CHAPTER-VII

CONCLUSIONS

A large number of the Catholics from Goa had begun to migrate to the region of Canara from about 16th century. Around 1670s they said to have settled permanently in the region. Majority of them were farmers, though a small section might have been in trade. Here and there, we find a few references suggesting that some of them had been in local armies too. In 1760s when Hyder Ali brought the region under the Mysore rule the Catholics seemed to have opposed his depredations which strained the relations between the two. The Catholics had supported the English openly and as a result a large number of the Catholics were said to have been taken captive by Tippu Sultan in 1784. When Tippu was defeated and the district was annexed in 1799 its Catholic population was about 10,000. Some of them were said to have been returning from Mysore after suffering the “Captivity” when Buchanan visited the region.

On the introduction of the colonial rule a section of the educated Catholics was absorbed in the colonial service. As a result, a section of the community flourished. At the same time, the introduction of ryotwari land tenure system and the extraction of the maximum surplus by the government impoverished a large section of farmers who were under various tenures in the rural areas. Many farmers were in debt and could not pay the land revenue which went on increasing especially in the Chalgueni tenure, every assessing year. Many such tenants were held hostage by money lenders.

There were no new crops introduced in the district neither there was the introduction of any high yielding seeds to increase agricultural production. The agricultural implements and irrigation methods were archaic. The agriculture could hardly sustain the tenants. Besides there was no other developmental activities in the district to compensate for the impoverishment.
of agriculture. Industries such as tile and textile were introduced only towards the close of the 19th century which could absorb some labour. The Beedi industry which was introduced in 1940s provided some employment to the women folk. Since the district was densely populated, there was pressure on land. The large size of the families was also an indication to this. The fragmentation of land made the holdings smaller thereby agriculture could not sustain even nuclear families. Apart from it the district was visited by distress and various kinds of natural calamities. There have been devastating floods in the district. There was also food shortage. Rice was imported from Rangoon at times. During the Great Wars and the Depression people suffered a lot. They had no savings either. In 1960s there was again food shortage. This period witnessed strikes in factories in Mangalore. There was also retrenchment of labourers.

Apart from it the Catholics had certain customs bordering on social evils. Dowry system impoverished many Catholic families. In some families there was the problem of alcoholism which further impoverished them. Catholics spent money recklessly on social ceremonies, which added to their indebtedness and misery. When the district had no opportunities to face impoverishment, the people resorted to migration.

Availability of western education was an important milestone in the history of the Catholics in the colonial period. Though Portuguese and Latin were taught to a handful, it was in 1835 when the Basel Mission opened its schools in Mangalore that the Catholics began to avail western education. Thereafter, the Catholics themselves started their own schools. English education opened new avenues in the government services, especially in the latter part of the 19th century. The Queen's Proclamation (1858) promised that the government would recruit Indians in its services without reference to caste or creed. The colonial government started three Universities in India which gave impetus to higher education.
A few Catholics had availed western education even by travelling to the nearby cities. For instance, a few studied in Calicut Provincial school. Some girls studied in a school run by the nuns in Cannanore. In 1865, the people of Mangalore had succeeded in pursuing the government to start a Provincial School. The Catholics availed all these educational facilities. By this time a section of the educated Catholic community appealed the Holy See to hand over the Mangalore Mission to the Jesuits. Though it is difficult to determine the factors one of them was for opening a College for the Catholics in Mangalore. Meantime, by the efforts of the Vicar Apostolics of Mangalore, the Tertiary Sisters opened a school for girls in Mangalore which educated the Catholics. In 1878, the Mangalore Mission was handed over to the Jesuits. The Jesuits after taking over established a College at Mangalore in 1880 and named it as St. Aloysius College. The Provincial School was later upgraded as Government College as it offered F.A. Course. Many Catholics availed education in Board Highschools that were previously rate-paying schools and were situated in places like Udupi, Kundapur, Mulky. However, only the affluent among them could get secondary education and above. The poor sections were satisfied with elementary education.

However, handing over the Vicariate to the Jesuits also led to the promotion of western education among the Catholics. Primary schools were started in parishes in the rural areas. In Mangalore and its surroundings more Catholics could avail higher education. A few affluent families of the interiors also did so in Mangalore. By the turn of the century there was quite a large pool of educated Catholics i.e. Matriculates, F.A.s and B.A.s and trained female teachers, who were all educated in Mangalore, apart from those who availed higher education at Trichy, Madras, Bombay and Poona, along with professionals such as lawyers, doctors and a few engineers. But the educated section did not find any opportunities in the district.

The land tenure system and the introduction of western education divided the Catholic community into two groups: the educated and the less
educated or urban and rural or the rich and the poor. The poor and the less educated were in rural areas. The tenants, in general, and especially the small tenants in rural areas were in utter poverty. A large section of them remained so in rural areas till 1974. By then the State Government of Karnataka passed the Land Reforms Act.

The land owning section, Mulgueni and large Chalgueni tenants and a few traders in Mangalore, gradually availed western education and joined government services and availed other facilities offered by the colonial government and climbed the socio-economic ladder. According to one estimate about 400 such families were present in the district, majority must have been in the vicinity of Mangalore.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the Catholics had begun to migrate to various parts of the country. The educated section migrated to enter various services of government and private or in search of such avenues. Those who entered the services also had to work in various places outside the district. The poor migrated as skilled and unskilled labourers wherever opportunities were available to them. During this time the transport facilities were available to Bombay through steam ships. A railway line connected the city of Madras, the presidency headquarters, with Mangalore. A large section of the educated were migrating to Bombay due to the opportunities available there. The educated section who entered the government services also had to go to various places outside the district. The rural sections with little or no education along with the educated were moving to the coffee plantations of Chikmagalure to work as 'writers' as well as labourers and to Bombay as skilled and unskilled labourers. A few of those who went to Bombay sought opportunities in Burma, Ceylon, Persian region and Africa. A handful had migrated to United Kingdom. As time passed more and more Catholics migrated to these places. The number of migrants varied according to the changing circumstances.
The migrants to various destinations can be classified into two major groups. First, the educated and the rest skilled and unskilled. Both these sections migrated to Bombay as well as to Chikmagalure plantations as they were offered with many opportunities. However, only the educated i.e. who were in government and private services, migrated to other destinations such as Madras or Bangalore and other district headquarters, along with a few professionals.

The migrants can also be classified into various categories in the places where they had migrated to. Among the skilled and unskilled sections were drivers, cooks, helpers to cooks, sailors who were also cooks, and who did other errands. The women unskilled labour was mainly in the form of maid servants. Gradually some women joined factories in Bombay. In Chikamgaore region they were mainly plantation workers. The educated section who were generally Matriculates, F.A.s, and Graduates occupied higher positions in private and government services. Professionally qualified men such as doctors, lawyers carried on their private practices. Those who had less than Matriculation did clerical and other office jobs. The educated women were mainly employed as teachers. In Chikmagalure region the educated mainly worked as 'writers' or managers in plantations.

When education spread in the district the nature of jobs of migrants also underwent a change. When female education spread the number of maidservants decreased and the number of teachers, nurses, social workers, trained secretaries increased. Similarly as education spread among men cooks and drivers disappeared and the number of mechanics, tailors, lathe workers, and others increased. Gradually they too disappeared and more graduates and other professionally qualified people increased among the migrants. The migrants who had higher education entered positions which were suitable for them. At the same time large number of migrant Catholics who had been living in Bombay for more than one generation entered various fields of human endeavours in the city. Migration to Chikmagalure area completely
stopped especially in 1970s due to the comparatively fewer opportunities it offered to the educated section of the Catholics. However, migration to Bangalore, a fast growing city, increased due to the proximity of it to the district and availability of transport. As education spread more qualified people were available in the district. From about 1940s these qualified people migrated to the West Asian countries which offered them new opportunities comparatively with high salaries. Similarly, a few professionally qualified Catholics migrated to the Western developed countries.

Migrant areas can also be distinguished based on the volume of migration from an area. The educated section of the migrants naturally came from Mangalore. A few educated ones from the rural areas had also joined them. The skilled and unskilled labour migrants hailed largely from Mangalore and its outskirts and certain pockets in the rural areas. Shirva region with parishes such as Shankerpura, Mudarangadi, Moodubelle and neighbouring areas of Kinningoli, Belman had a large number of migrants. In Bantwal region Omzur, Loretto, Modankap had more migrants. From Puttur and Belthangadi regions migration to Bombay was less. Some migration to Chikmagalore areas was observed from these areas. In regions where there was higher Catholic population, the migration too was higher. It is observed that migrants to West Asian countries hailed from the same regions from where the earlier migrants to Bombay came from. However, migration to West Asian region was more equally distributed among the Catholics of South Canara, though certain traditional pockets had more migrants than the other regions. One of the possible reasons for this was the news of the opportunities spread faster in these regions among the Catholics. Migration received impetus as the previous migrants helped the others to migrate through their contacts may it be to Chikmagalore or Bombay or to West Asian countries.

By the turn of the 20th century migration to Bombay and other places increased considerably, which has been acknowledged by the migrants themselves and others. Thereafter, it continued unhindered inspite of various
temporary hiccups. For instance, in the first decades of the 20th century Bombay was affected by plague. Many Catholic migrants fell prey to it. The migrants to Chikmagalure region also suffered from contagious fever which created panic in the minds of people. Such threatening news discouraged migration temporarily. During the First World War the migration was due to the financial need or distress which people faced in the district. It was followed by the Great Depression which in itself is a period of financial difficulties once again. In 1939, there broke out another 'Great War' which again brought miseries to the people. Though the records show the less number of vacancies in Bombay in the beginning of the Second World War, towards the close of it many got employment. This in effect increased the migration from the rural areas to the city of Bombay and to Chikmagalure and Coorg regions. The migration continued during the period and it was intensified in 1960s. In 1960s the district had food shortage, many of the factories and mills in Mangalore witnessed industrial strikes that led to retrenchment. As a result, more and more people migrated to Bombay and Chikmagalure areas, the only two regions which could absorb both the skilled and unskilled labourers.

The educated Catholics who had taken up service in Bombay and Madras presidency regions continued there till the formation of the linguistic states in the post-Independence period. Thereafter, the Catholics lost these opportunities to enter the government services especially in the erstwhile Bombay and Madras presidency regions. However, migration to the city of Bombay and Chikmagalure and later on to the West Asian countries continued. A section of the educated Catholics migrated to various regions in India and took up Central and State Government posts during the period. For instance, those who entered the Banking service had to work wherever they were asked to serve. A section of educated Catholics also migrated to Bangalore during this period.

Though from the beginning of the 20th century a few Catholics were
working in the West Asian region, in 1940s a bigger section began migrating to the Persian-Mesoptamian area to work in British companies. It was a period of the discovery of hydro-carbon deposits in the region. Thereafter when new Emirates emerged and countries began to gain independence Catholics continued to migrate to these areas. In the post-Independence period especially from 1960 onwards the Catholics took full advantage of the opportunities available to them in these regions. Since the oil exploration reached its climax in 1970s, the migration of the Catholics also reached its zenith in 1970s and continued thereafter with the same intensity. From 1960 onwards the educated section and the secondary migrants also migrated to the developed countries such as United Kingdom, Australia, and to the North American countries.

The continuous migration from the second half of the 19th century had taken place due to the internal as well as external forces. In the beginning a large section among them were only temporary migrants to Bombay, Chikmagalure and other regions. After their retirement most of them returned to the district. Gradually, the Catholics began to settle down whenever there were possibilities of settling down. As a result they settled down in Bombay, Chikmagarhole including in cities such as Madras and Bangalore. Most of them who migrated to countries outside India were only temporary migrants. The settled Catholics formed their own independent communities. As a result we come across Catholics of the district in the city of Bombay, Madras, Bangalore and in other places.

Since, from the last decades of 19th century the Catholics had settled down and continuous migration of others to these places was taking place they began to form their own associations. At Bombay, the first association of the Catholics of the district was the Kanara Catholic Association(KCA). This association largely belonged to the educated section who held various higher positions in Government and private firms and some professionals such as doctors and lawyers. However, this association tried to bring amelioration to
the unskilled and skilled section of the migrants by forming a reading room, a death fund, an employment bureau and other facilities. Thereafter, the unskilled section along with the skilled section of the migrants began to form its own associations. The Mangalorean Association was one of the first such associations. These associations were referred as clubs or Coods in Konkani. As the migrants increased the number of Coods also increased. These Coods largely accommodated Catholics of a certain parish because they had been formed by migrants of those parishes. They were referred as Shirvagaranchen Cood (club of parishioners of Shirva) or Omzoorgaranchen Cood (club of parishioners of Omzoor) and so on. However, there were also Coods which accommodated Catholics irrespective of these parish distinctions. There also came up certain Coods which only promoted cultural activities such as dramas.

The Catholics formed associations in other cities too. In 1920s Catholics of the district formed the KCA at Madras. Later on, though small in size, in Bellary, Poona, Nagpur, Calcutta, Bangalore, Karachi and in many more places such associations were formed. Many of these associations carried on their work in post-Independence period. Some of them came up much later. Many such associations still survive in these places. Formation of such associations at various points of time indicate the volume of migration to these places. For instance, in 1960s, when migration to Bombay increased many new Coods came up there.

The Coods in Bombay culturally became very active after the 1930s. They staged numerous dramas in Konkani. These dramas helped the emergence of many dramatists, actors and writers in Konkani. Though they were basically started for recreation by amateur dramatists, gradually they were staged in large number and attracted audience in larger number. In the initial stages, to encourage them, prizes were instituted for the best acting or for the best direction. Gradually they became an important medium to raise funds for various causes. Staging of the dramas gave an access to Konkani
songs which promoted folk songs. As a result popular singers and composers of songs too emerged gradually, in Bombay. Most of the early popular Konkani dramatists and singers have been migrants in Bombay.

The funds raised through the dramas were used for various purposes by the migrants. However, much of the funds thus collected were given to the Church in Bombay and the district. The Church authorities utilized them for building the Church infrastructure and Church administered schools in both the places. As a result the Church infrastructure and schools administered by the Church authorities made progress considerably. Development of Church infrastructure and educational institutions augured well for the community. However, such a cultural activity was not visible elsewhere among the Catholic migrants during the colonial period, except one drama troupe from Mangalore which visited Chikmaglore and another drama was staged in West Asian region by the migrants themselves.

The cultural activities promoted Konkani language in Bombay and the district. Apart from entertainment they brought the community closer in Bombay. In post-Independence period, in the 1960s drama and singing troupes were exchanged between Mangalore and Bombay. Towards the close of the 1970s some of these troupes from Bombay visited the interior parishes in the district and raised funds which were generally donated to social causes. In 1970s many singing troupes especially from Mangalore visited the West Asian countries where there was large number of Catholic migrants working. In 1970s the migrants in Bangalore also organised such dramas and invited singing troupes and raised funds which promoted Konkani.

The community sense led to the promotion of newsmagazines among the Catholics, in Bombay. Many newsmagazines in Konkani were started and were circulated among the migrants. Apart from providing news, it promoted the skill of writing stories, poems, songs, and the usage of humour. Initially many of the dramas were written in the newsmagazines. This in effect
promoted not only Konkani literature, but also created awareness among the Catholics. In due course, some literary publications came up which published Konkani stories and other literature. This activity continued in the post-Independence period, even though some newsmagazines stopped their publication or shifted them to Mangalore. This shift was due to the fall in demand for such Konkani newsmagazines from about 1970s. The fall in demand was probably due to the fact that the second or third generation of migrants took up in large number English or assimilated themselves into the host society. However, few Konkani newsmagazines continued to be published in Bombay in Kannada script. One does not observe such activity in other places such as Chikmagalure or in cities such as Madras or Bangalore. In Madras and Bangalore the community was very small and in addition they were educated section who had taken largely to English. As Chikmagalure region was very near to the district there was no need for such newsmagazines.

From about 1960s the Catholics, both educated, skilled and unskilled, had begun to migrate to West Asian countries where the salary was high. The section which was earlier migrating to Bombay now began to migrate to the West Asian countries directly. At the same time a large number of migrants to Bombay continued. And many who had migrated to Bombay previously and had been working there also migrated to West Asian countries as 'secondary migrants'. Migration to Bombay was an important development. It provided many opportunities including a chance of migrating to other destinations outside the country. Thus it was Bombay which served as a springboard to the Catholics to migrate to West Asian regions right from the beginning of the 20th century.

The migration to West Asian countries also fostered profuse cultural activities from about 1970s. They staged Konkani dramas. They also hosted Konkani Nites of folk songs by inviting singing troupes from Bombay and Mangalore and also by funding their expenses. Such initiatives contributed
immensely for the promotion of *Konkani* cultural activities. Since the migrants earned high salaries they could contribute money liberally to such cultural activities there and at home.

Migration to the western countries such as U.K, U.S.A., Canada and Australia in comparison has been very little during the period under study. There were only a few migrants who were spread over these countries. Most of them were individual migrants who later on took their families. As a result we do not find them forming any community associations, except in London. Since these countries offer citizenship to migrants of other nationalities, the Catholics were encouraged to settle down there. Apart from this these countries were developed ones, with many opportunities. In due course, their belongingness to the district seem to have been lost. Probably it was due to their religious affinity, they could adapt to western lifestyle quite easily. However, as few have acknowledged, they do encounter racial discrimination, subtle or otherwise.

Migration had continued unhindered due to the various factors. In the post-Independence period the patterns of migration did not undergo any major change till the 1960s. However, in the 1960s, new push factors, resulted in more migration of the Catholics. They were the wide spread of education along with the lack of industrial and agricultural development of the district and the distress of 1960s which coincided with the large new opportunities in West Asian countries. The development of a port, an airport, a new railway line to Bangalore connected the district with the outside world with better infrastructure. However they were rather catalysts in promoting migration than promoting immediate industrial and other developmental activities. The establishment of a port did promote some industrial activity but could not halt the migration of its large human resource.

The continuous migration of the Catholics from about 1850s had immense social, cultural and economic impact on the community and the
district. Economically, it brought immense benefits. The educated section of the migrants to various destinations, apart from availing opportunities to enter various services also brought considerable affluence to themselves and to their families through their remittances. The less educated, skilled and unskilled labourers especially from rural areas who migrated to Bombay and Chikmagalure also brought extra income to their families. Many of these were temporary and individual migrants in early stages. The families, especially which were suffering under the Chalgueni tenancies benefitted by this extra income. This extra income not only brought higher standard of living but also enabled them to build a better house, provided better education to the children in the family, made the social custom of offering dowry easier which brought them social dignity. Thus they could meet the financial needs of their family. Some of these poor families must have survived only on the money-orders of these migrants. This was the phenomenon till the 1960s in the post-Independence period. When in the 1960s migration accelerated to West Asian countries the high salaries of migrants brought further affluence. For instance, they built RCC houses in which they introduced western type of amenities such as toilets within the premises, dining tables, elevated table shaped cooking facilities in the kitchen and so on, which were hitherto the monopoly of the rich. Many families also sent their wards to higher education keeping them in the hostels in towns. This section of the migrants also brought the craze in the rural areas to send their children to the English medium schools which was once again the monopoly of the rich in Mangalore. Thus apart from the rise in the standard of living, migration brought overall economic affluence and thereby social dignity.

Those migrants who had better income who belonged to the educated as well as to the skilled and the unskilled sections supported the numerous causes emphasised by the Church. Initially, the old students of St. Aloysius College who were working in Bombay had been donating funds to their Alma Mater. Later on the KCA which was an association of the educated section
and most of the members being the alumni of the College, went on raising funds for it individually as well as through the association. They largely seem to have financially helped their College in Mangalore. In addition, they instituted prizes, funds and scholarships in the College, again as individuals and as an association. The College authorities also kept close contact with these elite alumni and emphasised their obligation to their Alma Mater. Later on the Jesuit management of the College, especially during its silver and golden jubilees raised funds from them. When the science building was planned it sent one of its representatives to meet its alumni to collect funds. The migrants at Madras who also had formed an association by the time called the KCA also contributed substantially for the Science Building Fund. Many other individuals who had migrated to different countries also sent donations when the other buildings were planned. Later on migrants to West and West Asian countries also contributed to the college.

The skilled and unskilled sections of the migrants also contributed their mite immensely to the Church. Initially they had supported the missionary work in the district. Prominent missionaries visited the Coods of these migrants in order to raise funds for their work in the district. The Konkani Dirven newsmagazine gave ample publicity to their appeals and emphasised the need of financial help to such causes among the migrants. Later on, the Church, especially under the Diocese of Mangalore, initiated activities of developing the Church infrastructure by collecting funds for the construction of various chapels, parishes, parochial houses, for the building of priests' residence and so on. This activity was combined with establishment of various schools and its buildings. Many parish priests of the Diocese visited the Coods for collection of funds. Many of these priests catered to the spiritual needs of the migrants by giving them retreats in Konkani in their own clubs. They too as individuals and as clubs donated them their mite. The Coods, which organised various cultural activities such as staging of Konkani dramas had multi-pronged objectives. They not only brought the people
together but also promoted Konkani cultural activity. Much of the funds raised by them were contributed to the Church authorities to improve the Church infrastructure both in Bombay and in the district. The migrants in Chikmagalure area also contributed to the establishment of Church infrastructure in that area by raising funds for activities such as construction of cemeteries and chapels. Later on, the migrants contributed such funds to the Church mainly to build allied buildings such as school buildings, Church marriage halls, and at times for scholarships in educational institutions. During this period many new clubs came up with the objectives of supporting education in various parishes in the district. Such activities continued till the 1960s. In the 1970s many drama and singing troupes organised their activities and some of them visited the district and contributed to the local Churches even in the district. The spread of education led to more migration and rich migrants could contribute in various ways to the Church and to the educational institutions run by the Church. However, from about 1970 the financial contributions began to pour in from the migrants of West Asian countries. The migrants in West Asian countries also held various cultural activities to raise funds for contributing to the Church and to promote education. Many individual Catholic migrants too contributed immensely to such initiatives in the district.

These cultural activities resulted at one hand, in the progress of Konkani and on the other they raised funds for Church and other social causes and amelioration. For instance, it was due the support of the migrants in numerous ways to educational initiatives resulted in the establishment of schools which made education available to the community at large. Similarly, migrants were also responsible for the various and conspicuous Church institutions in the district. The Church appropriated the financial resources from the migrants through the means of ‘Christian Charity', in the absence of any other such agency. Therefore, the district has some of the known Church-run educational institutions along with a strong Church apparatus.
Socially and culturally there was impact at home and at the host society due to the continuous migration of the community. The face of the community changed externally as well as internally.

The community looked externally different to the onlookers due to the adoption of certain outer signs such as westernised pretensions in their language, dress habits, food habits and so on. The Catholics due to migration and exposure to the outside world underwent many changes in their attitude. Language was one of them. English was the language of the colonial masters and it was the official language of administration too. Those who were in government services spoke that language. It was also taught in schools from early years. The early migrants in cities such as Bombay also sent their wards to schools run by Europeans. As a result speaking English and sending the children to English medium schools became a fashion. Those who had migrated outside the subcontinent too adopted it. They found English a useful language. Later on, when migrants to the West Asian countries increased they sent their children to English medium schools in the district. Thus migration led to the popularity of English among the Catholics. The Catholics at home were influenced by the ways of the migrants.

The migration also led to the Catholics adopting western dress codes. For instance, the wearing of the suit was common among those who migrated to Bombay. It is said they threw the dhoti to the sea and permanently adopted to the western dress habits such as wearing a suit. These dress habits later on became popular in the district. For instance, the bridegroom on the wedding day wore a suit, a fashion which from about 1950s seemed to have seeped in to the rural areas. Migration also brought new fashions among women. The conservative section and the Church often criticised this trend. The community was also more receptive to modern fashions, even at times bordering on obscenity. The food habits of the community have also undergone a change. For instance, in weddings and other functions, new dishes, hitherto unknown to the poorer sections were introduced in the
community.

Other external signs are holding weddings positively in marriage halls decorated with western style accessories, introduction of a compere in the ceremonies, meals prepared by the catering firms for functions, bride wearing a gown on the wedding day, to name a few. These western influences have come into vogue in the district due to their popularity among the migrants. The migrants to West Asian countries, when they returned, brought numerous articles which their poor cousins at home merely dreamed of possessing. It created a craze for imported articles in the 1970s in the district.

Similarly, due to migration the community changed internally, transforming itself and changing its worldview. The community spread all over the country and beyond. Wherever their number was big they formed their associations. In Chikmagalure region no such association came up, probably due to the proximity of the region to the district. However here a new community of theirs came up. Since it was a rural region their activities were different.

In cities, be it be Bombay, Madras or Bangalore where they had settled down, their unique role was difficult to determine. However, these cities which offered them opportunities for employment and other social platforms enabled the emergence of leaders in fields such as social work, politics, religion, trade union and so on. During colonial period, the educated sections were loyal to the government and as a result one finds Catholics appointed as Justice of Peace, judges of small causes, honorary magistrates and so on. Others won medals, titles and awards. The migrants in places such as Africa and Aden also received such titles. There have been social workers in Bombay. When the freedom struggle gathered momentum though large majority of the Catholics were only earned their living and were in lower strata of the society, some joined politics, trade union and so on. Some of them later joined mainstream politics of the nation. The elite section in
Chikmagalure region entered the politics during the rule of Wodeyars, some of them becoming members of representative assemblies. After Independence a few entered politics from this region who were promoted to the mainstream politics of Karnataka state.

The skilled and unskilled sections who were organised into various Coods, initiated Konkani dramatics and journalism that led to the progress of folksongs, literature and so on. The popularity of Konkani resulted in the broadcasting of dramas and songs from Akashwani Bombay and radio Ceylon. In addition, Konkani writers, journalists often met to popularise the language. In Bangalore similar efforts were made to promote Konkani in 1970s. These activities contributed in its own way for the recognition of the language in the Eight Schedule.

There were self-employed individuals in Bombay who later emerged as petty entrepreneurs. Some who returned to the district also preferred self-employment. In Chikmagalure region too there have been 'rags to riches' stories among the migrants. In various fields Catholic migrants won laurels in colonial period as well as later. A few of educated section appropriated leadership in religious field also. The migrants have been active in religious work wherever they had migrated, be it in Chikmagalure or Bombay or in the West Asian countries. Some of the migrants especially in Bombay appropriated religious leadership which was open for the laity. The Church maintained good relations with the affluent migrants and apart from raising charity from them also honoured them with awards or titles. However, from about 1970s, the practice of the Church conferring titles has been rare.

Migration led to social tensions initially. Traditionally Catholics opposed migration to far off lands. Living in their land of birth was their ideal. The migration of poorer sections and illiterate to cities such as Bombay was openly condemned. Women leaving to cities and working in non-Catholic households were sneered at. Irony was the spread of rumours about women,
especially the uneducated who were exploited or who fell into the hands of unscrupulous elements of the city. It led to debates suggesting the ways and means to stop the migration of women. The parish priests were asked to take punitive action against them. The Church did the 'moral policing' and tried to thwart the migration. However, it also established organisations to ameliorate the position of these hapless women. A similar organisation was established in Mangalore to track and help such women. Many of the rumours were unfounded, rather, they were the cries of a conservative society, suspicious of the freedom of women. Women leaving their communities was a taboo among them. In reality the migration of women was due to the poverty combined with certain social evils. As far as these were not rectified the migration could not be stopped. In fact, migration of women is said to have encouraged the migration of men and brought extra income to the impoverished families. By 1970s migration of women to Bombay decreased and their migration to West Asian countries increased, where the salaries were high. The hold of the conservative society was loosened by the time probably due to the spread of education. The women also entered various new fields of human endeavours. The community had spread all over and a large majority now had access to modern education. In one hand the conservative nature of the community had undergone a thorough change and on the other focus on women did not get a priority in their daily interests. However, here and there some lamentations of women marrying outside the community, exploitation of women in Arab households were also raised. Migration opened new fields of endeavours to the educated women and exposed them to new and advanced societies. Women at home had to shoulder newer responsibilities in the absence of their men folk who continuously migrated to various destinations. When education spread among them they were transformed in contrast to the state of affairs at the close of the 19th century. They could enter all fields of human endeavours, be it be politics or social service. Their worldview underwent a change. But conservative society in the district continued to despise them doubting their moral character and spreading rumours.
There were also other tensions in the community. The families of the educated section of migrants from Mangalore who were selling prime land to the outsiders, created fears. Due to the development of the city the land fetched unreasonably higher prices. There were debates and the leaders lamented such a proposition and its results. The trend continued throughout the period mainly due to the failure to make any conscious effort to stop it.

Migration of large number of men to Bombay and later to West Asian or Western countries made the Catholic girls to demand such grooms when they sought mates. The shine and wealth of these boys attracted them. However, there have been also cases of fraud and cheating. Such trend became a subject of discussion and lament in the community.

A few migrant Catholics became victims of gambling, drinking and so on in cities especially in Bombay apart from falling prey to contagious diseases. In Chikmagalure region too migrants were infected with fever. Though, such developments discouraged migration, due to the internal forces, migration did continue.

Migration also led to the overall educational advancement of the community. Apart from migrants' immense monetary contribution for the advancement of education in the district, throughout the period, they and their wards availed facilities of higher education in the places where they migrated. In addition, the migrant men and women always demanded educated mates either to suit the new society or for their employability in newer situations. In the post-Independence period spread of professional education among women such as teaching, nursing and secretarial practice course was mainly due to the demand for such qualified mates. As a result the Catholic families gave thought to the educational advancement of their children.

Continuous migration created an elite and affluent section in the community. This section which is self-sufficient and independent is also
indifferent to social difficulties and social problems of the community. The debates too have taken place on this development citing the results of such an indifference in a district such as South Canara.

Social impact of migration has been immense. A society which has better exposure reforms itself. In the early years the community suffered from the evil practice of dowry especially its poorer sections; but due to migration combined with spread of education it became a non-issue. The spread of education in the community, the exposure the migrants had, made the community to do away with soliciting and giving dowry, which is an important landmark in the history of the Catholics of district. Similarly, the caste identities were also disappearing gradually due to education and migration. Widow remarriage which was disfavoured is also a non-issue now among them.

Certain negative tendencies too have crept into the community. Especially among the educated class of migrants, the old and elderly have been accommodated in the old age homes. Many of whom were migrants themselves who are likely to suffer loneliness and other negative emotions. The emergence of such old age homes in and around Mangalore run by certain Religious Orders is an indication of such a trend. A recent study also shows that migration to West Asian countries, especially from rural areas have led to increased economic affluence and a carefree society with increased negative tendencies such as consumption of alcoholic drinks among women and children.

Education had spread among the Catholics due to the presence of various institutions of higher education in the district by 1960s. A large section of migrants in Bombay, Madras or Bangalore and other places had availed higher education. When a section among them had sought higher positions in India another stream migrated to Western countries. By 1980s they were becoming aware that they should not migrate enmasse but rather
seek self-employment, with the money which they have brought in. They realized that continuous migration of the community has harmed their interests at home.

However, the community, apart from becoming economically affluent, has become progressive in outlook. Though certain western pretensions have crept in, due to the continuous outside exposure, the community is self-dependent and upright. In the societies where they have settled down, though their number is small, they have entered various fields of human endeavours contributing immensely to the host societies. The Catholics, who were basically an agricultural community at home, and economically not so strong got transformed into a community, that is cosmopolitan in nature and financially sturdy. In adapting to newer societies and cosmopolitan outlook they have become ‘world citizens’. They are present in seventy and odd countries and without any social or cultural reservations, barriers of religion, region etc., and have adapted themselves to the local cultures quite easily and comfortably.

One may say that migration of the Catholics of South Canara to various destinations opened new vistas to them and the community has undergone a thorough change. The transformation, changed the inner dynamics of the community creating new tensions and opportunities. Though the community struggled to cope with the new realities to which it was exposed, at home it was opening up to new cultural influences such as westernization. The native cultural influences were also becoming stronger among a section of them. Economically, the community has become affluent with strong Church-run institutions. The members are conspicuously visible in numerous fields at home and abroad.

The Catholics at home, in 1973, were described thus “especially in the urban areas, the Christians have had the benefit of the immense educational facilities offered by the various missions. The members of the Christian
community have come to the front rank in all walks of life and they form no small proportion in the learned professions and branches of public services, in the spheres of industries, trade and commerce etc". Today the Catholics have expanded their presence through their talent and adventurous spirit, their ability to retain their individuality and yet imbibing the influences from outside where they dared and came to be acceptable. Culture is never a static or stagnant thing. It is always in flux. We make it as much as it makes us. Negotiating with changes is not necessarily a surrender and loss of world or inheritance. It is merely adaption to changes, retaining what is worth-retaining, rejecting oppressive or obsolete things and creating a world that can face the test of time. This adaptability and resilience is a sign of survival. Catholics of South Canara have been exposed to changes which migration has brought them. They faced them, accepting some of them and rejecting some others and, riding on their historical tensions, they have become a dynamic community. Conservatives have always carped at changes, but wisdom lies not in looking the other way when changes come, but in using or harnessing them to one's advantage. A study of Catholic migrations shows that this community has creatively adopted the genius to stay and expand, and indeed survive and flourish. The community is the better for it.

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1 K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p.103.