and 30's at Nesbit Road Mazgaon, Bombay. \textit{Padr. Denis Fernand Je. Sa.} (Fr. Denis Fernandes S.J): Alex Pais, \textit{K.D.}, 2 February, 1937, pp.24-26.

The Catholic elite promoted education throughout the period under study. In 1970s. Late J.G. Saldanha the proprietor of M/s. Highland Coffee Works, M/s. Souza Brothers of Puttur extended loans to students who did not have the means for higher education. Felix D'Silva of Valencia who worked in Middle East was one such beneficiary. \textit{RAKNO}, 9 February, 2006, p.18.

M/s. Souza Brothers of Puttur had initiated loans and scholarships to the needy students of all communities, in the 1970s and 1980s through \textit{Pratibha Puraskara}. Some of the beneficiaries who work in high positions have acknowledged this fact.

Many such other examples are available.
of the district. St. Antony’s Orphanage in Mangalore was one such. 199 There were others in other parts of the district. 200 Though these orphanages have been referred as orphanages, many of them were not orphanages in real sense. The wards were mainly from poor Catholic families. 201 In a scenario of Chalgueni system of tenure, lack of development in the agricultural sector, general poverty prevalent in the district among the Catholics, large families with an average of 7-10 children affected the poor peasant families and they found it difficult to educate and feed their children at home.202 As a result, many parents sought the help of such orphanages. Many of the inmates who studied in these orphanages secured better prospects.203 Thus orphanages

199 It was established by Rev. Mgr. M.P. Colaco in 1898. Apart from providing shelter to all kinds of orphans and destitute it had a crèche for babies and a ‘balavadi’ for children up to five years of age. Later on the children were sent to adjacent schools. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.705.
Students were given education in this orphanage up to 4th standard in earlier times. Later their education was raised up to 7th standard. In 1960’s they were sent to the neighbouring Govt. High school. Female inmates were sent to schools and were taught sewing, cooking and home science. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.706.
Some of the alumni of St. Philomena’s orphanage of Uppinangady have risen to high positions in the district and in Middle East countries.

St. Rita’s Orphanage at Kaukrdy near Kokkada established by Albert Pinto in 1939. It was maintained by the government grants and funds raised by the management. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.707.
St. Paul’s orphanage at Naravi in Belthanaldy Taluk was established in 1949, by J.B. Alvares. It received government grants in 1956. Fr. Cortichen Bessaun Naravichen Misaun(Blessing of Fr. Cort’s, the mission of Naravi): CGS Taccode. RAKNO, 18 December, 1980, p.9.
The expenses were met partly by the Government grants and partly by public charity. The Catholic Board of Education of Diocese of Mangalore looked after the management of the institution. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.706.
The Christa Sevaka Ashrama at Parpale near Karkal was started to help the women in 1950. The churches of Switzerland helped in funding these projects. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.707.
The Saverapura orphanage at Sampaje in Sullia Taluk was managed by a committee of seven members. It was established by L.A. Cutinho in 1957. Besides regular schooling they were trained in tailoring, handicrafts and improved methods of cultivation. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.708.
The St. Joseph’s orphanage at Belve in Coonadpur taluk established in 1960 by the Bishop of Mangalore Diocese. The inmates were educated up to S.S.L.C. and there after they were trained in technical trades such as tailoring, carpentry and agriculture and so on. It was maintained by the government grants and with the foodstuffs supplied by the Christian charities of India. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.708.
Orphanages of St. Joseph’s Asylum in Mangalore catered to the needs of the poorer sections. The workshops run by the asylum trained the Catholic students of poor families in various trades.
202 As told to this researcher by the former inmates of the orphanage of St. Philomena at Uppinangady.
203 The existence of the orphanages and government offering them grants suggested that there was all round poverty among the Catholics of South Canara.
204 Some of the inmates have secured government positions or migrated to the Middle East countries. A well known Catholic entrepreneur in Qatar was an inmate of St. Philomena’s Orphanage, Uppinangady. Taccode, CGS, Qutananthlo Konkni Karbari, Felix Lobo, RAKNO, 19 August, 2004. p.6.
ameliorated poor Catholic families to some extent. These orphanages educated a section of the Catholics and hence facilitated migration of the poorer sections from rural areas.\footnote{The orphanages lost their relevance when education spread and land reforms were introduced in the state in 1974. There was shortage of pupils in these orphanages. However orphanages did continue some time due to the prevalent poverty. Especially landless families, families affected by the alcoholism did send their children to them even after 1974.}

Only the affluent sections could avail high school and Matriculation education in the first decades of the 20th century. Poorer sections could avail only some primary and occasionally some secondary education. Fear, traditional beliefs, poverty, ignorance and the need of children in household chores and harvesting were the main reasons for this plight. The position of the female children was more precarious. In the Post-independence period the spread of education was phenomenal. As more Catholics began availing education, it led to their migration. The spread of education changed the migration patterns. Previously, the uneducated who were leaving to Bombay to be cooks, drivers, seamen now went as educated men to work in offices quite in large numbers. Similarly females who earlier migrated as maidservants, now migrated as teachers, nurses, secretaries, social workers and so on. Those who availed professional education migrated for higher positions. In the Post-independence India establishment of many professional colleges such as engineering, medical, teachers training, nursing, school of social work led to the migration of the professional educated elite too. By 1980 when education spread considerably, migration patterns completely underwent change and more and more educated people migrated. Therefore spread of education in the district was an important factor for the migration of the Catholics. The educated migrated to various destinations in India and abroad at various points of time.

\textbf{Impact of the Reservation Policy:}

The independent Indian government introduced reservation policy for the backward classes. The state Government of Mysore introduced a similar
policy and considered the Catholics as a forward community and brought them under the general merit category. It introduced 48% of the jobs for backward classes in 1960 in educational institutions as well as in allotting government services.\footnote{J.M. Lobo Prabhu a prominent Catholic opposed this move of the government. Amcha Samajechin Hakkan Rakshan (protecting the rights our community): RAKNO, 6 September, 1961, p.6.} As a result the Catholics were deprived of their share in education and government services in the state though a large section of the Catholics were in utter poverty due to Chalgueni tenure.\footnote{One writer suggested that the Catholics should have their own technical diploma awarding College because the reservation policy had kept them out of technical education. Mogal Sampadaka...Udentichen Rome: (Dear Editor... Rome of the Orient): RAKNO, 1 November, 1979, p.4. Mogal Sampadaka... Udentichen Rome: (Dear Editor... Rome of the Orient):Jerry Niddodi, Mangalagangothri. RAKNO, 15 November, 1979 p.4.} The reservation criteria underwent change thereafter. Though the Catholics initially had come into the general merit later on they came into the category of III B. The income being the criteria many families of the Catholics were deprived of government employment as well as educational facilities. The Government services were competitive and the large majority of the Catholics had to compete with other forward communities in general merit category. As a result those who entered the Government services were only a few compared to their educational accomplishments. Discussions took place as how far the government was responsible for the migration of the Catholics.\footnote{A writer lamented that for the 42% of general merit seats the Catholics had to compete with the other forward castes. Mogal Sampadaka... Udentichen Rome: (Dear Editor... Rome of the Orient): Jerry Niddodi, Mangalagangothri. RAKNO, 15 November, 1979, p.4.} Since opportunities were lacking for them in the district and they were kept out of the government services due to the reservation policy of the government the educated looked for greener pastures outside.

**Access to Recruiting Agencies to West Asian Countries in Mangalore:**

In 1960s demand for labour in the Middle East countries increased considerably. Previously those who sought employment in West Asian countries had to go to Bombay in search of recruiting agencies. From about
the closing years of the 1960s various passport and recruitment agencies came up in the town of Mangalore who recruited people for various countries of West Asia. Such facilities in Mangalore facilitated migration of the Catholics to a large extent.

THE INCENTIVES:

After discussing the various "push" factors which promoted migration, the "pull" factors may be analyzed. The pull factors are the various aspects which attracted the migrants to migrate to those particular destinations such as job opportunities in coffee estates of Chikmagalur, in cities of Bombay, Madras, Bangalore, opportunities provided by the colonial Government in various Presidencies and including outside India in countries such as Ceylon, Burma, Persian-Mesopotamian region, African Protectorates.

Employment Opportunities in Bombay, Chikmagalur Region and in Various District Headquarters and Outside India:

Since the time of the islands of Bombay came into the hands of the East India Company it overtook Surat in textile and ship building Industries. It made tremendous progress in the 19th century. The goods which were shipped to India reached Bombay which made it an entrepot. From Bombay

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goods were transported to other parts of the country. It was referred as *Urbs Prima Indies*, the prime city of India, due to its unprecedented industrial growth.\(^{209}\) The growth of the city provided plenty of job opportunities.

The European enterprenuers started coffee cultivation in the 1830s in Chikmagalore region of the princely Mysore state. Some rich Catholics of South Canara soon found large tracts of land in these regions which was available either on lease or for sale. Some converted them into coffee estates and some purchased already developed estates. A large number of estates which came up during the period provided full scale employment as well as seasonal employment which was suitable and convenient for the impoverished ryots who were suffering under the land tenure systems. The educated too received opportunities as writers and supervisors or managers in these coffee estates. *Mestris*, who were themselves from the district, recruited seasonal labourers for these estates. Gradually the number of migrants increased due these opportunities.

The presidency towns such as Bombay and Madras as well as various district headquarters provided employment opportunities for the Catholics especially those who joined government services. Similarly, towns in the neighbouring princely states, such as Mysore, Hyderabad, Cochin also provided similar opportunities.

The colonial government also used to procure labour to its other colonies from India. A small educated section of the Catholics took up these opportunities in the early phase in such colonies as Ceylon, Burma, colonies in Persian -Mesopotamian region and in Africa. Such employment opportunities outside India made them to migrate.

\(^{209}\) Shop owners from Mangalore advertised that they were "the first people ahead of others" who had gone to Bombay to fetch goods and had the choicest selections during 1920's. *K. D.*, 2 December, 1923, p. v. (Advertisement Section.)
Cosmopolitanism and the Attraction of Bombay:

The major migration of the Catholics, however has been to Bombay. Apart from providing ample job opportunities, Bombay grew into a cosmopolitan city and a large number of people from all over India flocked there. The cosmopolitanism attracted the people. People who returned from Bombay wore fashionable western clothes and flaunted their money and affluence. Though many of them were only showing off, it seemed to attract people. There have been cases of girls who wanted to marry migrant grooms only from Bombay. The poor who had no employment opportunities could easily reach Bombay with a steam ship journey or a train journey to their 'Promised Land' where many a brethren of theirs had made a living especially when there were no opportunities locally available.

Bombay also served as a spring board to the West especially to the Catholics of the district. In the early phase the Catholics had migrated from Bombay to Burma, Ceylon, Basra, Africa and other destinations. Similarly it was from Bombay the Catholics went to the western and to West Asian countries. As per the arguments of some of the scholars migrants in Bombay "always looked outwards, to the sea, never inwards, back to the village" and the Catholics have proved this.

The Migrant Catalysts in Promoting Further Migration:

Often previous migrants promoted migration by educating their friends back in their villages about the new opportunities. When they came to a strange city like Bombay and later in West Asian countries the previous migrants provided them with accommodation and helped them to find jobs in the new environment. In case of West Asian countries they provided them

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210 In Bombay "where the whole world lives-Parsees, Christians, Jews, Hindus and many foreigners." Thomas Blom Hansen, in 'Bridging the Gulf: Muslims in Mumbai'. Crispin Bates, ed., Community, Empire and Migration, South Asians in Diaspora, New Delhi, 2001 p.265.

211 In Bombay "Bombay people always looked outwards, to the sea, never inwards, back to the village." Ibid., p.265.

212 In 1940s a writer wrote thus "In the beginning there were enough Government jobs in the district itself. As education spread many youth of South Canara came to Bombay. They sought employment
with visas which they secured from their owners or companies they were working in. Many migrants in the West Asian countries have confessed that they had helped many to secure jobs and visas. Similarly in the Chikmagalure region the early migrants helped to bring the new ones. The estate owners in Chikmagalure area too helped the new migrants to secure work or retained them in their estates. Such initiatives by the early migrants also promoted migration.

**Lure of High Emoluments:**

Bombay due to its immense labour needs and later on the West Asian countries due to the 'Oil Boom' offered good salaries. This was a major attraction for the Catholic youth to seek employment there. The high emoluments promised them a good social status. If they found a job in West Asian country, a good bride, a house with all amenities, other luxuries of life with a good wedding function which were prerequisites for social dignity in the Catholic society was guaranteed to them. The wedding was too expensive for Catholic youths to bear. But they had to keep pace with the other affluent sections of the community. Since the opportunities in the native land were limited, the Catholic youth had to seek migration to the West Asian countries where higher salaries were guaranteed to them.

**New Opportunities in the Post-Independence Period:**

Oil explorations in West Asian countries from 1940's, provided opportunities to the educated as well as skilled and unskilled labour migrant Catholics. Mechanics, drivers, electricians, and such other skilled workers and cooks, house maids and so on migrated during the period. At the same time graduates and those who had availed higher education also sought

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in Bombay, Karachi, Persia and Africa. The South Canarites were regarded as reliable and hardworking. They got good salary. However education increased. When everybody wanted a job there was scarcity of jobs. Many came to Bombay in search of jobs. As a result people had to wait for 8-12 months to get a job. However, the Catholics had some support in Bombay. Their earlier generation was there to provide shelter, with their contacts, influence, their family member, friends and neighbors got jobs. They also got accommodation in Bombay till they get jobs. ....... " Bombainth Kama (Jobs in Bombay): RAKNO, 21 July, 1944, p.3.
opportunities. In the initial stages Bombay was the spring-board to migrate to the West Asian countries. As the migration increased the knowledge of such opportunities in West Asian countries spread among the Catholics. Many migrants helped their relations and friends, neighbours and acquaintances to avail these opportunities. Through them Catholics of the district directly went to West Asia in larger numbers. Many recruiting agencies in Bombay also helped many to procure visas to these countries. Gradually many such agencies cropped up in the town of Mangalore.213

The relaxation of visa restrictions in the North American countries, Australia and in United Kingdom provided opportunities to the educated, highly skilled and professionals. A small section of the Catholics utilized them. The “secondary migrants” and the newly educated Catholics of the district were attracted to these new destinations.

The growth of the cities in the post-independence era with new industries, establishment of new institutions in various parts of the country, development of the commercial banks of the district and their spread all over and so on attracted the Catholics to new destinations. The various public sector institutions, were started by the government of Karnataka and India after the Independence which offered employment to educated Catholics.

As argued above from about 1930’s onwards education began spreading to the interiors of the district, though gradually. The Catholics of the rural areas too availed education during the period, especially secondary education and higher education. The number of educated people increased among the Catholics. This section sought employment outside the district.214

213 Some individual agents and agencies at times cheated innocent people who wanted to work in the West Asian countries. There are instances of they losing their money.
214 For instance, city like Bangalore with industries like the HMT, ITI, HAL and so on attracted the Catholics in the post- independence period. It is evident from their various associations there. In Bangalore, they adopted Konkani as their language suggests that many of these Catholics were from the rural areas educated in Kannada medium schools in the post-independence period unlike the migrants of the colonial times. Apart from it there was easy transport and communication facilities available to the city. Mangalore
As the country made progress in various spheres, the education spread, so the migration of the Catholics increased in volume. By 1980 education was fast spreading among the Catholics. This not only boosted the internal migration to various destinations such as Bombay, Bangalore but also migration to the West Asian countries and for some extent to Western countries.

The migration of a community is governed by many forces. Left to themselves, people would choose to stay where they are born and brought up. But many factors—economic, social and political, and occasionally contingent forces—draw them away from the land of their birth. They make these choices for their betterment, when they realize that the pain involved in uprooting themselves from their own native land is more than compensated by the gains, in the long run.

and Bangalore telephonic communication was established in 1960. *Manglur-Benglur Sheeda Telephone Sambandh* (Mangalore-Bangalore Telephone Connection): RAJKO, May, 1960, p.3. New industries, educational centers all over the country too attracted the Catholics of the district.