For purposes of clarity of study, the town of Dharwar as it existed during the later decades of the nineteenth century may be divided into five parts.¹ (i) The Fort area, (ii) The Civil Station, (iii) The Cantonment, (iv) The Town proper or 'Kasba' area, (v) The Suburbs. Of these five sub-divisions, the Civil Station and the Cantonment were chiefly inhabited by Europeans; the former was generally inhabited by British civilians employed in the various administrative departments, and in the Head Office of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway (M & S.M.), while the latter area was mainly inhabited by the soldiers of the British army stationed at Dharwar.

(i) The Fort

The fort played an important part till about mid-

¹ The sub-divisions and their descriptions as shown here are adopted from the Dharwar District Gazetteer (1884) and from the notes in Daftar A and Daftar J, Inamdar MSS.
nineteenth century when the British had almost entirely subjugated the surrounding region. The fort was built during the time of the Vijayanagar Empire. It was strengthened by the Sultans of Bijapur and later by the Moghuls. It had achieved certain importance as an impregnable fortress. The fort was circular in shape covering an area of nearly 76 acres. The walls were built upon a glacis or sloping raised ground. This glacis was fortified with three bastions on the north, five on the south, and one bastion on the east. There were four gates to the fort. These gates were not aligned in a straight line so that access into the inner part was difficult. These gates were strengthened during the Muslim period.

On the outer gate now surviving are to be found the following inscriptions in the Persian language. The English rendering runs as follows:² "When torn by sorrow and ill-fortune, call on the famous Ali. Through the favour of Ali and the might of Muhammad, you are sure to find instant relief". At the end of this text, on either side, are two circles, one above the other. The upper one on the right hand side records the date,

² Bharwara District Gazetteer (1884) Ed. Campbell p.606. Also see copy of the inscriptions and notes thereon in Letter 3, "Notes", Inscular MSS. The Bharwar District Gazetteer of 1884 edited by Campbell will be indicated henceforth as Gazetteer (1884).
11th Muharram of the year H.1071 (that is 1659 A.D.) and the lower one recording: “Abdul Gaffar, Commandant of the fort of Dharwar”, and within the lower one is inscribed: “Abdulla, Captain of the fort of Dharwar”.

Beyond the outer ramparts was a ditch measuring about 20-35 feet in depth and 25-35 feet in width. Protecting the inner ramparts was a second ditch. Beyond this second ditch, facing the south, stood the Fateh Buruj, or the Tower of Victory. On the western side was a reservoir, and a Durga temple situated within the ramparts on the west. The fourth and the inner-most gate led to an open space having two rows of shops facing the Sadr, or the administrative building, where the Commandant transacted his business. To the west of the Fateh Buruj and the Sadr lay the pleasure resort of the Commandant with a beautiful garden.3

On the northern side lay a temple, dedicated to God Vithoba, a mosque, a granary and residential quarters. Here was also situated the Rana Stamba where condemned prisoners were beheaded. To the south near the Fateh

Buruj was the powder magazine*. The ditches of the fort were fed by a reservoir situated on the western side of the fort. The Moti tank, also known as Halgeri tank, separated this fort from the town.4

The seven-tiered walls of Dharwar fort were formidable and it was very difficult for an enemy to take it by assault. It was precisely for this reason that the fort walls were demolished by the British around 1859, after the Mutiny, so that it would be of no use to the local inhabitants in the event of a possible popular uprising.

Several descriptions of Dharwar fort have been written by many writers who agree on the impregnability of the fort. Exhaustive details are given by Captain Moore as well as a picture of one side of the fort.5

A Mahratta, Vaddadekar who was a Vakil in the army of Purusharam Bhu Patwardhan, the Mahratta Commander, has left behind a sketch map of the fort showing the town

* It is at present used as a store by the Karnataka High School.
on the south-east and the fortifications and bastions of
the fort from which one could gather that the fort was a
very strong one.6 The eminent British historian Grant
Duff, has also left a very detailed account of the fort
as personally seen by him.7 The accounts of a lady
traveller, who visited the fort several years later when
much of the fortifications were already torn down by the
British, mention that she was not much impressed by the
fort.8 However, authors agree that this fort was one
of the strongest of its kind in North Karnataka.

When the British took possession of the fort of Bhar-
war in 1818, the administrative offices of the British,
the office of the Collector and Principal Political Agent,
the post office, and the first Municipal office were all
located within the fort. All the official duties of the
British were conducted in the fort. The natives were not
allowed to enter the fort without a written order of the
Collector. Also natives could not ride a pony or a cart,

6. K.S. Chitnis, op.cit, p.27
7. Grant Duff: History of the Marathas. The Exchange
8. Mrs. Guthieri; Life in Western India, Hurst & Blackett,
or go a palanquin within the fort; these had to be left behind at the fort gate. These gates of the fort were well-guarded until 1859 by sentries and were closed at 8 O'clock in the night. A cannon was fired at noon to mark the hour.

In 1830, a new entrance was caused to be built on the south-western side for the convenience of the British officials who stayed in the Civil Station and Cantonment areas towards the western side of the fort. Until this time there was only one entrance on the east and those wanting to enter the fort from the west had to go round the entire fort. This new gate was constructed for the convenience of European officials.

In 1873, the Collector was of the opinion that the fort area should be handed over to the Municipality. Apparently there was no need for the army to keep the fort area under their jurisdiction as, by this time, the army was stationed in the Cantonment area. However, till

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9. Daitar S, Inamdar MSS
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
the year 1875 the British native regiment was stationed within the fort area. In 1876 the fort area was finally handed over to the Municipality. Till that year the glacis (or raised space) and other open spaces inside the fort were auctioned for its grass and the amount thus realised, called 'the fort grazing', was used for the conservation of the fort area. Every year this amount which was realised by the Municipality was handed over to the army authorities. This shows that the army authorities only had a nominal hold over the fort and the whole area was managed by the civil authorities. The Collector's contention that the fort was no longer of use to the army was conceded by the Governor-in-Council on 1st April 1876. Accordingly, on instructions from the authorities, Colonel Champion handed over the fort area to the Municipality. With this act, the dual administration of the army and civil authorities over the fort that had been in existence since the time of the Mahrattas, came to an end.

12. Comp.No.21-letter of 26th March 1876, General Department.
Though the fort area had come within the municipal limits, the British Government still retained a right on certain parts of the fort, particularly the glacis area. The British Government therefore felt that the Municipality had no right to pull down the remnants of the fort walls and use the stones to fill up the ditch containing stagnant water as was contemplated by it. The Government, according to its Resolution No. 6542 of 23rd November 1897, reserved as their own property certain lands which originally belonged to the old cantonment in the fort area. However, after a good deal of correspondence on this subject, the Government finally leased a part of this land to the Lingayat Association for, the land was neglected and often chosen by the people as a "resort for natural purposes" and therefore had become a nuisance. The Association was given the piece of land next to the southern gate on the understanding that it would be used for the benefit of the community. Likewise the gate existing on this land was torn down and the ditch was

filled up. The lingayat Town Hall meant for the use of the community was built on it. During the later decades of the nineteenth century a part of the fort area was occupied by the Civil Hospital, and a part of the remaining area was given for private use.

(ii) The Civil Station

The area occupied by the Civil Station was at the extreme western end of the town. Most of the bungalows numbering about eight, were occupied by the officials of the Collector's office and the Railway offices. The Collector's office and the treasury were situated on the hill on the west and the whole area was identified as the Collector's compound. To the east of the Collector's compound was a large area, known as the Mission compound, occupied by the missionaries of the Basel Mission. In 1867, the Basel Mission high school managed by them was started.

On the western side of the Collector's compound, the offices of the M. & S.M. Railways were located.

14. Ibid.

* The palace of the Maharatta Commandant was pulled down and a "Chawl" for residential purpose was built on it.
The area was mainly inhabited by the Railway employees. To the north, the entire area was used for educational purposes.* The Men's Training College had its building constructed in 1876 in this area. The area also had schools and playgrounds. In this area, close to the town was built the St. Joseph's High School and a Catholic Church. The area also accommodated the District Court, the post office and a few other Government buildings. 15

The majority of the inhabitants of the Civil Station comprised the officials of the British government and the missionaries. The non-European families in this area were generally Parsi families. The Parsis were mainly traders and liquor merchants. A part of the Civil Station, towards the south east of the Collector's compound was, at one time, named Baberpur in honour of Mr Baber, a Collector of Dharwar, who played a leading role in developing this area.16 This was purely a residential area.

* A major part of the land was from the Kurpali's estate.
15. Daftar A, "Notes", Inamdar MSS.
16. Daftar A, Inamdar MSS.
(iii) The Cantonment

The Cantonment was to the north of the Civil Station and was about a mile and a half north west of Dharwar on the Belgaum road. The total area of the cantonment was about 331 acres. The British regiments were stationed here. This area developed particularly when the cantonment was shifted from the fort area to the north west. Dharwar was also the halting station for British regiments on their way to the south or north. In fact, during the 1857 mutiny the Highlanders' 74th regiment from Cannanore (in Kerala) was posted to Dharwar to quell any sign of rebellion among the people of Dharwar. The presence of the army at times brought about trade in horses and ponies. In 1885 for the Russian expedition (when the British thought that hostilities with Russia was imminent) the Government purchased horses in Dharwar for the Army amounting to Rs. 20,000. Until the end of the nineteenth century Dharwar remained an important army station and it lost its importance only when the cantonment was permanently shifted to Belgaum.

17. Gazetteer (1884), p.668
19. Dharwar Vritt, 11th June 1885, in Bombay Native Newspaper Report. The Bombay Native Newspaper Report will be henceforth indicated as B.N.N.R.
The military population of this area in 1872 accounted for 1654 people, of whom 661 were fighting men and 973 followers. In 1876 there were 1665 people, of whom 725 were soldiers and 995 followers. In 1893 the total strength was 506, of whom 310 were soldiers and 196 followers. Though the total number of soldiers waned, their number was made good by civilian and administrative personnel of the Collector's office, the Education Department, and the officials of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways.

This cantonment area, which is presently a civilian area, is still known today as "Dandin Bungalow" area in Dharwar.

(iv) The Town

The town, or Kasta Dharwar, was the native quarter. It was situated in the lowest part of the terrain with the hilly region to its south and west. Until the arrival of the British the town was fortified by a low mud wall and a ditch. A part of Dharwar towards the east is still known as the "Mankilla area". This mud fort was torn down in.

20. Gazetteer (1884).
* "Dandin" meaning 'belonging to the army' in kannada.
** "Mankilla" meaning 'mud fort' in the local kannada.
down in some areas, especially towards the west and the north during the 1820s which enabled the town to grow. The mud fort encircling the town had five gates. They were: (i) The Kille gate on the north-west which led to the main fort, (ii) The Mudi-Hanuman gate on the North-east which led to the village of Hebballi, (iii) The Navalur gate on the south east which led to the village of Navalur and thence to Hubli, (iv) The Nutchambli gate on the south west, (v) The Tegur gate on the north east which led to the village of Tegur. Between the Tegur gate and the Kille gate there existed a small gate for the use of the defenders to escape in the event of a surprise attack from the enemies.

The whole of Kasha Dharwar comprised three areas, namely, (i) Kamankatta, (ii) Shukravarpet, (iii) the Mangalwarpet. The basis of such demarcation of these

21. Gazetteer (1884), p.668
22. See Application for Police Chowki-Tirmalrao to Collector of Dharwar. Daftar 'e', Inamdar MSS.
areas of the town was the pattern of the main streets traversing the town. Two long parallel streets ran from north to south. These two streets were met by three large streets which ran from east to west thereby creating six sub-divisions.* Each of these six sub-divisions had small lanes running east to west and were generally named after a particular caste or sub-caste or vocation, which would give a fair insight into the spatial segregation of castes and occupational groups within the town during the later decades of the nineteenth century. This was particularly so because it has been typical of Indian towns to name each sector or subdivision of a town after the name of the caste and occupational group inhabiting a particular area. The Kemanakatte, Shukravarpet and Nangelavarpet areas, being sub-divided into six sub-divisions may thus be studied further:

(a) The south eastern sub-division had ten lanes originating from the Navalur gate of the mud fort on the southern side of the town. These ten lanes were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two Bedar lanes, kolikeri, Udipiraya galli, Maratha galli, Kalli Oni, Attikole Oni, Shudra Joshi's wada, Korvar oni, and Gandhi galli. This area was mainly inhabited by the lower castes such as the Bedars (hunter caste), Korvars (or musicians), husbandmen, labourers and others. A few Muslim houses and also the houses of a few Brahmins and Lingaits were to be found in one or two lanes. This sub-division had two temples of Rayar Hanuman, Mahadev and Copalkrishna, as also a Lingait monastery.

(b) The north eastern sub-division had eleven lanes: Muchandya galli, Gavachari galli, Madansetti galli, Adki galli, Husu galli, Ganari galli, Menasinkai galli, Virakt-math oni, Ghali oni, Motchigerri (coblbers area), Kammar (blacksmith) lane. This sub-division was generally inhabited by Pindaris, Muslim labourers, betel leaf sellers, iron smiths, coblbers, grain merchants, weavers, and husbandmen. A liquor factory was in this area. The temples of Ishvara, Hanuman and Kalavva were in this locality.

(c) The north middle sub-division had seven lanes: Mudhi Hanuman galli, Desei galli, Javali galli, Vibhuti galli, Mandikole galli, Zingar galli and Rajput galli.
This sub-division was mainly inhabited by the upper castes such as the Brahmins, Lingaites and Marathas. Among these were government servants, grain merchants, cloth sellers, copper and brass merchants and priests of both Brahmin and Lingait communities. This sub-division of the town had temples of Vithoba, Venkoba, Mudhi Hanuman, Ishvara, a Raghvendra Swami shrine, Rasvanna temple, and a mosque. A few Muslim families had settled down around the mosque.

(d) The south middle sub-division had ten lanes: the Kumbhr (or potter's) galli, Laxmanhalli, Basti galli, Deshpande galli, Hambli galli, Mend galli, and Hos-oni.* This part of the town was inhabited generally by government servants, pleaders, Jain merchants, and Madhva priests. One street in this sub-division was exclusively inhabited by dancing girls. This sub-division had temples of Kalmeshvar, Hanuman, Ishvara, a Jain Basti, a Lingait Veerbhadra temple, a Lingait monastary and a mosque.

* The Hos-oni, or new street, came into existence during the later decades of the eighteenth century. During this period there was frequent warfare between Marathas and the Mysore Chiefs. The inhabitants of the village Sanakki Patchapur, situated between the large town (Bag Talac) and Meilerling hill on the southern outskirts of the town were continually harrassed by the camping soldiers. In order to escape from this precarious position the inhabitants of this village sought protection within the town's mud fort and settled down permanently — Daitar S, Inamdar ASG.
(e) The south western sub-division had seven lanes consisting of Kodenpur galli, Korvar (or musician's) galli, Dundi galli, Yeligar galli, Hanuman galli, Kasba Dyamavva galli, Kollia galli. This sub-division of the town was generally inhabited by government servants, pleaders, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, some dancing girls, musicians, washermen, indigo dyers, a few muslims, and husbandmen. This sub-division had four Lingait monasteries, a Banashankari temple, Venkoba temple, Chauri Basappa temple, a mosque, and the town's chief temple of Dyamavva, or the patron deity of the town.

(f) The north western sub-division had ten lanes consisting of Pendari galli, Tadkode galli, Gavali (or cowherd's) galli, Langoti galli, Kumbhar galli, Daroga galli, two Rassalpur gallias, Saodagar galli, and Nisti (water carrier's) galli. The chief inhabitants of this sub-division were muslims who were generally labourers, carpenters, messengers, pony and horse traders, washermen, tin men, barbers, milkmen, husbandmen, goldsmiths, dancing girls, pot makers, copper smiths, water carriers and palanquin bearers. The temples of Narsimha, Batta­treya, Hanuman, a Lingait Monastery, and four or five
mosques, one of which was the Jama Masjid (the town's main mosque), and the Mission school by the side of the Heigeri tank, were in this sub-division.

This was the spatial pattern of the town during the later decades of the nineteenth century. Many of these streets have since been renamed, such as for example, the "Writer oni", which was chiefly inhabited by the clerks of the Railway offices. Many of the other streets have now been occupied by people following varied professions and coming from several different castes. The area beyond Aska Dharwar or the area beyond the site enclosed by the mud fort, and areas not coming under either the Civil station or the Cantonment, were designated as the suburbs of the town.

(v) The Suburbs

Most of the areas which were classified as the suburbs of the town during the nineteenth century have now merged with the present town area and are regarded in the present century as being the centre of the town, such as, for example, the Hos Yellapur area, Haveripet area etc. However, the areas which were designated as the suburbs during the nineteenth century were five in number. The suburb of the
town to the north was Haveripet. This locality was created during the time of the Peshwas for the benefit of the soldiers of the garrison stationed within the fort. Haveripet had two long streets running from north to south and two other streets running east to west. The chief inhabitants of Haveripet were Lingaits. The main Lingait monastery, the Murga Matha, is in this locality as also a Basavanna temple and a mosque. A few Muslim residents were also to be found in this area. Shopkeepers, oil pressers, carpenters, labourers, Lingait priests were the chief inhabitants. The way in which this locality first came into existence has already been mentioned in the earlier chapter.

Beyond Haveripet, towards the East was the suburb of Madihal. This was a newly created suburb during the British times. When Josiah Nisbet, the Collector and Political Agent for the Southern Maharatta Country, was transferred to Dharwar from Bellary, many Brahmin families following the clerical profession and who worked under Chaplin migrated to the town. These families settled at Madihal. Many other government officials who were mainly Brahmins also settled down here. Later the Vakils and representatives of the native princes in the region, along
with their retinue, also chose this area for their residence. It is said that the two main streets were always seething with horses and horse carriages belonging to the rich gentry who travelled from Medihal to the town to see the Collector, or for other business in the town. This locality was in constant danger of being raided by dacoits because of its rich inhabitants. This locality had two broad streets and were interconnected by five small side-streets. The locality had the temple of Harsimha. This locality lost its prosperity when the Belgaum Collectorate was created in 1835, and most of the rich inhabitants such as the Vakils and Dewans migrated to Belgaum as the territorial jurisdiction of most of the native princes came under the Belgaum collectorate. This locality was for some time known as Hisbepur in honour of one of the Political Agents.

Towards the north of the town was the suburb of Gulganjikop, about a mile from the town. Actually this suburb was composed of five villages called Harayanpur, Kamalapur, Hos-Malapur, Malapur, and Gulganjikop. The inhabitants of these villages were chiefly Lingaits.

Mahrattas, and Muslims. Among them were merchants, potters, husbandmen, and carpenters.

Towards the south west of Gulganjikop was the suburb of Saidapur whose inhabitants were poor labourers. They were either Muslims, Mahrattas or Lingaita.

Towards the west of the town, around the Kempgiri pond and close to the mission compound was an area inhabited by Bhois (or palanquin bearers), Muslim messengers of the Collector's office, native Christian families and other lower castes such as Holers, prostitutes, Hulsars, Bedars, Nares, and a few Mahratta labourers. This suburb being very near to the town and the Collector's office, the Chavan where the horsemen of the political escort resided. The main street of this area was known as Line Bazaar. This street came into existence when traders of modest means set on either side of the road catering to the needs of the native regiment of the British army.

With the changing times, the traditional palanquin bearers or Bhois, had taken to fishing for a living. The native converts to Christianity were employed as servants in European households, while Pindaris had taken to renting pony carts. The Bedars and Hulsars lived by selling fodder
and firewood. The Muslim families sold beads, thread and needles in the locality.

Before the British occupied Dharwar, these suburbs of the town were villages which depended upon the town of Dharwar for goods and services. However, with the arrival of the British and the creation of the Dharwar Municipality all these villages were incorporated within the municipal limits of the town itself. The town began to grow spatially under the British which led the way to social and cultural changes. An analysis of population trends as known from official records and from the census records may provide us with an idea as to the prospects and problems of urban life during the period under purview.

The earliest known enumeration of the population of Dharwar taken in 1825 by the administrative authorities indicates that the town had a population of 13,858 with a total number of 3,803 houses. Twenty years later the population of the town had risen to 19,575 in the 1840s.

With the stability in agriculture and improvements in trade, the population in the Bharwar district showed an upward trend. Collector Thackrey offered various inducements to bring back the peasants who had earlier fled to the comparative safety offered in the Mysore territory. Communications were greatly improved with the construction of roads. The establishment of law courts and police administration brought about peace. Bharwar offered fairly wide opportunities of employment under the British. We find in Bharwar one of the first towns in the Collectorate to have the facility of a school as early as 1826.

The British, on their part, encouraged the migration of educated people to Bharwar to carry on the administration. Bharwar did not seem to have had enough English educated population and to fulfill this need one of the first Collectors, Chaplin, brought with him a number of Telugu-speaking families from Bellary. Some Telugu-speaking population was added when the British stationed

27. H.S. Deshpande, Dewan Bheudur Shrinivasrao Aker Rodda, p.8 - Chaplin, the Collector of Bellary was made the Collector of Bharwar. Some of the families who followed him were Haramhalli, Kamalepur, Sangeet, Kudur, Rodda, Perur, Gangaasamudra and others. Also see the family history of Tilmalrao Inamadar whose ancestors migrated from Kadapa-Kurnool region in 1826.
a regiment at Dharwar under Captain Munro who had come from Madras. Thus, migration was one of the factors for population growth in Dharwar. By the late 1860s, Dharwar had a population of 25,000.28

The first official census taken in 1872 shows that the population of the town had steadily increased to 27,136.29 However, from 1872 to 1901 the census figures show a peculiar trend of a decade of increase punctuated by a decade of decrease. Hence it was only upto 1872 that a steady increase could be seen. The decade of 1870-1880 was marked by one of the most severe famines of the nineteenth century. Such was the severity of the famine years of 1877-78 that the people became extremely impoverished. People died in great numbers as a consequence of either hunger or due to the bad grains distributed by the Government. The death toll was high and some migrated to other areas which were less affected by the famine. Thus in 1881, the population decreased to 26,520. While some people from the town migrated outwards, the starving


29. All Census figures shown are from the official British Indian Censuses for the relevant decades.
population from the hinterland migrated into the town. Such was the volume of migration into the town in 1877 that the city authorities had to accommodate and feed them at a great cost. Twice a day, once at 9 O'clock in the morning, and another time at 5 O'clock in the afternoon, the "Patels" of each section of the town assisted by the "Jemadar" had to report to the municipal authorities about the number of people who had migrated to the town each day, along with the number of cattle, and a general description of the destitutes. Famine relief was provided in the form of stipendiary work. A relief camp and a hospital were also set up. A decrease of population is recorded in the census of 1881 for all the towns of the Bombay Karnatak.

During the 1881-1891 decade the decrease marked during the earlier decades was somewhat made up. The town had a population of 32,841 in 1891. Much of this increase was attributed to the construction of a railway.

30. No.713, Daftar K, Insamdar MSS.
31. Ibid. Men were paid 2 lbs grains + one anna, women 1½ lbs + 9 pies, children 2 lbs + 6 pies. Children below the age of 7 years were given grain and money gratis. The relief kitchen also doled gruel or "Hutchambli". The 'Hutchambli Well' in Dharwar is the outcome of famine relief work.
TABLE - I

**Population of Dharwar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population of Dharwar Town</th>
<th>Decennial variation for Dharwar Town</th>
<th>Total population of Dharwar District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>13,858</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>27,136</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>999,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>26,520</td>
<td>1872-1881</td>
<td>-616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1881-1891</td>
<td>+6321</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>32,841</td>
<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>1,051,212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>31,279</td>
<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>-1562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>30,289</td>
<td>1911-1921</td>
<td>-990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>34,750</td>
<td>1911-1921</td>
<td>1,161,569</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** R.D. Choksey: "Period of Transition".

Other census figures from British India Censuses for relevant decades.
line. The British did not want a repetition of the havoc and confusion wrought by the famine of 1877, and immediately thereafter a rail link was constructed principally to transport goods and grains to the Karnataka region. This railway (known as the Madras and Southern Mahratta, or the M & S.M. Railway) had its divisional headquarters at Dharwar until 1907. The railway not only facilitated in-migration by way of bringing in people from other areas, but it also brought in a substantial number of persons as the employees of the M & S.M. railway. A Government Report confirms this idea thus: "The increase is no doubt mainly because of the location here of the Southern Mahratta Railway administration offices, attended as they are, by hundreds of clerks ... the periodical statistical returns tell us that this increase is still going on and will continue in future years." The population of Dharwar (see Table No.1) under these circumstances should have recorded an increase. However, the census figures of 1901 proved otherwise. The town had to pay

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32. "The inhabitants of Dharwar also beg that the Police force in the town should be strengthened, in consideration of its population and the increased movement therein of strangers of different characters, arriving at, and departing from, the town by railway both by day and night" - Address presented to Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay on 23rd December 1903 - "Daftar 'e', Insadad MSS.

33. Comp. No.10, Part IV, Volume 98 (1896), for the year 1892, General Department.
a heavy toll of human lives on account of the plague epidemic. The census of 1901 shows that the population of Dharwar had decreased to 31,279. The decade 1891-1901, perhaps, had the highest number of deaths in the town caused by plague. A perusal of a Government Report shows that the number of people who died from 1884 to 1893 due to natural and other causes was not too high; as shown in table II.34

Table II: Number of Deaths in Dharwar due to various causes, 1884-1893.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cholera</th>
<th>Small pox</th>
<th>Fever</th>
<th>Dysentery</th>
<th>Injuries</th>
<th>Other causes</th>
<th>All causes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>1,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>1,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>1,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>1,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>951</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The visitation of the plague epidemic was unforseen. A few cases were reported during the last week of July 1898. Most of these deaths were the result of contraction of plague from Hubli which was already in the grip of the epidemic showing, at the time, a daily death rate of 22 to 25. Dharwar was free from plague for some time. With plague being rampant so near at Hubli, it was impossible to prevent the epidemic spreading to Dharwar. By September 1898, it was reported that the Collector was making arrangements to evacuate the people from the town into the camps. By October, plague cases were reported in Dharwar and a newspaper reported: "The plague at Dharwar has beaten all previous records. Every part of the city has been affected and mortality is daily increasing". The evacuation and death had completely succeeded in emptying the town so that "In the market almost all the shops are shut. The barbers, the washermen, the labourers—one and all have left... the roads appear dark and gloomy being denuded of all living beings... we were proud that Dharwar was free from plague when it was raging fiercely..."

35. Karnatak Vritt, 26th July 1898 in B.E.N.R. (by Aug. the number of deaths in Hubli had risen to 450 per day).

36. Dharwar Vritt, 22nd Sept., 1898, in B.E.N.R.

37. Ibid.
for one full year at Hubli, but now our pride is gone. In the beginning, the mortality rate in Dharwar was about 15 to 20 deaths per day, but it soon began to wipe out entire families. It took some decades for the town to recover from the ravages of plague, and it was only from the year 1921 that stability and increase in population of the town could be perceived. The famine of 1877 and the plague in 1898 succeeded in reversing the trends in the growth of population to a large extent.

**Sex ratio**

From the point of sex ratio (number of females for every 1000 male population), Dharwar seemed to have had a balanced population as compared to other towns of the region. Belgaum had a predominantly male population with the number of males predominating for all the four decades 1872-1901. However, in the census of 1981 one

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38. Ibid.

39. Rajhans 4th Nov., 1898, in R.N.N.R.

40. 1911 .. 30,289
    1921 .. 34,750
    1931 .. 41,671
    1941 .. 47,992
    1951 .. 66,571
    1961 .. 77,163
    1971 .. 127,155
can clearly perceive that females dominated males in
Bharwar, Bijapur, Gadag and Hubli. This might have been
due to the great famine of 1877. Many males migrated in
search of employment to areas which had not been affected.
Women were left behind and many of these no doubt migrated
to the security of the relief camps set up in the towns.
Thus, while Bharwar had a constant sex ratio of 930 (1872),
961 (1891) and 953 (1901) it was 1015 in 1891. This high
proportion of females was not to be found in Belgaum or
Karwar for this census period. (See table No.III).

Table III - Sex ratio of the population of towns in
the Southern Mahratta Country, 1872-1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharwar</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>1,015</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadag</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>1,043</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubli</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karwar</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>1,030</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed from British India Censuses for relevant
decades.
Religious composition

A perusal of the census figures for the four decades 1872 to 1901 shows that Dharwar was predominantly a Hindu town. In 1872, the town's Hindu population comprised 19,836, while the Muslims constituted 6,797 and Christians a minority of 493 who were mostly the converted camp-followers and were from Madras. In 1881 the Hindu and Muslim populations had somewhat decreased. The Hindu population was 19,709 and Muslims 6,545 while a notable increase is shown by the Christian community which had increased to 618. (The figures do not include the Cantonment). This increase in the number of Christian population may have been due to conversion during the famine years. (See Table No. IV). The census of 1891 shows substantial increase for all the three religious communities. The total Hindu population was 23,696, Muslim 7,667 and Christian 883. Dharwar had other religious communities, such as the Jains, Parsis, Jews etc., but these were in a comparative minority. The total number of Jains, however, shows to be steadily increasing from 261 in 1872 to 348 in 1891. As has been noted the plague brought about a decrease in population according to the 1901 census. Thus Hindus were 22,770, Muslims
## Table No. IV: Religious Composition (Dharwar town), 1872-1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>HINDU</th>
<th></th>
<th>MUSLIM</th>
<th></th>
<th>JAIN</th>
<th></th>
<th>PARI</th>
<th></th>
<th>CHRISTIAN</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>19,575</td>
<td>10,105</td>
<td>9,470</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,797</td>
<td>3,461</td>
<td>3,336</td>
<td></td>
<td>261</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>19,709</td>
<td>9,941</td>
<td>9,768</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,545</td>
<td>3,142</td>
<td>3,403</td>
<td></td>
<td>271</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>23,896</td>
<td>12,328</td>
<td>11,568</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,657</td>
<td>3,764</td>
<td>3,903</td>
<td></td>
<td>348</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>22,770</td>
<td>7,427</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tot. = Total  
M = Male  
F = Female

Source: From British Indian Census figures for relevant decades.
7,427 and Christians had decreased to 628. It is said that Bharwar had one of the highest Muslim populations in the Collectorate. The Muslims consisted of the Syeds, Sheiks, Muggals, and Pathans. The kazi and the Mullah of Bharwar were both Syeds. The Christian population mostly comprised the British army and the civilian officials. It also included some Portuguese who worked as domestics and, Tamil converts, who worked in the army. The Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, had four chapels in the town. The German mission chapel was for the benefit of the native converts. Another chapel in the Civil lines was for the use of the Europeans. As there was no resident English Chaplain, the Collector or the Judge presided over the Church services on Sundays and Holidays. A Belgaum chaplain visited Bharwar once a month. The Roman Catholic chapel, also in the Civil lines, was under the Bishop of Bombay, while another was under the Bishop of Goa. The local Parsis kept what were called "Europe shops", which sold goods imported from the West, or obtained from Bombay. Some of the Parsis were liquor merchants selling expensive liquor. The Jains were mainly migrants and were either money lenders or cloth merchants.

41. Daftar S, Inamdar MSS.
Before the arrival of the British, the town of Dharwar had been pillaged and looted frequently during the unsettled conditions of warfare. The people were extremely reticent of showing signs of prosperity and comfort. Good houses attracted the attention of the soldiers of the victorious armies and also the tax collectors of the Peshwa. To ward off the marauders, even the well-to-do families built houses of the meanest and coarsest materials. Houses had no openings in the walls except a small door, whereby a man entering such houses had to bend almost double. Small openings were left in the roof which were the chief sources of ventilation. Often these ill-ventilated houses were choked with smoke from the kitchen fire.⁴²

The condition of the people began to change for the better with the restoration of peace.⁴ The local people could witness the construction of good houses by the European officers. Consequently the small, clumsy,

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⁴⁴ Dafter A, 'Notes', p.4, Insadhar MSS.

* In the taluks the number of flat roofed houses increased from 7,589 to 14,708 or 93.8% while the thatched houses decreased from 8,465 to 4,046 showing an improvement in the general circumstances of the farmer and an increase in the better class of habitation — First Settlement Report of Dharwar Taluka, p.7.
windowless and ill-ventilated houses gradually gave place to better dwellings. A report of this period reflects the changes brought about in the manner of construction of houses during the British rule: "The appearance and internal arrangement of the dwellings of the rich and the poor about twenty or thirty years ago were not at all satisfactory ... formerly most of the people did not travel to any district centres ... they seldom left on pilgrimage ... The people were not educated and consequently they had very limited knowledge of the different forms in which houses are built in other countries". 43

With the benefits derived from the modern secular education, and with the familiarity with new styles of living gained through frequent travelling, and through personal knowledge about the way the British officers lived in the town, the people of Bharwar could feel the need to improve their style of living so that within a few years it could be said that "... in and near Bharwar the houses have large doors and in many cases chimneys, and care is taken to have channels to carry cooking and bathing water to some distance from the door." 44

43. Daftar A, 'Notes', Inamdar HSS, p.4.
44. Gazetteer (1884), p.45.
The people could appreciate the need for better ventilation, hygienic and sanitary conditions. This realization on the part of the people had a salutary effect in improving the general living conditions in the town. A contemporary report stated: "A taste for gardens is also springing up" among the people and that the people were using more articles of daily life, some furniture such as chairs and tables and, the rich employed servants. 45 Further, "cats are kept in all houses and dogs, rabbits, pigeons or parrots are kept in the houses as pets", states the report. 46 The value of the houses began to increase. Some of the richer classes in Dharwar began to invest in building good houses. Such houses were always in demand by European officers who were stationed in Dharwar and to whom they were rented. This led to the building of a large number of good houses. Many of the wealthy native inhabitants built large mansions for themselves in the native quarter of the town. 47 In fact the first few good bungalows with tiled roof were first introduced in the town by the British army. 48 The new flat-roofed houses in this

45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
area were pulled down to make way for the army officers' quarters.

The first assessment of the economic conditions of the people made in 1825, seven years after the arrival of the British, showed that the people were of modest means. This assessment made by the Collector showed that a majority of the population followed the usual vocations and were weavers, merchants, artificers, shop-keepers, daily labourers and servants. They formed the base of the local society. According to this assessment, the following gradation of classes based on the yearly income was made: About 1,500 families earning Rs.50-100; about 120 families earning Rs.100-1,000 and about 15 families earning Rs.1,000-5,000. Only about 20 families had an earning of Rs.5,000-50,000. Only two residents, Ramanna and Govind Raig, could be considered wealthy. They were said to be possessing a capital worth more than a lakh of rupees.

However, a deeper and more penetrating study of the social and economic conditions of the people was made in

the later decades of the nineteenth century. The economic conditions of the people had considerably improved due to the introduction of cotton and improvements in agriculture. Generally, on the basis of their income, the population could be classified under four classes: ⁵⁰

(1) The well-to-do had a yearly income of Rs. 1,000 and more. They comprised about 125-150 families. Most of these families lived in spacious houses owned by them. They employed a retinue of servants, a cook and a water carrier. They possessed cows and buffaloes, and, either a horse or a bullock carriage (panni) or, at least, a pony cart.

These men of means came from the land-owning class which included the native gentry such as Desais, Deshpandes

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50. The data for the four classes is summarised from the following sources:

1) Gazetteer (1884) Ed. Campbell (Ed) op.cit, pp.677-696.
3) Daftar A, "Notes", Inamdar HSS.
4) Daftar S, "Report"  
5) Daftar U, "Statements of different individuals". This Daftar contains a large number of statements taken down by Rao Bahadur Tirsaio of the caste and economic origins of different people of the town and the collectorate of Bharwar. It was on the basis of this data that Campbell could estimate the conditions of the people for the Gazetteer (1884).
and Insanders. Most of them were Brahmins or Lingaits. Some government pensioners too were wealthy as they had retired from service after holding high offices. It is reported that some wealthy residents had become impoverished due to extravagant habits or due to heavy expenditure on marriages.

(ii) The upper middle class had a yearly income of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 5,000. The number of people under this category belonged to about 200-400 families. Most of them employed a servant and had either a cow or a buffalo. The upper middle class comprised chiefly Brahmins, Lingaits, Jains, Marattas and a few Muslims. While all the others of this class rode ponies, the Lingaits generally preferred the use of bullocks for transportation. A majority of this class were lawyers or Wakiil by profession and were generally Brahmins of Madha, Shmarts, Konkanastha, or Shevari sub-castes. Others were money-lenders and were Brahmins, Lingaits, a few Koniis and Jains. This class of money-lenders began to flourish after the introduction of cotton in the Collectorate. The rate of interest generally charged was 1 to 2 pies per rupee. Money to the extent of even Rs 5 to 10 thousand was lent. Generally interest for big sums of money was charged at the rate of

* The landed gentry were a class created under Mahratta rule. The system was followed for a number of years by the British.
12 to 24 per cent per annum (or one to two per cent per month). When money was lent to civilian European officials or officers of the British army, or officers in the postal department, the rate of interest charged was much higher. European officers had to pay 3, 4 or even 5 per cent per mensa (or 36, 48, 60 per cent per annum). This high rate of interest was charged in consideration of the uncertainty of the recovery of loans from the borrowers. The sphere of money lending activity which was done traditionally by Brahmins, Lingaits or Mahrattas, was taken over by the Jain migrants from the north.51

The Jain Marwaris usually left behind their families in the North and visited them once or twice a year to fulfill social obligations. On account of their stern nature they were said to be not very popular with the local populace.52 These money-lenders were known as "sarafs", from whom small loans were usually taken by husbandmen, traders and brass workers.

The educated among this upper middle class were often Government servants who had attained responsible positions in service. While the Brahmins and Mahrattas held high

51. Letter No.5122, Tirmalrao to J.R.Middleton, Daftar 3, p.6, Inamdar MSS.

52. Ibid.
offices in the judiciary, police and education departments, the Lingaitas were said to be in the majority in the revenue department. Some Muslims, Christians and Parsis also held high offices in the various government departments. Some goldsmiths also belonged to this class. They bought and sold gold and silver ornaments. When the coinage had not been regularised and native coins were still in circulation some Mahrattas and Lingaitas wore money changers.

(iii) The lower middle class had an average monthly income of Rs. 500-200. This class was made up of about 500 to 1000 families. They were chiefly traders, liquor and toll contractors, copper and brass smiths, priests, and government servants. Most of them could afford to own a cow or a buffalo which was mainly kept so that its produce could be sold after using a portion of it for themselves. They thereby augmented their family income.

Those belonging to the priestly class were either Brahmins, Lingaitas or Muslims. The priestly families in the population comprised as follows: 7/16 were Brahmin priests; 1/16 were priests who served the goldsmiths; 4/16 were Lingait priests; 4/16 were Muslim priests or Moulvis. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the
number of Brahmins (priests) was said to be decreasing. Many Brahmins had taken to education and employment in government service which had a steady and better income than the priesthood. Some priests derived an income from rent-free lands, or inmes. The Lingait priests either officiated at domestic ceremonies, or presided over the four monasteries of the town. The Muslim priests were categorised as Kasis, Mulas or Khatibs and were supported by the Muslim population.

Some of the Muslims of this class were employed as constables or as messengers. This class also included about 200-400 families of grain dealers. Most of them purchased grains from wholesale markets at Mergund, Mavalgund and Ranebennur, and sold them in the local market. Generally, these grain dealers were not quite well-off due to frequent famine conditions. (1802-03; 1814; 1856; 1876-77). The liquor sellers earned an income by selling country liquor or by maintaining distilleries. Their chief customers were Bedars, Holerus and Muslims. The cloth sellers were chiefly Lingaits and some were shimpis. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the trade in cloth was being taken over by Marwaris. Very few had adequate capital, while most traded on borrowed capital.
The Telugu migrants or Kondis were chiefly 'dalals' or brokers who obtained a commission on cart-loads of essential commodities which came into the town. Some Lingaite too had entered this profession. The brass and copper smiths were fairly rich and were mostly Jains, Telugus and Muslims. Most of these traders brought the brass and copper ware from Hubli, Ternai or Poona, and sold them at Dharwar. The wives of these traders often augmented the family income by selling bangles to women.

(iv) The poor earned less than Rs.200 a year and comprised about 2000-2,500 families. The poor consisted of retail dealers, oil men, tailors, husbandmen, labourers, washermen, barbers, vegetable sellers, butter and milk sellers, cobblers and persons working in the numerous other professions which were essential for the normal life of the town. Many from this class had to face stiff competition due to changing times. Many of them had become impoverished. For instance, oil traders and oil pressers traded in sweet oil used for lamps. With the introduction of kerosene, people began to buy kerosene oil for lamps, thereby considerably lowering the trade in sweet oil. Similar was the case with the liquor contractors who had to face competition from Parsi liquor
merchants. Some from this class had taken to new pursuits to augment their income. The barbers besides shaving also acted as torch-bearers or performed small surgery on poor patients. The Bhoia, or palanquin bearers, had taken to fishing, as the use of palanquin was gradually becoming obsolete. Some, of course, had prospered, such as the labourers, cooks and water carriers. With people taking an interest in investing money in good houses, the labourers had found a steady income as they were frequently employed as building construction workers. With increased prosperity, cooks too were nearly always employed. The town of Dharwar always experienced a scarcity of water. With its growing population, water was greatly needed and this had to be carried from a distances from the tanks and ponds. It is said that the cooks and water carriers "dress in such rich clothes that it is very difficult for a stranger to know that they are cooks and watermen. Only when at work do they appear in dirty clothes." 53 They earned well and a majority of them were said to be bachelors. Among most families of this class, women either helped by working in the same professions as their husbands or worked as

53. Daftar A, Inamdar MSS.
domestic servants. Most of them were thrifty and hard
working except perhaps the Bedars who sold fruits during
the seasons, or collected forest produce, such as leaves
for plates and cups, or hunted in the forest. The Bedars,
both men and women, were said to be quarrelsome, and
consumed large quantities of liquor. With the improve­
ment and strengthening of security, the Bedars had given
up open violence and robbing, but were said to steal to
some extent. Among the native population, four Brahmins
and one each from the goldsmith and Maratha Castes,
(sathed to the medical needs of the population. These
were the Vaids. There was similarly one Muslim Hakim in
the town. These did not perform any surgical operations.
As has been noted earlier, some barbers often performed
minor surgery and also set dislocated bones and practiced
sorcery. There were also two female indigenous medical
practitioners in the town, both belonging to the prostitu­
tute class. One was a Mahratta and the other a Telanga.
There were three or four Mahratta and Lingait women who
acted as midwives. In addition to these, there were
about four wandering Vaids in the town.

Among the natives there was only one fully qualified
doctor who was a Parsi. He was a Licentiate in medicine
and performed surgery. This was the arrangement of classes and groups in Bharwar.

In such cities where the British presence was felt, there developed a peculiar socio-ecological pattern of a "native quarter" and the civil lines or cantonment.\(^5^4\) Greese opines that the native quarter served as the core of urban development, though as a consequence of growth, the "core" was always "... left in a somewhat off-centre position, and became dwarfed in importance."\(^5^5\) Thus it was usually the European section which inspired urban activity. The idea is amplified by Robert J. Crane. Crane opines: "... to a large extent the major cities have been the creation of European effort and enterprise. Each consists of a European and an indigenous city. Hence, one may speak of two urbanisms in India."\(^5^6\) Crane further says that by the mid-nineteenth century the new urbanism based on European incentive had begun and, by 1900, the great cities of the present day had

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55. Gerald Breeze: Urbanization in newly developing countries, Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi, 1969, p. 64

began to reach noteworthy size. The same can be said of some of the major towns.

Ginsberg has reiterated this point when he observes that most Indian cities are the product of indigenous and foreign traditions which has "...tended towards the creation of not one, but two cities, side by side, each with its own morphological and functional patterns." 57

Thus one may always perceive two types of urbanisms in the colonial context as also two dissimilar growth patterns in cities. The civil lines and the cantonment were the peculiar outcome of British rule. Sten Nilsson opines that when the British no longer perceived any threat from native powers they moved out from behind the protection of fortifications which were usually in the indigenous quarter of the town, to the periphery. 58 In this process they destroyed forts as fortifications became obsolete.* Instead of an enclosed strong point the


* e.g., Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Dharwar etc. the forts were destroyed.
cantonments provided open areas for scattered buildings and spacious development of the European quarter. Also the 'Maidan' or open ground for exercising the British regiments, not only separated the European section from the native quarter, but formed a focal point of interest for both sections. It was on the Maidan that the British could display their strength and power and evoke awe among native inhabitants along with the cantonment and civil lines during colonial rule.

Tinker points out that the typical Englishman is a country gentleman at heart and prefers living in an open area than under the shadow of fortifications. The basic outlook of the British is therefore to settle in the open countryside. Tinker opines that the British have carried this idea to all the places they had colonized thereby creating the civil lines. The creation of the suburb is also due to this factor which particularly developed in India around the "core" during the British rule.

Thus, under British rule, urbanism in India underwent rapid change. Under colonial rule, in the urban context,

one may view certain other changes also.

Certain structural changes were also brought about in the nineteenth century in urban areas with the creation of the urban middle class. As Sardar Panikkar has pointed out it was in the city under British rule that brought forth a powerful urban middle class which played a very important role in regional and national political and administrative life of the country. He further points out that the city in the nineteenth century also brought forth a powerful mercantile class. Thus was created a modern indigenous elite which played a very important role in the mainstreams of the social and economic life of India.

Cities in India also promoted social change. The city, according to Kingsley Davis is where social change begins in India and it is in the urban areas that one may find specialization, talent and the organization necessary for originating and executing new ideas. Since the British


settled predominantly in urban areas in India, the towns and cities were centres of dissemination of western culture. The city represented opportunity and attracted migrants who benefited from the better means of communication established by the authorities. In fact as Adna Weber opines the improved means of communication not only enhanced trade and commerce, but it also provided the necessary administrative support at the local level for an alien power. 63

Finally, it was in the nineteenth century that the urban areas in India began to have a full paraphernalia of European city life such as Sheriffs, Mayors, the alderman and Commissioners. This development promoted civic consciousness which was a prelude to an active part in urban administration by the urban educated elite.

63. Adna Ferrin Weber; The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century (1963 Reprint), p.120.