CHAPTER - 1

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This work is an attempt to analyze the migration patterns in the Roman Catholic community of South Canara between 1900 and 1980 and its socio-cultural impact.

Historiographical Survey:

There have been a number of studies on modern South Canara, some of them about Christianity and its spread, but not much on the problem we have taken up for study. But they are helpful in contextualising our problem. In the beginning of the 19th century at the instance of Lord Wellesley a survey was conducted by Francis Buchanan and published.¹ This survey of Canara is one of the first official documents of the colonial government. It provides a lot of interesting data regarding the district and its people. But its perception is colonial and purpose administrative. In recent times certain scholars have pointed out that this survey was made mostly on hearsay and wild conjectures and not through direct observations.²

The earliest writers of the history of South Canara were the British administrators, who have based their studies mainly on the administrative records of the East India Company. Two such prominent works are the Madras District Manuals, South Canara, Volume I and II³. They are useful guides to study the history of the district. However a researcher has to take note of the fact that the colonial administrators had an agenda and therefore certain biases in these works are natural.⁴ Certain scholars have also argued

¹Francis Buchanan, Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar 1800-01, Vo 3 London,1811.
⁵ J.F. Hall, Madras District Gazetteer, Supplement to the Two District Manuals for South Canara District, Madras, 1938.
⁶ In recent times certain scholars have pointed out certain likely prejudices in these District Manuals.
that reading between the lines they have tried to legitimize and vindicate the British colonialism.\textsuperscript{5} They sometimes lack critical analysis. But they are useful as contemporary documents and as mirrors of colonial attitude.

Some of the native scholars who took up the study of the history of the district were more interested in the pre-British period. M. Ganapathi Rao Aigal\textsuperscript{6} was the pioneer among them. He has given emphasis to the political history of the district from beginning to the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, making a brief reference to the British rule in the district. Thereafter, a host of works on pre-British period have been published.\textsuperscript{7} Some of these scholars have extensively used the inscriptions and other folklore such as \textit{paddanas} and popular legends such as \textit{Gramapaddhati}. A few scholars also have studied the history of the district, including the gazetteer of the district, in colonial and post-independence period and have explored various facets of its history, in recent times.\textsuperscript{8} All these works have brought out the various facets of the

See, B. Surendra Rao and K.Chinnappa Gowda, eds., op.cit.,
Denis Fernandes, "The Tulu World in European Writings". (Unpublished PhD thesis, Mangalore University, 2006)
\textsuperscript{6} M. Ganapathi Rao Aigal, \textit{Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Pracheena Itihasaj} (Kannada), Mangalore, 1923.
\textsuperscript{7} B.A. Saletore, \textit{Ancient Karnataka Vol.I, History of Tuluva}, Poona, 1936.
K.V. Ramesh, \textit{A History of South Kanara (from the earliest times to the fall of Vijayanagara)}, Dharwar,1970.
P. Gururaja Bhatt, \textit{Studies in Tuluva History and Culture}, Manipal, 1975. This is the prominent work of the Historian. He has also written and published other useful works and articles on the history of \textit{Tulunadu} (South Kanara).
history of the district in its various hues and have enriched the knowledge of the past.

There have been a number of studies published and unpublished on the Catholics of South Canara by various scholars. George Vas\(^9\) work on the Vas Naik family and its ancestry in Goa provided in the form of tables. A work written by Maffei S.J. and edited by J. Moore S.J.\(^10\) discusses the early history of the Catholic community in the district mainly emphasising their activity in the town of Mangalore leading to the establishment of the Diocese and other clerical institutions in the present Diocese of Mangalore. The work is limited in scope due to it’s over emphasis on mere religious activities of the community mainly sponsored by the clerics. The work of G.M. Moraes\(^11\) explains the spread of Christianity in Canara region from early times till the Catholics return home from the 'Captivity', in eleven small chapters. In the appendix section, some letters between Hyder Ali and the Portuguese and the appeals made by the Catholics to various authorities after the 'Captivity' have been attached.

The work of William X. Mascarenhas,\(^12\) an unpublished M.A. thesis, deals with the history of this region during the rule of the Mysore rulers-Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. It has been divided into eighteen chapters. They narrate the history of undivided Canara from the conquest of Canara by Hyder Ali including his relations with the Portuguese, which has a bearing on the Catholic community of Canara region. The history of Canara has been traced from the early relations of Hyder with the English including the conquest of

\(^9\)George Vas, Genealogy Tree of Vas Naik Family, Mangalore, 1881.
\(^11\) G.M. Moraes, Mangalore, A Historical Sketch, Mangalore, 1927.
\(^12\) William X. Mascarenhas, "Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in Canara", (Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier’ College, Bombay-1931).
Bidanur and his second war with the English, which was continued by his son Tippu. There are also chapters on the siege of Mangalore and the Captivity of the Catholics in which the story as to how the Canara Catholics were taken captive to Srirangapattana and persecuted by Tippu have been dealt with. This scholar has exhaustively utilized the British or Colonial records and the popular legends of the district on Hyder and Tippu. Over-reliance on colonial records has inserted a colonial bias into his work. Though, Hyder Ali has been projected comparatively in good light, Tippu has been taken to task for the captivity and deportation of the Catholics of Canara.

Another work on the 'Captivity' is of S.N.Saldanha which explains the captivity of the Catholics by Tipu Sultan. The author has used certain new insights to understand the motives of the 'Captivity'. The appendices section has some of the original letters and notes on related topics. Severine Silva in two volumes has studied the history the community. The first volume begins with a study on early Indian contacts with the West. It explains as to how the Portuguese authorities followed a policy of proselytization and converted the people and how the Catholic community could reach Canara covering a period from early times to 1850. The second volume with the same title is an Appendix section where various original records which give documentary accounts of the study on the various facets of history of the community have been compiled. A.L.P. D'Souza's study in a small booklet form deals with the early history of the Catholics of South Canara. Jorge Paulino Sequeira in his work has analysed the relations between the Mysore rulers and the Kanara Christians and suggests that Tippu was essentially a religious bigot who persecuted the Christians. However, he puts the number of Catholic captives at 20,000, less than the accepted estimate of 30,000.

13 S.N. Saldanha, The Captivity of Canara Christians under Tipu in 1784, Mangalore, 1933.
Fidelis Pius Pinto's\textsuperscript{18} works deal with the problems related to the History of Catholics of South Canara, similar to the problems discussed in the previous work History of Christianity in Canara by Severine Silva, with a view to shed new light on the subject. Alan Machado's work,\textsuperscript{19} traces the history of the Catholics from the early times. It puts forward the thesis that the Catholics were the same people who lived in ancient times on the banks of, now extinct, river Saraswathi. The names 'Saraswath' and 'Gaud Saraswath' have been attached to the original community from which they were converted into Christianity by the Portuguese missionaries.

Kranti K. Farias\textsuperscript{20} in her published thesis submitted to the University of Bombay attempts to analyze the influences of Christianity in the district. It also studies the socio-politico-economic aspects of the Christians i.e. Catholics and the Protestants. It emphasizes the role of Christianity as an agent or a catalyst in the process of social change in the society of South Canara.

Michael Lobos\textsuperscript{21} recent studies have documented the 'professional history' of a section of the elite Catholics of the district who were mainly in Government services and in business and those who were abroad. \textit{Mangaloreans Worldwide} is a directory of the Catholics of South Canara who are living outside the district in India and abroad. The work \textit{Distinguished Mangloorean Catholics}, records the history of the Catholics who were in the town of Mangalore and had entered the Government services and carved a name for themselves. \textit{History and Directory of Mangloorean Catholics} is a comprehensive work which includes contents of both the above works. These

\textsuperscript{18} Pius Fidelis Pinto, \textit{History of Christians in Coastal Karnataka (1500-1763)}, Mangalore, 1999.
\textsuperscript{19} ---, \textit{Konkani Christians of Coastal Karnataka in Anglo-Mysore Realions(1761-1799)}, Mangalore, 1999.

three have been excellent works in documentation, though they only record achievements of those people who were in government service or abroad or their plain names. Since those who were in government services, trade and commerce only are given importance a large section of the rural Catholics do not find place in these volumes. The same is the case with the *Distinguished Mangalorean Catholics*. Therefore these works are limited in their scope. In addition, they don’t analyze the various factors responsible for their socio-economic progress, which earn them a place in these works, in a historical perspective. However they do provide certain data for further historical analysis of the community.

There have been some studies on Catholic society. Alphonsus D’Souza’s work is an unpublished PhD thesis in Sociology. It deals with the ‘Popular Christianity,’ Christianity as a religion practiced by the people. He has taken up Madanthyar, a rural parish in the district as a case study for his survey. Rajat Vinay in his unpublished thesis has studied various aspects of caste situations in the Catholic community of South Canara. He analyzes the four Castes i.e. *Bamon, Charody, Sudir* and *Gaudi* which prevail in the community and their interaction in the Catholic social structure.

There have been a few works on the activities of the Jesuits. *Among the Outcasts* of Emmanuel Banfi SJ goes on recording the activities of Jesuit clerics who were involved in proselytisation. Though he refuses to estimate their achievements, he generously gives accounts of various legends connected with them. The *Burning Bush* of Devadutta Kamath SJ in two volumes analyses the history of the Jesuit Province of Karnataka. The first volume deals with the work of the Jesuit missionaries at Mangalore and in the

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district. The second volume deals with the taking over of St. Joseph's College and the establishment of the Diocese of Calicut. The scholar tries to explain the sacrifice made by the early Jesuits for the establishment of the Church in the district. It also records the history of prominent missionaries such as Corti and Camissa who converted a large number of 'depressed classes' to Christianity. It is largely a biographical sketch giving details of individual Jesuits who worked in the district. Since it is a missionary work, it eulogises the missionaries and seems to hold them responsible for the progress of the community. A Jesuit scholar Lawrence Sundaram has written a biographical work on a Jesuit priest, Fr. Jerome D'Souza. Fr. D'Souza who hailed from Mulky in the district, worked in the Madurai Jesuit Province. He had occupied some high positions in Jesuit hierarchy and on independence of the country he was one of the representatives of the minority community of the Christians in India and he is said to have advised the government on various issues related to the Christians. He was also the member of the Constitution drafting committee. This work documents the various achievements of Fr. D' Souza with minute details almost on day-to-day basis. The book eulogises the family of D' Souzas of Mulky. For instance, the author explains how the first native Christian ICS officer was his uncle.

A few studies on migration of the people of the district are also available. Vishwanath Karnad in his published thesis, submitted to the Bombay University, has studied the migration of the Tuluvas i.e people of South Canara especially the Bunt, Billava, Mogavera, Padmashali and other communities to Bombay. The migration of Catholics and the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins has been excluded from it, though a few references are made here and there to the Catholics in Bombay. The work gives details of the cultural life of the migrants in Bombay emphasising their various cultural associations

and their activities. Patrick E. Furtado in his published M.Phil thesis has analyzed the impact of migration to West Asian region on Roman Catholic families of Udupi taluk through a survey. The study relies prominently among the migrants of rural areas who are mainly of unskilled, semi skilled and skilled sections in contrast to the migrants of the city of Mangalore who are of educated section. Since the socio-economic structures and regional variations have not been taken into consideration in this study it is limited in scope. Since the Catholics of Mangalore have been exposed to higher education from the close of the 19th century their migration patterns differ unlike the rural Catholics. Walter D’ Souza’s, unpublished thesis recently submitted to the Development Study Centre at the University of Hampi analyzes the migration of the people of South Canara to the West Asian countries resulting in better standard of living. This work is a socio-economic study without considering any particular community since various communities have migrated to the West Asian countries from the district such as Muslims, Bunts, Billavas and others. Though this study helps us to understand the general migration patterns, factors responsible for the migration to the West Asian countries and the economic impact on the society, in general, it however, does not cover the entire scope of the migration of the Catholics of South Canara. The Catholic community of South Canara has certain distinct features and the scope of their migration has been much larger and varied which has not been covered in this study. Therefore this study only partially helps us to understand the migration of the Catholics to West Asian countries and its economic impact. The social impact has not been studied. Norbert Lobo, in a recently published thesis has studied various migration patterns of rural to urban migration in the district of South Canara from 1960’s onwards. The scholar has explained the migration patterns from rural to urban areas through various statistical tables. This study emphasizes a few economic causes for the migration of the people

to urban areas but push factors such as the land tenure system, prevailing in the district have been ignored.

The research works on the Catholics of South Canara which are available have been mainly religious in nature, with a few exceptions. These studies do not analyse the socio-economic aspects of the community. However, they only emphasise aspects such as the coming of Christianity into Canara, the progress made by the Church and the establishment of the Diocese of Mangalore. Only a few indirect references to socio-economic aspects are useful to understand the nature of the community. Works such as Saraswati's Children, Distinguished Mangalorean Catholics, Social Structure and Stratification Among the Catholics of South Canara, Popular Christianity- A Case Study Among the Catholics of Mangalore are exceptions to this general rule. Therefore there are no works which analyze comprehensively the socio-economic problems of the community.

Though, studies of various hues have been undertaken on various subjects, a study concerning the migration of the Catholics of South Kanara and its impact has not been pursued though the community is one the prominent migrating communities at various points of time. The present study will fill the gap in the history of the district, about the progress made by one of its prominent minority communities between 1900 and 1980.

**Theoretical Background:**

**Concept of Migration:**

Migration is a subject which has received much attention of scholars in modern times. Migration and dispersion are natural phenomena, widely familiar both in the world of plants and in the animal kingdom. Human beings have been no exception. In the case of human beings, anthropology records that nomadism is a stage which preceded the stage of settlement as communities. Even after the communities settled down in permanent habitats, they have been experiencing temporary, seasonal or permanent migrations.
Such migrations vary in terms of various factors such as the nature of the community’s boundary, the causes for the migration, the character of the recipient society, the magnitude of migration, the distance that the migrants required to traverse and so on.\textsuperscript{31}

Therefore migration is a general social phenomenon which is an inevitable part of life in the history of mankind. Historically, various human races from pre-historic times have moved from their places of origin. In the history of world instances such as the Ionian, Dorian and Illyrian settlements in Greece, the Latin and Etruscan occupations of Rome, the Viking voyages from Scandinavia to England and across the North Atlantic to Greenland, etc., are some of the earliest available instances of migration. Similarly, in the Indian context, scholars have discussed the Aryan migration from Europe and Central Asia into the Indian subcontinent. The Dravidians too are said to have migrated to the south from the northern parts of the Indian subcontinent.\textsuperscript{32} In the history of ancient India, the accounts of the Buddhists bhikkus travelling to remote corners of Central and Eastern Asia are recorded. Maritime history of pre-colonial India records evidence of continuous contact between the kingdoms of the Coromandel coast and the islands of South East Asia. The contact of the Palas of Bengal with the Sailendra kings of Indonesia and the expeditions of the South Indian Cholas which vanquished the great Indonesian empire of Sri Vijaya are repeatedly referred to by scholars. In 500 B.C. there is said to have been a colony of Indian merchants who were living permanently in Memphis in Egypt.\textsuperscript{33} Thus there are ample instances of migration of Indians and immigration of others into the Indian subcontinent.

The nineteenth century is considered by scholars to be a great period of worldwide migrations, especially from European countries to the U.S.A. and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{31} N. Jayaram, ed., \textit{The Indian Diaspora, Dynamics of Migration}, New Delhi, 2004, pp.15-16
  \item \textsuperscript{32} The Catholics of South Canara claim that they were originally living on the banks of the river Saraswathi. They said to have migrated to Goa and later on to the coastal Karnataka. Therefore the term ‘Gaud Saraswath Brahmin’ has been used. The Catholics claim that they were converts to Christianity from these caste groups. See, Alan Machado Prabhu, op.cit.,
  \item \textsuperscript{33} N. Jayaram, op.cit., p.19.
\end{itemize}
Canada. Since global economic changes took place, India too witnessed several patterns of internal and external migrations in the modern era. British colonization of India and opening of cash crop plantations in the country and abroad attracted labourers in large numbers. Such opportunities were availed by impoverished Indian labourers. Thus, in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, thousands of Indians left their home for work in British rubber plantations in Singapore, Malaysia, and Burma; sugar plantations in the Caribbean region; mines and other work sites in South Africa, and other colonies. Apart from this international movement of labourers from India, there was an internal movement of skilled and unskilled workers to coffee, tea, rubber and other cash crop plantations in different parts of the country as well as to bigger cities like Madras, Bombay and New Delhi where construction activities and industrial enterprises attracted them.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, migration of Indians to the West Asian countries took place as more employment opportunities opened with the development of petroleum industries. During the same period, several thousands of skilled and professionally qualified people of India preferred to emigrate to England, United States of America, Canada and Australia in this period which has been generally referred to as the 'Brain Drain'\(^3\)\(^4\)

Among all the immigrants of diverse nationalities, overseas Indians constitute a sizable segment. It is estimated that besides six million Indians, there are over 20 million people of Indian origin (PIOs) all over the world. Taking 5,000 as the minimum figure, overseas Indians are found in as many as 53 countries.\(^3\)\(^5\)

While discussing the overseas migration of Indians, scholars have


\(^{35}\) N. Jayaram, op.cit., pp.15-16.
distinguished two main phases of emigration.\textsuperscript{36} They are, ‘Overseas emigration in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century’ and ‘20\textsuperscript{th} century migration to industrially developed countries’. For analytical convenience these phases have been termed as the ‘colonial’ and the ‘post-colonial’ phases of Indian Diaspora. However, one can identify overlaps between these two phases. The emigration of Indians that began in the second quarter of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century continued into the early decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The trickle of emigration of Indians to the industrially developed countries, which assumed phenomenal proportions in the post-colonial phase, could be noticed in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century itself. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the distinctive nature of these two phases of migration, for their causes, courses and consequences.\textsuperscript{37}

Since the study of migration of the Catholics of South Canara to various places consists of the internal as well as the international (overseas) migration, same periodization has been adopted i.e. the colonial and post-colonial phases. Though the migration of the Catholics may vary in a small measure, on the whole it follows the same pattern of Indian migration discussed above. For instance, for the overseas migration (to West Asian region or East African countries) of the Catholics in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century (colonial phase) and the 20\textsuperscript{th} century migration (post-colonial phase) the push factors have been the same. The same push factors were responsible for internal migration to urban centres such as Bombay.

\textbf{Forms of Migration or Migratory Tendencies:}

Robin Cohen\textsuperscript{38} has classified various dyads or couples of migratory tendencies. They are internal versus international and intercontinental, forced versus free migration, settler versus labour, temporary versus permanent, illegal versus legal migration, planned versus flight migration.\textsuperscript{39} However, these dyads do not fully explain the entire migration tendencies as Cohen

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{36}Ibid., pp.18-19.
  \item \textsuperscript{37}Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{39}Ibid., pp.5-6.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
himself explains. In many cases these dyads become irrelevant. For instance
the labour migrants are forced to seek employment elsewhere. In one sense
they become forced migrants. Therefore the question arises as to the nature of
free migration. These questions have been raised by scholars who have been
studying migration. However these dyads are very essential to understand the
overall migration studies.

Migration of Women:

Though migration of women was earlier considered as migration was
mainly due to marriage, recent studies have revealed that they migrate
independently in various societies.

Theories of Migration:

The social scientists as early as the later part of the 19th century began
to study the phenomena of migration in a scientific manner.

The first study on migration was conducted by E.G. Ravenstein in the
1880s. He introduced the famous law of migration that people usually move
from rural areas to neighbouring urban centres seeking better and more
employment opportunities. After a long gap it was only in the 1960s that
another theory came to light through the work of Everett Lee, who put
forward the general and well-known law of “push” and “pull” factors of
migration.

In the same period Gustav Ranis and John Fei had done another
remarkable study on migration. They have proposed the concept of a “dual
economy system”, in which migration took place from low productive (rural)
sector to high productive (capitalist) sector in the modern world.

Michael P. Todaro pointed out that the decision to migrate depends on
anticipated wages from modern employment sector and cost and benefit
possibilities in the existing urban conditions.
Francis Cherunilam, on the other hand, has discussed the role of historical, cultural and linguistic factors of migration. For example the desire of a person to move away from traditional social set up seeking new lifestyle, freedom, social contacts or seclusion, education etc., promoted migration.

Marxian studies on migration view it as a creation of capitalist expansion in productive sectors. Industrialization and mechanisms of profit accumulation created a pauperized surplus working class that was forced to migrate to new places. Thus as stated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engles, "productive power" of capitalism exerted pressure on the population to move from the place of existence to newer areas.

In brief, these studies on migration concentrate on the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas or from less developed countries to more developed countries.  

Migration and Social Change:

Though continuous deliberations are going on the topic of migration and social change there have been no concrete theories formulated till now. Scholars have argued that "a conceptual framework for migration studies should take social transformation as its central category." Social change is the integral part of migration process. Migration brings transformation in both societies receiving as well as giving. For instance, migration of people brings monetary rewards to the migrant families thereby social mobility. It can also lead to social problems such as feeling of alienation from a community. It can also bring cultural changes in both the communities. Therefore, social change is an important component while discussing any migration study.

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A Review of Migration in India:

Migration of Indians under European Colonialism:

The European colonization was marked by the penetration of mercantile capitalism in Asia and was considered to be the most crucial phase in Indian migration studies. Large-scale emigration of Indians into far-off lands was facilitated by the integration of peripheral economies into the emerging world capitalist system, and the onset of a revolution in transportation and communication and the opening of the Suez Canal.

The European merchant class used their phenomenal trade surpluses for investment in mines and plantations in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. This created an enormous demand for a cheap and regulated labour force. By the first quarter of the 19th century, the demand for labour was accentuated by the expanding colonial economy, the growing opposition to slavery and its eventual abolition, and the inability of the European countries to meet the shortfall in labour by deploying their own labour force. A combination of factors made India along with China to supply labour from their large population which was cheap, docile and dependable, especially to work on the plantations.

Tinker 42 provides a comprehensive survey of the emigration of Indian labour overseas during the colonial era. Broadly, three distinct patterns of Indian emigration are identifiable in this period: a. ‘indentured labour’ emigration. b. Kangani and Mestri labour emigration and c. ‘passage’ or ‘free’ emigration. 43

The ‘indentured labour’ emigration was so called after the contract signed by the individual labourer to work on plantations. The labourer was officially sponsored by the colonial government. This migration began in

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43 There have been no indentured labour migrants, Kangani or Mestri migrants from the Catholics of South Canara. However there must have been some Catholics who availed the ‘Passage’ or ‘Free’ emigration to East African colonies.
1834 and ended in 1920. The large majority of the labour migrants under this system were recruited from North India. They were taken to the British colonies of the British Guiana, Fiji, Trinidad and Jamaica, the French colonies of Guadalupe and Martinique and the Dutch colony of Surinam. The *Kangani* (derived from Tamil *Kankani*, meaning foreman or overseer) system prevailed in the recruitment of labour for emigration to Ceylon and Malaya. A variant of this system, called the *Mestri* (derived from Tamil *maistry*, meaning supervisor) system was practiced in the recruitment of labour of emigration to Burma. *Kangani* or *Mestri* who himself was an Indian immigrant recruited families of Tamil labourers from villages in the erstwhile Madras presidency (present Tamilnadu region). The labourers so recruited were legally free, as they were not bound by any contract of fixed period of service. These systems which began in the first and third quarter of the 19th century were abolished in 1938. 44 Emigration from India did not cease with the abolition of indenture and other systems of organized export of labour. There was a steady trickle of emigration of members of trading communities from Gujarat and Punjab to South Africa and East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda), and those from South India to South East Asia. Most labourers emigrated into East Africa to work on the construction of railroads. These emigrants were not officially sponsored. They themselves paid their 'passage', and they were 'free' in the sense that they were not bound by any contract.

Industrial Revolution which began in England gradually spread to other countries. Along with it, its influence too spread to every nook and corner of the world. Commercial and industrial activities promoted urbanization and a dynamic capitalist economy emerged. In the colonies new urban centres and plantations came up due to the investment of the European capitalist class. They activated internal migrations of people within a colony. Thus the spread of industrial and commercial capital in India during the colonial period led to the migration of the people from various parts of India.

44 The similar pattern as the *Kangani* or *Mestri* system was prevalent in South Canara which enabled the labour migration to the Chikmagalur plantations which has been included in this study.
to its urban centres and growing cities and where there were plantations.

Bombay was one such urban centre which attracted an enormous number of people from other parts of the country. The Catholics of South Canara due to the proximity and the availability of transport and other push factors migrated to Bombay in large numbers. The European planters had developed plantations in the Ghat regions of present Chikmagalure district and the Catholics migrated to these areas. A few Catholics too developed such plantations in the region from about the middle of the 19th century which became further a catalyst to migration of the Catholics to the region.

Migration of Indians after Independence:

A new and significant phase of migration began after India became independent in 1947. Broadly, three patterns have been identified in the post-Independence migration viz. the emigration of Anglo-Indians to Australia and England, the emigration of professional and semi-professionals to the industrially advanced countries like the United States of America, England and Canada and the emigration of skilled and unskilled labourers to West Asian region.

The emigration of the Anglo-Indians is one of the least studied facets of Indian migration. Feeling marginalized in the aftermath of India's independence, many of these products of intermarriage between Indians and the English left India for England in the first instance. Finding that they were not racially and ethnically acceptable to the English, many of them migrated to Australia, which has become their ‘second homeland’.

The large scale and steady emigration of doctors, engineers, scientists, teachers and other semi-professionals to the industrially advanced countries of the West was essentially a post-Independence phenomenon, and particularly so of the late 1960s and the 1970s. It somewhat declined with the adoption of stringent immigration regulations by the recipient countries. This pattern of
migration, often described as ‘brain drain’, was voluntary and mostly individual in nature. With the second and subsequent generations enjoying economic prosperity and gaining acceptance and socio-cultural rights, this stream of emigration has resulted in vibrant Indian communities abroad.

To be contrasted with the above is the migration of skilled and unskilled labourers to West Asian countries in the wake of the ‘oil boom’. This migration was voluntary in nature, but its trends and conditions were determined by the vagaries of labour market. It is predominantly male migration, characterized by uninterrupted ties with the families and communities back in India due to the fact that the immigrant labourers cannot settle down, and have neither property rights nor the freedom of religion.

These three broad emigration tendencies help us to understand the migration patterns in India.

The internal migration after Independence not only continued unabated but also accelerated. The spread of education during last decades of the colonial period, the establishment of various industries as well as governmental and non-governmental institutions which developed in various parts of the country attracted a lot of labour force, clerical as well as skilled. Besides Indian government recruited a large number of people in governmental services under the Nehruvian socialist economic set up. The Catholics of South Canara too found their opportunities and moved to various industrial, commercial and educational centres in the country. In the 1960 and 1970s it reached the zenith mainly due to the spread of education to rural areas.

In 1970s the policy of reservation adopted by the Government of India and the state of Karnataka affected the Catholics to a certain extent. It decreased their chances of getting into government service. This indirectly prompted a section of the educated Catholics of South Canara to move
towards the West Asian countries where they could benefit from the boom in ‘oil economy.’

Nature and Scope:

The community of Catholics of South Canara has a history of about 500 years in the district beginning from 1530. They speak Konkani language. It has been a prominent minority community in the district with total population about 1,87,570 by the year 1971. Since migration of the people in India began from about the second half of the 19th century the Catholics too began moving out during the period. Recent studies show that the community has spread to all corners of the world. Though the community is a much bigger entity with a population spilled over the neighbouring region too, in this study only the Catholic community of the district has been dealt with.

Migration takes place due to various factors and leads to economic and socio-cultural change of a community. In this study an attempt is made to look into various factors that led to the migration of the Catholics of South Canara and their activities in the places of migration and its economic, socio-cultural impact.

Sources and Methodology:

This first explorative attempt has various sources to rely upon. For the theoretical aspects of the study in the first chapter studies such as Migration in South India, \(^45\) The Cambridge Survey of World Migration, \(^46\) The Indian Diaspora, Dynamics of Migration, \(^47\) and such other studies have been utilized. The second chapter in which a narration of the history of the community in the nineteenth century has been made, various colonial records which are available in forms of correspondence between the Board of Directors and Principal Collectors of the District, work of Francis Buchanan,

\(^{45}\) K.S. Mathew, Mahavir Singh, Joy Varkey, op.cit.
\(^{46}\) Robin Cohen, op.cit.
\(^{47}\) N. Jayaram, op.cit.
the District Manuals, etc., have been used. Besides, studies regarding the community such as the *History of Christianity in Canara*\(^{48}\) *History of the Diocese of Mangalore*,\(^{49}\) the Family Tree of George Vas family\(^{50}\) Newsmagazines such as *Mangalore Magazine*\(^{51}\) *Konkani Dirven*\(^{52}\) have been used for they give ample data on various events concerning the Catholics on daily basis and the participation of the community in such events and their cultural background.

For the third chapter where the causes for migration have been dealt with in the form of Compulsions and Incentives, the fourth and fifth chapters in which the activities of the migrants in various places of migration and the sixth chapter in which the socio-economic impact of migration have been studied, the Newsmagazines of the community, which have been mentioned above as well as *Rakno*\(^{53}\), *Poinary*,\(^{54}\) *Samajes Divo*,\(^{55}\) *Mithr*,\(^{56}\) *Maigaun*\(^{57}\) *Mangalorean Review*,\(^{58}\) *Mangalore*\(^{59}\) and so on are very useful.

To understand the socio-economic trends of South Canara in the early and later parts of colonial period as well as post-colonial period studies of Sarada Raju,\(^{60}\) Shyam Bhat,\(^{61}\) Mohan Krishna Rai,\(^{62}\) Damle\(^{63}\) have been

\(^{48}\) Severine Silva, *op.cit.*, Vol. I & II.
\(^{49}\) J. Moore SJ, *op.cit.*
\(^{50}\) George Vas, *op.cit.*
\(^{51}\) *Mangalore Magazine* was published in English from 1897 as an organ of St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. Later on from 1931, it became the Annual Magazine of the College.
\(^{52}\) *Konkani Dirven* was the first newsmagazine published from 1912 in *Konkani* from Mangalore. The publication stopped in 1939.
\(^{53}\) *Rakno* was published in Mangalore from the office of the Bishop of Mangalore as a Diocesan Newsletter in *Konkani* from 1939 onwards.
\(^{54}\) *Poinary* was a newsletter in *Konkani* published in Bombay from 1950's, initially by VJP Saldanha.
\(^{55}\) *Samajes Divo* was a newsletter in *Konkani* published in Mangalore in 1930's by J.B. Machado.
\(^{56}\) *Mithr* is a newsletter in *Konkani* originally published in Bombay from 1953 onwards. Later it was published in Mangalore (Mulky).
\(^{57}\) *Maigaun* was *Konkani* newsletter published in Mangalore from about 1970s till 1982.
\(^{58}\) *Mangalorean Review* was a newsletter in English published in Bombay by the Kanara Catholic Association from 1920 onwards.
\(^{59}\) *Mangalore* was a newsletter in English published in Mangalore as an organ of Catholic Association of South Kanara from 1928 onwards.
\(^{60}\) A. Sarada Raju, *Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency 1800-1850*, University of Madras, 1941.
\(^{61}\) N. Shyam Bhat, *op.cit.*
\(^{62}\) K. Mohankrishna Rai, *op.cit.*
consulted. To provide insights into the inner dynamics of the community certain works such as Saraswathi's Children,64 the Distinguished Mangalorean Catholics,65 Mangaloreans Worldwide, 66 Christian Impact on South Canara,67 'Popular Christianity- A Case Study Among the Catholics of Mangalore'68 are useful.

Interviews with people of the community who have been active in various fields of endeavour, such as the migrants, return migrants, scholars who have done scientific studies, Konkani writers and individuals born as early as 1914 and so on have been used to ascertain facts and get insights into the prevailing society as well as the various facets of life of the migrants in host societies.

Since Catholic Church is an institutionalized one and maintains records diligently, some records are useful. But we have no easy access to these records; and even if we have, some of the records of birth-death, marriage, of kaido are hardly useful. However they are useful in a micro study of the migration of Catholics from one parish to the other including outside the district.

A Brief Survey of the Catholic Population from 1799 to 1980:

The Catholic population was in 1799 estimated at 10,877 with 3701 men, 1968 boys, 3603 women, and 1605 girls. There were 2,545 Catholic houses in Canara.69 They were mainly cultivators and merchants.70 It was also claimed that about 15,000 were returning from 'Captivity' to the district.71 The population made steady progress. In 1818, the Catholic

63 C.B. Damle, op.cit.
64 Alan Machado Prabhu, op.cit.
65 Michael Lobo, Mangaloreans Worldwide, op.cit.
66 Michael Lobo, Distinguished Mangalorean Catholics, op.cit.
67 Kranti K. Farias, op.cit.
68 Alphonsus D'souza, op.cit.
69 Francis Buchanan, op.cit., p.2 & p.6.
70 Ibid., p.6.
71 Ibid.
population in the Canara district was estimated at about 21,800.\textsuperscript{72} In the year 1854 it rose to 30,480.\textsuperscript{73} In the following decades it made further progress. In 1861-62 it was 38,041, in 1866-67, 42,626 and in 1871-72, 49,258.\textsuperscript{74} In 1863 the northern part of Canara was brought under the Bombay Presidency. This did not affect the overall population figures of the Catholics mainly due to their small number in the district of North Canara.

From about 1834 the Basel missionaries had been carrying on the proselytisation activity in the district and as a result among the native Christians a small minority of Protestant Christian element was seen. In about 1875 in the taluk of Mangalore out of the total number of native Christian community, 95.9\% were Roman Catholics. The rest were Protestants. Likewise in Uppinangady 80.9\%, Kasargode 99.7\%, in Udupi 95.1\% and in Kundapur 99.8\% were Catholics, suggesting that the largest segment of the native Christians was the Catholics.\textsuperscript{75} The average percentage of the Roman Catholics among the native Christian element was 93.62\% in the district.\textsuperscript{76} In 1881 there were only 3,320 Protestants in the district.\textsuperscript{77} There were also European Catholics in the district. A section among them must have been missionaries working in the district. In 1891, the total number of native Roman Catholics was 66,400, excluding Europeans and the Eurasians.\textsuperscript{78} In 1891, the total number of the native Christians was 71,259.\textsuperscript{79}

Their number varied in different regions within the district too. Among them the total native Christians were 41, 645, in 1891, in the Taluk of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{72} Bandad ani Bandade Upanth( Captivity and After): RAKNO, 15 August, 1941, p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Samuel Miley, Canara Past and Present, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed., Madras, 1875, p.22.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Ibid., p.23.
\item \textsuperscript{76} H. A. Stuart, op.cit., p.14.
\item \textsuperscript{77} W. W. Hunter, The Imperial Gazetteer of India , Vol.III, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., 1886, p.379. This Gazetteer refers the native Catholics as half-caste Portuguese and the Muslims as Arabs, and local people as Aborigines. This must have been an error. The Catholics had Portuguese surnames mainly due to the fancy of the sponsors who converted them to Catholic faith. Though there must have been some intermarriages between them and the Portuguese, it is very difficult to determine who these sections are among the Catholics.
\item \textsuperscript{78} H. A. Stuart, op.cit., pp.11-15.
\item \textsuperscript{79} In the Madras Presidency only three districts of Madurai, Tanjore and Tinnevelly contained more native Christians than the district of South Canara.
\end{itemize}
Mangalore. Similarly in Udipi taluk their population was 17,241. In Uppingady Taluk they were 2,569, in Kasargod 6,731 and in Kundapura 3,063. It indicates that the Catholics were in majority in the district. However, in some pockets their concentration especially in the taluk of Mangalore and Udupi had been more. In comparison with the other communities in the district the Catholics were a tiny minority. In the town of Mangalore out of the total population, 14.93% were Christians in 1875. However, in the entire district their share was only 6.75 % in 1891. This is an indication of the concentration of the native Christians and especially the Catholics in the town of Mangalore.

Towards the close of the 19th century in the Madras Presidency the Catholic population was 66.12% in the total native Christian population. The percentage of Protestants was about 35% unlike the district of South Canara, implying that the district was one of the prominent districts in the Presidency with Catholic population. The Census of 1891 also showed that the Christians are more partial to the town life in comparison to other communities.

The Catholics who were about 10, 000 in the beginning of the 18th century rose to about 30,000 in the middle of the 19th century and by 1875 their population was about 50,000 and towards the close of the 19th century they were around or nearing 70,000, thus making a steady progress demographically.

81 Ibid., p.262.
82 Ibid., p.269.
83 Ibid., p.247.
84 Ibid., p.241.
85 Ibid., p.12.
86 John Sturrock, op.cit., p. 137.
88 There are instances of Catholic families from the rural areas who moved to the town of Mangalore in the 19th century. Families such as Bantwalgar’s family, family of A.R. D’souza who own textile enterprise, said to have hailed from Bantwal area. Vas family of Vas Bakery hailed from Gurpur-Bellur area. Thus at different points of time some families must have migrated to the town of Mangalore.
In the beginning of the century Catholic population made further progress and their population was estimated at about 71,259. In 1921 there were 4,498 Christians in the taluk of Coondapur, 14,152 in Karkal (the newly created taluk out of Udupi and Mangalore in 1912), 21,007 in Udupi, 56,383 in Mangalore, 3, 545 in Kasargod and 6,769 in Uppinangady (in 1927 onwards called Puttur). Thus a total of 1,06354 Christians were living in the entire district. Among them were 54,344 females. In 1921 the absolute population of the Roman Catholics was 96,388. The trend of the Roman Catholic majority continued in the 20th century. The total population of the Protestants in 1931 was 10,900.

In the entire Madras Presidency, excluding Tinnevelly, the district of South Canara had the largest Christian population. It was 1,22,216 in 1931. Among them about 1,09,680 or 90 percent were Roman Catholics. The reason for this large Catholic population being that it was long established in the district. According to another estimate, in 1929 the population of the Catholics was estimated at 1,24,328.

In 1961, in the district there were 1,63,365 Christians. The tract-wise break up of the figures further shows that a large number of the Christians lived in the Mangalore taluk (31,330), Udipi (29,058), and Bantwal (20,350). In 1971 the population of the Christians was 1,87,570. Among them 91,077 females.

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90 J.F. Hall, op. cit., p.158.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid., p.18.
93 Ibid., p.22.
94 Among them 47,300 were males and 49,088 females. In 1921, the district of South Canara was second in position to Tinnevelly district in Catholic population, in the entire Madras Presidency. Census of India, 1921, Vol. XIII. Madras Part II, Imperial and Provincial Tables. Table XV p.131.
95 J.F. Hall, op. cit., p.204.
96 In 1933 Catholic population of South Canara was 1,09,680 and of Tinnevelly 1,14,600. K.D., 2 February, 1933, eng. supp. p.iv.
97 Ibid., op. cit., p. 220.
100 Our Mission Field: C.J. Varkey. K.D., 16 September, 1929, eng. supp. pp. i-ii. The variation in the population figure was due to the fact the the district of South Canara was smaller in jurisdiction than the Diocese of Mangalore. The above estimate was of Mangalore Diocese which consisted of large parts of Malabar area including the district of Kasargode.
were males and 96,493 females.\textsuperscript{101} Though the absolute number of the Roman Catholics cannot be determined the majority of the Christian element was Roman Catholic. In 1968, Catholics of the Diocese of Mangalore were estimated at, 2, 07,883 in the total population of 20, 27,587.\textsuperscript{102}

Thus the survey of the population of the Catholics indicates that the population of the Catholics made a steady progress from a mere 10,000 in 1800 to 30,480 in 1854 and to 1, 87,570 in the year 1971. The Catholic concentration of population was more in the taluks of Mangalore, Udupi and Bantwal regions.

**Objectives of the Study:**

Studies on migration have been acquiring importance among the social scientists in recent times and as a result a new sphere of knowledge has been opened which studies the various demographic issues. The study “Migration of the Catholics of South Canara and its Socio-Economic Dimensions (1900-1980)” will enable us to not only understand the progress of a community in relation to migration but also will reveal how a particular community has made strides in various spheres. Though many studies have been undertaken on the history of South Canara a study on the migration of its Catholics has not been available.

The Catholics of South Canara have been found in all continents and in about 72 countries, according to one estimate.\textsuperscript{103} In this study an effort is made to look into the history of the community in 19\textsuperscript{th} century and a comparison is made about their progress towards the end of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The comparison is mainly on the background of the migration of the community and its impact.

Various “Push and Pull” factors have been analyzed to look into the

\textsuperscript{101}K. Abhishankar op.cit., p.95.  
\textsuperscript{102} Manglur Diyesejichi Mahet (Statistics or Information of Mangalore Diocese): RAKNO, 18 December, 1968, p.19.  
\textsuperscript{103} Michael Lobo, Mangaloreans Worldwide, op.cit.
reasons for their migration to different regions. The impoverished economic life of the Catholics mainly characterized by the lack of development in the district, the availability of education, adventurous nature of the Catholics in general to work hard in difficult times and flourish were some of the factors responsible for their migration to various regions at various points of time. All these aspects leading to migration and the resultant impact on the community as well as on the district is the main thrust of this study.

Organisation of the Report:

After the Introduction, the second chapter makes a brief survey of the history of the Catholics of South Canara in the 19th century which begins after the legendary 'Captivity' episode of the Catholics and their return, which coincided with the introduction of the colonial rule in the district. The community which had suffered under the 'internal colonization' of the Mysore rulers had welcomed the British colonial masters as a sort of 'saviours'. This chapter tries to explain how an educated section of the community either supported the colonial rule or was sympathetic to it. It also explains how the colonial rule divided the entire community into two broad divisions- higher and the lower classes. The educated middle class has been clubbed with the higher classes for convenience.

The chapter explains the land tenure system adopted by the colonial government which had mixed fortunes for the community as a whole. While the land owning section, some mulgueni tenants and big chalgueni tenants were economically stronger, majority of the Catholics were small chalgueni tenants who suffered under the landlords due to the maximum extraction of agricultural surplus by the colonial government. Those who had rudimentary education entered the government services and benefited immensely. This section emerged as a land owning class in due course of time. The introduction of education by the colonial government and the missionary initiatives benefited the Catholics of the richer and middle class sections. Towards the end of the 19th century a large educated section of the middle
class and the impoverished section were ready to move out of the district in search of greener pastures. Moving out of the district had other causes which have been explained in following chapter.

The third chapter explains the “push and pull” factors which were responsible for the migration of Catholics to various places in the form of ‘Compulsions and Incentives’ from about 1900 to 1980. Various factors such as the effects of *chalgueni* land tenure on the Catholics, gradual increase in the recruitment in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, availability of transport, larger number of the educated people due to the spread of education by this period, the impact of major events such as the First World War, the Great Depression, and the Second World War, social evils such as dowry system, population density and so on and the pull factors such as the development of Bombay, coffee plantations in Chikmagalore region and so on have been discussed.

The fourth chapter deals with the types of migrants and their activities in places such as Bombay, Madras, Chikmagalore, Bangalore and so on. The activities explain the life of the migrants, including their cultural activities, raising of funds, and taking part in the overall development of the community in the places of migration as well as home. The activities of the migrants to the city of Bombay has been taken up in some detail. This is because the migration of the Catholics was mainly to the city of Bombay. Here their various activities including the inter relations within the community and between the higher and the lower classes of migrants in the city of Bombay have been studied.

The fifth chapter explains the activities of the migrants after the Independence till 1980. It explains the major changes that had taken place in the country in the post-Independence period which influenced the pattern of migration of the Catholics. It also explains the gathering momentum of migration to the West Asian countries and to the Western countries such as
England, USA, Canada and Australia.

The sixth chapter deals with the social and economic impact of the migration. The affluence of the community, strong Church sponsored institutions, their various cultural contributions as also the social tensions the community underwent during the migration and so on have been studied. How the migration led to the progress of the community socially and economically and how it became a 'creative minority' have been discussed.

In the seventh and concluding chapter, an evaluation of the entire migration is made. It shows how the personality of the Catholic community is shaped, by the factors that shaped the course of their migrations, both internal and overseas and the experiences associated with them. They exposed the community to the dynamics of change in India and elsewhere, and enabled it to develop an outlook which spurned narrowness and insularity and accepted larger stage for their activities and achievement.