CHAPTER VI: THE STRUGGLE FOR EMARAJYA THROUGH SOCIO-POLITICAL REFORMS
CHAPTER XV

THE STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJA THROUGH
SOCIO-POLITICAL MEANS

The wave of extremist waned during the years 1908–14 in the country. Government action against the extremist leaders and workers had paid a good dividend as also the moderates kept their at arm's length. Extremists of Belgaum also had decided to keep quiet until Tilak's return. The efforts to bring about unity among the Moderate and Extremist ranks did not bear fruit. The unsuccessful Congress Continuation Committee, which was appointed to patch up the differences between the two, had D.V. Salvi, C.L. Deshpande as its members, who of Belgaum named sessions for unity.¹ Then in its Allahabad session of 1908, the Indian National Congress had approved a new constitution which made it possible for extremist or radical minded people to attend Congress. During this period, Congress returned to its shell and reverted to loyal posture. The provisions of Government of India Act of 1909, including the appointment of an Indian on the Executive Council of Viceroy in March 1909, were generally welcomed by moderates. There was fortunately no break in continuity of the annual sessions, but the sessions were thinly attended.² These sessions, unlike previous times, were not attended by people of Belgaum in large numbers. We find 1909 session attended by Chandrashekhar Venkatesh Ankhindi, Nisa Nalvant Marathe, the 1909 session by none and the 1910 session by none.³ In so far as Belgaum district was concerned,
Allahabad Congress chartered the name of Subject Committee Members; of the 24 members of Bombay Presidency, there is none of Belgaum. Then Indian National Congress Constitution that was adopted there, mentioned quite a few Congress Committees even for the Presidency, but Belgaum did not figure there too.  

During this period (1883-14), some Congressmen of Poona of course moderate, established a branch of their party at Belgaum. S.G. Chatter, N.G. Khot and N.B. Narath were mainly in this branch.  

Communal interests

The causes of the foundation of Indian National Congress are shrouded in socio-economic, religious and political mystery. The economic exploitation of European imperialism represented by the British rule could not be underestimated, but at the same time socio-religious and political awareness that was generated among the Indian elites that received western education must also be considered as equally basic reason for the rise of national consciousness and nationalism in India. The early issues of Indian nationalism are linked with economic-political causes on one hand and socio-religious causes on the other hand. It will be more appropriate to say that birth of Indian National Congress sought its causes in social backgrounds more than in other causes, though economic exploitation and political dominance of Great Britain of the Indians is self-explanatory in founding the Indian National Congress by the Indian
The social movements like Arya Samaj in the Punjab and Shaktipuja in Bengal had been influential to government on one hand and a catalyst of Hinduism on the other. Though there was no branch of Arya Samaj in Belgaum district (at least by 1907), it could not miss its teachings such as emphasis on Vedas. Theosophical Society, which was another revivalist body, had a branch at Belgaum established in 1901.

During the 'Vedanta' issue, the Brahmin Parskits declined to perform the Samhagas on the Kolhapur Royal House by the Vedanta means, Shankaracharya of Baraonwar and Kervir Nath, who was then regarded as the religious head of the Royal House of Kolhapur and Marathas, approved this action. Both Chhatrapati Shahu insisted for it. He issued State orders on 12 November 1902, for practising rituals by Vedanta means. This issue soon became controversial in the whole Madhye Ganjan. Some were in favour of allowing the Vedanta ceremonies for the Raja and some not. The Chhatrapati was determined to social justice not just to himself but to others also. This is evident from a letter dated 13 November 1907, addressed by the Raja to Colo. Parrie, Political Agent for Kolhapur and OMG states, talking about the proceedings of meeting with Baro Tilton on this issue. It says:

This ritual is the principal cause of difference between the Marathas and Brahmins and, having disposed of the question this way, the judge of his [Tilton's] is still evident in his speech, because
he says that the Chhatrapati alone has the right and
does not say that the Marathas have it. 10

Interestingly or importantly, Brahmankar, the disciple
of Shastrapatiya was in favour of Vodokta. As a leader, G. K.
Deopande, Helgola was also drawn into the discussion. He too
was in favour of it and he even shielded the Shastrapatiya of
Sachchad for his orthodox stand in the matter. 11 The natural
outcome of the controversy was the bickerings between Marathas
and Brahmins. This was also responsible in a way for the rift
between Chhatrapati Shahu and Tilak.

In 1907, a Maratha Shikshan Samaj came up in Maharashtra
to general upliftment of the Maratha community.

The Satyashodhak Samaj established by Jotiba Phule had
by now become less active though it had made great impact on the
villagers of Bombay Deccan. In Belgaum district also, its impact
was seen in 1902, 1910, etc. Now a grand revival of this Satyas-
shodhak Samaj manifested itself in 1912 under the aegis of
Chhatrapati Shahu of Kolhapur. The important objective of the
Samaj was to spread religious education among the non-Brahmin
and to desire them from engaging the Brahmin priests for religi-
ous ceremonies. A Satyashodhak Samaj was formed at Chikodi in
January 1911. 12

The Nander Samajonnati Parishad was holding annual meetings
since about 1906, it held its sixth annual meeting at Nipani on 25th and 26th December 1911. It was presided over by L.N. Keshavkar of Dynaol and attended by 97 representatives. Emphasis of this meeting was on education.14

But the most important contribution from the standpoint of this district is of Lingayats. For promotion of Lingayatism, a Vireshaiva Matrukarshak Sabha was established at Belgaum in 1904;15 a Lingayat Religious and Social Conference (Shrinath Vireshaiva Mahasabha) was held at Dhapud on 13-15th May, 1904 under the presidency of Lingappa Jayappa Shirsungi (of Belgaum district). Some 600 from Bombay Karasal attended it. It discussed the socio-economic and educational development of Vireshaivas and collected Rs. 20,000/- as subscription.16 Later, the VI Conference of this Mahasabha was held at Belgaum on 27-29th December 1911 under the presidency of B.S. Desai, Mandalaguru and VII Conference at Nipani on 25th December 1912; as the Chairman of the latter Conference, B.S. Kedragowda Channavinda Artoji (1849-1933) who had been the Deputy Collector of Belgaum district from 1899, advised the delegates to develop communication with Europeans and be ready for reform; he opined that wisdom obtained through knowledge and commerce rather than religion was real.17

Unfortunately, the relations between Lingayats on one side, and non-Lingayat Hindus, particularly Brahmins, on other
side, became greatly affected at places such as Ahmedabad, because of the fairly old 'Vyasen Tola' affair 17. The Chitrakanya Society of Viraasatwes had come to Ahmedabad in 1910. Upon his advice, the Viraasatwes there proposed to take out a procession of Vyasen Tola. But the permission was not given.

The Presidency Government directed in GR no. 2659 dated 5th May 1911 that permission should not in future be given to hold Vyasen Tola processions in Belgaum district. Lingayats were resolved in taking out the procession whereas the case was considered by non-Lingayat Hindus as insulting. The Government resolution was challenged in Court by Lingayats led by Baslingaya Muttinkenttya Hiremath, Pendurang Siddhan Patil and four others stood as defendants. Finally, the District Judge's (A. Montgomery) order dated 12th September 1912 held the said Government resolution dated 5th May 1911 as illegal and ultra vires in so far as it forbade the exhibition of the Vyasen Tola symbol entirely for all time and throughout the district. But it also held that the Lingayats had not proved their right to hold the procession. 18

Brahmins also did the same thing to guard the interest of their community. Saraswat Brahmins were forming associations in Bombay and other places on the eastern coast. A 'Sud Saraswat Brahman Samaj' was founded at Shangapur (in Belgaum District) on 17th April 1907 and R.G. Khot, M.J. Telang, Rangar, Cinde, Siddhar, Ganaaji, Saraf, etc., were its members. By the
seat of this Samaj, the third all-India Good Sarvodaya Convention was held at Belgaum on 23-25th April 1918. In this convention, attended by about 300 delegates, the constitution of the convention was changed, which was, in fact, the aftermath of the quarrels within the members. But it ignored inter-dining and inter-marriage within the community.

The bodies called Hindu Sabha (1907), Abol Bharatiya Hindi Sabha (1914) came into being to safeguard the socio-political interests of Hindus and Hinduism, but Hindu religion continued to suffer from defects and drawbacks. One of the most important problems was that of the second class treatment given to some of the community people within Hinduism.

Even a foreigner as Valentine Chirsti had felt 'that if a kindly hand is extended to them, even the lowest of these depressed can be speedily raised to a higher plane, has been ably and shrewdly shown by the efforts of Christian Missionaries'. Since the last century, the social institutions had been doing efforts with a view to setting right the matters, but a need was felt to not only focus the attention on the problem but also create a regular body to serve as a watchdog body as well as a functionary body by a 'Prarthana Samaj' member V.R. Shinde. He established Depressed Classes Mission Society of India in 1906, in Bombay. Later, one of its regional branches was set up at Hubli as branch for Konkani, a Depressed Classes society was formed on 18 July 1915 at Belgaum for amelioration of the...
conditions of Depressed Classes in the district. Necessary steps were taken on 29 August 1925 to have it affiliated to the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India.  

The Jains of this region had felt themselves the need to reconstitute and reorganize themselves so as to improve their social and educational standard. At Stevanidi, a 'Rishikeshwar Jaina Sabha' was founded and its first annual meeting was held at a local place in 1900. Anna Babaji Lotte and Annapo Phadnappa Chougule, the educated youths, took prominent part in these proceedings. Shri Babaji Lotte wrote to Tilak, inviting him to attend a further convention of this Sabha at Stevanidi in February 1902. A step was taken to set up a Jain Boarding School at Belgaum in 1911. In later years, the Sabha had its annual meet at Belgaum on 1 March 1912, in Chikodi taluka in February 1913, at Belgaum on 27 December 1914.

The Muslims had not fully identified with the Congress and the formation of an All India Muslim League at Delhi in December 1906 was some pointer to this. Earlier on 1st October 1902, one of its founders, the late Shau, had led a delegation to the Vicereine asking for, among other things, separate electorates, which were eventually granted in the Government of India Act, 1919. So far as Belgaum District was concerned, new bodies such as Anjuman Zilas (Baramati, Zilas), Belgaum, (established in 1900) and its branch, Anjuman
Nimrozul Islam, Rallhongsi (established in 1916) came up to promote religious and educational interests of Muslims.  

Why this class consciousness and class movement? Was it not to be a great loss at an hour when the country badly needed unity among classes and masses? But it cannot be rejected in so simple a manner. The class consciousness in these years had arisen out of the social reform and political progress achieved so far and that in sight. It was well known that Scindias and educated middle-class filled up upper positions in socio-political sphere. The others, now more aware, must have felt need of social upliftment and political advancement. Doubtless the class consciousness was indirectly going to be one important step in gradual universalization of political movement. Therefore, these happenings cannot be dubbed merely as paschal tendencies having became a threat in the political progress for the district and outside. Some religious heads themselves and some ‘N рейтकা’ tried to explain to the people the realities. Any way, the social upliftment movement was going to make some important effects on the future political movement in the region. In 1911 government of India shifted the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and in Delhi Darbar, the partition of Bengal was annulled. Until 1914, there were no major political happenings of special importance, as said, the nationalist movement was keeping slow pace. In 1909 (October 27), S.O.R, State of Balgoss expired and in 1911 (March 1), V.R, Nami passed away. At about the same
time, B.V. Deshpande (father of Gangadhar Deshpande) also passed away. D.V. Salvi (1885-1953) became a leading personality in these days. He succeeded V.R. Nasta in 1911 as the president of the Central Library, Belgaum which was a prestigious position then. Similarly Nasta's place in the Bombay Legislative Council was filled in in May 1911 by D.V. Salvi. He served as M.L.C. of Bombay between 1911 and 1920.\(^\text{29}\) On 26-28 April 1914, in the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Satara, Salvi had presided.\(^\text{29}\) The people of Nationalist Party had gathered there. He also presided over the Kolaba District Sabha at Panjim on 10-11 May 1916.\(^\text{30}\) Salvi also served as President of Belgaum Town Municipality. In fact, he was the first elected president of Belgaum Municipality in 1916.\(^\text{31}\)

The last century had already seen the formation of District Local Board and some Taluka Boards. However, these bodies perhaps served more for political experience rather than delegation of powers. Though elective element was there, the Board President was Collector or the Assistant Collector. These were, therefore, not free from official domination. When D.V. Salvi gave evidence before the Local Board Study Committee, of which R.C. Aratil was a member, on 19th October 1915, he claimed that 'there is official domination from top to bottom [in local boards] and the present District Board means the Collector and the Taluka Board, the Municipality['].
The Great War began in 1914 and it changed the situation. It became alarming. The England's distress also warranted it to assume friendly postures towards Indian natives. Tilak was released. This was an eagerly awaited news for the Nationalist Party people, but the Government had declared that Tilak must be looked upon as an enemy of the British Government and people who associate themselves with him must be considered as to be unfriendly until Tilak changed his views. Undaunted, leaders of Bengal, Solvi and Dhampur set Tilak at Poona. In fact, Solvi had to answer to the District Magistrate of Kolhapur for this act because he was a member of the Legislative Council.

The Great War somehow removed the ghastliness in the atmosphere and created enthusiasm in the natives. By and by, political questions also came to surface. That Tilak had been back in politics, questions of the re-entry into the Congress arose and the general opinion was favourable. Tilak and Tilakites themselves became anxious to join that body of considerable extent the Congress. Though the so-called Provincial Conference held at Satara in April 1914 was not attended by prominent Congress conventionals, it had already responed this question and created a favourable climate. Next Conference of 8 May 1915 planned to be held at Poona was held at Poona due to plague at the former place. There the idea of forming a Home
Rule League (Gorakya Sangh) was prime-fagie approved. A committee of Baptists, Tilak and Salvi was set up to make recommendations on the question of re-entry into the Congress. For the next year's provincial conference, Salvi and Deshpande's invitation to hold it at Belgaum was unanimously accepted.37 Tilak was also in favour of it.38

The beginning of war gave fresh impetus to revolutionary activity too. Calabar Movement in the north was assuming serious proportions. Help of the foreign countries was sought. During these years, i.e., 1914-15, S.B. Haridas of Dharwad was in the U.S.A. for higher studies. He was in touch with Lajpat Rai who was there, having been exiled from India. In order to have a free hand in maintaining the internal security in the war situation, the Government of India armed itself with the Defence of India act 1915.

It so happened that some diamonds were sent by one Shara, a Persian staying in Germany, to Tilak for political use. Probably in June 1915, the precious stones were passed on, in turn, to Deshpande and Yalgi at Belgaum. The idea behind this handing over was said to be that the amount running out of them could be used to temper with the men of Belgaum barracks and such other anti-British purposes, but Deshpande and Yalgi found the plan not practicable.39

There were public meetings at some places like Gokak to
express sympathy to England in its war against Germany. The Indian War Relief Fund that was collected by December 1914 in Belgaum district came to be Rs. 64,000.40 On 4 August 1915, a large public meeting was taken at Belgaum by Mr. K. Sale, the Collector and the District Judge and attended by Arsal Balvi, Khodar, Vantamur Sardesai, Ghatre, Chougule and Major Carrett passed a resolution saying:

That this meeting of residents of the District of Belgaum affirms its loyalty to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor and pledges itself to do all in its power to enable the war with the German Empire commence on the 4th day of August 1914, to a successful conclusion.

By October 1915, War Fund collections touched to Rs. 1,25,650/-. Meanwhile, Gokhale had taken an amenable attitude on the question of sending the priest of the Congress necessary to enable Tilak and other extremists to re-enter the body. It is also said that the kind of change suggested by Gokhale had been acceptable to some of Tilak’s adherents like Solvi, Gane and Vijapurkar, but not to Tilak himself. There was no use of going over of Solvi and others to rooms to hasten settlement.42 The separate Provincial Conference organized by the Moderates on 19 July 1915 was attended by Narasimha, Sheshar Ajekkar, A.P. Chougule, A.G. Naik and some Khanapur men.43 Gokhale’s and Shanta’s decision in 1915 removed the last obstacles. In Shanta's
place. D.K. Wacha was appointed as President of Bombay Presidency
association. The Bombay Congress of 1915 under Lord Sinha
hoped for unity.

It was, however, necessary for the Nationalist Parties to
make up their mind first, as said, Belgaum was the venue for the
Bombay provincial conference of 1915 being staged by them. A
preparatory meeting was convened for this on 6 February 1915 at
Belgaum under the presidency of Shanmukhi Reddy of Belgaum
attended by 200 men from several places of the District, and
was made the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dassappa,
the general secretary. They toured the district places in order
to collect funds and to develop public opinion towards the two
issues before this Provincial Conference, viz., the reconciliations
with Congress and formation of a Khed Sule League. Happily for
them, the fund raising was beyond expectations. By 16th April,
fund collection had reached Rs. 4,000/- and number of delegates
had reached 350. These doings were naturally a cause of concern
for the district authorities. The District Magistrate asked the
Magistrate on 23rd March 1915 to make enquiries and report what
persons in their tahsils had collected subscription for Provincial
Conference and who were the principal subscribers. By circulating
a confidential note dated 17th April 1915, among the heads of all
offices in Belgaum district, the Collector (Magistrate) requested
them that all Government servants working under them should be
warned against attending or in any way assisting any meeting of
the Conference. 49 There must have been a chain of circular
issues down. For example, all schools and establishments coming
under rural municipality were warned as above by the Chairman.

In a letter dated 23rd April 1918 to N.C. Kelkar,
obviously for Tilak's information, O.V. Selvi stated that brick
preparations for the meet were going on; that since the officials
were not well disposed, some adventurers had started to create
difficulties; that A.D. Mekine tried in vain to arrange a caste
community boycott (on the Conference); that some ideologues were
going to oppose; and lastly, that due to official secret circulars,
the government servants were not letting out their houses, 51 also
King withdrew his offer of letting the Mission High School
building for Conference, probably on the advice of the District
Magistrate. 52 Selvi also conveyed to the Revenue Commissioner
assuring him that everything would be done loyally and legally. 53

as said, in the last provincial conference at Poona, a
committee of Baptists, Tilak and Selvi had been constituted to
make recommendations on whether or not to do compromises and enter
Congress. Its report in favour of entry into Congress was published
some time before the scheduled Solapur Conference and was to be
placed before Solapur Conference. 54

The Conference was held from 25th April 1918. 55 It was
attended by about 1700 delegates, of whom about 550 were the
members of exception committee. The spectators were required to
purchase tickets and all the tickets were sold out, the delegates of Bombay presidency, C.P.C. and others, notably P.C. Vilekar, D.S. Kharade, J.J. Saptarshi, B.D. Mane, D.P. Ferhatpur, K.P. Khudiakar, K.C. Kelkar, A.P. Kedarkant, D.P. Kalelkar and N.R. Ganesh had come. A procession of Vilekar and Kharade was taken out.

Strictly speaking this conference was not a meeting of Congress. This conference was arranged by Vilekar and Vilekib, who were at the moment non-Congressmen. This Conference was meeting of ex-Congressmen, generally desirous of home-coming. However, as these people were on the brink of joining Congress, it was attended by some regular members of Congress. Then there was no happening on any other party men to attend. Vitthalnath Patil, a moderate had refused Presidency of Conference, but Gandhi's example was different and also noteworthy. Vilekantra had invited him through Kalelkar. At one time, a rumor was current that he might not come. When he was requested once more, except said the reply: 'Nothing but death can prevent me from going to Belgaum and attending the conference'. He came, but at first refused to be a delegate to the conference. D.P. Solvi and D.V. Ganesh persuaded him on behalf of Vilekar and then he agreed.

The issue of reconciliation and merger (with Congress) took considerable time of the subjects committee. Especially, B.D. Mane was dead against it. He had also warned that this would be a blunder. The proceedings of conference commenced on 29th
April afterwards, Satiapal Chakravoti welcomed the gathering. He said that there were two major issues before the Congress, namely Swaraj and compromise. This was followed by the election of S.J. Vithal to the chair. His speech, however, was less suited to the occasion. His arguments hinged on the moderates as government's 'unofficial allies' were retrograde. Vithal, after placing before the delegates the report of the committee of Baptists, Vithal and Belvi suggesting a reunion, explained in detail as to why the reconciliation was necessary. He also stated that destroying unity for trivial differences was no good and that no work had been possible by remaining outside the Congress. Belvi, Hiranand, etc., supported, Gandhi spoke (in Hindustani) frankly, "if there is will from the heart, then only compromise be done; otherwise every party (Moderates and Militant Nationalists) may go on doing work according to its principles, which was in the interests of the country". That is to say, Belvi, Gandhi, etc., wanted the compromise to be more explicit, leaving no room for misunderstanding as against the temporary compromise considered sufficient by certain others. Anyway, in the conference, the following resolution of reconciliation was adopted:

That the conference adopts the report of Messrs. Baptists, Belvi and Vithal and, as in the interest of our motherland under the present circumstances, it is desirable to unite, resolves and accepts the constitution of the Congress as passed at its last session, though the amendment is highly unsatisfactory, and
appoints a committee composed of the following gentlemen to do further work from within: Khopade, Baptista, Salvi, Tidke, and Kelkar.

As said, this proposal was moved by Tidke, seconded by Salvi and supported by Gandhi, Paranjape, Karamkare, Hirnath, Amgevanseth Karadgi, Manje and Anay and was passed unanimously on 1st May, after passing other smaller resolutions. The composite resolution was welcomed by journals like Shankar, Balkum Saraswar and, of course, Kesarkar and Kesarkar, and adversely commented upon by papers like Sandesh, etc.,

The next important proposal was about Home Rule League. In a meeting of Nationalist Party men on 15-16th December 1915 at Poona, a committee under the chairmanship of Khopade had been appointed to examine formation of Home Rule League. This committee of 19, included Salvi too. Meanwhile, during the Congress session in Bombay in December-end of 1915, Annie Besant had failed to secure approval of Congress to the proposal of establishing a Home Rule League. All the same, the Tidkeite committee had made positive recommendation and when the proposal to establish a League was put up to the present conference, it added to the same. Accordingly, on 29th April 1916, Indian Home Rule League was established with the object of obtaining Home Rule or Self-Government for India by all constitutional means and of educating and organizing public opinion in India towards the attainment of the same. It had Joseph D. Baptista as President, Kelkar as
Secretary and two Vice-Presidents, including Bumstead, later Tilt spoke in a public meeting in which he elucidated the concept of Swarajya and advised the people to become members of the League. Under the presidency of Tilt, S. H. Ramachandran spoke on 'Past History and Present Politics'. He said, "if you keep your wisdom then there will be no fear of peril for the nation". Tilt delivered an 1st May 1916 at Baliga a public speech on Home Rule. He dealt with the concept of Swarajya. He also examined the myth of unfitness of the natives to Swarajya. Referring to what they wanted, he said:

I do not say that Englishmen are unwilling to give some political concession, but their concession is short of our expectation, and this difference is the main problem between their concession and our idea of Swarajya.

The Baliga Conference facilitated two major things, i.e., re-entry of militant nationalists (who walked out of the Congress at Surat) into Congress and regular establishment of Indian Home Rule League.

The other resolutions (in all 18 resolutions) that were passed were regarding prayer of success of Allied Arms in the War, adoption of a scheme for granting Home Rule to India within a definite period and condemnation of government's reactionary education policy, Swastha system of medicine, trial by jury, Forest grievances, railway grievances, local self-government.
Swadeshi movement and Kumbhsm Vatsala, another resolution expressed through loyalty to His Majesty, but requested the Government to rescind the new act.

As it is known, though Gandhi had achieved eminence in South Africa, he was new to Indian politics and he was also known for his own views. And as Gandhi was fast making himself felt, a curiosity before the Veddus was how their present leader (Tilak) was disposed with the new current. Interestingly, a meeting between the two was arranged during these days at Belgum and they talked for an hour.

On 31st May and 1st June, 1918, Tilak delivered further speeches on Rana Rule at Ahmedgarh. From the long speech of 31st May, following excerpts may be relevant:

The meaning of Swarajya is that explained by Mehaboob at Belgum, i.e., we want to remove the priests of the deity. The deities are to be retained. These priests are not wanted. We say, appoint other priests from amongst us.

We must become as happy as they. The thing which some wise, learned and thoughtful people have now decided to be the key of all these, is Swarajya.

Fortunately, the thing about its acquisition is that an agitation of this kind has now begun. Recently, we have established at Belgum an institution to work for Swarajya. An institution has been established at Ahmedgarh.
Incidentally, Tilak's speeches at Belgaum (4th May) and Ahmednagar (9th May and 1st June) attracted the cautious eye of the Administration and formed the basis of the prosecution launched under Sections 124A and 109 of the Indian Penal Code. In the opinion of the Legal Adviser to Government 'the worst of the speeches' was that delivered at Belgaum. However, on 5th November 1915, the Bombay High Court ruled that such utterances could not be regarded as the source or act of spreading disaffection. After the High Court's clean chit, Hare Rule propaganda was accelerated. During the thirteenth tour across Baras and Nagpur for Hare Rule propaganda, he went on to declare: "Swarajya is my birthright and I shall gain it".

Reference has since been made to the State consciousness and State movements. A Marathi Shikshan Samaj had come up at Belgaum in early 1912. As also, the Depressed Classes Society too came up here on 15th July 1913. One Faganana Lakshya Thadve, a contractor by profession at Belgaum was taking some interest in the uplift of depressed classes. Anna Sabha Lettha (1878-1930), who had migrated to Belgaum from Kolhapur in 1914 had apparently taken the cudgel of non-Brahmin resurrection in Belgaum. He seemed to be interested in the uplift of backward classes. In his non-Brahmin agitation, he was ably helped by Sadagundu C. Artal, who retired as District Deputy Collector of Belgaum District on 14th June 1915. They tried to discourage the non-Brahmins from attending the above referred 1916 conference. The Police sending of the
situation was that the Bengal conference met with considerable opposition at the hands of the Lingayats and Backward Classes of Bengal, who stated that home rule would mean Brahmin rule and the perpetual subjugation of the backward classes seemed to be fairly probable. Though the conference was deemed very successful by some nationalists, once the conference had begun, April 21st, a meeting was held in the house of Makarand Solai Shabab at Belgaum to protest against the holding of the Provincial Conference. About 500 men attended, S.R. Bashe was elected president of the meet. He stated that present conference was of Brahmin politicians only, that Brahmins wanted representative government and supremacy over others, that others and backward classes wanted only Government help for education. As per police report, the meet was apparently condoned by R.C. Azad. Similarly, Lattie, Amlal and their followers also met Gandhi while at Belgaum. On 10th April 1916, in a large gathering (1,000 people approximately) in Shabab Vada, Navkar Path, Belgaum, Gandhi spoke on 'the Depressed Classes'. The audience was mainly composed of Lingayats and 'Untouchables'. R.C. Shivamurti Swami Hadabriyef presided. S.R. Bashe spoke about the deplorable condition of backward classes. R.C. Naikani also spoke. Gandhi represented their opposition to the Provincial Conference. He said: "home rule must be granted to India and all classes should present a united front in demanding it."
Satya Shodhak Samaj Conference, Nipani

Arrived as it was in 1911, the Satya Shodhak Samaj held its 6th Conference at Nipani on 17-20, 22nd May, 1916. A.B. Tatia Sahab Savant presided. On the opening day, Yajnaajio noble and Narotji Reven welcomed the gathering of about 500, mostly Marathas and Lingayats, in which S.V. Jadder of Kolhapur, V.G. Shinde of Poona and A.B. Lakhe etc. were prominent. The President remarked that the Samaj had been in existence for 50 years, working on behalf of backward classes, who did not require the services of Brahmins and that he never employed one. He suggested that a newspaper be started, because wanted removal of the opposition of higher classes to the progress of backward classes, Shaker Va. Jadder suggested for a fund to assist the Maratha of Chen and by a Brahmin in connection with rights of priest to officiate, and for abolition of Sanskrit in religious ceremonies.

The conference passed a number of resolutions on 22nd May.

The conference resolved for success of British Government in the war. It considered it necessary to watch the progress of education of backward classes, to give scholarships to backward classes, and to admit students to high schools in the proportion of population. The conference resolved to help the co-operative credit in order to make it successful and suggested that vernacular be used in religious ceremonies in preference to Sanskrit and a Register of Marriages and Fats be introduced by the Government. On 22nd May 1916, the Basal of Savai presided. He said that the Samaj should work for
education of people and that in political matters, it should not
work in opposition to the government, it also seems that this
slogan conference gave a thought to the formation of a political
body for non-Hindus.

Establishment of E.L.E. Society

In the field of education, the district had some smaller
societies like the Depressed Classes Society, Belgaum, which was
running the Hardinge School, Belgaum, especially for the depressed
classes boys. In those days, in October 1916, a group of six young
idealists, all graduates, decided to dedicate their lives to the
cause of spreading education among the lower sections in Kamatk.
The group consisted of S. S. Sahake, S. J. Basavanki, P. N. Chikodi, S. S.
Kanchikar, S. P. Katta and S. S. Nandalur. They started an English
Secondary School at Belgaum on 19th November 1916. The school was
later named Gilganchi Artal High School. This act was followed by
a simultaneous date in July 1917 (9th July), when Kamatk Lingayat
Education Society, Belgaum, was registered at Belgaum. Its governing
body members were E. S. V. S. Sadi, S. Mad Seshadri Kesavadas of Chachadi, R. E.
Seshadri S. Sadi, K. A. A. Sadi, A. A. Anjali, S. S. Basavanki, S. S. Nandalur. The
objects of the society were the promotion of science, literature,
spread of primary, secondary and higher education in the districts
of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwad, by starting, affiliating institu-
tions at suitable places.
in the history of educational development of the region and
significantly, Lingraj Desai of Sirvargi and Raja Lakhangade of
Venkamni formed the financial backbone of the society. Lingraj
Desai donated all his property for education purpose.\textsuperscript{94} Society
was ambitious enough to start a college at Belgaum in course of
time.\textsuperscript{95} The whole Bombay Kasmah was still without a college.
Effort to start a college at Dharwad were on since long and R:\textsuperscript{96}
Artal, Balvi, Urinmaas Reddy were particularly active for the same.
Belgaum district also joined fund raising operations. In 1916,
an idea of having a private college at Belgaum itself got suddenly
into the air and a Belgaum college association was formed by A:\textsuperscript{97}
Laxman, A:\textsuperscript{98} Chougule, D:\textsuperscript{99} Balvi, etc. While this college did not
materialise and passed off into oblivion as fast as it rose, it
claimed the Dharwad efforts. Finally, to meet the needs of Kasmah
areas, Kasmah College was started at Dharwad by the Government
on 20th June 1917 as the first college in Bombay Kasmah area.\textsuperscript{100}

In July 1916, it was decided to give a purse of Rs. 1,000 only
to Vishn on his 'Examination' (completion of 40 years). The collection
of fund in Belgaum district was good. The purse giving ceremony was
held on 29th July 1916 at Galkhad Wadi at Poona. Belvi presented the
address in English. This was followed by speeches of Rajasheb
Sheth, Dadasheb Kesarikar and G:\textsuperscript{101} Deshpande. Deshpande started
with this sentence:

Rajasheb and Dadasheb spoke as Vishn's (son-in-law)
intimate friends, but I rose to speak on behalf of
followers of Tilak present here or away from here.

He went on to declare that though Tilak was not immortal, the 'Tilakatva' (Tilak's principle) would remain eternal ("Ahadishit").

By this time, i.e., July 1916, Tilak and N.G. Ralekar had become members of the Poona District Congress Committee, which provided the necessary initiative to his followers in the districts.

Ahmedabad was the venue of next Provincial Conference held on 24-25 October 1916. A meeting took place on 25th October 1916 in the house of A.K. Narasim to elect delegates for it, Salvi, Deshpande, Narasim, A.G. Dalvi, A.R. Deshpande, B.L. Soni, N.G. Joshi of Atum and S.V. Kalewadi of Chincholi were elected.

At Ahmedabad, both moderates and militant nationalists had gathered and they freely mixed, before the conclusion of the session, Mohamed Ali Dina advised the gathering to bury the moderate-extremist hatchet and bear the the nationalist feeling.

Lucknow Congress

Thereafter, the Indian National Congress was held at Lucknow in December 1916. The Nationalist party of extremist delegates attended this alongside moderates, as they had accepted the modified
The meeting of 25th December 1916 held at the house of Narotra presided over by A.P. Chougule had elected 30 delegates from Belgaum, viz., S.G. Shol, S.G. Nad, S.P. Belvi, A.P. Chougule, Nagihan Salnis, A.P. Latke, V.R. Nagigaoli, S.G. Norigaddi, S.P. Saligaoli, S.P. Saligaoli, S.G. Shivlachetti, A.P. Ghodke, R.T. More, T.P. Patel and B.B. Narotra.104 These were probably moderate delegates. The Hon'ble S.P. Belvi was elected member on the 'All India Congress Committee' for a year's term from 25th December 1916.105 As per its resolution No. XII, Indian Congress expressed opinion "that King Emperor should be pleased to issue proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date". In the same vein (resolution), the Congress demanded that a definite step should be taken towards self-government by granting the rights contained in the scheme prepared by the Congress and Muslim League.106 Britain's war with Turkey had injured the feelings of Muslim world, including Indian Muslims as they had held the Sultan of Turkey in veneration all these centuries as he was their Caliph, the religious head. In the circumstances, Muslim League too had made friends with Congress and it too adopted similar goal. Congress-League scheme of Swaraj, coupled with signature campaigns, had good educative effect on the Indian people.
Home Rule Movement

All India Home Rule League had been established at Madras by Dr. Ann neat. The object of the two Home Rule Leagues was the same. Congress was going slow and a special body responsible for expediting just the cause of Swaraj which had become central to the political goals of India, was necessary. In a way, this was also an effort of the rank nationalists to have the energies of Congress concentrated only on the political goal, rather than deliberating on diverse issues. Dr. Senart, a newly emerging power in Indian politics, was largely instrumental in facilitating this. But the Government had started propaganda that demanding Home Rule or establishing Home Rule Leagues amounted to spread of dissatisfaction. Government authorities in the district had already kept an eye over the membership campaign of the Home Rule League. On 6th March 1917, a public meeting at Belgoa was to be taken by K. P. Chhatikar expressing opinion of home rulers on war and for joining the Indian Defence Force, but Chhatikar was prevented from speaking by the orders of the District Magistrate of Belgoa. Though people hesitated to become members of Home Rule League, the enlistment in Belgoa district was higher than other districts in Bombay Presidency. (The Belgoa branch of Home Rule League which was established in 1916 had about 4,800 members by 1917). A ninth branch of Indian Home Rule for Karnataka with C. R. Deshpande as President and Anur Vakat as Secretary, came into being in early January 1917 on 18th February 1917, a meeting of
Important members of Karnataka Home Rule League branch were held at Hubli, Solvi, Basapande, Navalgund, Kadugodi, etc., were present. It was decided to form leagues at a number of places, which was duly accomplished. On Besant's intimation in Madras in June 1917 sent waves of excitement. On 17th June 1917, a sitting chaired by Solvi, lodged protest for Lord Redland's anti-Home Rule talk. Propaganda continued. K.P. Khadikar's lectures on Home Rule were arranged in Karului Mandira, Belgaum on 28-29th September 1917.

District Congress Committee

The seal of approval of Lucknow Congress to the home-touching of the nationalist party men in the Congress, certainly invigorated the Congress in the district.

Incidentally, exact origins of the District Congress Committee of Belgaum district lay shrouded in mystery. In the 1930s, there was a standing committee with a secretary to execute the work of Congress in the district. But later, this committee's existence is not heard of and until the Surat split, the work of Congress was carried out not by any formal committee, but by the pleaders by consultation. Somewhere in 1911-12, as noted earlier, the Poona Congressmen, of course moderates, opened a branch at Belgaum, in which Chhatre, Khat, Narathe, etc., were included. It is likely that this branch formed nucleus for development of District Congress Committee as a full-fledged committee in the course of two or three years. Up to 1914, the Belgaum District Congress
committee was controlled by moderates like Ghatke and Narahate and from 1916, the ex-Congressmen were freely allowed to take place in the District Congress Committee.

**District Conference at Shikodi**

Politically speaking Belgaum district was becoming more and more conscious. It was increasingly showing its readiness towards joining the mainstream of national life. This was vividly displayed in the year 1917 in which the district passed with great political activity.

In a meeting held on 6th February 1917, the Belgaum District Congress Committee (BDC) had decided to hold the first Belgaum District Congress in April at Shikodi, under the aegis of the BDC. In 1917, Sahasravrat Kulkarni was chosen as the Chairman of the reception committee. Leaders from Poona were invited. Hardly had the preparations started, there came a bombshell from the Government. On 31st February, the Mandali of Shikodi warned the village not to assist the District Subz in any way. It but failed to spoil the spirit of Congress workers. The conference which was attended by almost all the Congressmen of the District including the moderates such as N.A. Narahate, outside delegates and adjoined by the presence of Poona leaders, began its sessions on Thursday, the 12th April 1917. After welcome by Kulkarni, Moses Dalvi, Deshpande, Solwantsane, G.V. Rasule, K.C. Joshi suggested the name of S.P. Kondikar for the chair. In his presidential speech,
Dadasahab Karadkar touched the subject of grant of Home Rule. Furthermore of local self-government and removal of ignorance. He pointed out that since the war assistance had been duly given; the natives had every right to make the demand for Home Rule.

On 13th and 14th April, the conference passed in all 32 resolutions. These related to the demand of Home Rule, the war loan, obstruction to the sevants of Bipin Pal, Basant and Tilak and several matters of local importance. Taluka committees were constituted to carry on the Congress work throughout the year.

After the conference was over on Saturday, the 14th April, the Ghakodi sects gave ' Eenupardi' (a treat) to Tilak. He used that occasion to elucidate the farmers' interest in Swaraj and the need for their cooperation in the agitation.

In the night of the same day, a public meeting was organized under the auspices of the Home Rule League and speeches were delivered by H.C. Kelkar, C.H. Varnajee, R.F. Karadkar. Presiding over the occasion, Tilak said that Home Rule matters should be hastened.

Concurrent with this conference, an Education Conference was also held at Ghakodi. Probably this was the first Belgaum District Education Conference. The sponsors of this were Salwant T. Mane, Vithal R. Salvi, Harshil J. Ravan, Shri More and others. The notice which they had given on 30th March 1917, advertising the conference,
had recognised spread of education as the quintessence of all progress and underscored the necessity of spread of all kinds of education among all sections of people. For this conference, Tilk and others had been invited. After welcome by S.J. Savarkar, Shivamurti Zarangi made a presidential speech in Kannada. Later the first resolution in favour of compulsory and free education brought up by Kini and seconded by Patil, was adopted. Tilk too spoke in favour of it.

The District Congressmen had fixed Tilk at Nipani, 15 miles west of Chikodi. On the way from Chikodi to Nipani, a number of villages arranged 'Pansupati' to the party and, therefore, Nipani engagement was delayed by several hours. Tilk was named as 'Kumar' (rural doctor preaching hygiene i.e., Biba, for any disorder) by Salcette Leaders, because he had to state that none but Swarajya was the prescription for any disorder of the nation. At Nipani, Tilk objected to calling his Mahatma or Shastri. This largely successful Chikodi Sabha seems like a milestone in the District's political progress, creating a new ground. It carried the Congress-Mano-Hule message lower down to Taluka and block level, during the session at Chikodi. Nipani, definite efforts were made with the objective of harnessing the hidden potential of the foot-class of the district, in the aid of the Congress programme. The second important work was that of formation of Taluka Committees, providing a continued base for Congress work at that level. Even otherwise, the Chikodi Sabha goes
The annual Bombay Provincial Conference for 1917 was held at Nasik. It naturally included both Moderate and Nationalist
parties as they were all Congressmen. Delegates from Singhia did participate. 125

\textbf{August Declaration}

Significantly, All India Congress Committee, after its
meeting on 29th July, 1917, had directed all provincial Congress
committees to think whether passive resistance should be started
and many committees had responded favouring it. But probably
because of the pressures exerted on it from this quarter, as also
of war considerations, the new Secretary of State, Edwin Montagu,
came out with a pronouncement in British Parliament containing an
assurance on India's political progress. His famous August Declara-
tion (29th August 1917) said

\textbf{The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the}
\textbf{Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the}
\textbf{increasing association of Indians in every branch of the}
\textbf{administration and the gradual development of self-government}
\textbf{institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation}
\textbf{of responsible government in India as an integral part of}
\textbf{the British Empire.} 126
This satisfied the leaders and people to a great degree. In pursuance of the assurance, Mr. Montagu came to India to hear the views of native individuals and institutions. Among others, Montagu heard the delegations of the two Home Rule Leagues at Delhi. Dr. Besant read out before him common memorandum of two Leagues. The delegations included Solvi and Deshpande. 127

D.R., alias Bala Kalekar born in the adjacent state of Rewaswadi, though his family was of Shahapur (Belgaum), had received education at Shahapur and Belgaum up to matriculation. 128 He left home on the plan of serving his country. 129 He worked in Bombay for ‘Basharat’ journal for Gujarati issue, and in national schools named Ganesh Vidyalaya at Belgaum and Ganganath Vidyalaya at Naroda. 130 He entered Saharasti Satyagraha Ashram in 1917 and started working with M.K. Gandhi. 131 It is primarily from Kalekar that D.R. Deshpande began to know something more about Gandhi.

Shapur

One day a letter was received by Deshpande which indicated that Gandhi, who had been to Champaran district of Bihar, wanted some dedicated social workers. Then Sadashiv Lekhman Sonar (b. 1876, Khagpur) who was working with Deshpande in those days, was sent. Gandhi’s work in Champaran district consisted of not only fighting the European Indigo planters on behalf of the poverty-stricken peasants, but also of improving their socio-
educational condition. He started a school on 28th November 1917 in village Bhootibarwa, and Soman and two others were given work there. The school was in a hut. But one fine morning, it was found gutted, which was believed to be the work of planters. But Soman did not lose heart. And as Gandhi himself says: "Shri Soman decided to build a pucca house and thanks to his infectious labour, many cooperated with him and so a brick house was soon made." After a year or so, he (Soman) returned to Belgaum, Gandhi's letter came for filling his place. At this time, one Narayan Tanaji Katagade (1885-1983) was working with Deshpande. He was from Miraj. His wish to complete education had not been fulfilled and he had become desperate. He wanted to become a revolutionary. After staying for some time with Rattopant Patwardhan, a nationalist Kirtibhai, he had joined Deshpande. Now Katagade was despatched to Bihar. He began to work with singular boldness at Bhootibarwa, but his presence proved too much for the Government and after a short time, he was ordered under the Defence of India Act to go out of Bihar Province and was deported by the Government of Bihar to Bombay. Next he worked in Sabarmati for a year and completed learning there and returned to Belgaum. The experiences he and Soman had, was useful to them as well as to the future movement in the district. Gandhi had intimated Deshpande that both Soman and Katagade did good works.
The World War was in progress and England wanted India's maximum aid. Principally, she needed money and men for fighting the war. The district authorities called upon members of the district population, especially the Sarjansangs, to use the opportunity to exhibit their loyalty. Collections in terms of money in Faizpur district for the Indian Imperial War Fund were over Rs. 15,000 by July 1917 and were highest among the six districts of the Division. But the number of recruits were barely 300 by October 1917 and Collector and others continued their efforts.

The object of the Congress was attainment of self-government within the Empire such as that then enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions in the British Empire. Membership of the Congress was open to every British subject in India of either sex and of any class, creed or race, who was willing to attend its sessions, provided he or she was 21 years of age and had formally subscribed to its Constitution. But though in theory, Congress was open to all classes of people, in practice, as far as Bombay Deccan and Karnataka were concerned, it was Brahmin dominated. The people of other castes in this area did participate in it, but not in proportionate numbers. The idea of demanding Swaraj had, of late, become unacceptable to some non-Brahmin leaders like Dalit and Muslim leaders, who were more worried of the social inequality.
non-Brahmin movement had already got under way and was gaining momentum in Kolhapur and several other places. The movement was for the social uplift of non-Brahmin population and for opposing Brahmin domination in social or political sphere. For a complexity of reasons, the leaders of the movement chose the path of flat opposition to the Congress (what was Brahmin-led) instead of joining the Congress and fighting the Brahmin leadership from within. The movement was insinuating into Belgaum district which had the potential of becoming a great stronghold of non-Brahmin resentment.

The Montagu declaration had raised new hopes among the non-Brahmins all over in the region. It was anticipated that the non-Brahmin in some form or other was in the offing and it was also apprehended that Brahmin class, which was thoroughly in good position in socio-political sphere compared to other natives, was trying to be or was almost posed to be the new political master. Natural outcome of this thought was push for reservations in political area as immediate goal and push to education among themselves as a long term goal.

There was accordingly a demand for providing special electorates for Marathas, Lingayats and Backward Classes. Like the ones since granted to Mohammedans. It arose in early October 1917 at Kamalapur, Belgaum. In a meeting of Marathas and backward class people, it was decided to ask for separate electorates.
A. B. Latthe, B. G. Hané, R. C. Artal, etc., seemed to be leading this agitation. The Sabha of Lingapra of Southern Division (Bijapur 5 November 1917) gave no concurrence to Congress-League Swaraj Scheme. 

Salunkhara N. Lad, Sangappa Ankle, Yashwantrao Ankle, Tavenappa Kolhapure etc., among non-Brahmin, were, however, opposed to the separate electorates. B. N. Lad went on to state that in the above meeting at Kallimbay, Belgaum no Maratha leader was present and declared that Marathas did not oppose Congress-League Scheme and though the Marathas want to ask for some special right, they would be in accordance with that Scheme.

All the same, Sabhas were held in various places such as Belgaum, Solapur, Athni, Banani, Bijapur, Haroti, expressing opinion either in favour of Swaraj or in favour of caste-based representation.

Deccan Hoyt Association is generally said to be the maiden political body of non-Brahmin in Bombay Deccan. Its provisional working committee was announced in September 1917. It demanded special electorates for backward communities.

Maratha Conference at Belgaum

In this non-Brahmin movement, initially the Marathas of Belgaum had not joined. Their leaders decided to call at Belgaum an All India Maratha Conference of Marathas. Through the good
offices of G.B. Deshpande, none of the young barrister of
arravati, Ramran Deshmukh was selected for the presidency.
He was welcomed and was taken in procession, in which all the
men of Congress participated. The conference was held on 10th
and 11th November, 1917, Abasaheb Savant welcomed the great
gathering, which included the eminent personalisces such as
V.R. Shinde, Abasaheb Deshmukh and local leaders such as S.H.
Lal, Shinde V. Patil, Bhujangrao V. Dalvi, Kaktikan, Phatapsekar,
other
and local leaders like Dalvi, Deshpande, Shinvarti
Kambarinath, Nampescharna Inamdar. Presiding over the meeting,
Ramrao Deshmukh elucidated the folly of asking for separate
electorates on caste-basis, He was, instead, in favour of widen-
ing the scope of franchise. He was prophetic when he wondered how
was that there would be no demarcation such as Maratha, non-
Maratha, Lingayat, non-Lingayat, Jain, non-Jain in view of such
demands.\textsuperscript{149}

The conference, among other resolutions, decided to back
up the Lucknow Scheme of Congress. This resolution was moved by
Shinde and seconded by Dalvi, etc. The conference also asked for
lowering of franchise qualification in respect of land revenue
and income.\textsuperscript{150}

Next District Conference At Atmni

Soon after this on 11, 12 and 13 Nov, 1917 was held the
Belgaum District Sabha at Atmni, which was coincided by a non-
Brahmin party conference at same place and time. In a meeting dated 2nd October 1917 at Athni, Nurmunda Shetty, who had behind his 20 years' experience of public service as Municipal Councillor and President, was elected as the Chairman of Reception Committee for the Congress conference which was attended by about 650 delegates of the district and by Tilak, Khadilkar, Ramrao Deshmukh, Sabhasheo Deshmukh, Srinivass Raojulji, Aur Varkatsan, Sabrangkar, Vishalaje Shinde and also Uddharji Sheth, who contributed substantial funds. The parallel meet of Non-Brahmin was attended by A.J. Lathe, R.C. Artal and was also equally resourceful. Because of the long drawn dispute of Vyasan Tola already discussed earlier, with Hindus in general and Brahmins in particular, most of the local Lingayats of Athni seemed to support the non-Brahmin meet.

While the non-Brahmin meet took out the photo of the King in a palanquin procession, the Congressmen took out procession of Tilak and Khadilkar. For this, many people condemned the reception committee for not taking out procession of any leader from Karnataka. This was the echo of Kannada-Karathi Dispute which had raised its head in Dharwad. Anyway, there was a great rush in Athni.

The non-Brahmin meet resolved to request that the Swaraj should not be given without giving caste-wise representation. As regards the Congress meeting, it was the Belgaum District
Sabha's second convention and in fact, dates of it had been
advanced by a few months on account of visit of Montagu to explore
the possibilities of further constitutional progress. The session
began on 11th November 1917. Burundappa Shetty welcomed the
gathering saying that the demand of Swaraj needed to be placed
before the British Government in one voice. This was resounded
by K.P. Khadilkar, who has been chosen as President for the conven-
tion. He said that demand for caste-wise representation was self-
destructive and instead suggested the ideal of 'Nashtra-dervo-
bhava'.

The convention passed a number of resolutions on 12th
November. Montagu's visit was welcomed with hope. A committee
of Vamanrao Gulabani, etc., was appointed for carrying out the
work of Belgaum District Sabha all the year. It was resolved that
like Gujarat and Sind, a separate Karnatak Parishad might be
convened so that there should be no discrimination against boys
of untouchable communities in the public educational institutions.
The central resolution was of course regarding giving concurrence
to the Congress-League Swaraj Scheme, which had been moved by
Konjalgi and supported by Shinde, Maulavi Ahmad Sahib,
Bannayenkar, Auduva. After the invitation of Samekhwar for
the next convention, the Ahili meet ended.

On 11th November 1917, while giving reply to an address
presented to him by Ahili taluka, Tilak explained how the caste-wise
representation was going to harm the interests of the country. He exclaimed that the legislative council was not the exhibition of castes of India. Unfortunately he is also reported to have made contemptuous remarks there whether the tailors had to use scissors,umble to handle the plough and the baines to hold the ground pair of scales in the legislative council. His remarks naturally raised a hue and cry amongst non-Brahmanes and tilak sabha's at Sangli, Poona, Bombay, were disturbed.

By this time there had been a good deal of progress in the civic affairs. The city municipality of Belgaum had already elected its president, which was a mark over the previous practice of nominating a non-official president. Then in pursuance of the tips of local boards committee, the government decided to appoint non-official presidents for Dharwad and Belgaum district local boards in 1917. R.C. Astal, so far vice-president of Belgaum district local board, was appointed as the first non-official president in August 1917. On 26th December 1917, the message of Swaraj of Dr. B. beast was read out in a meeting at Belgaum, which was participated by Narathe, Dr. B, Kanare, Led, Punulk, Ankle, Itaji, Sangundkar, etc.

In December 1917, Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta. The leading figures in the Congress were B. Beast, who was also President, Tilak and C.R. Desa. Sandhi did not participate much. As is known, this Congress, in a resolution, expressed its grateful satisfaction over Mr. Montagu's pronouncement and it
...strongly urged the necessity for immediate parliamentary statute providing for the establishment of a responsible government in India, the full measure to be attained within a time limit to be fixed in the statute itself at an early date and, emphatically opined that the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms ought to be immediately introduced by the statute as the first step in the process. 159

Princely States (Yugandhar Junior):

In the early years of British rule, the princely State areas in the Southern Maratha country were economically better off than British areas, which was admitted by British administrators. 160 How the situation was in the first few decades of the 20th century is a matter of detailed examination, but it is certain that in political matters, the princely areas were getting neglected. The Princes had of late been falling short of the expectations of being the natural leaders of people, at least in political matters, the princes had preferred to be worthy and willing partners of government of the country and they were one step ahead of it in preventing the nationalism in their States and principalities, rise of nationalism nationalism in modern sense, was, therefore, quite balanced in Status.

The above referred Maltapur Sabha formed in 1906, which could not make any headway due to restrictions put by the State Government, Sangli and Satbari areas adjoining the Belgaum...
District were politically turbulent, except giving shelter to some of the political offenders of British areas. But people of these states may have been moved by the political events such as the Provincial Conference of April 1916 or August declaration. In the said Provincial Conference, a few delegates from adjacent Jumkhandi State had come.

In 1917, capital of Kurundwa (Junior) State was shifted to Nagavpur-Vadgaon, near Belgaum. In this year (1917), the Shankaracharya of probably Sankeswar Nath had come to Yelluru, a village of this State, with burning torches (lashals) in broad daylight. This angered the people there and they boycotted the Shankaracharya. During the agitation which continued in some form or other for 3-10 years, State authorities prosecuted and punished many men.

Bijapur Conference

In the midst of the war days and the struggles over castewise electorates, 1919 Bombay Provincial Conference was held from 15th May 1919 at Bijapur. This was attended by R.K. Gendle, S.G. Kolikar, S.S. Kamat, Sarojini Naidu, P.H. Sapte and by Deshpande, Hasur, etc., from Belgaum. Vithalbhai Patel was chosen as President. He deliberated how the castewise electorates would stagnate the country's progress. The conference passed resolutions urging grant of franchise rights to the women and political rights to the states' people. Another question
before the conference was whether to give unconditional support to England in war or not. In the absence of Tilak in this conference, it had been proposed that C.R. Deshpande should oppose Gandhi's views. But the latter (Gandhi) cancelled his plans of placing before his pro-British views, so there remained no need to oppose. 168

The Social Conference, the Untouchable Welfare Conference and the Industrial Conference were also organized at this time at Ajapur.

Deshpande's Work

Tilak left for England in September 1910 to fight the case of libel against Valentine Cimagl. In the farewell speeches in Bombay, Deshpande too took part. Though a disciple of Tilak, his heart did not like the idea of approaching the London Court of Law for justice. He remarked in his speech that such act was as good as setting the theme on fire and that the apple of Sodom would break 167 before leaving. Tilak asked him to give attention to Keshari and other public issues, during his absence.

These days, C.R. Deshpande participated in a meeting in Bombay under the presidency of Gandhi. It was to encourage Swadeshi. Gandhi wanted Swadeshi but not boycott especially the boycott of goods of Britain or any one particular country, which meant beating them. But Deshpande spoke emphasizing on
boycott, later he stayed in Bombay for some days and could have discussions with Gandhi. Here G.B. Deshpande could assuage the views of Gandhi after realising that Gandhi was not hypocrite but a real believer of truth and non-violence. Evidently, G.B. Deshpande was by now taking full part in politics, which had cost him his Vatan property. His stature had also risen. He grasped the presidency of the Satara District Conference on 1st April 1918 at Patan and also Chanda District Conference at Chanda (today's Chandrapur) and Thane District Conference at Satara. In the period 1918-19, he gave many public speeches in Marathi and Bombay. Deshpande (now 49 in age) was fond of collecting young men for assentant in politics. He also appeared to be somewhat free from caste of linguistic prejudices, perhaps because of this, many young men having social-political interests, rallied around him without hesitation. Reference has been made to some of them, Krishnappa Karpupkar and Bapatnath Majli were two others who came in contact with him in 1917-18. Karpupkar hailed from Kesargi near Belgaum and he was advocate. He was for raising the level of Kannada but not at the expenses of others and started a Kannada journal. Bapatnath Majli was from village Majli in Belgaum district. After graduation he worked for some time in Bombay Secretariat and as a probationer in Servants of India Society. After passing High Court Pleader examination, he returned to Belgaum. He started public work from 1917. Shriram Poddar who was practising as a lawyer, was always sympathetic to Congress
Movements but he evinced greater interest in the civic politics and co-operative sector in which he excelled. 174

Yalgi Incident

As referred to earlier, there was a gradual change of heart in Deshpande towards Gandhi. This is important to us because Deshpande was playing a key role in the movement in Belgaum district and his thoughts were likely to steer the thinking of the district or the area around. An incident which can be taken as a case of this change of attitude may be given. Deshpande’s chief associate in Belgaum was Gavindra Yalgi. It may be recalled from the previous notes, Yalgi had been greatly associated in revolutionary work as well as in organisation of political work in the district, though he was not always in the focus. To his misfortune, he once slapped on the face of police constable in flare-up of 16th February 1919, after which trial began. But Deshpande advised him to make confession of the crime in accordance with the ethics of Gandhi. This he did and the case was not only withdrawn by the District Magistrate, but the policeman was also made to admit his part of mistake. 175

In the Provincial Congress session at Ahmednagar, Deshpande participated. He piloted a motion for resolution of Swadeshi and boycott. 176

As stated above, Congress and Muslim League had besides
friends in regard to demand for Swaraj. Their friendship was reflected in the district too. Maulavi Musabuddin was a notable leader of Muslims in Belgium.

END OF NOTE

The World War had been over by 11 November 1918. The Great Britain and allies had emerged triumphant. India’s great co-operation in war effort received acclaim from the Emperor himself. Belgium district too had its share. In the District, there were easy to be appreciated for war efforts. On 6th July 1918, Imperial Certificates and Letters of Thanks were given to seven and viz., T.N. Banjara, S.B. Mahantshetty, Ramchandra Shinde Kalkami, Valjiappa Angol, etc. on 16th July 1918, Governor gave out sanads to Balasa of Vavmari, Chackedi, Kanjalgi, Nanshi, Mangoli, and to V.A. Angol, Daji Jadhav, Ram Raver Francis, etc. But the highest award of C.I.E. was won by Bari. Lekhagouda Appa Desai of Vavmari. All this was alright, but hopes of India for a handsome reward in the form of political concessions were dashed to the ground. As a sequel to the report of Sedition Committee headed by Dr. Bablott, two bills viz., (1) Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 2 of 1919; and (2) Criminal Law (Emergency Powers), Bill No. II of 1919, were passed by the Government of India, disregarding opposition in legislative assembly and outside. Gandhi had by now been a disappointed person after his meeting with the unrelenting Vicemor. He now proposed to use here his weapon of Satyagraha, which had been a great
Gandhi launched Satyagraha against these bills. He, Bapu, V. K. Dastur, E. S. G. Hormusji, Samjih Naik and many others took Satyagraha vow. At a meeting of the signatories to the Satyagraha pledge held on 27th March 1919 in Bombay, an Executive Committee was also constituted, with Gandhi as President. One of the sixteen members of this committee was Mr. V. A. Desai.

**Satyagraha Movement**

On 26th March and 6th April 1919, many places in the country responded to the call given by Gandhi. On 6th April, shops were closed in Belgaum city and a meeting attended by about 2,500 people was held. At this meeting, the resolution that the King Emperor should vote the legislation was passed. It was moved by C. V. Raman, B. A. Mehta, S. V. Ranadive and R. V. Desai. C. V. Deshpande was one step ahead to recommit Satyagraha. Sunday was fixed as a day of passive resistance by pleaders. Meetings were held at Ahobil and Chikodi where Mehangini Jamal Dastur, S. V. Reddy and R. C. Kelkar took part. During the Bardas Bill agitation, Deshpande was in closer contact with Gandhi. Mr. Deshpande toured many places in Kamataka to cause awakening on the issue. That Deshpande a staunch Teluguist was working on the Gandhian programme could be seen from astounding at Tilak and Gandhi differed on many a count.
Roulette agitation made many parts of India tense. Punjab was abase, and here the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy took place on 13th April 1919, when the cause of British Government in India touched perhaps the lowest ebb. The episode sent the waves of treason across the country and caused untold indignation. Rift developed between a searching Congress and unrelenting Government. Yet Congress was sittingly to be held at Amritsar.

Gandhi was making his impact everywhere. Belges was not spared by the urge to celebrate his 51st birthday. A meeting was held at Belges on 21st September 1919 to celebrate the event, under the Chairmanship of Shri Narayan Joshi, Krishnan Karmapilkar told the audience (about 100) of the Gandhi's example. D.R. Malis voiced a protest that there were other leaders too.setakar replied that what Tilak and others had said in words, Gandhi had done in deeds. 103

Tilak Setakar

When Tilak returned to India on 1st December 1919, he was welcomed in Shri Narayan Chaudhuri, Bombay. Before the big gathering there, Propanda spread out the Non-Poison. Thereafter, he accompanied Tilak on his Radda tour where he could make acquaintances with Sir Subramania Iyer, the grand old man of South India. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar of newspaper "Hindu". 104
The moderate Congressmen who, however, were of the view that the reforms should not be condemned, were in favour of taking full benefit of the scheme contained in the Reforms. Due to the fundamental difference in opinion with other Congressmen, the Moderate Congressmen held separate sittings in Bombay and Calcutta and also formed Indian Liberal Federation in 1918. The Servants of India Society joined the newly formed Federation of Associates, later, one of its (Liberal Federation) members, G. S. Atkinson came to Belgium. He stayed and gave speeches. He gave a speech in Narumi Mandir, Belgium, Liberal Association branches were established at Belgium and Dharmadev.
Maratha and Jivraj Mohindra seemed to have become the secretaries of Karnataka Liberal League in December 1918.

The Montford Reforms had triggered great discussions since it contained grant of autonomy which was to enable the natives to take some part in the government of province. The enlarged Legislative Council was the other temptation. At the same time as the measure of reforms was vague from the standpoint of goal of self-government, whether the people should accept the reform measure and participate in the elections to the council or not was an issue. The Liberal Party, Non-Brahmin associations in Mysore and Karnataka, Justice Party in Mysore looked well disposed to the reform and elections. Anantaswar Congress considered the reforms unacceptable. Yet it was not a complete decision and options were open for further consideration.

Soman and Parkashwar Conferences

This issue was discussed in the Poona District Conference on 2 and 4 March 1920 at Jumma, which was presided over by G.S. Deshpande. The moderates tried to disturb the proceedings, but the Conference backed up the Congress policy.

Soon after this, the third Belgaum District Conference was held on 6th March 1920 at Sankeshwar under the presidency of Madhavan Kamat. Tilak had first accepted the invitation but had cancelled the trip as he wanted to remain at Poona for work in connection with the cashtawars reservation in the
legislative bodies, but several telegrams from Sankeshwar and Dashapande's insistence compelled him to come. He came along with G.V. Vidya, Patasarpa and R.V. Gehale. The moderates had proposed to give expression to their views. They were also aided by non-Sindu leaders like A.B. Lathke and S.V. Chougule. The Sabha began its proceedings on 6th March 1933. Savandada A. Rangali welcomed the gathering and said that the Congress candidates might be elected disregarding caste or religion. M.G. Aney's presidential speech called for continued agitation for swayaj and election of Congress candidates. Official business was taken up on 7th March after a few less important resolutions. C.V. Dashapande moved a resolution to support the Amritsar Congress resolution about the Reform. He was seconded by Majli, but opposed by Kesarkar, Chikali, Chougule and Salvi who moved an amendment suggesting to drop the words like 'disappointing', etc. from the Amritsar Congress resolution. Amendment was opposed by Salvi and it was lost. The original resolution was passed.

The Sabha passed off peacefully and in the evening of 6th March, Tilak was presented with an address by Sankeshwar citizens. Though two men objected to the same in the initial stage, even after his long speech, one Sambhark stood to say that while he accepted his (Tilak's) political doctrine but not social caste and that he (Tilak) was Brahmin-biased. Tilak appreciated the spirit of opposition and advised for unity for the national work.
At the next Bombay Provincial Congress at Solapur from 10th to 12th April 1925, the moderates with some non-Brahmin leaders had forced a truce, once more inclined masses to challenge the Nationalist party people on the point of religion acceptance. So far at Junnar and Sankeshwar, the Nationalist Nationalist party had been successful in clearing the minority Resolution of rejecting the Montford Reform. Now at Solapur, Dr. N. R. Deshmukh and R. P. Somajdeo had come forward to oppose the resolution. Dr. N. R. Deshmukh, though an Anglicized, was of the opinion that there should be no objection to laying out the scheme of education in every way. Kishch_table the Nationalist party resolution showing trust in minority resolution. One un of Solapur like G. S. Deshpande supported it, later the resolution was passed by a majority of 2,000 over 100 votes opposing.194

By now a time had come for Khadigas of Bombay Kamata to assist the invasion of Kasarini. G. S. Deshpande was asked to speak in Kasarini by a section of audience at Shapuri.195 N. S. Rikar’s Liberal Party public meeting at Shapuri was disturbed because the president of meeting confined himself to speaking in Kasarini.196

Kasarini

It will then be seen that the non-Brahmin were emerging as a new force in South Maharashtra and Bombay Kamata. It was also a good augury that self respect movement and non-Brahmin movement were progressing well in the presidency of Madras under the banner of the Justice Party. In Coorg State, Praja Vedika
was coming up. In other parts of India like province of Bengal of city of Bhopal, however, there was no question of non-Brahmin movement since there they had kept pace with Brahmans in social-political progress.

We will, however, consider here in particular the non-Brahmins of Solapur district and region surrounding it. Here the non-Brahmins were Marathas, Shangiars, Badaurs, Kshatriya and other Hindu backward groups. The Lingayats as a general rule were included in the category of non-Brahmins. They were a separate community and free from the clutches of Brahmans. They were never too dependent on Brahmans and formed a separate stratum of society. Yet for many reasons, such as their preponderance over trade, they had remained comparatively backward in education, employment and politics. The rigour and the force of the Vyasen Tale controversy that rocked the district mainly between 1913 and 1920 probably made them feel like cooperating with the non-Brahmin resurrection.

The Tale and sometimes even the Mohammedans, Christians and Parsans were grouped at times as non-Brahmins in political terms.

How why this caste-based movement was being launched? The cause lies in the caste-based set up in the Hindu society, notably said, in accordance with Castavasmya, for a long time, the sphere of education had remained to be close preserve of Brahmins, the priestly class, the others were devoid of it. And
This had released forces of inequality, slavery, religious asceticism, bribery and so on, causing sufferings to Hindus other than Brahmins in general and Hindus of 'lower castes' in particular, but in British rule, these people, the non-Brahmins got to know the ideas of equality and liberty. In India, the British stepped out slavery and took away monopoly in education. This, inter alia, helped them to awaken and challenge the supremacy of Brahmins. In a paper submitted to Southborough Committee, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has shown how Brahmins, though a minority from population considerations, had had superfluous representation in education, employment and politics.°°° C.V. Despande's view also concurs with this. He says: "As far as Maharashtra and Karnataka were concerned in the Congress, it was only Brahmins who were there."°°°

One of the effects of British rule was that it caused regeneration of communities (even including Brahmins) and every community, excepting those who were still in tribal or underdeveloped stage, felt like doing something for its own progress. And in the process, they made common cause against the Brahman domination and high handedness. The non-Brahmin got together was a natural corollary of all this. This apathy of a leader as that of Tilak, towards non-Brahmins and particularly his scathing remarks at Muni over the proposal of Council entry by non-Brahmin castes and his hesitation to sign over the report to the All India Depressed Classes Conference in Bombay on 24 March
1915 had assured the non-Brahmins.

Contribution to the alienation of non-Brahmins was also made by the second Mulikarni Perished of 16-17th May 1920 at Sankeshwar under the presidency of a staunch Sikhote, D.V. Salvi. He chose that form to criticise the administration of the Raja of Kolhapur, who was one of the greatest opponents of the non-Brahmin movement.

Chhatrapati Shankar Mahraj of Kolhapur, a native State, was Maratha by caste, but his sight reached much beyond the pride of his caste and he virtually owned the lower castes men. But he was a prince under the tutelage of British overlords and had his own limitations, but by showing ample courage and subtlety, he succeeded in the cause of upholding the unprivileged caste. His government declared the practice of untouchability unlawful in 1917 for Kolhapur. Therefore, areas of Sehs, Kothol and Tangal of Kolhapur State were directly benefitted and other areas received inspiration. From the Kolhapur base, he used his good offices to supply everything needed by the non-Brahmins to rise up.

He encouraged men like S.V. Jagdev, G.B. Shinde, R.B. Letche, A.P. Chougule, P.N. Shikhodi, V.R. Shinde, Shromn Patil and B.S. Ambekar who influenced Solapur district politics. He also caused tension in the Brahmin Institution of Sankeshwar Math, by unilaterally cancelling Mulikarni Vatana of the Math villages which led to the voluntary retirement of Dr. Raskoti.
from the Shankaracharya’s office in October 1919.  

But to assume that Shahu encouraged only non-Brahmins and disturbed Brahmins would be an easy but wrong guess, as an instance, Appaji Bhadraj Narula alias Kavi Simang (Birth 1891, Shingeon, Tal. Chikodi) was honoured by Chhatrapati Shahu in 1911 with the title ‘Kavi Koshali’ and was sent in 1913 to meet Rabindranath Tagore in Bengal.  

He also helped Satya Shodhak Samaj. The Satara district Satya Shodhak Samaj Conference passed a resolution tabled by Shausar Patil and created a Rayat Shikshan Samatha in 1919. Unlike the Dacca Education Society, Rayat Shikshan Samatha, in due course of time, spread its educational network in the greater part of Maharashtra.  

The VI Bombay Mohammedan Educational Conference was held at Beruwad on 16–17th April 1917, some 400 representatives attended. President talked about free and compulsory primary education. The next conference was held at Surat on 26–27th December, 1918.  

All this awakening had triggered the formation of quite a few societies in these years in the district, laying emphasis on the propagation of education, especially among the Sahjan Samaj (or the masses). Important of these were,  

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<th>Name of the Society</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Nander Samaj</td>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>May 1915</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Depressed Classes Society</td>
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<td>Maratha Shikshan Samaj</td>
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<td>Young Man's Hindu Association</td>
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<td>K.L.F. Society</td>
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<td>Shetha Mendir</td>
<td>Khanapur</td>
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<td>Chhind Education Society</td>
<td>Chakodi</td>
<td>Jan. 12, 1916</td>
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<td>Balbhadra Library</td>
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<td>Oct. 25, 1916</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Bhadet Valabh H. Samaj</td>
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<td>Anjumot Zaboni</td>
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<td>Vishishta Pram Samaj</td>
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<td>Jodhalji Education Society</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Susha Baramthik Samaj</td>
<td>Nagpur</td>
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While the Montford reforms were in sight, there were demands from various sections of people for separate electorates or reservations of seats to their communities in the new legislative bodies. Reservation of seats on Bombay Legislative Council for all castes below two per cent of population was the prayer of a public meeting of Backward Caste members in Nipani. A telegram to that effect was received on 2nd October 1919 from Yarnajirao Achle, President of that meet, by the Joint Select Committee on the Reform Bill, 1917.

Later, in the reforms that were passed, the demand for separate electorates was not accepted, but two seats were reserved for backward classes and seven seats for Marathas and other allied castes, in so far as Bombay Legislative Council was concerned.
The Non-Brahmin movement opposed the Nationalist Party policies. This behaviour of non-Brahmins according to some sections has not vanished the national movement. This may be, however, a hasty conclusion. In fact, the awakening of non-Brahmin proved productive later, when in late 1920s they started pressing their ancient energies in the national movement. Even the stance of the Congress with reference to elections was yet to be exactly defined. In early 1920, it was decided to be in a state of readiness to contest elections and a Congress Democratic Party was formed at Poona. This move a bit confused the nationalistic parties. G.S. Deshpande says that he himself did not concur with the Congress entry through the party. The elections approached and, so far as Belgaum district was concerned, the following was the picture:

**Central Legislative Assembly Seats**

1. Southern Division
   Main contestants:
   
   S.P. Ballal (C.D.P.), M.P. Laxman (N.D.P.)

2. Belgaum District (Constituencies 1)
   Main contestant:
   
   G.S. Deshpande (C.D.P.), S.P. Shitadi (N.D.P.)

3. Belgaum District (Constituency 2)
   Main contestant:
   
   Bumarappa Shetty (C.D.P.), A.P. Chaugale (N.D.P.)

C.D.P.: Congress Democratic Party
N.D.P.: Non-Brahmin Party

The election manifestos of Congress Democratic Party were
published on 20 April 1920. Uniting the loyalty to Congress and
trust in democracy were declared to be its assets and spread of
education and expansion of the electoral college formed its
assets. 312

Electioneering had started. Serreising meetings were held
at many places such as Kinner, Ballabgarh. On 15th August 1929,
an open Sabha was arranged at Gurgaon to discuss whom to vote.
These Murthi Sven called the public to vote for Sir Lallu,
Sambanda Hoo spoke. 313

We have dealt with the non-Brahmin movement at some length.
This was not the only product of British rule. There were other
factors too. The Labour was one among them. In the years 1920 to
1929, there were a number of strikes by factory men, which showed they
were a force to reckon with. The labour movement did not go with
the Congress, because its inspiration was the peasant-workers
association in Russia in October 1917, which was governed by the
principles of Nationalisation-class struggle. Yet there were
leaders in Congress who understood the importance of exploitation
of labour power for political purposes.

The Indian Issue

The Indian issue had become acute by the close of 1919.

The peace celebrations were held in the districts during
December 1919, but the pleaders of Salgum and Dhikaul obtained
from it. Anti-peace celebrations at Salgum were also reported. 314
The Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay called for a hartal on 19 March 1920 by all Muslims and their Hindu sympathisers all over India. The manifesto was received by Noulvi and Anjuman- Islam Library at Belgaum from Calcutta and Bombay and was freely posted all over the town.

The hartal was only observed in Belgaum town on the due date 19th March. A public meeting of about 2,000 Mohammedan and Hindus was held on that day. In the meeting, Mohamed Husen Gowdara moved a resolution to the effect that the British Premier's pledge of 5 January 1918 be adhered to and that its violation would wound the loyal feelings of the Indians and might lead to serious and unforeseen consequences. The resolution was seconded by Noulvi Nathubuddin of Belgaum. Presiding over the meeting, G.S. Deshpande said that the Englishmen were not going back on their words. N.G. Joshi and B.D. and too spoke. President was then authorised to send the resolution to the Government.

Mohamed Husain, Secretary of Anjuman Islam, Belgaum and others had started collection of Khilafat fund in April 1920.

On 30 April 1920 a massive meeting with audience of about 15,000 was held at Belgaum. It was attended by Maulana Gulam Mohammed as president, B.D. Lad, B.D. Hajli, Noulvi Mohammed Hijamuddin and G.S. Deshpande. This was third Khilafat meeting at Belgaum. The issue before it was to explain the proposal of
non-cooperation put forth by Mr. Gandhi. During the meeting, Turkish flags were flown on the pedestal, and advocated Hindu-Mohammedan unity, Beahmada warned Muslims to be on their guard against the wiles of Europeans who might try to prove that the extremists were merely deluding the Muslims by a show of sympathy over the Caliphate question. Finally, the President declared that time for protest meetings was over but that of action had started. When the Turkish peace terms were announced, the general undertow of Mohammedan opinion at Selma was unfavourable.

On the other side, a new principle was seeking admission to the Indian politics. That was Satyagraha. Perhaps it was a remarkable advance over passive resistance, and it was not foreign to Indians, but its applicability in the politics was looked upon as utopian.

Stage of Nationalism On The Eve of Year 1920

In the last thirty-five years from 1885, if 1885 is taken as a date of dawn of Indian Nationalism, there was a considerable progress. It survived the government hostility of late 1890s, the regime of Curzon, the salt split and also the Great War, when the administration was faced with the all powerful Defence of India Rules. All those years saw the vicissitudes through which it passed. some time it (Indian nationalism) demanded larger representation, some time total independence, some time self-
government. Parallelly, it had also been examined as to what these various demands meant. But by 1922, the demand of Indian Nationalism was more concrete, just Swarajya or self-government within the British Empire. This demand was also not fantastic and was well within the reach of Britons, for they had already given such status to other colonies: viz., Canada, Australia and South Africa.

Congress was now the oldest body which had now held high the torch of all-India nationalism. Its major goal was political although it was equally alive to the social issue. Muslim League, non-Brahmin parties, Indian Liberal Federation, Hindu Sabha were the other important bodies having close bearing on political issues.

Now our demand for self-government had been only partly met in the Dyarchy in provinces provided for in the latest Government of India Act 1919, operative from 1921. It provided no full provincial self-government, let alone all India self-government. There was, therefore, the question whether to co-operate or not with these reforms which were on the one side some good advance over past constitution, on the other side, a mockery of the continuous slogan for Home Rule. And many differed on this question as both the alternatives possessed plus and minus points.
While the decision of Indian Liberal Federation, the Non-Brahmin Party, the Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League to co-operate was ready, that decision of the Congress was pending for full debate. Gandhi was, from the beginning of 1920, toying with the idea of launching non-cooperation with Government. In the Colaba District Congress at Uran, in May 1929, Deshpande as the president, spoke in favour of non-cooperation. He had taken permission of Tilak to do so. This greatly delighted Sheik Ali there, who was in favour of non-cooperation proposition of Gandhi. As Deshpande became an elected member of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) reconstituted in December 1919, he attended the AICC meeting at Banares in early 1920. Here during discussions, Gandhi, Ali Brothers, etc. favoured non-cooperation; Tilak and company was yet to form opinion and Bacoit, Saqhu were against it.

We have briefly referred to the Caliphate issue, which was largely instrumental in alienating the Muslims from British. These developments brought the Khilafat Committee leaders, Abdul Kalam Ansad, Ali Brothers and others still closer to Congressmen, in Congress too, leaders like Gandhi and Tilak were of the opinion that the Muslim grievances should be mixed up with Congress demands for Swarajya, etc. and a common agitation put up.

Like other districts, Belgaum was equally bewildered of
these questions and issues.

Socio-politically speaking, the district was in a good
state. It had passed a stage of socio-political awareness222 and
it was ready for a big leap. The district was also heading to
become a major stage for various movements in the region. Moreover,
particularly the Lingayats, who were the Kannada-speaking people,
were becoming more and more aware of their capacity and scope
and the centre of gravity of the district was slowly moving
southwards, which was dominated by the Lingayats.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


3. J.B. Ripelani says in his reminiscences that *the Congress thereafter (after Surat split) failed to inspire, enthuse or educate the people. It was a body without soul.* In Shukla, Chandreshwar, Ed. Incidents of Gandhiji's Life. Bombay, 1949, p. 117.


5. Ibid., pp. 315-6, 716-9.

6. Ibid., pp. 737-40.

7. This information is available in, Deshpande, G.B., article 'Congress and Karnatak', (M) Chitrapur-Jagat, December 1935, p. 569. Unfortunately the source has not given names of those Poona moderates.

8. Confidential List of Political, Quasi-Political and Religious Societies and Sabhas, Bombay Presidency, 1903.


10. Letter dt. 12 Nov., 1907 of Chhatrapati Shahi to Col. Ferris, quoted in full in MasKhokar, G.T., Maharashtrache

Later, owing to dispute about heirship, the Sankeshwar
Math came under management of Govt. between 8,8,1907 and
17,10,1928, File No. ASP 55/992 (D.M.) in DEA.

12 Confidential List of Political and Quasi-Political
and Religious Societies and Sabhas, in B.P.E., 1920, p. 28.

16-23. A report of the meeting is given here in full; the
enthusiastic reception chief was Anantroo Rakade of
Nipani, Handev Vol. 4/10, Ashvin Saka 1936, p. 87.

14 Confidential List of Political and Quasi-Political and

15 ESA 6 Feb., 1904 (para 423).

16 ESA 30 December, 1912.

17 When the sage, Vedavyasa was questioned whether Shiva
or Vishnu was superior, Vyasa raised his right hand and
declared Vishnu as superior. Shiva's vehicle Nandi bit
his arm and severed it. To get his severed arm back
Vyasa had to write a Purana propounding Shiva's superior-
ity. The celebrate Nandi's victory over Vyasa
(Basaveshwara being the incarnation of Nandi), followers
of Basaveswara, i.e., Lingayats, used to take a
procession of Vyasa's severed arm on occasions by
attaching an arm stiched with cloth to a bamboo, to
the discomfiture of the Brahmans, especially the Madhwas.
Gazetteer of India, Belgaum District, Bangalore, 1987,
p. 138. These were attempts to revive the taking out of
procession in Hanoli and Athni in January 1895, ESA 2 April
1895 (para 449).

18 F.No. 23/rev/1922, D.H, Records Room, (DHAR) Belgaum,
Kanani 24 Sept., 1919, p. 5.

This convention also came to be termed as the first
Sanyukta Goud Saraswat Brahmin Samelan: B.S., dt: 2 May,
1918; Lohitrana, May 1918, p. 311.

20 Nashik Monorani (Marathi monthly) July 1910, p. 43 with
footnote of Editor.


22 Ghugre, Shiva Prabha, Renaissance in Western India -
BS, 13 September 1915; the letter dated 30 Oct., 1916
of V.R. Shinde to GOB says that it was affiliated;
Letter quoted in GOB letter No. 7396 dt. 17 Oct., 1917 to
GOI (Home), DHAR.

23 Confidential List of Political, Quasi-Political and
Religious Societies in B.P., 1920; see for details; Sangve,
V.R., Dakshin Bharat Jain Sabha Itihas, Kolhapur, 1976.
25 Letter dated 15|1|1902 from Ba. Ba. Letters to Tilak in
p. 39a.

26 Confidential List of Political and Quasi-Political and Reli-
gious Societies and Gathas in B.P., 1909 and 1920.

27 See letter dated 11|4|1911, of Motilal Gosh to

28 Interestingly these two and events were taken note of by
Tilak, underlying imprisonment at Mandalay. Letters dated
20 Nov. 1909. 3 April 1911, of Tilak from Mandalay, Kerala.

29 Selgaon Sarvajanik Vasanadaya, *Nagra Pathala*, Selgaon,
1979, p. 28. Sa. Sa. 6th. 15 May. 1911. see Lokyatun
December 1916, p. 275.

30 Report on Native Newspapers in B.P. (B.P.P.), 1st May,
1914; Sa. Sa. 4 May. 1914.

31 Mirji Ananaya, Selgaon Seluvali (O. Selgaon, 1971,
p. 62.

32 Oral Evidence of Witnesses Examined by Committee on Local


He disclaimed hostility to H.M.'s Govt. and condemned acts of violence.


An article on Belvi, 2 B.P., 4 April, 1937.

35 See R.S.P., of 1st and 8th May, 1914.

Pancham George Viji, Chikitsak, Kesari, Bombay Samachar express hope for Re-union, 2 S.G., 4 May, 1914.


39 This matter becomes important. That the diamonds were passed on to Belgaum men shows that they were having some revolutionary image. But this seems to be limited, because they could not immediately use the diamonds. It shows that no revolutionary plan, or machinery was already there, at Belgaum then. For absence of records, it will not be just to pass remarks. See Phadke, V.D., Tilok ani Krantikarak, Poona, 1985, pp. 125-9.
40. B.S., dt. 9 Dec., 1916.
43. B.S., 13 July, 1915.
44. Altschul, M.D., Ulatioli Pans (II), Poona, 1961, p. 92.
45. B.S., 7 Feb., 1916.
47. Deshpande, G.S., op. cit., p. 256; B.S., 17 April, 1916.
49. Note dt. 17 April 1916 of D.M., Belgaum to Heads of all offices in Belgaum in CR 1916 Collection, DMRR.
50. Letter No. 13 dt. 25 April, 1916 from Chairman, Managing Committee, Athni, Municipality to Collector, Belgaum, DMRR.
52. Ibid. dt. 13 May 1916 (para 513).

54 Kelkar, N.C., Gatagoshti, Poona, 1939, p. 411.

55 Kelkar, N.C., Ibid., p. 412.

56 Khaparde gives it to be 1650 SHRF (Correspondence and Diary of G.S., Khaparde) Vol. VII, Bom., 1976, p. 400.

Bharatavak cites the same number, Bharatavak May 1916 - Editor's Report of this conference, pp. 219-221, Police

Abstracts cite the figure 1500 from Nationalists viewpoint.

Balgaon Samachar gives the figure as 1660, Kesari gives the figure as 1700. Kesari editorial dt. 9-5-1916, G.S.

Deshpande gives the figure as 2,200 delegates, Deshpande, G.S., Op. cit., p. 256; In this conference some workers of

Jainhadi State led by Dr. Hulyalkar attended, Patwardhan,

V.A., Santhanasteel Lokshahicha Lahlna, Poona, 1940,

Part II, p. 119.


58 Ibid.

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Ahmedabad, 1964,

Vol. 13, p. 271 (This however seems to be based on

Deshpande's autobiography).

59 Keer, Shonenjay, Lo, Tilak, Bombay (1959) XI Edn. 1969,

p. 361.

60 Gokhale, S.D., Kesari 1881-1981, Poona, 1981,

61. Rs.5, dt. 1 May, 1916.


64. Bosepande, G.P., *On, cit.* p. 251. Also Shirsat, K.R.,

Kaka Joseph Baptista, Bombay, 1974, pp. 43-44. The

Bengalee, 3,5,1916 quoted in the Collected Works of


65. ESA 13 May, 1916 (para 610).

66. Ibid.

Bharatsevak May 1916, p. 220.


68. Ibid., January 1916, pp. 85-87.

69. Memo dated 16 June 1916 from DH, Belgaum to DSP and other

officials informing them about Home Rule League, GR

1916 collection, DMRA.


p. 218; *Kesari*, 2 May 1916.


74 NSA, 10 June 1916 (para 767).


78 Speeches of R.G. Tilak (delivered during 1889-1918), G.B. Cit., pp. 179, 194.


81 Kesari, 24 Nov, 1916.

82 Kelkar, B.C., Satyagrahi, G.B. Cit., p. 413.

83 Godbole, S.B., G.B. Cit., p. 179.

84 For example, see Lotche's address on 'Backward Class


36 ESA 19 May 1916 (para 630-C), letter of A.B. Latthe, as President of this Sabha, sent to the Commissioner, Southern Division, with a full report for information of Government.

37 Deshpande, G.S., *G.K.* pp. 251.


39 ESA 17 June 1916 (para 797). Earlier V.R. Shinde, a veteran, had been selected to preside over the conference, but the proposal was dropped. Despite indignation, he attended this conference. Shyam, *Shivaprakash*, *G.K.* pp. 177.

40 ESA 17 June 1916 (para 796),


Copy of Certificate of Registration (Under Act XXI of 1950) dated 9-7-1917, in the Society, Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, Ibid., pp. 33-34; Society's name was changed to 'Karnatak Liberal Education Society' on 26-4-1949 giving expression to the spirit of cosmopolitanism and liberalism. Souvenir, Ibid., p. 19.

Sivasamudram, B.B., Ed., Rajakota vagnath (Hindi) Sharad, 1944, pp. 124-125; Details in Hardekar Manappa's Tyagvir Lingraj are charted in Kannada.

Savare, D.C., Memoir of an Educational Administrator, Delhi, 1965, p. 29.


B.B. 11 and 12 Sept., 1916; Bharat 19 Sept., 1916.


Bharat Savarak July 1916, p. 310.

B.S.A. 30 Oct., 1916 (para 1436)
During this Conference, Deshpande met H.K. Gandhi, Deshpande, op. cit., p. 269.


Asa 10 June 1916 (pasa 39 s).


Ibid., p. 113.

Letter dated 10 June 1916 from Mrs Besant to N.C. Kelkar, in N.C. Kelkarshrit Pratavyavahar, op. cit., p. 103.

The Kesari metaphorically the Home Rule League to a small power engine like motor attached to the slow-going cart of Congress; see Gokhale, S.B., op. cit., p. 65.

Kesari, 13 March, 1917, p. 5 and 17 April, 1917, p. 71.


Deshpande, G.B., Ibid., p. 263.

Confidential List of Political, Quasi-Political and Religious Societies and Sages in Bombay Presidency, 1923.

Joshi, Gunnath, Alur Venkat Rao (Hindi), Dharwad, 1932, p. 66.

Ibid., 13 Feb., 1917.

Ibid., 18 June, 1917.

Ibid., 1 Oct., 1917.
126 DSA 11 Nov. 1905 (page 1017c) giving District Magistrate's information.

117 DEp. 29 January and 19 March 1917.

118 Kesari 5 March 1917.

119 DEp. 29 April 1917.

120 Kesari 27 April 1917.


121 Dep. 9 April 1917.

122 Kesari 17 April 1917.


Also see Nalay, S.D., Edwin Montagu, Bombay, 1964, p. 145.


376-8.


132 Rajendra Prasad, Babu, Satyagraha in Champaran, Madras, 1928, p. 256.


137 Rajendra Prasad, Babu, op. cit., p. 252.


139 Deshpande, G.B., Ibid.
Circular No. APB/149 dated 5 April 1917 of SH. Belgaum in BMIA.

Di. 17 Sept. 1917, 15 Oct. 1917; File No. 149/ADN/1917, in BMIA.


Sharat Sevak March to August 1916 (Malchand Kothari's article and discussions).


Di. 15 Oct., 1917; Chittack 15 Oct., 1917.

Also see his (Nath's) letter dated 20 Sept., 1917 to Editor, Kesari, explaining necessity of separate electorates for non-Brahmins. Kesari, 21 Sept., 1917.

Kesari, 6 and 20 Nov., 1917.

Di. 15 Oct., and 17 Dec., 1917.


Oswald, Call, Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society, Doc. cit., p. 192. Its initial leaders included Nath and later members included Chikodi.

Di. 19 Nov., 1917.


152 Deshpande, G., J., Qua. Cit., p. 228.


154 Kesari, 20 Nov., 1917.

155 Ibid.

156 Kesari, Shanmug, Lokamanya Tilake, De, Cit., p. 378.
See Javalkar, D., J., Deshera Dussher, Poona 1925, p. 4, published in, Deshera, Y.P., Dinkaravan Javalkar Samagra Vangmay, Poona, 1934, pp. 63-64; see Kesari's Lecture In, Tilak and Samajik Sudharana in Pudhavi 2.9.1936; Samagra Lo. Tilak (Khand-6), Qua. Cit., p. 539 reproduces Tilak's speech from Kesari of 20 Nov., 1917.

157 Esq., 6 and 27 August 1917; Bharat Savak, June 1917, p. 256.

158 Esq., 31 Dec., 1917.

159 Said, A.M., Qua. Cit., Vol. VII., pp. 252-5.

160 Ghans, Swami, The Agrarian Economy of the Bombay Deccan, Delhi, 1989, p. 36 (foot note No. 72); Here J. Malcolm and J. Thackeray's remarks are quoted.

161 As referred to in the last Chapter, one Shankar Ramchandra Gomme born at Shahapur (Sangli State) joined the Indian revolutionary party. This may be taken as exception. Secondly arrest of this patriot does not seem to have created any undue commotion in the area.
347

163 Ibid., p. 194.
164 Ibid., p. 197.
165 Nanorjan, May 1918, pp. 236-43; Kesari 7 May, 1918.
167 Ibid., p. 233.
168 Ibid., p. 233.
169 By virtue of GO 95 (II) GA No., 13958/49 dated 17 Nov, 1917, the remainder of the water lands and cash allowances held by Deshpande were removed.
170 Kesari 23 April, 1919, p. 2.
172 Deshpande, G.B., Ibid., p. 297.
174 See Deshpande, G.B., Ibid., p. 299.
176 Deshpande, G.B., Ibid., p. 303.
177 File No. 149/MC/1917, in SHAR.
178 Des. 22 July, 1918.
B.B. 6 Jan., 1919.


B.B. 26 April 1919 (para 576); B.B. 7 April 1919; Telegrams from SVC, Belgaum to CCB reporting on the matter.


A meeting at Chhindwara on 11th Aug., 1918 had deprecated V.B.S. Vacha's call for a separate conference of moderate Congressmen. Kesari 13 August, 1918.


B.B. 16 December, 1918.


Ibid.


Kesari, Editorial on, 6 April 1920.

Also see Kesari, G.S. Diary, _On_Ditto_, Entries for 3, 3, 4 April, 1920, _BiS_, 19 April 1920.

Dasgupta, G.S., _Ibid._, p. 333.


Same was the experience of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliyar in Madras Presidency.


Kear, Dhananjay, _Loa Tilkat_, _On_Ditto_, p. 364.

G.T. Madkeolker refers to his opposition to Tillok as unhistoric and without foresight. Madkeolker, G.T.


Ravinder Kumar says: "The reasons which endeared Tilkat to the Brahmas at the same time alienated him from the non-Brahmas, who were condemned to a position of permanent inferiority by orthodox Hinduism". Ravinder Kumar, _Western India in Nineteenth Century_, London, 1969, p. 313.

Kesari, 18 May 1920, p. 5.

Suryawanshi, K.G., _Rajarshi Shaha - Raja Va Mamas_ (0), Poona, 1994, p. 433.

202 Shete, S. G., History of Modern Marathi Literature, p. 432. He was also honoured by Shankarascharya with title “Kavi Kunjara”.


204 Kesari, 34 April, 1917, p. 7.


206 GUB, the confidential list of political and quasi-political and Religious Societies and Sabhas in B.P., 1920; B.S. 13 Sept., 1915; Belgaum Samachar of 25 June 1923 notes of one Athani Education Society started around 1920.


208 As is discernable from parishes of Athani, Chikodi, Sankeshwar and the elections held in 1920.


211 Deshpande, G.S., _Ibid._, p. 319.


216 _Ibid._, p. 258.


218 _Ibid._, pp. 362, 386.

219 But according to N.K. Gandhi, both differed from one another as the North pole differed from the South.


222 Deshpande, G.S., observed in 1921 that awakening was in progress and that there was a sea-change in the situation compared to previous 10 to 15 years. Letter (written around 1921) from Deshpande to Pundlikji, in Pundlikji, _Anugraha_, Belgaum, 1962, p. 26.