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DELETIONS

Certain passages in this thesis have been deleted because of their sensitive nature. Some may be restored in February 2007. For details, see Hocken Library correspondence file 804/1/2 Part 1 (letter dated 17 August 1982).

18 March 1983

P.R. Miller
Archivist
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Dear Mr Gray,

J.V. Leckie Ph.D. thesis 'They Sleep Standing Up'

Dr Leckie's thesis has been withheld from public scrutiny because the Department of Labour objected to certain references which were obtained from immigration records. The Department has now agreed that the thesis can be released if the following names are deleted:

Page 359:

Page 580-1: All references to Dr R.A. Lochore and Sir Guy Fowles should be deleted. The relevant sentences will then read: 'Even in later years ... stated that the Gujaratis in New Zealand were not 'caste Hindus' because they collected bottles and a few were engaged in ritually demeaning work such as street-cleaning and shoemaking.15.

The sentence which overlaps pages 580-1 will read: '... also echoed earlier sentiments expressed in the Franklin Times, when he noted that the 'quality of the Indian immigrant leaves much to be desired.17.

Footnote 15 will read: 22/1/134 ... 5 July 1961.

Footnote 16 will read: Ibid ... 29 September 1962.

Footnote 17 will read: Ibid ... 1961. Date uncertain - in reply to memo from Prime Minister, 32/3/2/1, 14 August 1961.

Page 620:
The names of Dr R.A. Lochoe and Sir Guy Pwoles can be restored after twenty-five years have elapsed (viz. February 2007).

Yours sincerely,

W.H. McLeod
Chairman

Copies to: Secretary of Labour
Department of Labour
Private Bag
Wellington 1.

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THEY SLEEP STANDING
UP : GUJARATIS IN
NEW ZEALAND TO 1945

by

JACQUELINE V. LECKIE

A thesis submitted for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand.

DECEMBER 1981.
ABSTRACT

This study concerns the Gujaratis in New Zealand, mainly up to 1945. The majority of Indians in New Zealand are Gujaratis, most of them members of either the Koli or Kanbi castes and originally from South Gujarat. Although comparatively few in numbers within the small population of New Zealand, Indians are the third largest ethnic group after Polynesian groups and Chinese. Gujaratis began to settle in New Zealand shortly after the turn of this century. From the thirties onwards they have established businesses and their own institutions, and have brought their families to New Zealand. A study of Gujaratis in New Zealand thus serves to highlight aspects of New Zealand society, in addition to contributing to the study of Indian settlements outside India. Two aspects of New Zealand society that are dealt with in detail in this study are mobile occupations (especially hawking and bottle-collecting); and the anti-Indian outbreaks, particularly at Pukekohe in the nineteen-twenties. While some studies have been made of Indians in New Zealand, this is the first attempt to examine Gujaratis as a separate cultural group and to analyse the background culture and factors in emigration.

A variety of methods was used to locate, record and analyse the data. Many records are fragmented, lost or destroyed. Interviews with Gujaratis in New Zealand, England and Gujarat were utilised in conjunction with documentary evidence from government departments (notably Customs and the Immigration Division of the Labour Department); shipping lists; trades directories; Indian Assoc-
iation records; archival material from New Zealand, the India Office Library, the National Archives of India, Baroda and the Maharastra State Archives; official statistics; contemporary reports; newspapers, and the vast secondary literature.

The subject is approached from both the individual case-history and wider economic, social and cultural perspectives. The first two chapters examine the origins of the Gujarati emigrants in New Zealand and the factors that induced them to leave Gujarat. Chapter III asks and attempts to answer the questions of why, when and how New Zealand was chosen as a destination. The last four chapters cover settlement in New Zealand. Chapters IV and V are divided at 1920, as that year marked the end of the relatively free immigration by Indians into New Zealand. Chapter V covers the development of the community from 1920 to 1945, with particular emphasis on occupations. Chapter VI considers cultural aspects such as diet, religion, caste, marriage and divorce, inter-racial liaisons, kinship, the joint family, and contacts with Gujarat, and the initial settlement of Gujarati women in New Zealand. The final chapter looks at the community as a whole, beginning with a discussion of the White New Zealand League at Pukekohe and the reception of Gujaratis and Indians by sections of New Zealand society. This is followed by a brief study of the development of Indian Associations. These were partly a response to antagonisms in New Zealand society, but also can be viewed as a positive approach to the problem of adapting Gujarati culture to the new environment.
This study attempts to demonstrate the importance of cultural as well as economic factors in inducing and sustaining emigration. This it does by considering the persistence of Gujarati cultural traits, and the preoccupation with economic and social mobility, concurrent with an adaptation to and identification with New Zealand. The reception by the rest of New Zealand society, highlighted by the White New Zealand League at Pukekohe, indicates the ambivalent attitude towards Indians. Once again, economic factors are not the only consideration in racial tension. The Gujaratis' reaction has been to persevere, maintaining some separate institutions but consciously seeking a place in New Zealand society. Their success in this respect has been particularly due to the important business role they play.
PREFACE

When I was an undergraduate Professor Hew McLeod suggested I write a long essay on the Gujaratis in New Zealand. This was only the first of many valuable suggestions he made, as the material I originally collected was extended to a thesis. Without the assistance, supervision, support and friendship of Hew McLeod this study would not have been possible.

There are many other people I would like to acknowledge. In particular, my thanks to my overseas supervisors, Dr. Judith Brown of the Department of History, University of Manchester, and Professor Satish Misra of the M.S. University of Baroda. Although I was enrolled with the University of Otago, my research meant I had to reside in Auckland and I am therefore grateful to the staff of the Department of History, University of Auckland, for accepting me as one of their students. I have had many interesting discussions and formed friendships with staff and students there, but in particular I would like to thank Dr. Hugh Laracy, Professor Peter O'Connor and Beverley Simmons for their assistance.

The library staff at the University of Auckland and the Auckland Public Library have patiently and kindly borne with my demands. In Dunedin I utilised the services of the Otago University Library, the Dunedin Public Library and the Hocken Library, and in Wellington, the General Assembly Library. I should also like to thank the library staff at Manchester University for their assistance. In India, the staff of the Hansa Mehta Library were particularly kind.

It was not an easy task to locate archival material
relating to Indians in New Zealand and therefore the assistance of the staff of the National Archives of New Zealand, the National Archives of India, the India Office Library and the Maharashtra State Archives was valuable. I am particularly grateful to Mary Riches of the Immigration Division of the New Zealand Department of Labour, for her assistance when I consulted records there. One other important source was the Franklin Times and I was pleased to be made welcome at their Pukekohe office.

It is not possible to acknowledge every Indian who has helped to make this study possible. I cannot thank enough the people who have patiently answered my questions, fed me, provided transport and accommodation in England and India, arranged introductions and even clothed me! In New Zealand I was made welcome at several gatherings and the Sunday Gujarati classes of the Auckland Indian Association.

Shantiben Patel kindly proposed at the 1977 Annual General Meeting of the New Zealand Indian Central Association that my anticipated research be accepted and assisted with. Haribhai Jagu patiently taught me the basics of Gujarati speech and writing. Several people 'subjected' themselves to long interviews, but in particular I must thank Mr. and Mrs. J.K. Natali, Jagdesh Natali, Maganbhai Ranchhod, Ravjibhai Hira, Rameshbhai Patel, Chhotubhai Sima, Dayalbhai and Dahiben Kesry, Shantiben and Thakorbhai Parbhoo, Jayantilal Patel and the Bhikoo family. They not only helped me in New Zealand but along with others provided several contacts in England and India. In England my special thanks to Keshavbhai and Kusumber Patel, and Amratlal and Lalita Azad.
When remembering my stay in India, I will always be grateful for the welcome rest, as well as information, provided by Dayalbhai Patel and family in Bombay; Kishor and Vikas Desai for their friendship and for providing accommodation in Surat; Trupti Parekh for patiently persisting in correcting my Gujarati; and all the people of the villages who received me, made me welcome, and answered by questions. I am especially indebted to Parbhubhai Soma Patel and family, Parbhubhai Nathoo and family, Ganeshbhai Sukha Patel, Maganbhai Ravji, Ranchhodbhai and Gulabben Vallabhbh Patel, Mr and Mrs. Ghelabbhai Patel, Gopalsbhai Sukha Patel and family, Hira, Jivan Bawa and family, and Esup and Miriam Bhikoo. It is impossible to mention everyone but most informants are listed in the bibliography.

I am grateful to have been given the opportunity to research and write this thesis, through the financial assistance provided by the University Grants Committee and the British Council. I also thank Margaret Tyler for the typing. I hope my illegible notes did not cause too many headaches. Finally, I would like to thank my friends for their encouragement. It is not really possible to express the gratitude I have for my parents patience and support. I hope this study is one way of doing so.
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<td>AS</td>
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<td>B.C.</td>
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<td>BG</td>
<td>Bombay Gazetteer.</td>
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<td>BP</td>
<td>Bombay Presidency.</td>
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<td>I+O</td>
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LTE - Letters to the Editor.
Migration Statistics - New Zealand Statistical Report on the External Migration...of New Zealand; New Zealand Statistical Report on Population and Buildings...
MSA - Maharashtra State Archives.
MW - Maoriland Worker.
NZ - New Zealand.
NZG - New Zealand Gazette.
NZH - New Zealand Herald.
NZICA - New Zealand Indian Central Association.
NZPD - New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.
NZS - New Zealand Statutes.
NZT - New Zealand Times.
ODT - Otago Daily Times.
PIA - Pukekohe Indian Association.
PM - Prime Minister.
P+S-E - Political and Services - Emigration. (Government of Bombay).
QM - Quick March.
RS - Land revision survey settlement report.
WNZD - Wises' New Zealand Directories.
WNZL - White New Zealand League.
Location of principal villages Gujarati emigrants in New Zealand originated from. Only main roads are shown.
Map 3 Only streets and suburbs in text are indicated. Note that this is a modern map but motorways are not shown. Map mainly depicts central city and Newtown.
Only streets and suburbs in text are indicated. Note that this is a modern map but motorways are not shown. Map mainly depicts central Auckland and relevant inner city suburbs.
THEY SLEEP STANDING UP: GUJARATIS IN NEW ZEALAND TO 1945.

INTRODUCTION

Credit must be given to C. Heerdegen, a market-gardener of Pukekohe, who coined the expression in 1925 that Indians sleep standing up. Today it may seem a bizarre statement but it exemplified a popular stereotype held throughout a large portion of New Zealand's history about the Indians who had chosen to settle here. Not only were the European market-gardeners of Pukekohe articulating fantasies and exaggerated fears about 'Hindoos' but so were Returned Service-men, farmers, watersiders, timber-workers, labourers, newspaper editors and their readers, government officials, politicians, and many others. Most of them left no documentary record, only a negative sentiment towards Asians that persists to some extent today. It can be argued that one of the main factors behind such attitudes is ignorance. This thesis, a study of Gujaratis in New Zealand to 1945, attempts to fill part of the gap in our knowledge of the history of Indian settlement in New Zealand.

The 1976 census revealed a total of 9,247 Indians in New Zealand, comprising 5,137 males and 4,110 females. Today many New Zealanders profess to live in a multi-cultural society but general ignorance and information about Indians is embarrassingly scanty. Apart from the Maoris and Europeans, Indians constitute after Polynesians and Chinese the third largest ethnic group. Research dealing with Indians

1. FT, 17 December 1925. See p.582.
in New Zealand has, however, been sporadic, while no study has dealt with Gujaratis only. Most of the studies have been of a superficial descriptive nature, weak in terms of both original research and analysis of available materials.

One of the major reasons for the paucity of research on Indians or Gujaratis has evidently been the relative lack of controversy which they have attracted, and the limited attention they have received from the media or New Zealand public. Until the years after World War II the numbers of Indians in New Zealand were small. In addition, until recently academic research has generally avoided social or cultural history in New Zealand. The low political profile of Indians here has added to general ignorance of their community. Ethnic studies have concentrated on Maoris, Chinese, and (more recently) Pacific Islanders. A further factor that has retarded research on Indians especially for historians, is a lack of documentary sources. Most early

immigration records were destroyed in the 1952 fire which destroyed the files held in the Hope-Gibbons building. Historians could have conducted oral enquiries but this method was not widely favoured until the nineteen-seventies.

The greater part of earlier research that dealt with Indians included them under studies of 'Asiatics' and their restriction by immigration legislation from entering New Zealand. These were not cultural studies but were based either on an interpretation of immigration legislation or a historical documentation of policy (and sometimes attitudes) directed at restricting the entry of Indians and Chinese into New Zealand. The former included papers by Frank Bohn in 1923, T.D.H. Hall in 1929 and H. Bernadelli in 1952, all of which were rationalisations for a White New Zealand immigration policy. Hall did, however, stress a need for the equality of treatment of Asians in New Zealand.

A further paper by Hall and G.H. Scholefield in 1937, and theses and long essays by W.D. Borrie (1938), F.A. Ponton (1946), Scurrah (1948), Noel Harrison (1955), Lois Bell (1964)


and Jack Hadden (1970) traced the development of the White New Zealand policy in further detail. Ponton's thesis is valuable as he had access to Customs Department files that were subsequently destroyed in the Hope-Gibbons fire. The other studies used the more accessible sources of Parliamentary debates and newspapers. Most of the above studies emphasised economic factors in the formation of public opinion towards Indians and Chinese. There was virtually no examination of the stereotypes directed at Indians or of the impetus behind such perceptions and agitation.

Harrison did, however, touch on this aspect in his thesis when he noted a working-class fear of cheap labour competition as the stimulus behind agitation for immigration restrictions, but that during this a wider and more emotional appeal of racial purity and national greatness was the dominant and decisive factor.


"Keeping New Zealand White 1908-1920" was the first detailed, published study of this policy. In addition to the usual sources he examined correspondence between Government House and the Colonial Office. It was also the first attempt to discuss and analyse attitudes towards Indians and Chinese in New Zealand. Two theses, by Smithyman and Rachagan, written in the nineteen-seventies, represent a more detailed analysis of the policies and attitudes behind Asian immigration into New Zealand. They stressed both the cultural and economic threat Asians held to the egalitarian society, that was being established in the nineteenth century. My earlier research was also an examination of the White New Zealand policy although I concentrated on the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, with reference to Indians. This study was also the first to examine Gujaratis as an ethnic group in New Zealand's society. There were, however, some earlier studies of Indians.

Because of a lack of written sources concerning Indians in New Zealand it therefore is not surprising that the first


study in this field was an anthropology thesis by Eric Grimes. Written in 1959, it was mainly concerned with the Auckland Indian community. While it is limited in detail and analysis, it has value as a record of interpersonal and kin relationships in the community twenty years ago. Grimes did tend, however, to accept his informants' opinions too readily as explanations for their behaviour and attitudes.

Some years later T.G. McGee added to the start made by Grimes, with a study of Indians in Wellington city. His findings tended to confirm those of Grimes, as he had relied upon informants from a similar background, although McGee made more extensive use of street directories, electoral rolls and unpublished census returns. McGee's was also the first study to treat Indians in New Zealand within a structural model of assimilation. He chose various criteria to determine demography, economic and residential indices with which Indians were compared to Chinese and Europeans in their locale. He did not, however, question his sources so that with income, for example, a considerable degree of error could have been present, particularly as amongst Indians a proportion of income was informal (that is, paid in kind or not declared on taxation returns). One must also question the correlation drawn between the greater Indian and lesser Chinese residence in inner-city, lower-status areas as a


criterion to assess assimilation. Does this imply that working-class White New Zealanders are 'less assimilated' than those living in more affluent suburbs? An unfortunate result of studies such as McGee's is an over-emphasis on a conformity to some ideal or norm which may have little bearing to a more realistic appraisal of New Zealand society. The limitations of McGee's approach are indicated in a conclusion he drew,

The question now is: how soon can the community throw off its "ghetto" attitudes and begin the long struggle for assimilation into New Zealand society?¹²

The third major thesis that covered Indians in New Zealand was by Taher in 1965 in a study of Asians in New Zealand.¹³ It is debatable as to how valid it is to include Indians, Chinese and Lebanese under the category of Asians. In particular, some of the observations Taher made about Gujarati culture in New Zealand were unsubstantiated. For example he claimed that sixty per cent were Koli, twenty-five per cent Kanabi, two per cent Kumbhar, one per cent Darji and Hajam, one per cent Harijan, and two per cent were Gujarati Muslims, although no source was given for such a definitive statement.¹⁴ A sociological study of Indians in

¹² Ibid, p. 246.
¹⁴ Taher, p. 77.
the Waikato by T.C. Palakshappa was also mainly descriptive, although he did carefully limit his observations and conclusions to the data obtained from the survey.  

The major criticism of the earlier studies of Indians in New Zealand is of over-generalisation and a failure to note the different groups within this population. Few researchers mentioned the distinction between Gujaratis and Punjabis. This meant that a lack of attention was paid to the home culture or those factors that precipitated and sustained emigration to New Zealand. While the above writers were concerned with contemporary observations, they also over-looked the distinctive occupational structure of Indians in New Zealand, apart from statistical analysis. Very little research has been completed concerning the life-styles of these immigrants. Perhaps the greatest discrepancy


is that the earlier studies did not portray Indians in New Zealand as part of New Zealand society and their inter-relationships with different sectors of it.

In my study I have tried to cover these gaps by concentrating on Gujaratis as the main regional-linguistic group within Indians in New Zealand. I have attempted to discuss their local village culture in detail so that some understanding of the cultural change in New Zealand may be drawn. A large proportion of the thesis also covers the factors that induced and contributed towards migration to the South Pacific. As far as possible I have then reconstructed occupational, residential, cultural and organisational patterns of Gujaratis in New Zealand. I have also attempted to place this community within the context of New Zealand's social history. By studying Gujaratis it is possible to highlight aspects of New Zealand society, especially the now redundant occupations such as hawking, flaxmilling, bottle-collecting, and the life-styles of transient workers.

When I began this study there was, as noted, little research that illustrated the complexity of Indians in New Zealand. In the past few years, however, other work has been released that presents a less generalised view. A major reason for this has been an increasing acceptance of oral sources by historians. W.H. McLeod used mainly
interviews for his research on Punjabis in New Zealand. Santi Budhia has also made a brief historical survey of Indians in Christchurch. The first major publication on Indians in New Zealand has been edited by Kapil Tiwari, who relied heavily upon surveys conducted by the Indian Associations. While the documentation of his chapter is sketchy, and at times in error, it does represent an attempt to place Indians within the perspective of New Zealand's history. The papers on Punjabis, Indian Muslims, and Indians in the Waikato emphasise the diversity within those classified as Indians in New Zealand, although other aspects of the book are theoretical and deal mainly with a very generalised and traditional concept of Indian society. Little attention is paid to contemporary or local case-studies, or to the cultural change and development in the


20. e.g. References he gives to AS on p. 16, as 15 April 1922. 19-20 July 1922, 13 August 1943 are incorrect. No references were given for the quotes or sources on pp. 18, 33, 57-8. On p. 32 he stated that 1909-20 there were 671 Indians in New Zealand which is incorrect. This figure corresponds to the number of Indians recorded at the 1921 Census. It should also be noted that Tiwari was commissioned by the New Zealand Indian Central Association and therefore his approach was somewhat biased towards highlighting certain individuals.
New Zealand environment.

This thesis is therefore an attempt to break away from the popular assumption that Indians in New Zealand are uniform in culture, background, language and occupation. The majority of Indians here were born in Gujarat or are descended from those born there. Indeed, most originate from a nucleus of villages within Surat District. Geographically and linguistically the Gujaratis form a tight community. Nevertheless, even at this level, there is still considerable diversity in terms of village and caste background, which was and is reflected to a considerable extent in culture, dialect, diet, religion and marriage. Another line may be drawn between Hindu and Muslim Gujaratis. Within the New Zealand environment these divisions do break down when Gujaratis are considered in relation to Punjabis, the other major Indian group to settle in New Zealand. Gujaratis of most castes and village origin share the same language, occupational preferences and have more in common, even if of divergent castes, than with Punjabis or Sikhs. Thus it is feasible at one level to use the term 'Gujarati community'. Again, when Gujaratis, Punjabis and other Indians in New Zealand are considered with regard to the wider New Zealand society, then the term Indian community may be used. In particular, this applies to the Indian Associations, although within them a considerable divergence on regional lines, both in India and New Zealand, may be noted.

A further justification for research on Gujaratis only, is that by focusing on a definable community, it enables a
greater understanding of the factors that precipitated and sustained emigration overseas. Gujaratis in New Zealand, (as well as Punjabis), come within the classic formula of 'chain migration', that is, as soon as a few pioneers settled in a new area they sent back to the villages for relatives and friends to join them overseas. The latter in turn repeated the process.

This research should therefore be considered in the context of work done on Indians overseas. The literature is vast, but considerably limited in studies of 'free' or non-indentured Indian migrants. Most of the former were Gujaratis and Punjabis. Historical studies are even more scarce so that most of the research on Gujaratis outside India has been by anthropologists. A major reason for this is that historians have tended to focus on the Indians who emigrated under indenture because their movements were well documented. Gujaratis have also been less controversial, tending as a community to take a low profile in their countries of adoption. Their conservatism in culture has evoked criticism. Indeed, in the course of my research I encountered several negative responses by non-Gujaratis. One reason given was the lack of controversy surrounding the Gujarati community, but more generally such negative attitudes were based on ignorance, and popular stereotypes. This can be attributed to regional differences, particularly the concentration of Gujaratis in parts of Auckland and Wellington, and occupational specialisation. That is, a stereotype of Gujaratis as 'quiet' greengrocers has developed as they have appeared to concentrate within family fruit
businesses. While this applies to many Gujaratis it is nevertheless an exaggeration.

Several general studies have been written on the conditions of Indians outside India, particularly in the British Empire and Commonwealth. C. Kondapi's *Indians Overseas 1838 to 1949*, remains the 'classic' comprehensive survey of almost every region where Indians have settled.\(^\text{21}\) It contains useful summaries of the Kangany and Maistry systems of the recruitment of Indians labour to Ceylon, Burma and Malaya, as well as indentured migration to the West Indies, Mauritius and Fiji. In addition the rights and conditions of the 'free' Indians residing in Commonwealth and other countries, such as the United States and China, are discussed. The book, however, does contain errors, such as the section covering New Zealand, where Kondapi incorrectly places 1918 as the year when Indians were restricted from entering New Zealand, and statistics for the numbers of Indians resident in New Zealand are wrong.\(^\text{22}\)

Other general surveys of Indians in the Empire and Commonwealth included those of Henry Polak, S.A. Waiz


\(^{22}\) *Ibid*, p. 211.
(around 1927), Gangulee (1947), Rajkumar (1951), and Gupta (1971). Hugh Tinker has provided a more critical analysis based on extensive use of unpublished and published official and private records. As a result he has concentrated on the indenture system. His approach has now come under a re-analysis, as like most of the studies in his field, he portrays Indians as passive agents, exploited by the British and 'taken overseas'. Recent research, such as that by Brij Lal on Fiji, has questioned this stand.


Other studies have concentrated on specific Indian communities outside India. These include Kurnal Singh Sandhu and S. Arasaratnam on Indians in Malaya and Malaysia, Usha Mahajani on Indian minorities in Burma and Malaya, K.N. Vaid on Indians in Hong Kong, Barton M. Schwartz on caste in Trinidad and Fiji, C. Jayawardena on religious belief and social change in British Guiana and work on caste amongst Fiji Indian rural society, C.F. Andrews, A.C. Mayer, K.L. Gillion and A.G. Anderson's studies of Indians in Fiji, and K. Hazareesingh on Indians in Mauritius. While most of the above provide useful discussions of the history, living conditions, culture and religion of Indians in Commonwealth

countries, they do have several omissions. Few have examined in detail the background of these Indian communities, or the more specific factors behind emigration. The diversity within Indian communities overseas has received little attention except from researchers working with Indians in East Africa and the United Kingdom. Very little analysis has been made of the processes of cultural change and adaptation, or of the effect living in a new environment has had on these people.

A considerable proportion of the research conducted in these regions has been by anthropologists or historians who have relied upon oral sources. This can be attributed to the predominance of Gujaratis in the Indian populations of Africa and England. Because most of them emigrated as 'free passengers' few documentary records of their movements remain. Studies of Gujaratis there, as well as recent research on Gujaratis elsewhere is of direct relevance to understanding Gujaratis in New Zealand, as it provides a comparative framework in which to evaluate cultural change. To a lesser extent, research on Punjabis outside India is also relevant, as they form the other major regional-linguistic group from which non-indentured Indian emigration occurred. Kinship, caste and village ties are also strong between Gujaratis in New Zealand, South, Central and East Africa, England, Canada, the United States and Fiji.

Research on Indians in South Africa has included that by Mabel Palmer, Hilda Kuper, Pierre L. van den Berghe and
P. D. Pillay, but little is known about Gujaratis there. This is unfortunate as South Africa was the initial country where fellow villagers of the Gujaratis in New Zealand settled. In particular it has proved difficult for any recent studies to be conducted amongst the Indian communities there. Political unrest has also hindered knowledge of Gujaratis in Central Africa. The standard survey is that by F. Dotson and L.O. Dotson on Indians in Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi.

Initial surveys of Indians in East Africa were conducted by L.W. Hollingsworth and G. Delf. J.S. Mangat's history of Asians in East Africa from around 1886 to 1945 provides the most comprehensive historical survey in the field. Social, economic and political conditions are covered by Dharam Ghai, while his later publication with Yash Ghai and that of Yash Tandon provide documentation of the conditions...

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of Asians during and after the 'exodus' from East Africa. The major anthropological surveys, however, provide excellent social and cultural material dealing principally with Gujaratis.

H.S. Morris has concentrated upon kinship amongst Gujaratis in Uganda, David Pocock's work on the Patidars has covered both Gujarat, East Africa and England, and A. Bharati's critical account of Gujaratis in Kenya is based on participant observation.

Studies of Indians in England have tended to note the different communities there. G.S. Aurora, John De Witt and Joyce Pettigrew deal principally with Punjabis and Eric


Butterworth with Muslims. Rashmi Desai has written the only book on Indians in England that concerns Gujaratis. His research is therefore particularly useful although he did not take into account the diverse nature and background of the Gujaratis who settled in the United Kingdom. Since this book there is a lack of publications on the large numbers of Gujaratis there. Harald Tambs Lyche has conducted research on the Patidars of London and Maureen Michaelson is currently working on a dissertation concerning the Lohana and Visa Lalarai Oshwal castes in London and Leicester. David Pocock has followed the progression of the Patidars in East Africa and has published a paper on the Swami Narayan


The only other paper on the subject is Michael Lyon's observation in *New Community* that information on Gujaratis in the United Kingdom was noted for its 'fragmentariness, uncertainty and obscurity'.

The majority of Indians settled in Canada and the United States are Punjabis so the lack of data concerning Gujaratis there is not surprising. With recent emigration by Gujaratis from India, East Africa and the United Kingdom it is likely future research will develop, but until then Usha Jain's thesis on the Patidars of San Francisco remains the only detailed study of Gujaratis in this part of the world.

Fiji is the closest country to New Zealand where a large population of Indians have settled. As noted, until recently, most of the research concentrated on the indentured labourers there. A major contribution to the field of Gujaratis overseas has therefore been the recent research of

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38. Bruce La Brack intends to publish an extensive bibliography on Indians overseas, particularly in North America and Canada.


40. Two excellent books have recently been published on this subject, Rama's *Banishment*, *op cit*, and Subramani, ed., *The Indo-Fijian Experience*, Brisbane, 1979, which gives literary accounts of the indentured experience.
This thesis also reflects the change in the use of oral sources by historians. Prasad has presented a far less negative picture of Gujaratis than that of the penny-pinching Bania and his detailed analysis of caste and village origins reflects a sensitivity for data instead of grand generalisations. He did not however, examine in detail factors behind emigration out of Gujarat.

It has been noted that one of the major reasons for a lack of research on Indians in New Zealand is the problem of source material. Primary documentation is scarce, mainly because early immigration records filed under the Customs Department up to 1948, were destroyed in the fire of the Labour Department. I was, however, able to consult some fragmentary evidence from the Customs and other government departments, such as Internal Affairs, The Prime Minister's Department, Labour and Statistics departments, that had been deposited in the National Archives. Shipping lists provide valuable information pertaining to name, age, date, and place of arrival, and the ship and route by which the

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immigrant sailed to New Zealand. Sometimes occupations were also recorded.

Between November 1977 and March 1978 the Department of Labour allowed me access to registers and files which enabled me to study immigration policy and exceptions to it. In particular, the registers of entry permits issued by the Customs, (and later by the Immigration Division of the Labour Department), were invaluable as they provided an index from which I could establish all Indian immigrants who entered New Zealand between 1920 and 1948. Because after 1920 immigration was limited to the children or wives of Indian residents of New Zealand, the father's or husband's name was usually recorded. As a result I have divided my material into three generations. The first generation consists of those Gujaratis who entered New Zealand before the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act was law. Any Gujarati without a father in New Zealand may be considered as first generation. Of course, some provision must be made for illegal entries. The index of first generation migrants thus was culled mainly from the entry registers, shipping records, street directories and oral records. The children

42. Auckland Archives, C-A 9/2, Aug 1915 to C-A 9/8, 1921. Before 1915 only June to March 1909 were available. Lack of time did not allow me to consult Shipping Lists in Wellington where complete records are held.

43. Indexes of Registers of Permits Issued, 1921-1945. L/25/1 - L/25/3. As part of the condition of access to Labour Department files I am unable to provide details of records consulted.
of the first generation were considered second generation, regardless of whether or not they were born or grew up in India or New Zealand. Their own children may be classified as third generation although this study is not directly concerned with their story. It should also be noted that my approach focused upon men, mainly because few Gujarati women entered New Zealand before 1948. In addition, women took their husband's name after marriage and were difficult to trace.

Other documentary sources included newspapers, some city council records, and street directories. The latter should be handled with care as the people or businesses listed in them paid a fee to be included. Nevertheless, a number of Gujarati tradesmen or fruiterers did register so these directories are a valuable source particularly for tracing mobility. Other published primary sources for New Zealand were the census, external migration statistics, the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, New Zealand Yearbooks, statutes and parliamentary debates. Two Committees of Enquiry have highlighted the major trades Gujaratis in New Zealand have settled in, that is market-gardening and the fruit business. 'Evidence given before the Committee Investigating Conditions and Accommodation of Maoris Employed in European, Chinese and Asiatic Market Gardens in Auckland and Surrounding Districts' in 1929, was particularly useful as it revealed attitudes towards Indians in Pukekohe, in addition to providing information about
occupations and lifestyles. 44

A further source of documentation was provided by the minutes and reports of the Indian Associations of New Zealand, but unfortunately these are incomplete.

Archival sources consulted in England and India were of relevance to three aspects of this thesis. First, they extended the information available concerning New Zealand's immigration policy to Indians. Secondly, they provided material for a cultural background of the castes settled in New Zealand and thirdly, as evidence for an understanding of factors which precipitated emigration to New Zealand and elsewhere. The most useful records consulted at the India Office Library in London were the land settlement and revision reports for Jalalpore, Bardoli and Navsari talukas. 45

In addition, some files from the Industry and Overseas

44. The other source was The Fruit Marketing Committee Report, 23 January 1937.

Department concerned Indian emigration to New Zealand. 46
These were complemented by emigration files deposited in
the Indian National Archives in New Delhi, 47 and those
classified under the Political and Services Department of
the former Bombay Presidency, and now held in the Maharashtra
State Archives in Bombay. 48 An unexpected 'find' of files
concerning illegal immigration by Indians to New Zealand
indicates how to a large degree, the content of this thesis

46. L/E/7/1192, I + O 222, "New Zealand Immigration Restric
ction Act, (Amendment) L/E/7/1281, I + O 3050, "Indians
in New Zealand". L/E/7/1283, I + O 3122, "Sastri's Tour
of the Dominions". L/E/7/1242, I + O 2547, "Mr. Sastri's
Tour of the Dominions". L/E/7/1220, I+O 970, "Number of
Indians Resident in the Dominions and Colonies and
Question of Supply to Government of India of Dominion
re Census Reports". L/E/7/1246, I+O 2717, "Memo
Summarising Immigration Laws in Certain Dominions,
Colonies and Mandate territories within the British
Empire."

47. Files relating to Indian emigration to New Zealand came
under, 1905-21, Department of Commerce and Industry,
'Emigration', 1921-22, Department of Revenue and Agric
ulture, 'Emigration'. 1923-43, Department of Education,
Health and Lands, 'Overseas'. I checked the indexes of
most of these years, although some were not available.
See bibliography.

48. Political and Services Department. I checked file,
volume and compilation lists 1887 - 1944, but there was
very little relating to New Zealand. Passport files are
available, 1916-1938, approximately 100 boxes. Random
boxes were checked but it would have been a very leng-
thy process to unearth the relatively few applications
for emigration to New Zealand, as these were arranged
in sequential order by year and date. All nationalities
and destinations were mixed up.
was determined by the material available. The early Annual Administration Report for Surat Collectorate, and later daily and weekly intelligence reports of the Civil Disobedience movement there, revealed detailed background data on local village conditions. The latter confirmed enquiries I made, in and around Navsari, as to the preservation of local records. Many were destroyed during the struggle for Independence. G.D. Patel has also noted that the original and revision land surveys of Gujarat were destroyed in a fire of the record room at Surat in 1887.

Therefore, apart from the above reports and those available in London, the existing records in Baroda, particularly in the Baroda Collection of the Hansa Mehta Library, were valuable. Fortunately the Gaekwad had an extensive bureaucracy and encouraged 'scientific investigation' of

49. Political and Services, 1941, 4499/34-E, "False Relationship Certificates for certain persons proceeding to New Zealand." 1941, 4353/34-E, "Enquiry of the forgery of signature and seal of a document produced by Nanu Lakhu to the Comptroller of Customs, New Zealand."

50. Revenue Department, Administrative Reports of the Collectors of the Northern Division. I checked most years 1890-1919. From 1919 onwards reports were for the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency and did not include details of individual talukas and divisions as in previous years. The Reports stopped around 1920. /Hereafter referred to as AAR/ Home Departments (Special), see bibliography for lists of these reports.


52. See bibliography, pp.688-9. When I consulted the Baroda Collection it was clear that it needed classification and preservation of the records. The general disarray made it difficult to consult some of the material, e.g., I was unable to locate Baroda (State) Survey and Settlement Department Report of Palasana Taluka of Navsari Division, 1910-11.
conditions within his state. Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency and Baroda State were another important source, especially for background data concerning the cultural characteristics and castes. A considerable proportion of the information contained in these huge volumes derives from census and contemporary 'ethnographies' or reports of civil servants. I also consulted the census volumes for the former Bombay Presidency and Baroda from 1872 to 1951, as well as contemporary accounts by Bhattacharya, Enthoven, G.H. Desai, Alexander Forbes, Malabarî, and Thoothi. There are of course several secondary accounts of Gujarat's history, society and

economy, as well as more general studies and reports of Indian society. 54

Additional secondary sources for the cultural, social and economic background are the village surveys that were somewhat prolific in India. Although several studies have

been conducted of villages in South and Central Gujarat, there are no detailed ones of the Koli- or Kanbi- dominated villages of Surat District nor of the corresponding sectors of Baroda. Most of the village studies give details of religion, caste, landholdings, occupations, education, diet and standards of living, while almost all of the earlier ones examine the problem of rural indebtedness. From a theoretical or comparative viewpoint studies of caste and status by David Pocock, I.P. Desai, Jan Breman and Klaas Van

der Veen proved useful. None of the above deal specifically with the main jati represented in New Zealand, although some analogy can be drawn with Pocock's research on Patidars, their economic mobility, and corresponding attempts to legitimate this by "Sanskritic' religious behaviour, hyper-gamous marriages, and ostentatious displays of wealth, such as housebuilding. Van der Veen's study of the marriage patterns of Anavil Brahmins revealed similar patterns. The role of migration in providing extra wealth for such status recognition is a major theme that will also be examined in this thesis. Emigration thus solves part of the financial 'problem' but also serves to maintain, indeed, increase economic and social expectations.

Other studies relating directly to Gujarat, such as

those by K.M. Kapadia and A.M. Shah, examine social change and correlating factors, including emigration from the village. These authors and others confirm that the joint family is not necessarily a concimitant of an agricultural economy. Kinship and joint living amongst Gujaratis settled in New Zealand may thus be examined against the findings of research done in Gujarat.

The main source for this study was a series of interviews with Gujaratis in New Zealand, Gujarat, and to a lesser extent, England. The objective was to secure informants who could relate eyewitness accounts and attitudes of their personal histories. It was therefore preferable to interview mostly elderly men who had migrated to New Zealand before 1930. Because a number of the first-generation migrants are now dead I had to frequently rely upon second-hand accounts from their sons and daughters. This in itself was useful in eliciting information concerning the early years of this second generation.

It is only in recent years that oral history has acquired respectability amongst historians, particularly with the excellent work published by British historians such as George

Ewart Evans and Paul Thompson. They and others have argued that for large sectors of the population a lack of documentary sources has resulted in no possible record. In particular this applies to 'ordinary working people', such as rural labourers, fisherpeople and migrants. The history of women and the family, as well as that of non-European ethnic groups would have remained virtually unrecorded if not for the adoption of oral history. Michael King's book, Te Puea, and Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplan and Craig Wallace's study of Rua Kenana have illustrated the relevance of oral history to a more equitable appraisal of 'Maori' history in New Zealand. I therefore found it essential to adopt this method in order to study a community which lacked written records, claimed few literates in the English language, and was transient both in migratory patterns and occupation. In addition, the severe lack of official immigration records


necessitated alternative sources. Paul Thompson has argued on similar lines.

Again, it is often only oral evidence which allows adequate study of a transient economic activity which may be a vital part of the wider picture. Thus there are virtually no written records of itinerant trades-hawking, credit-drapery, market-trading and so on...60

He further noted that with oral history the history of immigrant groups can be examined from the 'inside', 'a kind of history which is certain to become important in Britain, and is mainly documented only from outside as a social problem61.

The use of oral testimony has of course long been an established method amongst anthropologists and sociologists. In particular the fieldwork with non-literate African societies, such as that by Evans Pritchard, argued for the study of those traditions which collectively represent past events (that is, myths) as an integral part of the society to which they belong. This approach contrasted with that of the Functionalists, led by Radcliffe Brown, who were concerned with only the function of oral tradition, dismissing the possibility that it could contain any valid information about the past.62 Jan Vansina's classic study, Oral Tradition has paved the way for a critical justification of this method as a means to reconstructing the history of non-literate people from their oral traditions. It should be noted, however,

60. Paul Thompson, The Voice of the Past, pp. 67-68.

61. G.E. Evans, Where Beards Wag All, p. 235, also notes that Oral evidence is valuable for studying migration.

that oral traditions, which are handed down by word of mouth to later generations and may be subject to extremely tight ritualistic controls, differ from oral histories, which according to Paul Thompson are eyewitness accounts. The former do tend to serve a function within the society while the latter generally relate to an individual's perception of events or an account of their life-story. The historian is usually concerned with objectivity, although in so doing he or she should accept that no source is ever an exact account of the 'truth'.

A major justification for the use of oral sources, therefore, is that they are as valid as any other source provided they are examined as critically as any historical evidence should be. Even the accepted documentary sources, such as census reports, official statistics, transcripts of hearings or correspondence, are not fool-proof, and are often based on oral reports. Unpublished archival sources have been frequently filtered by a chain of individuals before the historian consults them. Newspapers are an obvious source that should be examined critically, as their account may represent more accurately the editor or shareholders' attitude than a record of an event.

My own study was based upon extensive interviews with selected Gujaratis. It was impractical, and indeed would have proved useless, to administer any sort of random sample or rigid questionnaire. Paul Thompson also notes that the random sample should be abandoned with the use of elderly people as informants, for clearly they do not represent a
cross-section of the population.\textsuperscript{63} Instead, I relied upon an informal 'network' of informants, a method frequently employed by social scientists, especially in the study of ethnic groups. It was essential to be patient, sensitive, and above all gain the trust of a group of people who tend to be somewhat guarded about discussing their way of life with strangers, particularly as some have been subject to harassment and endless interrogation by members of the public and government officials.

Initially I selected Gujaratis who had settled in New Zealand for many years and were prominent members of the community. In turn, each informant would invariably suggest further contacts for me to visit. Like other researchers, I attempted as far as was possible to gain a 'quota sample', that is, a selection of individuals from different jatis, villages and occupations. Interviews were usually conducted in the informant's home, preferably alone, and in the English language. In Gujarat, however, it was frequently necessary to rely upon an informant who would usually be a New Zealand emigrant returned to India. I had a set list of topics and questions but these were open-ended, to allow for each individual's specialised knowledge. For example, some people were familiar with details concerning caste or religion, while others could relate accounts of an occupation, such as bottle-collecting. I did not use a tape-recorder as I considered it might inhibit some of my informants. Notes were

\textsuperscript{63} Thompson, \textit{op cit}, p. 123.
taken, although it was sometimes preferable to put one's pen down when discussing sensitive subjects such as caste or illegal immigration. Some Indians were unsure of tape-recorders for fear that insensitive New Zealanders might misinterpret their customs and attitudes. Clearly when members of one caste were discussing another, they would not want their opinions to be recorded in an identifiable form.

Paul Thompson has noted three tests of evaluating the reliability of oral evidence which are applicable to this study. First, the interview should be assessed for internal consistency, and any suppression or invention should be noted. While it is inevitable that some inconsistencies are normal, clearly certain informants were so erroneous that their evidence had to be either discarded or treated with caution. Fortunately I found few examples of this and a comparison of separate informants' accounts usually verified one another. The major area in which it proved difficult to rely upon oral testimony was in attitudes, as informants often tended to evaluate aspects of caste, religion, and relationships with other New Zealand communities in terms of present-day and ostensibly more acceptable opinions. This in itself can be useful as a study of culture change. The second test Thompson suggests is to check the oral evidence with other sources. Jan Vansina also argues: 'Any evidence, written or

64. Ibid, p. 172, notes that even note-taking can arouse suspicion in some people. Evans, op cit, p. 23 makes a similar observation.

65. Thompson, op cit, pp. 209-211.

66. See p. 197 for example of this.
oral, which goes back to one source should be regarded as on probation; corroboration for it must be sought. 67 I was able to evaluate much of my testimony against documentary sources such as migration statistics, street directories, government and Indian Association records. Almost all of the informants had a high degree of accurate recall. For example, most were able to state the precise date of arrival, the ship, their age, and other Indian ship-mates, all of which I could verify with shipping records. Of course, oral accounts pertaining to cultural or occupational aspects were unique, but Thompson's third rule of placing the evidence in a wider context was applicable here.

A further consideration was that of the relationship between interviewer and informant. I was an outsider, advantageous in that I had no fixed position within the Indian community but also at a disadvantage as I was not highly fluent in Gujarati and initially ignorant of the culture of my informants. It can however, be argued that as a New Zealand Pakeha I was generally free to mix with different social groups and castes, without the restrictions of communality or any preoccupation with my own or my kin's status. Indeed, I found my naivety at times useful as I was able to elicit and record information that an 'insider' might overlook.

During the six months' fieldwork in Gujarat I found my common background with retired Gujarati migrants from New

Zealand a bond, as they were eager to share and recall their experiences overseas. It was relatively easy to move freely amongst the different villages there as I had no ancestral obligations. The fieldwork was divided into nine main trips during which I resided in and visited the following villages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Villages.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 November 1978</td>
<td>Aathan, Karadi, Matwad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 January 1979</td>
<td>Karadi, Matwad, Machhad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 January 1979</td>
<td>Baben, Bardoli, Bhuvasan, Astan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 January 1979</td>
<td>Kharwasa, Barbada, Nigar, Pathronana, Isroli, Syod-Puni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 February 1979</td>
<td>Sagra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 February 1979</td>
<td>Astagam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 February 1979</td>
<td>Sisodra (Ganeshwad), Pardi-Sarpore, Aathan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 March 1979</td>
<td>Karadi, Aathan, Navsari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 March 1979</td>
<td>Manekpore.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While there I accompanied Gujaratis from New Zealand on social visits, to weddings, or on village tours. These experiences tended to jolt my informants' memories, so that they could recall details of a fellow villager's life. Details included the date and cost of house-building, occupational and family history, and a villager's subsequent retirement to India. In Karadi, the village from which the largest number of migrants originated, I was able with the assistance of Ganeshbhai Sukha (a retired New Zealand migrant),

68. Documentation for interviews in Gujarat will simply refer to fieldtrip and corresponding Arabic numeral, e.g. Int, F.T. 2. (and informant's name where permissible).
Chhaganbhai Budhia (on visit from New Zealand), Morarbhai Patel (a local schoolteacher) and the village sarpanch, to elicit details of migration for each household.

I do not claim to examine or offer any major hypothesis in this study. As noted from the above discussion the lack of previous research on Gujaratis in New Zealand, combined with problems of documentation, has to an overwhelming extent determined the scope of my research and subsequent analysis. Instead of concentrating on any hypothesis, I intend to highlight patterns and examine factors that contributed to these. The first two chapters set the context of those villages in late nineteenth-century Gujarat, from where emigration to New Zealand began in the early twentieth century. We shall survey the cultural and economic origins of these migrants, a discussion I felt even more necessary because of the lack of published material on Koli Patels, the main caste to settle in New Zealand. I shall then relate the movement to the South Pacific to that of earlier emigration from Surat District, principally in the direction of South Africa. Chapter II, therefore is a detailed examination of the factors that induced such emigration. Three principal questions are asked: why did Gujaratis leave a particular set of villages, and why did they choose to settle in New Zealand? How important are economic factors? I shall attempt to show that considerations of social mobility and the acknowledgement of commensurate status are equally important in a discussion of economic needs.

The third chapter examines in detail the 'mechanics of
migration' to Fiji and New Zealand - how, why, and when these pioneers sailed to this part of the world. The rest of the thesis concerns the settlement of Gujaratis in New Zealand. Chapters IV and V are directed at the pre- and post-1920 Gujarati community. In them, demographic, residential, occupational and life styles are considered. Chapter VI is introduced by a discussion of the lifestyles of female Gujarati women who emigrated to New Zealand before World War II, and this leads on to an analysis of cultural change between Gujarat and New Zealand, particularly with regard to diet, religion, caste, marriage, inter-racial liaisons, kinship, jointness, divorce and ties with Gujarat. Finally in Chapter VII, the town of Pukekohe is taken as a case study of the relationships between Indians and other New Zealanders, culminating in the formation of the White New Zealand League. A question raised is the extent to which this correlated with economic crises. Will this provide an explanation or is it part of a xenophobia always present in New Zealand society, or indeed in all societies? As a final note, one of the main responses to this antagonism towards Indians, is examined. This is the development of Indian institutions. The firm establishment of Indian Associations may perhaps be considered as evidence of a definite commitment to settlement in New Zealand. Underlying all these patterns, are those of the persistence of Gujarati cultural traits in New Zealand, and the extent to which economic achievement in the latter country corresponded to economic and status mobility in the home villages.
CHAPTER I

ORIGINS

Indians in New Zealand originated predominantly from Gujarat in Western India. Gujarat is a state of 26,697,475 people covering 159,594 square kilometres of the Indian Union.¹ Before 1949 portions of Gujarat were included in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay State after 1947) while the remainder belonged to the princely states, the most important of which was Baroda. A few of the Indian emigrants to New Zealand also originated from Sachin, another small princely state in the former Rewakantha Agency.²

There was, and is, considerable variation in the economic, social, political and cultural structure of the various districts in Gujarat.³ The same also applies within the smaller subdivisions known as talukas in the British territories and prants in Baroda. While some economic uniformity is discernable within talukas or prants, there are still marked cultural divisions of caste and religion. This chapter will seek to describe the geographic, economic and cultural background of those Gujaratis who emigrated to New Zealand in the early twentieth century.

Present-day Surat and Valsad Districts have been the source area for almost all Gujarati emigration to New Zealand as well as to other countries, particularly Fiji,

¹. Census, India, 1971. These figures represent 4.87% of the population and 5.97% of the total area of India.


³. A District usually corresponded to a province in British India.
South and East Africa. The boundaries of Surat District are described as follows in the *Gujarat State Gazetteer*.

Situated on the shore of the Arbian Sea, where its waters begin to narrow into the Gulf of Cambay, the district stretches for about eighty miles from the Damanaganga river in the south to the Kim in the north. On the north, a line following for about forty miles the course of the Kim, and then passing eastwards for about sixty miles along the southern spurs of the Rajpipla hills, separates Surat from the district of Broach. The eastern boundary is more irregular. At its north-eastern extremity, it bulges out to include the plain tract of the Tapi river and its tributary streams, and then skirts round the Navapur sub-division of the West Khandesh district, to touch nearly the Songadh fort. Then it projects south-eastwards for about sixty miles. Its southern boundary, again, is irregular... From the administrative point of view, the district is bordered by the Broach district in the north, the West Khandesh district and the small district of the Dangs in the east, and the Surgana and Paint sub-divisions of the Nasik District, in the south east.

Historically, the port and city of Surat assumed considerable importance in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. From 1573 Surat was under Mughal rule until 1733 when the governor acted independently from Delhi. By 1759 the British had captured the city although their administration was not officially instituted until 1800. From the early century the arrival of the Portuguese, other European

4. In 1964 Surat District was bifurcated into Valsad and present day Surat District. Of the talukas from which emigration to NZ predominantly took place, Navsari and Valsad were transferred to Valsad District, while Bardoli remained within Surat District. The area referred to in this study, therefore, corresponds to the former Surat District.


6. Ibid, p. 82. The following discussion is mainly from Chap. 2, which provides a detailed history of Surat District.
traders, principally from England, Holland and France established factories there. Commercial prosperity reached its zenith in 1695 when it was described as, 'the prime mart of India, all nations of the world trading there; no ship sailing in the Indian Ocean, but what put into Surat to buy, sell or load.' Silk and cotton textiles were the most important trading commodity, while the port also served as a centre for shipbuilding.

During the late eighteenth century Surat's prosperity waned as the trading, business and industry shifted to Bombay. Additional competition emanated from the British East India Company's factories in Bengal. Factors that contributed to the shift from Surat included Maratha raids, increasing disorder as central rule from Delhi weakened, a reduction in trade with Persia, Arabia and Europe due to political disorder there, the storm of 1782, a famine in 1790, and the silting up of the Tapti river. According to Edwardes's account, the directors of the English East India Company actively promoted the political and economic predominance of Bombay over the other ports in Western India. This brief historical outline is relevant to the following chapter as it provides some understanding of the economic problems that contributed to emigration out of Surat District.

This began with the migration of many members of the Gujarati commercial classes to Bombay.\textsuperscript{10}

Gujaratis who emigrated to New Zealand, however, originated more precisely from the Jalalpore and Bardoli taluks in the former Bombay Presidency and Navsari mahal in Baroda.\textsuperscript{11} All my informants emigrated from villages in this region or had parents who had been born there. New Zealand immigration records and other research demonstrate the same findings.\textsuperscript{12} Jalalpore village, situated approximately twenty miles south of Surat, was of administrative importance as the seat of the mamlatdar's kutchery, although surrounding villages (especially Abrama and Matwad) were considered superior in terms of population and prestige.\textsuperscript{13} Bardoli had also been the headquarters of the mamlatdar and when the

\textsuperscript{10} See Neera Desai, Social Change in Gujarat, A Study of Nineteenth Century Gujarati Society, Bombay, 1978 pp. 182-3 for further discussion of this.

\textsuperscript{11} Jalalpore taluka was an area of 200 square miles at the time of the 1900 Revision Survey.


\textsuperscript{13} RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 1. The taluka was formerly known as Supa Pargana, with Supa occupying the eastern sub-division and Pargana, the western sub-division.
taluka was formed around 1865 it was an amalgamation of the former Sarbhon, Kadod and Valod taluks. The first two were considered by Colonel Prescott as 'uncommonly prosperous' and dominated by Ujaliparaj classes; while the eastern portions of Valod were described as poor and miserable. This was due to geographic and climatic features together with a large tribal population. 14 A detailed analysis of migration origins follows on page 200. For present purposes it can be noted that a majority of the Gujaratis were from Navsari taluka and mahal, with considerable numbers from large villages. Particularly important were Karadi, Matwad, Bodali, Macchad, Jalalpore, Navsari town, Ganesh-Sisodra and Pardi. In Bardoli taluka a more selective emigration pattern was noted from a number of villages.

Compared to the rest of the sub-continent Gujarat justifies the description of 'garden of India'. 15 Thoothi has given a flamboyant description,

> It is a rich region we have surveyed, perhaps one of the richest in the world, one that without great difficulty could be turned literally into a land flowing with milk and honey. 16

Portions of it certainly were well endowed but equally these resources were hard pressed both in terms of populat-

14. RS, Bardoli, 1897, pp. 45-6.


ion and the economic productivity of the land. The problem is that because it was an area of relative affluence in comparison with the rest of India, especially in certain decades, these pressures and more acute calamities could have a marked effect.

(a) Climate.

In particular the climate could drastically affect a society dependent upon revenue from agriculture. In Surat District seasons can be divided broadly into the winter dry season from November to February; the hot, dry season from March to May; and the south-west monsoon from June to September. October is a transitional month. Surat District and Baroda are fortunate to have a comparatively reliable and sufficient rainfall compared to the rest of Gujarat and India. It can be further noted that within Surat District the talukas of Jalalpore and Bardoli were regions normally favoured with rainfall sufficient to support two or three crops a year. Mr. Mehta, the Survey Officer of Jalalpore taluka in 1899 described the local climate as 'mild and healthy'. The Western part of Bardoli taluka was also considered as possessing a very healthy climate. Surat District is an area of temperate to high temperatures, but


18. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 4. noted that the climate is the healthiest along the coast in Surat District.

19. RS, Bardoli, 1897, p. 43.
these vary according to season and proximity to the coast. Irrigation was of little importance in these regions, while wells were not as significant as a source of water as in other areas. Nevertheless, as figure 1 indicates the volume of rainfall could fluctuate to the extent that one year literally could bring a feast and the next a famine. As we shall see in years such as 1899, 1901, 1904 and 1911 Gujarat was hit by these catastrophes. As illustrated by figure 1 in Bardoli and Jalalpore taluks annual rainfalls were somewhat higher than in Surat District. For example, in 1899 24.85 inches were recorded in Jalalpore compared to 18.49 in the District. Bardoli taluka, was, however, badly hit in that year, as it received an average of only 18.51 inches of rain. In 1911 when the district suffered from further drought and received an average of 19.63 inches of rain, Bardoli had the more desirable average of 32.16 inches, while Jalalpore suffered more by receiving an average of only 23.77 inches of rain. In addition, it can be noted

Mean maximum temperature April-May = 97° - 99°F.
Mean maximum temperature Dec -Feb = 88° - 90°F.
Mean minimum temperature Dec -Feb = 57° - 60°F.

22. See below p. 138 ff.
23. Statistics from BG, 1904, and BG, 1914. Table indicates the normal mean of rainfall. Note the variations from 1894 to 1903, and 1903 to 1911, which may have partially reflected errors in recording. Although, as noted, at the Census Baroda 1921, vol. 17, pt. 1. p. 38, over the last 20 years a slight, though perceptible decrease in rainfall since 1881. Jalalpore and Bardoli taluks received higher rainfall averages than Surat District. Recordings were in inches and hundredths of an inch.
that crop fertility depended upon the seasonal timing of the rain as well as the volume of water.\textsuperscript{24} At the subsistence level this particularly applied to the \textit{kharif} or 'wet' staple food crops, especially \textit{juwar}, and to a lesser extent rice.\textsuperscript{25} Partly as a result of the bad seasons at the turn of the century, cotton, which was classified as a 'dry' crop, was a safer investment as the quantity of water available (from natural sources, irrigation or tanks) was of more significance than dependence upon timely rains.\textsuperscript{26}

\textbf{(b) Soils and Crops.}

Three major geographical areas are found in Surat District. First, there is the coastal region, characterised by sandy bars and alluvial belts at the mouths of the major rivers.\textsuperscript{27} This gives way to dry chains of sand dunes, which are usually barren or interspersed with scanty vegetation. Behind this sandy fringe may be found tidal flats, described in the \textit{Bombay Gazetteer} as '... dull and monotonous; extensive areas of salt marsh, threaded channels of tidal streams, salt encrusted surfaces, and poor vegetation...'\textsuperscript{28}

The second geographical zone consists of the alluvial belts that generally follow river banks providing the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{24} See Appendix A, RS, Jalalpore, 1900, for a detailed statement showing rainfall which illustrates the importance of the timing of rain in accordance with the sowing and harvesting of crops.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Census, Baroda 1921, p. 20.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Census BP, 1911, vol. 7, pt. 1, Surat District, p. 24.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} BG, 1962, p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid My observations were similar to those in the BG.
\end{itemize}
agriculturally valuable lands of Surat. Such landscape can vary from considerably rich black soil to eroded dry areas. Moving eastwards, the geography becomes hilly interspersed with plateaux until in the far eastern region it is almost completely displaced by forests. Although individual holdings in these eastern and south-eastern villages were larger than those in the western villages, large areas were under permanent fallow. 29

Most of the agriculturalists who emigrated to New Zealand came from villages of the inland areas of the first zone or from alluvial areas of the second zone. In particular, coastal villages such as Karadi, Matwad, Pethan, Kothamadi, Aathan, Sari Bajraj and Sari Khul were important centres of emigration although they suffered extensively from problems of salt waste. 30 Some agricultural production, particularly that of juwar and limited pasture, was possible. An important factor that precipitated the pressures on available land was the steady encroachment of pasture land by sand dunes.

Villages further inland around Jalalpore possessed higher quality jarayat soil than the rest of the taluka. The besar or mixed soil had advantages over the black soil as it was easier to work and better drained. In the nineteenth century two crops a year were normal on an estimated

29. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 6.

30. Ibid, p. 94. See Appendix I which indicates the coastal villages that had huge areas susceptible to salt waste. Also discussed on p. 124.
17.9 per cent of the net cropped area. The main crops were juwar, rice, cotton and some val. Rice was grown for local consumption, but from approximately 1860 the attractions of cash earnings led to a steady increase in cotton production. The main reason for this was the abnormally high price due to the American Civil War. Sugarcane, grown on soil known as bagayat, was to be popular crop, but due to the exhaustive and time-consuming characteristics of its production it was not extensively cultivated until after World War II. The area around Jalalpore and Navsari was considered one of the most productive in Gujarat.

The Rasti tract contains some of the finest lands in India... In Navsari, the prevalent soil is besar, of a rich calcareous mould, more black than otherwise, but distinguished from the typical Kahnam by an abundant growth of trees and sugarcane. It is adapted for every type of crop, particularly cotton (of the best variety), rice, sugarcane, plain-tain, juwar, etc. It is better than gorat for it needs less manuring and labour of tilling. Towards the sea-coast, however, the soil becomes charged with salt, the water turns brackish and crops are poor and stunted.

There were thus wide variations in soil and productivity within a few miles radius of this fertile area. The villages of Karadi, Matwad and Pethan were intermediary between these two geographic extremes, but in the 1867 land settlements Vijalpur, Jalalpore, Bodali and Machhad were all classified in Group I, that is, the villages assessed at

31. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, pp. 6-7.
32. Ibid. See table of Crops etc. 74.55% of gross cropped area was sown in rice, juwar and cotton.
higher rates.\textsuperscript{34}

Villages in Bardoli taluka were endowed with similar qualities in soil and productive capabilities to those around Jalalpore and Navsari. By the end of the nineteenth century some very rich gorat, or natural bagayat soils were available in villages such as Supa, Pera and Bardoli. Here a high turn-over of sugarcane was possible, and indeed it should be noted that it was from such prosperous centres that emigration stemmed.\textsuperscript{35} At the 1897 revenue settlement a rich description was given:

The first class comprises no less than 40 villages situated on the western side of the taluka, having the best climate, the richest population, the greatest facilities for markets, and being the most highly assessed under the old system. All these villages use either the Surat or Navsari market for disposing of their produce. The average rate of this group, dry and wet crops inclusive, has been raised by the Survey from Rs. 4-7-3 to Rs. 5-4.\textsuperscript{36}

Afava and Vankaner were the only villages classified in the second group. Described as 'very fine villages and inhabited by Kunbis and well-to-do classes',\textsuperscript{37} they were also centres from which emigration to New Zealand and elsewhere

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Original Settlement} & \textbf{Garden Land} & \textbf{Rice Land} \\
\hline
Bardoli Taluka & 10 & 8 \\
Jalalpore Taluka & 10 & 14 \\
\hline
\textbf{Revision Settlement} & & \\
Bardoli Taluka & 11 & 3 \\
Jalalpore Taluka & & 8 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Note the decrease in rates at the Revision.

\textsuperscript{34} RS, Jalalpore, 1900, Appendix Q.

\textsuperscript{35} RS, Bardoli, 1897, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p. 49. The anna valuations per field indicate how well endowed these talukas were considered;

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
took place. Most villages in Bardoli taluka were favoured with good rice soil and second crops of mal and divda in rotation with sugarcane were grown whenever enough water was possible. 38 In 1897, 26.27 per cent of the staple products were juwar, 24.78 per cent were cotton and 19.47 was cropped with rice. Other crops grown were val, castor-oil seed, tur, and wheat. 39

Cropping patterns did not change considerably up to the First World War, with the exception of an extension of the area sown with cotton, on land previously utilised as grass for cattle. 40 Navsari cotton, considered as the 'best in India', 41 occupied 31 per cent of the gross cultivated area in Surat District. 28 per cent of this land was under cereals (predominately juwar) as wheat, considered a luxury crop, was usually exported to other parts of India. 42 A further 19 per cent of the gross cultivated area was sown with rice, 15 per cent with pulses and 7 per cent with other crops.

After World War I, however, the area under food crops

38. 14,181 out of 142,030 acres were cropped twice. See RS, Bardoli, 1897, Appendix B.
39. Ibid, p. 43.
41. Desai, op cit.
42. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 39. Figure 2 illustrates the substantial rise in the areas sown with cotton at the expense of locally consumed food crops.
began to decline in proportion to that sown with cash crops, especially with regard to cotton. For example, in Navsari prant from 1891 to 1900 an average of 68 per cent of the cultivated area was invested in food crops but by 1920 this had declined to 53.9 per cent. Indeed, it was in South Gujarat that there was the greatest proportionate decline in the area attributed to food crops. While this contributed towards more cash being available in the rural community, it was an important factor in a rising cost of living and in escalating food prices.

(c) Land Tenure.

The land tenure prevailing in rural Gujarat at the end of the nineteenth century was the ryotwari system. Introduced by Morrison in Jalalpore taluka in 1817, it deemed the ryots the original holders of the land. Revenue was collected by the government directly from the

44. Census, Baroda, 1921, Navsari prant, p. 39.
45. Ibid, p. 393.
46. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 11. For land tenure under Desais, see Alexander Rogers, The Land Revenue of Bombay, A History of its Administration, Rise and Progress, vol. 1, London, 1892, pp. 170-1. G.D. Patel, The Land Revenue Settlements and the British Rule in India, Ahmedabad, 1969. Before 1817 in Jalalpore taluka, the bhaghatai system was common. Bhaghatai or bhagdari were villages held in shares, the manager whether Desais or Patels held land between them, arranged with the cultivators and were jointly answerable for the revenue.
47. Cultivators, peasants.
cultivators and rates were set by district officers at triennial intervals according to the 'crop estimates of fields', from which average rates per bigha were deducted. By 1837-1838 the basis of assessment changed to the intrinsic capabilities of the soil instead of the actual production.

Revenue was paid annually in cash, which according to Neera Desai meant that a weaker section of the cultivating classes who could not afford this were deprived of their land and transformed into tenants or agricultural labourers. Others still faced difficulties in lean years or when crops failed and resorted to borrowing money. In 1879 it was estimated that the ryots who owned five acres and less had an insufficient value of output even in ordinary years to enable them to meet the government demand, as well as the cost of tillage and the maintenance of family and cattle expenses. Even a large proportion of cultivators holding up to ten acres had economic problems. Cultivators, however, also enjoyed one fifth of the area of cultivable land held free from assessment as pasture land. Thus it was generally agreed by contemporary and later observers, that until the first settlements the talukas in Surat District were heavily over-assessed, particularly until 1831 to 1832. Bardoli was settled by Major C.J. Prescott in 1865, and Jalalpore by


50. With the payment of a fee of Rs.100, 8 bighas of grass land was granted for permanent lease in Supa and Kadod.

51. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 1.
Mr. N.B. Beyts in 1868 to 1869.

Likewise in Baroda the Maharaja established an Inam Committee in 1862 which introduced survey settlement similar to that in the Bombay Presidency, abolished revenue farming and established the state as the collector of revenue. As in Jalalpore complaints were submitted that this survey was neither accurate nor fair especially in Navsari prant. Improvements began under the Khanderao Maharaja in 1883 when Mr. F.A.H. Elliot was appointed to conduct a new survey settlement.

(d) Occupational structure.

The system of land tenure was reflected in the occupational structure of Gujarat's rural population. Principally


53. Ibid, p. 10. The basis of assessment was a survey number, determined as a plot of land of a size adapted for cultivation by a peasant with a pair of bullocks. Arable land whether cultivable or not was split up into survey numbers, the area of which was accurately determined by survey measurements. In addition, the soil was valued according to depth, texture, and the capacity for the retention of moisture, etc. Valuation was expressed in annas of a rupee. The best soil generally equalled 16 annas. The taluka was divided into groups of homogenous characteristics and economic advantage such as climate, rainfall, fertility of soil, communicators, etc. For each group maximum rates had to be fixed based on these factors and the revenue, history, prices, markets, rents, setting, tilling, mortgage, vicissitudes of season, etc. Settlements generally were for 15-30 years, then revised. The same method applied in British Gujarat. For further details of how settlements evolved, see G.D. Patel, op cit.
### Table 1

**Sub-division of Workers and dependants in agriculture, selected years, 1881-1921, South Gujarat.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>% of workers and dependants in a+p to total pop.</th>
<th>% of classified as</th>
<th>Income - rent of ag. land</th>
<th>Cultivating Owners</th>
<th>Cultivating tenants</th>
<th>Cultivators unclass.</th>
<th>Agents etc.*</th>
<th>Farm servants + labourers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Surat D</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55.48</td>
<td>6.62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Navsari Div.</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>68.10</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Surat D</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55.98</td>
<td>6.96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Surat D</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44.32</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>50.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Surat D</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.73</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>42.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Navsari Div.</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37.99</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, BP and Baroda 1881-21. Note that I was not able to obtain statistics for all categories for all these years and that the percentages do not necessarily add to 100 as some people were in more than one category.

**Key**
- a+p. - agricultural and pastoral.
- ag. - agricultural.
- * Agents, managers of landed estates, clerks, rent collectors, etc.
because of the close proximity of the cities of Bombay and Surat, trade and industry was relatively highly developed in Gujarat compared to the rest of India. Although not a high figure, 24 per cent of the population of Surat District were classified as urban based at the 1891 census. This was greater than the 20.2 per cent or urban dwellers in the corresponding census of Baroda. Mr. Mehta, the survey officer noted that Jalalpore had the lowest proportion of agricultural population in all the talukas of Gujarat. 35.07 per cent of the people of Jalalpore were rural based, compared to 64.93 who were rural dwellers. 54

The men who emigrated to New Zealand, however, were almost all from rural areas. This is not surprising since, as in the rest of the sub-continent, the majority of the population of Gujarat, Baroda and Surat District, was dependent upon an agricultural livelihood. 55 For example, in 1897, 77.9 per cent of workers and their dependents in Bardoli taluka were estimated to rely upon an income from rural sources. 56 At the 1921 Census of Baroda 76.3 per cent in the Navsari Division came within the same category. As table 1 indicates the percentage classified as employed within agricultural and pastural occupations was lower in Surat District as a whole because of the city and more urbanised Chorasi taluka.

54. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, pp. 8, 17, Appendix D.
55. See table 1.
56. RS, Bardoli, 1897.
Only a small proportion of landowners did not partially or fully cultivate their own land. This compared to only 6.96 per cent categorised as 'tenants and sharers cultivating'.\(^{57}\) In 1897, in Bardoli taluka, the percentage of self-cultivating occupants was estimated at 94 per cent, indicative of how few were tenants.\(^ {58}\) This does not, of course, preclude the presence of a large number of farm labourers, so that in fact, self-cultivating occupants did not necessarily work in the fields.

Nevertheless, a large proportion of these farmers were dependent upon additional revenue from local village industries such as carpentry and fishing. As will be discussed in the following pages caste was a powerful determinant of the choice of additional pursuits. Kanbis generally avoided fishing, not only because they tended to reside away from the coast, but as it was an occupation abhorrent to vegetarians. Many Kolis also began to abandon this additional source of revenue, partially for economic reasons, but also because it was considered of a low status and classified them as Machhis.\(^ {59}\) Carpentry or similar trades were more acceptable to Kolis. Members of all castes and classes often sought employment in nearby towns, such as Navsari or Bardoli. For example, in 1899 even the village of Ganesh-

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57. Census, BP, 1891, vol. 7, p. 181. Check table \(^1\) for comparisons with other years.

58. RS, Bardoli, 1897. At the 1881 Census, BP, the % classified as self-cultivating occupants in the following Districts were; Panch Mahals - 72%, Kaira - 67.25%, Ahmedabad - 62.37%. The percentages were almost identical at the 1891 Census.

59. See p. 70.
Sisodra was able to support three cotton-gin factories, and in Jalalpore, there were two. Such workers were still an integral part of the village family but with additional revenue were able to boost family resources. During more economically depressed periods a further development was therefore to extend the seeking of additional employment to centres such as Bombay, Ahmedabad or Calcutta, and eventually overseas. From the turn of the century until World War I attempts to extend industry in Baroda and Jalalpore were frustrated. By the 1921 Census of Baroda, it was reported that village occupations were slightly less supported by indigenous handicrafts than ten years ago. In a region where some alternative revenue was possible to agricultural earnings, higher expectations and standards of living developed. These factors that contributed towards emigration will be explored in the subsequent chapter.

It should also be noted that there was a high proportion of landless labourers and farm servants in South Gujarat. In 1891, in Surat District, approximately thirty-six per cent of those employed in agriculture fell within these categories. Percentages did not decline, as

60. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 91. Bardoli, 1897, p. 7, mentions local Khadhi cotton looms and also woollen ones.


63. See table 1.

64. Census, BP, 1891, p. 181.
for example, in 1921, when 40.59 per cent were in equivalent occupations in the Navsari Division of Baroda. In Surat District, the percentage of farm labourers and servants was even greater at 42.4 per cent. 65

Most of these men were Halis, who accepted money for their marriage expenses. 66 The master-cultivator, known as the Dhaniaama, did not normally produce any documents or receipts for the advances, ranging from approximately one hundred to four hundred rupees. In return the Hali was entitled to two meals, a quantity of other staple food and tobacco. He was obligated to work for his master but if no work was available then he could labour for other cultivators. Not only, was the Hali obligated to serve his master, however, but his wife and children had domestic and agricultural chores to perform for the Dhaniaama and his family. According to Mr. N.M. Parekhji, the Deputy District Collector of the Northern Prant of Surat District, such contracts did not terminate until the death or disappearance of the Hali. These indentured labourers were recruited from castes, such as, Dublas, Chodras, Gamtas, Naykadas and Kolis, while the Dhaniaama were Anavil Brahmins, Bohras, Kanbis, Rajputs and Parsis. 67 It should be noted that during the period of overseas emigration few Kolis from such villages served as


66. Most of the following information is from the Census, BP, 1921, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 221-2.

67. For analysis of how relations between Dublas and Anavil Brahmins still contain many elements of the former Hali system, see Jan Breman, Patronage and Exploitation - changing Agrarian Relations in South Gujarat, India, Berkeley, 1974.
Halis. Mr. H.B. Shivdasani, the Assistant Collector of the Southern Prant of Surat noted this,

The Hali system prevails in all Talukas of my Prant except in the villages inhabited entirely by Kaliparaj people, as these people cultivate land themselves and they and their families work in their fields.68

(e) Caste.

To understand more specifically the composition of the Gujarati community in New Zealand it is necessary to examine the specific castes and sub-castes that were represented there, and some of the cultural characteristics of the Gujarati society as a whole. For present purposes it will be sufficient to attempt to understand these groups during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that is, throughout the period of early migration. Later, an examination of the socio-culture will be made to assess what changes developed during the period of emigration and in particular the characteristics of these communities as they settled in New Zealand.

In 1827 Borrodale described Gujarat as a land of many castes, as in Surat at least 207 separate jatis were recorded.69 Gujarati Brahmans were believed to have more sub-castes than any other division of Brahmans in India.70

This diversity of Gujarati castes was not replicated in New Zealand. The majority of Gujaratis who settled in

68. Census, BP, 1921, p. 222.


New Zealand called themselves Patel. This was, and is, a general category and does not refer to a specific caste. It is in fact merely a surname that has been adopted both in Gujarat and overseas. Originally the term applied to the headman of a village who enjoyed allowances in cash and land. According to G. Desai the surname was adopted by Kanbis as the village headman was usually a member of the same caste.

Amongst those Indians in New Zealand who can be classified as Patels (and almost all there today do) there are the two main castes of Kolis and Kanbis. These were the terms in use by the end of the nineteenth century but today it would be impolite to address someone as a 'Koli'. The name Patel or that of Koli Patel is considered more acceptable. Similarly the term 'Kanbi' is not in widespread current usage. Instead 'Patel', 'Kanbi Patel' or 'Patidar' is favoured. As caste categories the terms Kanbi and Koli are not satisfactory because within each there are several subcastes.

The majority of the Gujaratis in New Zealand undoubtedly were Kolis. This was validated by an examination of

72. G. Desai, op cit, p. 221.
73. Although according to the BG, 1901, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 243, fn. 3, Talabdas Kolis did not like to be called Kolis even they but preferred the word Dharalas.
74. Census, BP, 1911, p. 278, noted that the term Kanbi or Kunbi was purely functional.
village origins and oral testimony. Kolis were the largest caste in Surat District and especially in Jalalpore taluka. As we shall see, in the latter area they were endowed with a considerably higher economic status. Most of the villages around Jalalpore and Navsari were therefore 'Koli' villages, while those in Bardoli or Palsana mahal were dominated, economically and in status by Kanbis. At the 1911 Census it was noted that,

... a village is generally, if not invariably formed by several families of some one caste settling in one spot, and it is often possible to refer loosely to a village as being a Koli or Kunbi village.

There were some villages that were multi-caste in terms of ritual and economic dominance, particularly where Matia-Kanbis and Kachhias resided.

75. See pp. 89-91.

76. M.N. Srinivas's definition of 'dominant caste', i.e. 'A caste may be said to be 'dominant' when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderate economic and social power. A large and powerful caste group can more easily be dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low.('The Social System of a Mysore Village", in Village India, ed, McKim Marriott, Chicago, 1955, p. 18), partially applied to Kolis of Jalalpore and Kanbis of Bardoli talukas. Louis Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus, The Caste System and its Implications, (English translation), London, 1972 edition, pp. 203-7, and others have discussed the flaws in Srinivas's definition. As noted on page 29 ff, in Jalalpore, Anavil Brahmans were the 'dominant caste' in terms of status and power, while in Bardoli, Kanbis possessed numerical strength but were still outnumbered by Dublas, who generally were landless labourers.

As noted above, the term Koli does not have very positive connotations. It is reputed to be the origin of the word 'coolie' which was used by Europeans to refer to manual labourers. 'Koli' is a vague category and according to Enthoven it originally covered 'a number of tribes of inferior status which have little in common beyond a position inferior to the Kunbi or cultivating caste.' He believed it probably was originally a term associated with the aboriginals of the Bombay Presidency who adhered to a tribal organisation. Dr. John Wilson translated the word as 'clansman', while Mr. Taylor used the work 'clubman'.

Although Kolis generally were a poor caste, particularly before the present century, their status was not always as low as might appear. It varied widely, depending upon their locality, wealth and cultural habits. John Wilson noted that their touch did not defile and that the Talabda Koli was 'the most numerous and respectable'. The word also had associations with unruliness and criminals. Early records describe Kolis as pirates on the coast of Cambay, 'bloody and untameable plunderers uncivilised and filthy'. A number of stereotypes developed concerning Kolis, such as being characterised as unthrifty. 'Holi holidays have

79. Ibid, BG, 1901, p. 238 noted that the term included tribes that differed widely from each other.
80. BG, 1901, p. 237. The word clubman referred to occasions when Kolis were on watch and would wear a heavy babulwood club around four feet long called a dang.
81. Enthoven, p. 244.
arrived and the Koli has nothing with him.' This depicted the Koli as improvident with an utter disregard for the future. Another opinion was that they were not real 'Hindus' but socially on a level with the Aboriginals.

It appears that the word Koli has Rajput associations. Indeed a number of informants testified to their Kshatriya origins. According to the Bombay Gazetteer in the fourteenth century the Rajputs sought protection from the conquering Muslims amongst Kolis. The resultant liaisons, which were mainly in North Gujarat, apparently maintained endogamy among Rajputs so that certain groups of Kolis were later able to successfully claim Rajput status.

At the 1891 Bombay Census, Kolis numbered 2,276,633 or 23.02 per cent of the Hindu population of Gujarat and Kathiawad. Table 2 shows the various subdivisions and the regional distribution of those classified as Kolis. It should be noted that the majority, that is 63.5 per cent were classified as 'unspecified'. At the 1921 Census of Baroda, a significant increase in the numbers of 'Koli unspecified' was also recorded. It was suggested that this was an attempt on the part of Kolis, such as the Thakardas and Talabdas divisions to conceal their jati

84. Census, Baroda, 1891, p. 402.
85. BG, 1901, pp. 238-9. Also noted by Enthoven, John Wilson, see also p. 67, for tales associated with Talabdas or Dharala Kolis.
86. BG, 1901, p. 237.
87. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 332.
names which they considered a disgrace to them. Of interest, however, is that for the 1891 Census the majority of Kolis classified themselves as Talabdas, that is 65.57 per cent. They were also known as Locals, Dharalas or Swordsmen. 88 Only 34.23 per cent were in the unspecified group. By the 1931 Census of Baroda, the enumerators decided to limit the term Koli to tribes 'who are content to be included in it' and to depict other castes like Talabdas, Khant, Makwana, and Baria as separate. 90 It was, however, noted as curious that Talabdas of South Gujarat considered as 'thrifty and prosperous' 91 had little objection to the name Koli. This presumably reflected their economic success and lack of concern with caste nomenclature, although my enquiries suggest that in everyday usage, the surname of 'Patel' was preferred.

A large proportion of the Kolis in Surat District resided in Jalalpore taluka. At the 1901 Census 28,061 or 28 per cent of those classified as Talabdas were recorded, compared to only 2,236 or 2.24 per cent in Bardoli taluka.

88. BG, 1901, p. 243.

89. Enumeration between censuses varied. At the Census, BP, 1911, p. 195, it was decided to record for the first time subdivision of Kolis and Kanbis but no accurate statistics for Kolis were available. The enumerators therefore recorded under the name Koli such dissimilar groups as the Koli Patelias of Ahmedabad, Dharalas of Kaira and all the various groups who assume the honorific title of Talabdas in different districts.


91. Ibid.
At the following census, a slight decline to 24,916 Talabdas or 25.1 per cent followed the slight decline in the numbers of Talabdas in Surat District as a whole. 92 Talabdas also formed the major group of Kolis in Broach District.

Of significance, however, is that the majority of the Gujarati emigrants to New Zealand were Talabda Kolis from Jalalpore taluka, while few of those from Bardoli taluka belonged to this caste. Only a small number of my Koli informants could name their or their parent's jati but most of the older Gujaratis identified as Talabdas. According to the Bombay Gazetteer the word Talabda is a corruption of talpati, which meant a landlord. 93 The term Dharala was considered a more respectful term. Dharalas, like most Kolis, claim Rajput descent and, as noted above, there were a number of tales to validate this. 94 Enthoven noted that amongst the Kolis of Surat District those highest in status

92. The reduction in numbers could have reflected either differences in enumeration and classification, emigration, or the effects of the famines of 1899 and 1901.

93. BG, 1901, p. 243, fn. 3.

94. They claim descent from a Parmar Rajput of Dharanagri in Malwa who married the daughter of a Bhil chief in Gujarat to secure his help and support. One reason given as to why they became Kolis was that when they were Rajputs in the fifteenth century the Muslim kings attempted to convert them so they sought the protection of Asa Bhil. King Ahmedshah asked Asa to give up the refugees but he refused saying that they were his followers and caste people. The result was that they ate the Bhils' food and became Kolis. /Source, Ibid./.
were called Mandhata Sororaria or Mansororaria. 95 Some Barias, or those who classified themselves as Dharalas, were also resident in Surat and Broach Districts. At the beginning of this century Barias were accorded equal status to Talabdas. The latter did not in the past dine with the other subcastes of Kolis as they considered themselves superior. 96

Most accounts describe Talabdas in the nineteenth century as a more settled, peaceful and prosperous group.

The Talabdas Kolis were in A.D. 1820 as at present (A.D. 1898) quiet and easily managed, willing to till to the best of their knowledge and means ... most are husbandmen, well-to-do and little inferior in skill to Kanbis. 97

Mr. Mehta, the Land Revenue Collector, described the Kolis of Jalalpore taluka as less intelligent, but as a class good cultivators, in comparison to the Kanbis or Anavalas. 98 Similar comments were made at the 1931 Census of Baroda, namely that the Talabdas were the highest in rank amongst Kolis, thrifty, prosperous and excellent agriculturists. 99

Housebuilding may be considered an indicator of a caste's wealth although, as we shall see, it can be more symbolic of aspirations to status than reflecting actual wealth. The 1901 Gazetteer noted that amongst Kolis the more wealthy sections were able to live in substantial

95. Enthoven, p. 248, Census, BP, 1911, p. 196, said in Surat that this was a new name.

96. BG, 1901. p. 243.

97. Ibid, p. 244

98. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 9.

99. Census, Baroda, 1931, pp. 446-7
pukka houses made of brick and tile.\textsuperscript{100}

It should be noted that not all Kolis were prosperous and in Surat District a section served as halis or the hereditary servants of Anavala Brahmins.\textsuperscript{101} Others worked as day labourers only, although this was qualified by the 1901 Census.

In the Surat District they rank above the other Hindu labouring classes, and in intelligence manners and mode of living are in no way inferior to the members of the artisan classes.\textsuperscript{102}

Materially, the contrast was great. While some Kolis lived in wealthy pukka structures, others resided in katcha huts made of wattle and daub with thatched roofs. Indeed even at the end of the nineteenth century not all Kolis were dependent on the land for their livelihood. At the 1899 Revenue Settlement of Jalalpore it was noted that a number of Kolis found employment in such occupations as railway porters.\textsuperscript{103} The Bombay Gazetteer recorded a Koli family in Surat who had acquired wealth as money-lenders and another caste-member held a position as a supervisor of public works. Kolis also developed a reputation as noteworthy bridge builders and contractors, many of them employed by the railway. This skill was particularly useful in securing work overseas.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{100} BG, 1901, p. 245.
\item \textsuperscript{101} Ibid, p. 244.
\item \textsuperscript{102} Ibid, p. 247.
\item \textsuperscript{103} RS, Jalalpore, p. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{104} BG, 1901, p. 247.
\end{itemize}
The early piratical exploits of Kolis have already been mentioned. Although not pirates in the nineteenth century, a number of Kolis were boatmen or fishermen, particularly those settled on the coastline of Gujarat.\(^{105}\) The Kharva and Machhi\(^{106}\) castes contained a sub-division of Kolis, one group who worked as cultivators and seamen, and another as fishermen and boatmen. The latter division tended to live in the villages of Onjal, Dandi and Samaapore. These two groups interdined but did not intermarry. During the early part of the monsoon it was common for these fishermen to return to cultivating their fields. Indeed, according to the 1899 Settlement of Jalalpore four-fifths of the 'fishing population' were said to have derived their livelihood from agriculture.\(^{107}\) Although similar in certain customs and lifestyle Machhis were a separate caste from Kolis. It became common for fishermen to desert their caste occupation mainly due to the low status attached to dealing with fish.\(^{108}\) By 1911 a decrease of nine thousand fishermen and fish dealers had been recorded in the Bombay Presidency since 1901.\(^{109}\) No evidence was found, however, of Machhi

\(^{105}\) BG, 1901, p. 523.

\(^{106}\) Name from machh, which means fish. (Sanskrit is matsya), BG, 1901, p. 519. For further information see G.H. Desai, A Glossary of Castes, Tribes and Races in the Baroda State, Baroda, 1912, p. 66. Enthoven, pp. 397-400.

\(^{107}\) RS, Jalalpore, 1899, p. 21.

\(^{108}\) Census, Baroda, 1931, noted that a section of Machhis dwelling on the banks of the Tapti river wanted to be known as Talabda Kolis who they admitted were unwilling for such an intrusion. At the Census the old name continued.

\(^{109}\) Census, BP, 1911, p. 317.
emigration to New Zealand, and it is highly probable that if any did migrate they assumed an identity as Kolis or Patels.

The other major caste of Patels in New Zealand are Kanbis. Kanbi or Kunbi is also a very general term which refers to a cultivator. A number of suggestions have been offered to determine the derivation of this word. Pandit Bhagvanlal traced the word to kutumb which means a household. Kanbi is also believed to have originated from the Dravidian kul, now meaning a labourer, but formerly referring to a husbandman. Kanbis had a pun that the name developed from kan meaning a grain and bi which was a seed.

Today many Kanbis call themselves Patidars but at the beginning of the century this term was only applicable to those from Ahmedabad, and Leva Kanbis from Charotar in Kaira. Patidars would not give their daughters to Kanbis

110. Census, BP, 1911, p. 278 stated that the word was a functionary title and there was no such caste. See also Enthoven, p. 134.

111. BG, 1901, pp. 154-5, 134.

112. A.M.T. Jackson, I.C.S. See BG, 1901, p. 155. Other origins have also been given; e.g. Kanbis are Gujars in origin.

113. Enthoven, p. 149 and Census, Baroda, 1891, p. 400. Patidar meant a shareholder of a fixed area of cultivated land. Before British rule these men were the farmers of revenue and acted as middlemen between the Government and agriculturalists. Like the Desai's of South Gujarat they were reputed to have exacted heavy taxes. Because of their former power they continued to hold considerable influence in their particular regions. See David F. Pocock's research, esp. Kanbi and Patidar, A Study of the Patidar Community of Gujarat, Oxford, 1972. Also Neera Desai, 341 ff. discusses hypergamy in relation to female infanticide amongst the Leva Kanbis and Kadwas in the nineteenth century. Primary sources were consulted.
TABLE 2-A

Sub-divisions and distribution of Kolis, Gujarat and Kathiawad, 1891.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Division</th>
<th>Ahmedabad</th>
<th>Kaira</th>
<th>Panchmahals</th>
<th>Broach</th>
<th>Surat</th>
<th>Native States</th>
<th>Baroda</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chunvaliyas</td>
<td>2448</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25323</td>
<td>5857</td>
<td>33675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khants</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>5317</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15922</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patanvadiyas</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>19958</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>3201</td>
<td>20848</td>
<td>45166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talabdas</td>
<td>108892</td>
<td>260137</td>
<td>58231</td>
<td>1381</td>
<td>67173</td>
<td>88576</td>
<td>146286</td>
<td>730676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>127493</td>
<td>34373</td>
<td>28921</td>
<td>23489</td>
<td>35066</td>
<td>878354</td>
<td>317137</td>
<td>1444833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>240199</td>
<td>319804</td>
<td>87638</td>
<td>25049</td>
<td>102439</td>
<td>1011376</td>
<td>490128</td>
<td>2276633</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2-B

Percentage of sub-divisions of Kolis within each district, Gujarat and Kathiawad, 1891.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Division</th>
<th>Ahmedabad</th>
<th>Kaira</th>
<th>Panchmahals</th>
<th>Broach</th>
<th>Surat</th>
<th>Native States</th>
<th>Baroda</th>
<th>Total area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chwnvaliyas</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khants</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patanvadiyas</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talabdas</td>
<td>45.33</td>
<td>81.34</td>
<td>66.44</td>
<td>5.51</td>
<td>65.57</td>
<td>8.75</td>
<td>29.84</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>53.08</td>
<td>10.75</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>93.77</td>
<td>34.23</td>
<td>86.84</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>63.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 2-C

Distribution of sub-divisions of Kolis in Gujarat and Kathiawad, 1891, by district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Chunvaliyas</th>
<th>Khants</th>
<th>Patanvadiyas</th>
<th>Talabdas</th>
<th>Unspecified</th>
<th>Total area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>7.27</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>10.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaira</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>23.86</td>
<td>44.19</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>14.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panch-Mahals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broach</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>9.19</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>4.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native States</td>
<td>75.19</td>
<td>71.45</td>
<td>7.09</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>60.79</td>
<td>44.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>17.39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46.16</td>
<td>20.02</td>
<td>21.95</td>
<td>21.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BG 1901, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 237. (from 1891 Census). The census details were incomplete. The category 'unspecified' included most of the Chunvaliyas and Patanvadiyas whose number was very large in central Gujarat.
but accepted a hypergamous marriage pattern in which their sons could marry the daughters of wealthy Kanbis, providing the latter offered a substantial dowry.

At the 1891 Census the main divisions of Kanbis in Gujarat were, Anjana, Kadwa, Lewa, Matia and those in no specific section. 114 As indicated by table 3 the majority of Kanbis were resident in Baroda and the Native States, with 31.2 per cent in the former and 44.73 per cent in the latter. Only 2.68 per cent of Kanbis were enumerated in Surat District, as in the British territories most Kanbis lived in Ahmedabad and Kaira. Levas formed the majority of the Kanbis in Surat District, that is 3.65 per cent of all Levas in Gujarat, but 51.9 per cent of all Kanbis in the District. The second largest group of Kanbis there were Kadwas, comprising 2.98 per cent of those in Gujarat, and 29.88 per cent of the Kanbis in Surat District. There, in comparison to other districts, very few chose to return themselves as 'unspecified'. All of the 4,736 Kanbis classified as Matias in the Bombay Presidency originated either from Surat or Baroda. In the State of Baroda, most of these Matias resided within the Navsari Division. It should also be noted that at the taluka level, 25.35 per cent of Kanbis lived in Bardoli, compared to only 10.95 per cent within

TABLE 3-A
Sub-divisions and distribution of Kanbis, Gujarat and Kathiawad, 1891.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Ahmedabad Kaira</th>
<th>Panch Mahals</th>
<th>Broach</th>
<th>Surat</th>
<th>Native States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anjana</td>
<td>76138</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>12690</td>
<td>6371</td>
<td>111945</td>
<td>48148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadva</td>
<td>35215</td>
<td>5843</td>
<td>132481</td>
<td>6571</td>
<td>20577</td>
<td>178058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leva</td>
<td>52152</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>7609</td>
<td>6142</td>
<td>12422</td>
<td>138742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matia</td>
<td>5552</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4149</td>
<td>5999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>116906</td>
<td>6501</td>
<td>152780</td>
<td>6501</td>
<td>1410422</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ahmedabad Kaira: Total 116906, 152780, 6501
Panch Mahals: Total 400225, 400225, 68185
Broach: Total 5843, 20577, 12422
Surat: Total 12690, 20577, 12422
Native States: Total 48148, 178058, 5999
TABLE 3-B

Percentage of sub-divisions of Kanbis within each district, Gujarat and Kathiawad, 1891.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Division</th>
<th>Ahmedabad</th>
<th>Kaira</th>
<th>Panch-Mahals</th>
<th>Broach</th>
<th>Surat</th>
<th>Native States</th>
<th>Baroda</th>
<th>Total area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anjana</td>
<td>65.12</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>25.33</td>
<td>31.54</td>
<td>14.68</td>
<td>45.43</td>
<td>28.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadva</td>
<td>30.12</td>
<td>86.71</td>
<td>89.87</td>
<td>57.79</td>
<td>54.81</td>
<td>25.38</td>
<td>45.23</td>
<td>40.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leva</td>
<td>11.84</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>11.84</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>28.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matia</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>16.87</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>59.92</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>28.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% within each district
TABLE 3-C

Distribution of sub-divisions of Kanbis in Gujarat and Kathiawad, 1891, by district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Anjana</th>
<th>Kadva</th>
<th>Leva</th>
<th>Matia</th>
<th>Unspecified</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>19.02</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>8.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaira</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>23.32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>10.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panch-Mahals</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broach</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native States</td>
<td>23.14</td>
<td>28.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>93.19</td>
<td>44.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49.98</td>
<td>35.15</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>31.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the latter were Matia. Most Kanbi emigrants to New Zealand therefore came from Bardoli with lesser numbers from Jalalpore taluka.

It proved difficult to ascertain precisely which Kanbi jati were represented in New Zealand. Most claim to be Levas while others are Kadwa, and certainly there is a substantial group of Matias. At the turn of the century and indeed still today, Levas were acknowledged as the highest sub-caste within Kanbis. They would inter-dine with Kadwas but not intermarry. According to Enthoven, the two groups did not even associate with Matias, Anjanas, Momnas and Dangis. The Kanbis serve as a good example of how sub-divided a caste can be. Within the Kadva section there are three more subdivisions amongst those settled in Surat District. One group were called Lalchudawalas, as their women wore red bracelets, another were Kalachudavalas, from their women wearing black bracelets, and the third division were the Ahmedabadis. Although the three groups would dine together, from around the eighteen-sixties they ceased to intermarry.

Both Levas and Kadwas are also divided into kulia and akulia sections. Within the Levas those who are kulia

115. Census, BP, 1901-1911, recorded the change in the %.
116. Census, Baroda, 1891, p. 400 noted this.
118. Ibid, p. 145
119. This only applied to Kadwas of South Gujarat. Kulia means 'men of family'.
are the Patidar of thirteen villages in the Charotar. They do not give their daughters in marriage to those outside this circle, that is to the akulia. Hence almost all of the Leva Kanbis in New Zealand originated from akulia families. By the 1931 Census of Baroda two division were recorded within Leva Kanbis of South Gujarat. These were the Charotaria, or those recently arrived from the Charotar and the Japti. The two sections would interdine but not intermarry.120

The other main group of Kanbis which settled in New Zealand were Matias from the two homelands of the Gujaratis in New Zealand, the Bardoli and Jalalpore talukas.121 They tended to occupy richer soil and were materially more successful than their Koli neighbours.122 According to Enthoven Matias were originally Levas of Ahmedabad but in the early twentieth century were half Hindu and half Muslim in religion.123 The original Matias were known as Pirana but by 1880 around 150 to 175 families decided to purge themselves of Muslim customs and secede from the other Matias. The new group, were known as Vaishnava Matias,124 joined the

120. The word Matia is from mat which means opinion, Enthoven, p. 150.

121. AAR, 1901.

122. See Enthoven p. 150 for the background to this. Also BG, 1901, p. 163 ff.

123. 'This division is due to the preachery of an ascetic Nirmaldas of Surat, who told the Matias of their Leva Kanbi origin. Some of his hearers looking with hatred on the half-Hindu half-Musalm custom, started on a pilgrimage to Benares and were put out of caste.' Enthoven, ibid.

124. Census, BP, 1921, Appendix F. All but 3 Matia in Surat District were returned as Hindus.
Ramanandi and Dadupanthi sects. The result of this split was that the two groups ceased to eat and marry together. By 1921 it appeared that almost all Matias identified as Vaishnavas.

As with all castes there were a number of stereotypes concerning Kanbis, of which the description depended upon the subjective view of the observer. Almost all accounts testify to the skill of Kanbis as agriculturalists.

Kanbis, especially those of the Kadva and Leva divisions, are capital husbandmen. They are learned in the properties of the soil and minutely acquainted with the wants of every crop. They are sober, peaceable, hardworking, hospitable, independent, and thrifty except on marriage and other grand social occasions. They are good husbands and fathers. Gross vice is uncommon and crime is rare. They are also intelligent and better educated than other peasants.

Administrators were also fond of comparing Kanbis with Kolis. For example, the former were described as 'more steady in habits and life than the Kolis, more cultured, and generally more advanced.'

As a cultivator, the Koli is a failure and can stand no comparison with the prosperous Kanbi. He hardly has money of his own even to purchase the seeds; much less to provide himself with good animals or field implements. For these he is indebted to the Bania or a helping Kanbi, to whom he parts with a share of the produce of his field.

Not only did the administrators praise the Kanbi but the villagers developed a number of sayings that referred to the

126. BG, 1901, p. 156.
attributes of the Kanbi, his agricultural productivity and generosity.

A Kanbi is the supporter of scores of people, but himself is supported by none. A
there is no giver like Kanbis.

In contrast to this was the stereotype of the Kanbi as a miser, with sayings such as, 'Matias, Anjanas and Manis are a little better than Dheds'.

This detailed discussion of Kolis and Kanbis is relevant to an understanding of Gujaratis in New Zealand because they form the two major castes there. It is generally agreed that caste is a pan-Indian structure, if a school of 

130. Ibid.
thought adopted by Dumont and others is accepted.\textsuperscript{131} According to this view Indian society is based on a premise of inequality or hierarchy,\textsuperscript{132} in which individuals and the jatis into which they are born, are ranked on a scale based on an ideology of the opposition between purity-impurity.

Essential to this definition of the caste system is the

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\textsuperscript{132} Dumont, op cit. pp. 104-5 defines hierarchy as the 'principle by which the elements of a whole are ranked in relation to the whole, it being understood that in the majority of societies it is religion which provides the view of the whole, and that the ranking will thus be religious in nature.'
distinction between status and power.

Power is subordinate to status in its direct relationship to it, and it is surreptitiously assimilated to status in a secondary capacity in opposition to everything else.  

In many regions of Gujarat power, whether political or economic, was wielded by a non-Brahmanical caste such as the Kanbis, yet they would still defer to Brahmans although in fact they knew they possessed the actual material power. Anavil Brahmans therefore enjoyed considerable influence because they encompassed ritual, economic and political authority.

At the everyday level of functioning the 'caste system' as such is very much a 'little community'.  

David Pocock in his study of the Patidars of Central Gujarat noted this.

Hindu society is still a religious society organized, as Hocart said, for sacrifice. The Brahmin as sacrificiant is the standard of death. Between the representatives of this all-India opposition localized castes dispute

133. Ibid, p. 259.

134. The term 'little community' is discussed by McKim Marriott, "Little Communities in An Indigenous Civilization," in Village India, Studies in the Little Community, ed. McKim Marriott, (1st pub. 1955, Robert Redfield), Chicago, 1972, edition, pp. 171-222. The term is derived from Robert Redfield's model of 'great tradition' and 'little tradition'. The great tradition embodies the thought, values, customs and world view of the reflective elite, that is the specialists who maintain and develop the tradition in the big cities, elite centres, 'court' culture etc. The little tradition is that of the unreflective masses who were illiterate and uneducated. See Robert Redfield, The Little Community, Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole, Chicago, 1955. In India these models are reflected in the 'Sanskritic' tradition, and village culture.
In Surat District, and even within Jalalpore and Bardoli taluks the caste structures differed. Considerable changes over time also developed, particularly with the economic fortunes of a caste, and its subsequent influence on the local caste structure. Changes in status are however much slower so that a wealthy Koli would still be considered of low status outside his home locality. The 1901 Census of Bombay Presidency provided a useful summary of local caste members. Accounting for 19.95 per cent of castes in


136. The following percentages are based mainly on those recorded in the Census, 3F, 1901, and published in the BG, 1901. Anavalas were included within the total Brahman category for computation of percentages, although they are separately shown. It should be noted that there was considerable ambiguity in caste categorisation, depending upon the perceptions of the local caste and the census enumerator's acceptance of them. e.g. Appendix 8 of Jamabandi Revision Settlement Report of the Navsari taluka of the Navsari Division, 1906-07, Baroda, 1907, p. 27, does give detailed caste analysis at village level but categories were virtually meaningless. Kolis can not be separated, as they were classified with Dublas and Machhis. Tailors and shoe makers came within the same category. A large number of the inhabitants of these villages were 'Gosais', that is, 28.86%. From oral and other secondary reports, it is known however, that Kolis were in fact a large caste in this taluka. Similarly the 5.6% classified as Kanbis seems underestimated, compared to the 13.3% grouped as carpenters. It is therefore, highly tenuous to formulate a historical perspective of local caste and status structures. I have relied on contemporary sources, such as Bhattacharya and Enthoven, in addition to my own interviews with elderly members of these villages.
Surat District, Kolis dominated in numbers, but as we have seen they were not of high ritual status. In Jalalpore taluka they had a greater numerical preponderance (40.52 per cent). This local dominance combined with a relatively advanced material prosperity, commanded respect, particularly in certain villages where Kanbis or Anavalas were absent. Aspirations by Kolis to higher status increased through the twentieth century, and emigration can be considered as an important factor in this. In Bardoli taluka their strength was only 4.69 per cent of the total castes. The second-largest caste in Surat District was the Dubla, whose members worked mainly as landless farm labourers. A substantial numerical and proportional difference can be noted between Bardoli and Jalalpore talukas, as in the former they represented 35.68 per cent of all castes. In Jalalpore taluka they accounted for 16.52 per cent because Kolis did much of their own cultivation or were in service to other landlords. Dhodias, who also found employment as farm labourers and Halis were the third largest caste in Surat District, but did not form a substantial percentage in either Bardoli or Jalalpore talukas. It is of interest to note that in Jalalpore 10.86 per cent of castes were Anavalas but in Bardoli they only accounted for 3.2 per cent. Thus in the former taluka they had considerable economic, numerical and status dominance.

137. See pp. 516-20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Surat District</th>
<th>Jalalpore Taluka</th>
<th>Bardoli Taluka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>12.56</td>
<td>7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- (Anavala)</td>
<td>(5.1)</td>
<td>(10.86)</td>
<td>(3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chodra</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhed</td>
<td>5.99</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>5.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhodia</td>
<td>10.09</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubla</td>
<td>15.65</td>
<td>16.52</td>
<td>35.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanchi</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koli</td>
<td>19.95</td>
<td>40.52</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhar</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>2.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunbi</td>
<td>7.65</td>
<td>6.05</td>
<td>20.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machhi</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naikda</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vani</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohra)</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikh) Muslim</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsi</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, BP, 1901. Note that Anavalas are included under Brahmans.
In Bardoli taluka Kunbis tended to assume the same role, accounting for 20.38 per cent of all castes compared to only 6.05 per cent in Jalalpore. In Surat District, however, Kunbis were only 7.65 per cent of all castes and so were outnumbered by Brahmans. Table 4 indicates the smaller percentages of members of other castes, ranging from the usually wealthy Vania, who were businessmen or traders, to the poorer Naikdas, who mostly served as landless agricultural labourers. It can be noted that Chodras, also mainly labourers, formed a substantial percentage of castes in Bardoli, with 13.7 per cent but that few resided within Jalalpore taluka. Some of these castes will now be examined in further detail with relevance to migration patterns.

The summary of castes presented at the 1901 Census did not separate Kachhias, who presumably classified themselves as Kanbis or Kolis. At the 1921 Census, 17,059 were enumerated in the whole of Bombay Presidency, 2,356 in Surat District and 1,042 in the Navsari Division of Baroda. Although resident in small numbers throughout Gujarat it was

139. The ambiguity in assigning caste categories can be noted in the RS, Bardoli, 1897. Only 13.8% of the population were classified as Kanbis but no separate division of Kolis were given. Similarly only 4.77% were Dublas but the majority of 57% came under the category of 'others'.

140. See Enthoven. p. 289 ff for details of Chodras.

141. BG, 1901, p. 153. Name from Kachhia meant a vegetable grower. Later many called themselves Patels.

142. Census, BP, 1921, Baroda, 1921. Numbers did not substantially differ in Surat District, from the former censuses.
from a few villages surrounding Navsari, and in particular Kachbiawadi, that some pioneers were drawn to New Zealand. Kachhias are reputed to have been Kanbi and Koli cultivators who specialised in market-gardening. As in the past, today Kachhias are one of the main castes that sell fruit and vegetables, particularly in the markets of Navsari and Surat. In common with other castes that were dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, with population pressure on arable land, Kachhias were induced to enter other professions, working as bricklayers, carpenters, sawyers, bullock-cart drivers and as servants. Their status tended to vary from some who were accepted as equal to Kanbis, to others seen as only slightly superior to Kolis.

The Anavil Brahmans or Anavalas were of particular importance because they formed the local 'dominant caste', especially in Surat District and Jalalpore Taluka. Although Brahmins, they did not perform priestly functions, but instead were renowned for their skill as agriculturalists. Divided into two divisions, the upper half were known as Desais on account of their former role as revenue farmers and superintendents. They were granted money and land in return for their services. Before the introduction

143. BG, 1901, pp. 153-4.
144. Census, Baroda, 1891, p. 401. Considered Kachhias as socially lower than Kanbis.
145. RS, Jalalpore, 1899; p. 9, called them Anavalas. See, 16, fn, for discussion of 'dominant caste'.
146. Enthoven, pp. 225-6. Such Brahmans were known as grhastha Brahmans.
of the British raj they enjoyed tremendous influence and were able to amass considerable wealth by levying taxes on their own behalf. With the establishment of the ryotwari land tenure much of their wealth was reduced but Desais retained more land than other local castes. In the past and today they simultaneously secured dominant positions in political offices and in government service. Their superior status was unchallenged and reinforced by the practice of refusing to marry their daughters with the other section of Anavalas, known as Bhatelas. The two sub-divisions were generally of equal economic standing but did not dine together, which indicated ritual difference. Bhatela came to mean a term of disrespect, although earlier in the nineteenth century all cultivating Brahmins in Jalalpore were referred to as Bhatelas. Mr. Bellasis praised their agricultural skills which meant that they were an exceptionally well endowed caste with economic resources.

His own person, his house, and his lands have an air of neatness that mark his superior position amongst the society in his village.

Today Bhatela women can marry into Anavil sections if they offer large dowries but Van der Veen found no hypergamy between the Naiks (a term for Bhatelas from certain villages)

147. RS, Jalalpore, 1899, p. 9. The most notable example from this caste is Maarji Desai, former Prime Minister of India.

148. G.H. Desai, A Glossary of Castes, p. 2 noted that Bhatela was a corruption of bhrasthela or fallen.

149. RS, Jalalpore, 1899, reference to 1868 settlement, p. 9. Enthoven also reported that in Surat villages the largest holdings, richest crops, finest cattle and best built houses belonged to Bhatelas.
and Desais. The importance of Anavils with relation to this study is that they were the dominant model which other castes tended to emulate. Anavils formerly used the Kshatriya varna as their reference group but throughout the twentieth century, 'Brahmanization' superseded this. Their cultural patterns, especially a preoccupation with status and also a willingness to emigrate overseas, typified the trend found throughout South Gujarat. Simultaneously, because of such behaviour, other socially and economically status conscious castes were reinforced that their own patterns fitted in with the dominant mode.

Artisan castes resided both in the villages and towns in the last century. They usually performed a service that was related to their hereditary caste occupation. Only certain of these castes emigrated to New Zealand. A few Hajam families took this step. Traditionally this was the barber or hairdressing caste, although other functions were carried out by them. In the villages it was common for Hajams to supplement their income by cultivating land.


151. Ibid, p. 11.

152. In 1911, 23,721 Anavils were noted in Surat District, a substantial drop from the 30,325 recorded in the former census. This was a result of famine, as well as emigration.

153. BG, 1901, pp. 381-384. Artisans in village used to hold Fasaita land. Under British rule they were entitled to it on payment of a quit-rent. As they had to pay taxes to the Government, they were forced to sell their products for cash, instead of maintaining the traditional jagmani system. The Gazetteer also noted that hand-weavers were adversely affected.
While their wives frequently served as midwives. Hajams were not a large caste in Surat District, as in 1911 only 3,446 were recorded. In Navsari Division of Baroda, only 1,518 Hajams resided.\textsuperscript{154} By the 1931 Census of Surat District, the only slight numerical decline to 3,365 correlated with the lessened emigratory patterns within this caste. Their occupation had always been in demand and internal migration to cities, such as Bombay was more frequent than overseas. It can be noted that Hajams were divided into a number of jatis, and one that had some representatives in New Zealand were the Masurias of South Gujarat.

Khumbars were the potters in the villages and towns of Gujarat and made the tiles, earthen pots and figures of men and animals.\textsuperscript{155} They also served as domestic servants, carpenters and bricklayers, of whom the latter were called Sutar-Kumbhars of Kadia Khumbhars. In the early twentieth century this latter group aspired to a higher status by severing all ties with potters and refusing to intermarry or eat with them.\textsuperscript{156}


\textsuperscript{155. G.H. Desai, \textit{op cit}, p. 61. The name Khumbhar is from Kumbhakar, a combination of Kumbh, meaning water-pot and Kar meaning 'maker' or 'doer'. See also Enthoven, p. 275. At the Census, BP, 1901, vol. 9, Khumbhars were respectively 2.91% and 2.96% of the total castes in Bardoli and Jalalpore talukas. See table 4.}

\textsuperscript{156.G.H. Desai, \textit{Hindu Families}, p. 181.}
Slightly higher in status than the Khumbar was the Sutar who as the carpenter was engaged in a variety of skills from making furniture to repairing carts. The village Khumbar and Sutar's skills became redundant during the late nineteenth century as when, for example, villagers aspired to replace pottery vessels with brass and copper, as an exhibition of material wealth and cleanliness. Wooden machinery also came to be discarded for use in items such as spinning wheels. The skill of constructing small boats also ceased as the fishing industry declined during the twentieth century. It has been argued that with the development of communications the self-sufficiency of the village was disturbed, so that carpenters, blacksmiths and iron-smiths were forced to migrate to compete with machine-made goods. It was principally because of such changes that the Sutar had to adapt to fit his skills into different channels such as the building of bridges. Of direct relevance to this study was the direct effect this had on increasing the villager's mobility in the search for work and in stimulating a move to urban areas where artisans such as the Sutar could earn higher wages as carpenters. Alternative but related occupations to the traditional village callings were available but the prospects of migration outside Surat District to Bombay, Calcutta and


158. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 374, noted changes in the demand for traditional crafts.

159. Trivedi, p. 133.
overseas also attracted individuals from these castes. It
was noted at the 1921 Baroda Census that many Sutars were
educated, which was a factor that could be considered in
motivating some to venture further afield than others. 160

Khatris and Darjis were other artisan groups from which
there were some representatives in New Zealand. Traditionally silk and cotton weavers, and numerically a small caste, 161
many Khatris adopted tailoring as an occupation by the turn
of the century or emigrated overseas when handlooms were
replaced by power-loomds and imported goods. Those who
settled in New Zealand originated mainly from Navsari town.
According to Enthoven their customs were considered lower in
status than those of their counterparts in other areas of
Gujarat. 163 In general, however, their attitudes and be-
haviour were similar to those expressed by Vanias. Although
Darjis or tailors were numerically a small caste in Surat
District and in the Navsari Division of Baroda State, 164 a
few emigrated to New Zealand. It was fortunate that this
hereditary occupation could be successfully practised

161. e.g. Census, BP, Surat District, 1911, p. 196, noted
9339 Khatris. Some loss since previous census due to
emigration, famine or plague. Census, Baroda, 1911.
Navsari Division of Navsari Mahal recorded 542 males
and 713 females of this caste.
162. See p. 203.
... pp. 54-5.
164. e.g. Census, BP, 1911, pt. 2, Surat District recorded
5653 Darjis. Census, Baroda, 1911, Navsari Division,
noted 901 males and 1063 females.
outside of India.

A further caste from which pioneers to South Africa and New Zealand were drawn was that of Dhobis, who traditionally were washermen by occupation. This was considered to be ritually of low status and it was noted in the early years of this century that many castes did not necessarily pursue their hereditary calling. I encountered one pioneer to New Zealand from this caste but he was somewhat exceptional as he had received a relatively high education. Like many ritually low castes Dhobis claimed to be Rajputs. At the 1911 Census only 1,170 returned their caste as Dhobi.

Outside the varna system were the Untouchables, called Harijans by Mahatma Gandhi. In spite of their disadvantages some of these families were able to emigrate overseas. As we shall see this began with a pattern of migration to Bombay. Those who went abroad, however, were principally of untouchable castes that had some kind of craft, particularly the Mochis or shoemakers and the Khalpa or tanners. The other 'unclean' castes, such as Dheds, did not appear


166. See pp. 267-9.


168. See I.P. Desai, Untouchability in Rural Gujarat, Bombay, 1976, for detailed analysis.


170. Dheds or Mahyavanshis are the single largest group of Scheduled Castes in present day Gujarat. They are generally known as Vankars because of their traditional occupation of weaving in some districts. Ibid, p. 39.
to possess sufficient skills, capital and motivation to venture out of India. As an indication of the proportion of Hindus classified as Untouchables, in 1921 in Baroda 8.3 percent were so defined. The 1907 Navsari taluka Jamabandi Revision Settlement Report reflected the small number of Dheds, Chamars, Bhangis and shoemakers living in villages, presumably because most of these were too small to support specialised crafts such as shoemaking, or the services of a sweeper were not required to the extent that they were in urban areas.

A few Mochis, also under the general category of Chamars, settled in New Zealand. While I was unable to obtain much data about Mochis, information was available concerning the few Khalpas who migrated here early in the twentieth century. These men were mainly from the princely state of Sachin, although Khalpas were spread throughout the Broach, Surat and Rewa Kantha Districts.

Khalpas were tanners and leatherworkers which explains their name, as khal or chhal means 'hide'. A number of Khalpas supplemented their craft with work as agricultural

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171. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 325. Note the problem of definition as some untouchables would classify themselves as Rajputs or Kshatriya.

172. Jamabandi Revision Settlement Report of the Navsari taluka of the Navsari Division, 1906 - 07, Baroda, 1907. App. VIII, Caste of Khatedars. Note that this Appendix is of extremely limited value. See p. 27, fn 6. It referred to Khatedars who technically were cultivators.


labourers, graziers, shoemakers and general labourers. Even in the nineteenth century they had aspirations to a higher status. Khalpas claimed to have originated from a Rajput ancestor and a low-caste woman. Mochis also made a similar claim. It was generally acknowledged that they were higher in status than Khalpas and lower in the ritual hierarchy than other artisan and cultivating castes. A number of Mochis worked independently but a substantial proportion were engaged on piece wages for shopkeepers or master craftsmen. This tendency increased throughout the twentieth century. As discussed in the following pages a proportion of Mochis emigrated from Gujarat overseas, from the end of the nineteenth century. One factor that must have contributed to this was the importation of shoes into the country.

(f) Religion.

Following their brief introduction to the local caste structures of Gujarat it now remains to examine their particular cultural characteristics reflected in ideology and behaviour. As with the caste system, so culture and ideology may be divided into the 'great tradition' and the 'little' or 'local tradition'. This applies in all aspects but particularly in religion.

177. Trivedi, p. 186.
There is supposedly an 'Indian culture' but regional variations can be great, as for example the differences between a person from Madras and one from the Punjab. It has already been noted that one school of opinion considers that the institution of caste (that is, the recognition of universal principals of inequality) is the essential characteristic of Indian culture. This argument is of course debatable. Another aspect which has drawn widespread observation and comment is that of the so-called permeation of the religious in all facets of life, from the highly ritual to everyday behaviour. 'Hinduism' is seen as peculiarly Indian although within India there are a multitude of other religions. For the purposes of this study religion will only be discussed as an introduction to a later analysis of continuity and change in belief and practice after emigration.

At the end of the nineteenth century, as today, the majority of Indians in Surat District returned themselves as Hindus as the censuses. The very word 'Hinduism' is open to endless debate and discussion. It is generally agreed, however, that there is a historical and literary tradition

that contains basic tenets found in all the local variations of those who identify as Hindus. Of most significance is the form Hinduism took in the villages. First, most accounts suggest that temple or mandir worship was not of central importance in any of the villages or castes from which New Zealand immigrants derived. Instead daily worship, or puja, was frequently maintained by the eldest female of a household. This could be directed to any number of gods, goddesses and their incarnations. Most contemporary reports suggest that the majority of Gujaratis identified as Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu. This meant that the cult of bhakti or devotional worship was common and in particular Krishna, and his incarnations were revered. This did not negate the importance and devotion paid to the other major deities of the Hindu pantheon, especially Brahma, Rama, Shiva, Parvati, Laksmi, Hanuman and Ganpati. Veneration of Mata, Devi or 'Mother worship' was, however, particularly strong in Gujarat, often directed towards goddesses such as Ambika, Kalika, or Ambaji. In practice offerings were

180. Oral reports. *Census, Baroda, 1921, Navsari Prant*, p. 133 noted that temples were mostly in a state of disrepair.

181. Thoothi, p. 223. It can be noted that it is extremely difficult for the historian to plot changes in religious belief and practice. It seems probably that formalised 'Bhaktism' was a more recent development in these villages.

182. *Census, Baroda, Navsari Prant, 1921*, p. 125, noted that a large proportion of Kolis and the majority of aboriginal tribes who were assimilated into Hinduism passed themselves off as Devibhaktas, that is, worship was primarily directed toward the Devi.
made at the daily puja, while certain local trees, stones, or objects acquired special significance as symbols of a deity's or a 'malevolent force's' power.  

Religious festivals were also a major aspect through which an identity and belief in Hinduism was expressed. Most of the major Hindu festivals were observed, but in particular Navatri and Diwali were significant. Holi was not as important in this part of Gujarat as in most other regions of India.

Another important manifestation of the Hindu tradition was in the observance of life ceremonies, especially those pertaining to birth, betrothal, marriage and death. A significant function of such rites, was their role in the assertion and maintenance of caste identity and status within the caste, falia or village, and in relation to other castes. Status, or the standing within one's community, was reflected in all castes and is of central importance in understanding the Gujarati's apparent 'acquisitiveness' or behaviour akin to the 'Protestant ethic'. This desire to achieve very high status resulted in displays of conspicuous consumption, such as with house-building, but especially in relation to marriage and funeral expenses. This of course vastly encouraged debts and acted as an impetus to migration. The desire for status, to be above one's equals, was therefore simultaneously a divisive force as well as an expression


184. See pp. 146-51, 185 ff.
of caste and village identity. For example, the village of Sarbhon, from which some migrants to New Zealand originated, was full of internal feuds and petty jealousies amongst the Anavala caste.

Each man strives to outdo his neighbour in keeping up a brave appearance with empty pockets.

With regard to the above discussion it is important to note that a 'Gujarati identity' or 'culture' did to a certain extent supersede religious and caste divisions. It is of course debatable as to what extent an overt preoccupation with status, acquisitiveness and material consumption is unique to any culture. However, the Gujarati Muslims who emigrated from Surat District displayed almost identical tendencies, with the exception of religion, to those described with regard to Hindus. Very few Muslims emigrated to New Zealand, but this was partly a reflection of the small percentage resident in Surat District. At the 1911 Census, only 55,394 Muslims were recorded there compared to 571,745 Hindus. The corresponding numbers for Bardoli taluka were 2,176 and 55,597, and in Jalalpore taluka, 3,708 and 70,248. These were much lower proportions than those for Surat District in which 8.47 per cent of the population were Muslims, 87.43 per cent Hindu, 1.5 per cent Jain, 1.8 per cent Zorastrian or Parsi, and under 1 per cent classified as

185. Pocock, op cit, pp. 2-3, noted his paradox amongst Patidars.
186. AAR, Bardoli, 1901.
187. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 84, with reference to Anavalas of that taluka.
Animistic or Christian. It is not surprising that one of the Muslim families which settled in New Zealand originated outside the main centres of Hindu emigration. It came from Broach, a district populated by a high percentage of Muslims. The Gujaratis who emigrated to New Zealand were all Sunni Vohras of the Hanafi branch of Islam. A number of such families also settled in South and East Africa. The word Vohra or Bohra is a surname that is used by banias and Brahmans. Vohras more commonly, however, refer to a community of Muslims in Gujarat and are divided into Shi'as and Sunnis. Most of the former are traders called Daudis and are Isma'ilis. This sect pays special attention to Ali and his sons Hussan and Hussain, while rejecting the three caliphs Abu Bakur, Umar and Usman. They do not believe in saints and have a ruling mulla in Surat. Sunni Vohras, the larger branch of Gujarati Muslims, are also a trading community, 'but with agriculture as its main occupation in rural areas'. Like all Sunnis they stress custom and tradition in their religious belief and practice, as change ceased with the four Imans. Their religious observance tended to depend upon local pirzadas or spiritual guides.

188. Oral and immigration records.
Enthoven noted large numbers of Sunni Vohras in Broach District, and Olpad and Mandvi talukas of Surat District. At the 1881 Census they were estimated to represent 5.56 per cent of the Muslims of British Gujarat, while in Baroda in 1891, Sunni Vohras accounted for 8.05 per cent. Numbers in Jalalpore and Bardoli were small, as for example in 1901 when 395 were recorded in the former taluka and 818 in the latter. It is widely accepted that Sunni Vohras were the descendants of Hindu converts of anonymous castes who adopted Islam in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most were landowners who either cultivated their land or employed Halis. When some of these families adopted trade for their livelihood, particularly in the twentieth century, they began to assert a stronger identity with Islam. Urdu frequently was adopted as a primary language instead of Gujarati. The Sunni Vohra pioneers who settled in New Zealand all spoke Gujarati. Nevertheless, like the majority of Indians, marriage was arranged and within a known circle. An important departure from the Hindu norm of village exogamy was a preference by Sunni Vohras for marriages contracted within their own village. Economic status and the means this

194. Census, Baroda, 1891, p. 444.
195. Census, BP, 1901. By 1911 there were 774 - Jalalpore, and 552 - Bardoli Taluks.
196. See Enthoven, p. 206, for account of origins.
gave to status within the local Sunni Vohra community was as important as with the Hindu castes already discussed.198

In this chapter I have attempted to describe the background of the Gujaratis who settled in New Zealand. As far as the evidence has allowed the location, climate, geography, soils, crops, land tenure, occupational structure, caste and religion have been analysed with particular reference to the villages of the Gujarati emigrants. Already it should be clear that there was considerable diversity within castes and villages in Gujarat but that some patterns were common at both that level and with the wider Indian society. The foregoing discussion also suggests that in general, these villagers were not highly impoverished and that living conditions were on the whole, comfortable. Indeed this perhaps makes it more puzzling to understand why so much overseas emigration occurred from Surat District. In the next chapter I will examine factors that may have precipitated and sustained the 'push' overseas, which initially was in the direction of South Africa.

198. Misra, p. 122 commented on importance of economic status to Sunni Vohras.
CHAPTER II

WHY LEAVE? FACTORS IN EMIGRATION FROM SOUTH GUJARAT

In an earlier chapter it was shown that Gujaratis have settled in many corners of the world. It was there noted that the migration to New Zealand derived principally from a localised region of two talukas in Gujarat. It is now necessary to attempt an explanation of why Gujarat has been one of the pre-eminent sources of overseas migration. More relevant to New Zealand, a closer examination of Jalalpore and Bardoli Taluks at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, may isolate factors that precipitated migration, and those that kept such movement continuous throughout this century. In addition I will describe the patterns of emigration before it was directed towards New Zealand.

Almost every discussion of Gujaratis overseas refers to the well established tradition of migration that was precipitated by both internal and overseas trade. The cosmopolitan nature of Surat in the early sixteenth century is revealed in the following description.

Surat was already "one of the most eminent cities for trade in all India." By land, caravans went and came by the Tapi valley south-east to Golconda; east to Burhanpur in Berar, and from that on to Agra; and north through Ahmedabad to Agra, Delhi and Lahore. By sea, ships came from the Konkan and Malabar coasts and from the west, besides the great trade with Europe, from the ports of eastern Africa, Arabia and the Persian Gulf; south they came from Ceylon; east from the Madras and Bengal coasts, from Pegu and Malacca, but above all from Acheen in Sumatra. By land, merchandise came and went to Surat during the fair weather months in caravans of wagons, camels and bullocks; and by
sea, the larger ships, anchoring in the Suwali roads, unladen there and sent the goods twelve miles by land in bullock-carts... the principal article exported from Surat was cloth, both silk and cotton. This cloth was used by all people from the Cape of Good Hope to China.¹

In the 1891 Census of Baroda the history of maritime trade by Bhatias, Lohanas and Bhadelas from coastal towns of Kathiawar (especially Beyt and Dwarka) to Africa and Mozambique was noted. The Vohoras of Kathor (under Navsari) also sailed to distant ports as traders.²

Another group of Gujaratis renowned for their travel around the world were Lascars or sailors.³ Salter's somewhat romantic account of destitute Asiatics in England in the eighteenth century mentions a Surati amongst the three thousand or so Lascars resident there.⁴ The Khadwa or Kharwar caste of Billimora and other coastal towns was one of the groups that contributed to the Lascars.⁵

The P. and O. and B.I. Cos, get a great many of their Lascars from our seaboard, but this emigration does not permanently deplete the population

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3. Joseph Salter, The Asiatic in England, Sketches of Sixteen Years Work Among Orientals, London, 1872, p. 126. Not all Lascars were Gujaratis. It is a bilingual word from the Persian word, 'Khalasi' which means a sailor, and 'Kara', the Tamil word for a worker of any kind. Hence Khalasi Kara means a sailor. In English the word became lasikara or Lascar.

4. Ibid, p. 3. A Surati is a native of Surat.

5. Although their main occupation was tile turning. See BG, 1901, pp. 520 ff. Enthoven, pp. 200 ff.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zillah</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>1076</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2258</td>
<td>116</td>
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<td>554</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>1235</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>305</td>
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<td>210</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>856</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2800</td>
<td>4239</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>1743</td>
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<td>1476</td>
<td>2517</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>79</td>
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<td>5432</td>
<td>11225</td>
<td>8454</td>
<td>8934</td>
<td>17388</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, BP, 1872. These figures are not to be taken as very accurate.
and though it interferes with the local population it brings a great deal of money into the District.⁶

A conservative estimate put the population of Lascars from Bombay Presidency at 20,000 in 1911.⁷

While the tradition of trading overseas was undoubtedly significant in establishing a climate of mobility, it must be remembered that it would not have meant so much to the ordinary villager. As noted above,⁸ a number of Kolis were fishermen and ployers of small dhows off the coast of Gujarat. These men operated boats usually owned by Anavalas and Parsi merchants. They journeyed to Bombay, Goa, Karachi and even as far as East Africa, Persia and the Arabian ports, for which they were paid remuneration ranging from five rupees for Bombay voyages to a much larger sum for travel to East Africa.⁹

This willingness to travel out of Gujarat for work also extended to internal movement within India. Although figures are an indication only, table ⁵ illustrates the pattern of movement in 1845. For Surat District the figures suggest not so much travel between talukas within this region or those in the Northern Division as movement out of the Division. The exact direction of this outwards migration is unclear but it was already established that Surat District had a greater volume of movement out of its territory than

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6. AAR, Surat, 1911. Also noted Census, BP, 1911, p. 44.
7. Census, BP, 1911, p. 44.
8. See p. 70.
9. BG, 1901, p. 524.
the other districts in Gujarat. In 1900, Mr. Mehta, the Settlement Officer of Jalalpore Taluka commented on the migration from Gujarat to many parts of India, in particular to Bombay,

A considerable number find employment on bridges and other construction works on the Railways all over India. A larger body works in the salt pans at Panvel and elsewhere in the Presidency, while a number finds regular and well paid work as syces, coachmen and domestic servants in the employ of natives in Bombay City. The result is that the Koli villages during the fair weather are populated mainly by women and children with a small proportion of old men past work... The other labouring classes of the Taluka are also prosperous. In fact the better agricultural classes say that the labourers alone now-a-days monopolize the prosperity. Those who cannot find employment in the ginning factories and in field work go away to Bombay City and elsewhere, where they find well paid employment.

The writer goes on to describe how this migration to Bombay had extended to the Dheds and other low castes.

Informants have also confirmed that migrants found employment as domestic servants and in hotels for Europeans and Parsis. It was noted that Kolis from Surat District were engaged as grooms and coachmen with wealthy Parsis and

10. It should be noted that a proportion of the migration would have been to Gaekwad territories, that is 'marriage migrations'. See Census, Baroda, 1891, p. 338. The Northern Division refers to the northern half of Gujarat.

11. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 85.

12. I.P. Desai, The Patterns of Migration and Occupation in a South Gujarat Village, Poona, 1964, p. 147, in his study of Parujan, noted that during the first period of migration from that village 1900-1920 that cooks, butlers or domestic servants migrated to Bombay. By the third period, 1940-1963, their sons worked as drivers, peons, tailors or carpenters in Bombay.
Gujarati Hindus in Bombay. Hajams and Sutars, similarly, were renowned for their migration to the city. This early movement was particularly significant in establishing the tradition of migration that would be extended overseas. The men lived in Bombay to amass as much money as possible, which they remitted to their villages. Wives remained behind, usually in the residence of their husband's kutumb. Table indicates the disparity in the numbers of men and women in Jalalpore Taluka and Navsari Mahal which may be partially attributed to male emigration. An elderly informant described this trend. His grandfather, a Harijan from Jalalpore taluka, originally journeyed to Bombay in 1856 during the famine years. He later related to his grandson how the migrants either walked the distance from Navsari to Bombay or sailed in dhows. Work apparently was readily available. My informant's father left Matwad in 1875 to join his father as a labourer in Bombay. In turn, he sent for his thirteen-year-old son (the informant) in 1906. By that early period, however, the effects of outside money and motivation had meant that the boy was already able to acquire four years education in his village. Certainly at the beginning of this century this was unusual for a Harijan. His education

15. See tables 7, 9. The Census, Baroda, 1891, p. 84, suggested that the increase in the number of females in Kadi and Navsari Divisions could be attributed to a) more female births, and b) greater accuracy of enumeration. However the emigration of males from Navsari and Gandevi was also noted as significant.
### TABLE 6

**Place of enumeration by district of birth in the Bombay Presidency, 1891.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District of Birth</th>
<th>District of Birth</th>
<th>Contiguous District or State</th>
<th>Distant District or State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>89.43</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaira</td>
<td>93.19</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>1.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panch Mahals</td>
<td>93.15</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>.37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Broach</td>
<td>95.40</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>87.84</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>6.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thana</td>
<td>94.26</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolaba</td>
<td>89.94</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>5.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnagiri</td>
<td>81.79</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>15.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandesh</td>
<td>98.15</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasik</td>
<td>92.13</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmednagar</td>
<td>92.80</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poona</td>
<td>87.53</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>6.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sholapur</td>
<td>90.18</td>
<td>7.37</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satara</td>
<td>84.77</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>4.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>87.43</td>
<td>11.51</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td>94.13</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapur</td>
<td>93.35</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi</td>
<td>96.39</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>94.67</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shikarpur</td>
<td>95.57</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thar and Parkar</td>
<td>94.51</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Sind Frontier</td>
<td>96.38</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Bombay Presidency | 91.27 | 5.65 | 3.08

*Source: Census, BP, 1891, (Table 14, c.pp. 126-30).*
TABLE 7

Number of emigrants to Bombay City from Gujarat and Surat District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>28799</td>
<td>16224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat District</td>
<td>19645</td>
<td>10265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, BP, 1891, p. 126.
enabled him to work as a supervisor for a company. Later, he sent for his own son, Dahyabhai, who was able to reap the rewards of this Bombay settlement. Now an accountant in a bank, he broke the tradition and brought his wife and young children to the city. 17

Not all, however, remained in Bombay. A substantial proportion of migrants, Harijans included, used Bombay as an initial step to overseas migration. Another Harijan remembered that his father worked in Delhi, Ahmedabad and Bombay, where he was employed by Parsis for fifteen years. 18 Following this he sailed to Basra as his high expectations had not been totally fulfilled in India.

Table 6 illustrates the high tendency of emigrants from Surat District to venture to both contiguous and distant districts or states. 19 Other districts such as Ahmedabad and those in the southern half of the Bombay Presidency tended to have migration directed more to areas nearer to home. Migration to distant areas of the state was unique to Surat. 20

The 1881 Census revealed that Kaira and Surat were districts from which more people emigrated than immigrated in contrast to the Presidency as a whole where emigration was slow, that is, 91.8 per cent of the indigenous

17. As later became the trend in NZ.
20. See p. 191 with reference to problems associated with use of migration statistics.
population having been enumerated in their district of birth. By 1891 the number of emigrants from Surat District had increased by 15,199 from 70,382 in 1881 to 85,581 in 1891.  

The large proportion of these emigrants who settled in Bombay is shown in table 7. Surat District contributed the highest number of Gujaratis to Bombay city.

The nineteenth century was not only a period of the growth of migration from Gujarat within India but also a time of the extension of Gujarati migration overseas. Edwardes attributed this to the development of Bombay and improved communications. By the mid-nineteenth century it could be observed that

One notes a growing tendency to travel on the part of the native population, a tendency which arose, perhaps naturally from improvement of communications with England, India and China.  

Early emigration from Bombay included, in 1854, the editor of the Hindu Harbinger, in 1860, a Nagar Brahmin, and in 1866, two Banias who founded a firm in England. China attracted the attentions of the Khoja, Marwardi and Borah communities,

In most cases, these adventurous spirits returned after a short time; but the fact that they essayed the dangers of the deep, with the full conviction, in some cases, that they would be outcasted by their spiritual leaders or gurus, seems to us proof of the fact that the wealthier portion of the native community was becoming imbued with the spirit of progress, which animated its English rulers.  


22. Edwardes, the Rise of Bombay, p. 301.  

23. Ibid.
A contemporary example concerns two wealthy Patidar families, resident in Manchester, England, who are descendants of such early migration. Both of the pioneers founded textile businesses and their children continued to be involved in them. One of the original entrepreneurs from Dharmaj, Baroda, was believed to have resided in England from 1906 to 1909 where he bought goods for export to India. After some time in Johannesburg he returned to India but kept up his contacts with England until after World War II when the family took up more permanent settlement overseas.

The idea of overseas emigration, similarly permeated to the lower and poorer castes. By the end of the nineteenth century the settlement officer of Jalalpore taluka was astounded by the emigration not only within India by the Kolis and 'labouring classes' but also by '...the extent of emigration from this Taluka to South Africa, Rangoon, Mauritius and other places outside India, even including Klondyke'. Other reports mentioned Japan and Zanzibar, while Enthoven commented on the large number of Kanbis emigrating to England to train as lawyers and engineers. Contrary to popular belief this emigration was not confined to any particular class or caste. Mr. Mehta, the settlement officer of Jalalpore taluka noted that, 'Anavalas, Kunbis,


25. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 85.

26. AAR, 1900, p. 4.

27. Enthoven, pp. 134-156.
Kolis, Khalpas, Dheds and Mussalmans from all parts of the Taluka, in fact all who cannot make both ends meet at home and who can raise the expenses for the journey leave their home in the hope of rapidly attaining wealth. 28 The 1900 Annual Administrative Report for Surat District emphasised that all classes were 'infected with the mania of emigration'. 29 This trend had developed from earlier emigration to South Africa which had first appealed to Muslims. 30

As noted in the previous chapter, the state of Baroda was also the homeland of a number of Gujaratis in New Zealand. By 1891 limited emigration abroad had been noted, but unlike reports from the British territory the officials in Baroda believed that the movement was confined to particular localities and castes such as Bhatiás, Lohanas and Bhadelas. 31 Such movement was directed mainly towards the coasts of Africa, Mozambique, and Mauritius, in addition to one or two ports of the Straits Settlements. There was, it is true, a contrary view.

In the Baroda State, there is hardly any movement of the people, because, such heavy droughts and famines as visit some other less fortunate tracts are unknown and because the population being chiefly agriculture, there is no inducement for people to move about. 32 This conclusion does not, however, correlate with the evid-

28. RS, Jalalpore, 1900.
29. AAR, 1900.
30. Ibid.
32. Ibid, p. 338.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Year of Report</th>
<th>Taluka</th>
<th>Number of Emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Bardoli</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Valod Mahal</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Olpod</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mandvi</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Bardoli</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jalalpore</td>
<td>c.1352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mandvi</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Olpad</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Bardoli</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mandvi</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Olpad</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Bardoli</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jalalpore</td>
<td>c.275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chorasi</td>
<td>c.700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mandvi</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Olpad</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Bardoli</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jalalpore</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mandvi</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Census</td>
<td>Surat District</td>
<td>122152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From local enquiries for Annual Administration Reports (AAR).
ence from neighbouring agricultural communities under British rule.  

Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that the migration from Bombay Presidency came from specific regions, particularly Surat District. Elsewhere it appears that for the early period the population was restricted in its mobility. 'Castes bound to the profession of agriculture', claimed the Census Enumerator, 'are not wont to wander far from their ancestral abode.'

The actual numbers and composition of emigrants are uncertain because few migration statistics were recorded, while those available were undoubtedly under-estimated. This is indicated in table 8 which depicts the numbers of recorded emigrants from talukas in Surat District before World War I. 1903 and 1904 appear to be years of considerable movement, when approximately 564 emigrants left Bardoli and 1352 went from Jalalpore taluka. The 1904 Annual Administrative Report recorded the castes of those who departed from Bardoli taluka in 1903, and as expected, the majority were Kanbis, (273), followed by 90 Muslims, 80 Potters, 69 Dublas and Dhedas, 29 Shoemakers, and 23 Barbers and members of miscellaneous castes.

The above discussion has outlined the nature of the early emigration from Surat District and Gujarat. In the

33. Certainly the population was not completely immobile. By 1911 3550 persons were reported by local authorities to have migrated from Baroda State to outside India.

34. Census, BP, 1891.

35. It is difficult to know if these were actual jati or occupations. No similar statistics from Jalalpore were found.
TABLE 9-A
Population and density of Jalalpore taluka, 1891-1921.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Density (per square mile)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Census</td>
<td>78649</td>
<td>37313</td>
<td>41336</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>81182</td>
<td>39050</td>
<td>42132</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>75252</td>
<td>35754</td>
<td>39498</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Census</td>
<td>79410</td>
<td>37282</td>
<td>42128</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9-B
Population and density of Bardoli taluka 1891-1921.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Density (per square mile)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Census</td>
<td>57214</td>
<td>29148</td>
<td>28066</td>
<td>374.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>56927</td>
<td>28997</td>
<td>27930</td>
<td>363.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>59079</td>
<td>29995</td>
<td>29084</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Census</td>
<td>61292</td>
<td>30577</td>
<td>30715</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Area for density is 222 square miles which includes Valod Petha.

TABLE 9-C
Population and density of Navsari taluka, 1891-1921.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Density (per square mile)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>53523</td>
<td>25532</td>
<td>27991</td>
<td>428.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>55270</td>
<td>28511</td>
<td>30918</td>
<td>475.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>59429</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, Baroda, 1891-1921.
### TABLE 9-D
Population and density of Surat District, 1872-1921.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Density (per square mile)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>607087</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>382.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>649989</td>
<td>321525</td>
<td>328364</td>
<td>391.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>637017</td>
<td>317787</td>
<td>319230</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>654109</td>
<td>326908</td>
<td>327201</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>674351</td>
<td>337387</td>
<td>336964</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, BP, 1872-1921.
following section it is proposed to examine factors that contributed to such movement. This will be concluded by a brief analysis of the application of these factors to specific areas in Gujarat.

(a) Population Pressure

One factor that has been noted as pre-eminent behind migration was that of population pressure. Throughout the nineteenth century Gujarat had a relatively high population. Illustrated in table 9 is the population at taluka, mahal and district levels for Jalalpore, Bardoli, Navsari and Surat. At a high level throughout the century, there was no dramatic population increase in these areas. From 1871 to 1881, for example, only a 1.05 per cent increase was recorded in Surat District.\(^{36}\) Indeed, the land commissioner postulated that the reason why Jalalpore taluka recorded what he regarded as a low increase of 7.75 per cent between 1871 to 1892 was because any surplus population had been drained off by emigration.\(^{37}\) The lack of reliable statistics makes this claim difficult to substantiate.

From the turn of the century as famines and crop failures occurred, the population underwent a slight decrease. Until then, births were exceeding deaths at an average of 553 per year.\(^{38}\) Along with Amreli Prant, the decrease in population from 1891 to 1901 was far less than in other

\(^{36}\) Census, BP, 1881, vol. 1, p. 31.
\(^{37}\) RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 8.
\(^{38}\) BG, 1904, p. 37.
prants in Baroda. Olpad and Jalalpore talukas also lost five to six thousand people between 1901 and 1911, as a direct result of the deaths caused by the famine and of emigration stimulated by the lean years.

Population pressure does not necessarily provoke emigration but it is a potent factor when examined in conjunction with the available resources. Table 10 indicates the high proportions of the population that were rural based and, as noted in the previous chapter, the majority of the population were, as petty cultivators, reliant on agriculture for their livelihood.

As table 9 shows, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the areas under study presented some of the highest densities in the Bombay Presidency. By 1899, Jalalpore taluka had the highest density in the Surat Collectorate, with 581 persons per square mile. The following censuses recorded a drop in density, as a result from famine and emigration. Densities in Bardoli taluka were somewhat lower, as a higher urban population predominated in Jalalpore taluka. It can be noted that during the years between 1901 to 1911, the mean density per square mile in Bardoli taluka inclusive of Valod Petha, increased from 363 to 380. The census enumerators of Baroda considered Navsari Mahal 'fairly dense' with approximately 428 persons per square mile.

39. RS, Navsari, 1906, Appendix G.
41. RS, Jalalpore. 1900, p. 8.
42. Ibid, Appendix D, p. 17.
mile in 1891 and 475 in 1921.43 The correlation between centres of emigration and high densities are clearly marked. Throughout this period Surat District as a whole averaged the second-highest density in Gujarat after Kaira, another major source area of overseas emigrants. Concurrent with the famine densities dropped in 1901, but in 1911 the average density per square mile was 396 in Surat District and 433 in Kaira.

(b) Pressure on Land Resources.

The effect of the factors mentioned was not, however, straight-forward and the situation was more complex than might appear. Although Gujarat, particularly Surat, had a high density of population, it also had well-endowed resources that could appear to support a very dense population. However, as the talukas had been cultivated to the fullest extent for some years, there was little room for any extension of agriculture. Such land as had not been cultivated was waste land unsuited to development.

Land seems to be never relinquished and to be always in demand. Under the new survey the area of culturable waste had increased. But this is merely land formerly classed as unculturable and though it may be possible to cultivate it, that is about all. There is now no land of fairly good quality available - nearly 1800 bighas have been taken up during currency of the present settlement.44

Other reports testified to the limitations of cultivation in Bardoli and Jalalpore talukas as well as in other areas of

43. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 15. Gandevi talukas had highest densities in Baroda.

44. RS, Navsari, 1906.
Surat District and Baroda State. By 1900 Jalalpore taluka had less than two hundred acres of unoccupied land available for future cultivation, as 38,653 out of 106,602 acres (36.25 per cent) was deemed unarable waste. Even at the original settlement only 1712 acres had been free for new cultivation. Appendix 1 indicates the areas considered uncultivatable for selected villages from which emigration to New Zealand took place. The differences between the geographical regions outlined on page 48 are clearly defined. For example, coastal villages such as Macchad, Bodali, Karadi and Matwad had virtually no productive land, particularly because of the presence of salt tracts. Consider Karadi, which was the most important village with regard to emigration to New Zealand, where only 341 acres were considered available for cultivation at the turn of the century. Further inland, Koli-dominated villages such as Pethan, Kothamadi and Italwa had more scope for production, while the predominantly Matia-Kanbi village of Sisodra was well endowed, with only 234 out of 2,395 acres considered unsuitable for cultivation. The selected villages from Bardoli where emigration to New Zealand occurred showed even smaller proportions of uncultivable land. In Pera only 113 out of 1,378 acres were waste, while in Vankaner, another village of note, 2,513 acres were free for cultivation.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that coastal villages never did have extra land for cultivation, while those

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45. See table 11.

46. RS, Jalālpore, 1900, pp. 2-3, p. 9.
TABLE 10
Urban-rural percentage of population, Surat District, 1891-1911.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population Classified as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>22.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, BP, 1891-11. Note differences in percentages with table 1, as not all of the population classified as rural based were in agriculture or pastoral work.

TABLE 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1902-03</th>
<th>1903-04</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Revenue Demand</td>
<td>327414-14 - 11</td>
<td>334449-14 - 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount to be recovered at end of year.</td>
<td>2941- 7 - 4</td>
<td>3179-11 - 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remissions, ordinary.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6794-12 - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remissions, locusts.</td>
<td></td>
<td>194- 4 - 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspensions</td>
<td></td>
<td>298- 5 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realizations up to 30 June 1904</td>
<td></td>
<td>326924- 4 - 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: AAR, Jalalpore, 1905. The above amounts are expressed in rupees, annas and pie.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total Acres</th>
<th>Area left available for cultivation</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Bardoli</td>
<td>142030</td>
<td>2059</td>
<td>142030</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Jalalpore</td>
<td>106602</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>106602</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1</td>
<td>Surat District</td>
<td>1031904</td>
<td>66833</td>
<td>1031904</td>
<td>6.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1036386</td>
<td>46206</td>
<td>1036386</td>
<td>4.46</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902-3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1038116</td>
<td>45907</td>
<td>1038116</td>
<td>4.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1033169</td>
<td>30291</td>
<td>1033169</td>
<td>2.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 62, gives the % of net cultivable area that was net cultivated in South Gujarat at 77.02, thus leaving a higher percentage (than those in the above table) at 22.98% for future cultivation. Specific villages, however, especially where emigration to NZ took place showed that very little land was left for cultivation, e.g. in Kardipore - 98% and Kasbapar - 91% of the cultivable area was occupied. (RS, Navsari, 1907, appendix X-A).
endowed with productive land had by the end of the nineteenth century virtually reached the limits of production. The very shortage of land, in both the affluent and impoverished areas, led to an increase in demand. Reports from Gazetteers and Land Revenue Settlement Reports showed an increase in transfers of land. For example in 1866, in Surat District, 1,491 acres were transferred by sale, while by 1874 this amount had risen to 4,000 acres. It was noted at the 1918 Statistical Survey of Baroda that during the early period land values were rising, and were highest in Navsari. As discussed above, overseas migration strengthened the demand, in addition to inflating land values.

(c) Profitability from Agriculture.

Another feature said to have precipitated migration was that although land values were rising, the actual profits from agriculture were declining. This, however, is difficult to assess because while the land commissioners commented on this factor it is evident that the standard of living of the cultivators was simultaneously rising. Emigration was cited as a result of the lack of agrarian returns. A reported increase in fallow land pointed to the lessening interest in agriculture. According to the Annual Administrative

47. See also RS, Bardoli, 1897, p. 90-92. AAR, Surat, 1907.
48. BG, p. 205, 193. See also RS, Neera Desai, p. 166.
49. 1918 Statistical Survey Baroda, p. 16.
Report for Surat District of 1900, 'one of the most striking features of this division is the growing tendency to abandon cultivation as a means of livelihood'.

Later in 1911 reference was made to neglected agriculture as the cultivators found it more profitable to migrate.

Cultural factors must also be considered as they contributed to a lessened interest in agriculture as a livelihood. Generally castes of higher status, and in particular those aspiring to such a position show less overt interest in farming. As we shall see, until recently, substantial landlords preferred their children to enter 'clean' occupations, preferably clerical, professional or business work. Mr. Weir, writing in 1900, was aware that the rising generation of cultivating classes were refusing to adhere to the occupation of their forefathers and instead preferred to enter government service or private trade. In particular, this applied to Anavalas and Kanbis. The result was that talent, expertise and labour was not directed into developing the profitability of agriculture.

Connected with profits from agriculture was the tendency of prices to fluctuate during the period under review. During the eighteen-sixties prices were abnormally high, due to the increased demand for cotton caused by the blocking of

51. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 93.
52. AAR, Surat, 1911.
53. AAR, Jalalpore, 1900. See also G. Keatinge, Agricultural Progress in Western India, London, 1921, pp. 146-7; 151-2.
54. See Appendix 2.
supplies from America during the Civil War, and to the
general inflation generated from this by increased availab-
ility of cash. Years of prosperity lasted during the per-
iods 1867 - 1877, and 1887 - 1898 when prices of juwar, rice
and cotton increased.\textsuperscript{55} In 1890 some low prices were recor-
ded but throughout the nineties and in particular during the
famine year of 1898 prices were high. Low prices were, how-
ever, experienced in the following two years as a result of
the failure of rice and cotton harvests.\textsuperscript{56} As a result of
the plague it was difficult to dispose of crops.\textsuperscript{57}

From the early twentieth century there was continued
fluctuation but in general prices showed an upward tendency.
The year 1904 to 1905 was excellent in Bardoli taluka where
cotton fetched the highest prices during the previous thirty
years.\textsuperscript{58} Such fortunes were, however, inconsistent as the
same period saw lower prices for \textit{rabi} crops, especially
juwar, wheat and pulses. It should also be noted that as
the ryot secured higher prices for his products, he had to
expend more in production costs and on general living. The
cultivators of Gujarat were entering a period of inflation
and a rising cost of living.

\textsuperscript{55} RS. Jalalpore, 1900, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{56} RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 86. Prices did not exceed 8
annas. A full crop was 16 annas.
\textsuperscript{57} AAR, Surat, 1900. During the famine years of 1898 high
prices were recorded, e.g. 30 maunds of juwar fetched
RS.60 in 1898, while the average was Rs.35-40 in Novem-
ber 1900.
\textsuperscript{58} AAR, Bardoli, 1905. Ginning factories there produced
cotton worth RS 22 lakhs compared to 14 lakhs in the
previous year.
Consequently, this affected wages. While those paid to the unskilled labourers were low they did increase during the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. A labourer in Jalalpore around 1900 earned approximately four to six annas per day in comparison with a skilled artisan who earned from ten to fourteen annas. In Baroda from 1906 to 1916 a rise in wages doubled from three annas and six pies to seven annas. It came to be accepted by employers that labourers were, to a limited extent, able to set their own prices. A major reason for this was the shortage of labour, precipitated by both internal and external migration. Observers in 1911 identified the expansion in the mill industry, large railway improvements, irrigation works and heightened commercial activity in the port of Bombay as siphoning off the labour supply.

The deterioration of the Hali system was also believed to be pertinent to the shortage of labour in Bardoli taluka. Landlords complained that their Halis were discontented with their position and absconded whenever possible. Of equal importance was that as the size of land holdings decreased

59. AAR, Surat, 1915.
60. AAR, Surat District, No. 3316 of 1890. The wages of skilled labour suffered a temporary setback at this time; during 1888-1889 they were 10 annas to RS 1. It was suggested that the rebuilding of Surat, which attracted outsiders, was one reason for this.
61. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 42.
63. AAR, Bardoli, 1905, No. 638.
64. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 9. See Breman, Chap. 5, pp. 68 ff. for disintegration of the Hali system. On page 11 he makes the part that the lack of labour supply was not related to voluntary servitude but to a lack of employment outside agriculture.

65. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 43. 12 annas to Rs.1, 4 annas per head.

66. Although it was certainly not the only cause of this.

67. RS, Bardoli, 1865 Report, p. 47.
sixties. This was enhanced by high prices and the importation of bullion into Bombay. Devaluation in money meant that the condition of the agriculturists temporarily improved at the expense of the state.

The later high cost of living and fluctuations in prices resulted in farmers resorting to the moneylenders. It should be noted, nevertheless, that in spite of earlier prosperity, even as early as 1856 Forbes observed the indebtedness which the Kanbis of Gujarat had accumulated. The Mamlatdar estimated the total agricultural debt of Bardoli taluka in 1897, as Rs. 3,376,000 at twelve per cent on an annual drain of Rs. 405,120. He further ascertained that due to this at least half of the land was encumbered. In Jalalpore it was believed that there was scarcely a village in the taluka in which the majority of cultivators did not owe money on personal security. In one village, for example, two hundred out of seven hundred acres were held by Sawcars from Navsari. Not only agriculturists such as Anavalas, Kanbis and Kolis, but also fishermen and sailors of the Macchi and Koli castes went in search of work 'to pay off debts contracted by their wives during their absence.'

Already by 1891 Mr Maconochie had painted a sad picture of the agriculturists,

The prosperity of the greater part of the population

68. RS, Bardoli, 1897, pp. 9-10, 108.
69. RS. Jalalpore, 1900, p. 87.
70. Ibid, Sawcars were moneylenders.
71. BG. 1901, p. 524.
is a mere outward show. The only really prosperous class is the commercial; the others are drowned in debt — principally resulting from the over assessment of the land which has driven them to the Sawcars for money to meet the Government demand... The pith and marrow of the population are over 8 lakhs in debt to the Waniyas /sic/... As security for this they have mortgaged their houses, ornaments, cattle, and last of all, other security failing, 10,000 bighas of their last land. Once in the clutches of the Sawcars there is no escape for them.72

In addition to borrowing money on the security of land it was normal to borrow supplies from the village Vania throughout the year and to repay him either in kind or cash at harvest time. Family jewellery also was frequently used as security in the form of a pledge or sold as cash.73 An indication of the pressure of indebtedness may be gauged by reports to the Jalalpore revenue officer of 'cases in which cultivators of riverside villages had gone to sea for the first time to raise the money necessary for the demands upon them.'74

In 1899 the Maharaja of Baroda set up committees in each taluka to enquire into such agricultural indebtedness.75 Nanavati's report of 1911 was perhaps the most significant in highlighting rural indebtedness. He found the reduction of the population through famine and plague, 'displacement of the best class of agriculturists by inferior exploitation of land as an investment, physical deterioration through

73. AAR, Jalalpore, 1901.
74. Ibid.
75. See Sergeant, p. 239.
insufficient nourishment, lessened fertility of soil through lack of cattle, implements, manure, etc.76

Additional factors noted as responsible for indebtedness were the rise in prices, including the cost of labour and the excessive rate of interest charged by moneylenders. Nanavati estimated approximately sixty per cent of Khatedars indebted in 1901 at about Rs.460 per person. Of the forty per cent remaining nearly half were money-lenders who had possessed land in liquidation of old debts. Nanavati also pointed to cultural reasons for indebtedness, such as an increased consumption of liquor and a lack of education among the older population.78 Perhaps of direct relevance was the increased conspicuous consumption specifically to maintain and increase a family's status. As discussed elsewhere79 the most obvious form this took was in house-building and ceremonial expenses, particularly marriage.

Even in the early nineteenth century, Forbes noted that 'a landowner or cultivator is "dheeriywato" - a courageous, high spirited man... he plunges himself into irretrievable difficulties, merely because he has not strength of mind sufficient to enable him to despise the title tattle of his neighbourhood'.80


77. i.e. registered landowners.


80. Forbes, Ras Mala, p. 249.
Nanavati's report also highlighted the question of the size and composition of an 'economic holding' of land. Because of Hindu inheritance laws a persistent problem was that land frequently became too small for use. In 1934 G.H. Desai considered, eight bighas of jarayat, three bighas of bagayat, and one and a half bighas of kyari as economic.81 The land commissioner of Jalalpore taluka directly attributed the indebtedness of Anavalas to the smallness of their holdings.82 Lessened profitability meant debts were difficult to liquidate with the result that younger members were obliged to seek employment elsewhere.

In addition to the smallness there was the problem of scattered holdings.83 A ryot might own a number of different holdings in various parts of the village. According to G.H. Desai, this resulted from each heir attempting to obtain a share in each survey number.84 The alternative would have been to arrange the distribution so that each might accumulate as many whole numbers as possible. Partition also resulted from transfers of parts of land by mortgage, gift,

82. RS, Jalalpore Taluka, 1900.
83. Also noted, Statistical Atlas... Baroda, p. 13.
84. A survey number was the basis or unit of assessment. It was a plot of land of a size adopted for cultivation by a peasant with a pair of bullocks. Many survey numbers were referred to as one, that is numberous pot, 'paiki', and other subdivisions whose number was large and not ascertainable. Ibid, pp. 10, 13.
Disadvantages were many as scattered fields meant a wastage of time in travel, both for workers and animals. It proved difficult to live near one's fields, while problems were experienced in supervision, irrigation, labour and manuring. In particular, access to the fields was an endless source of dispute as a farmer's neighbours might control his right of way.

The holdings being small and uneconomic, agriculture hardly provides a decent living for the cultivator and his family. What remains to him after paying the government assessment and defraying the cost of cultivation is hardly sufficient, in the majority of cases, to last till the next season and most of the tillers of the soil have to incur debts from year to year which makes their condition from the bad to worse. Others get sufficient to last for 2 or 3 months.

The high demand for land combined with the shortage of that available made propositions of selling or mortgaging it attractive. In Navsari Taluka in 1906, 14,532 bighas were sold at an average price of 109 rupees per bigha. Mortgages accumulated to 28,192 bighas at an average price of 73 rupees per bigha. Emigration and money earned overseas was

85. 1918 Statistical Survey Baroda, however considered that there was not a shortage of land for the population but ample room for intensive cultivation. Unfortunately, the early twentieth century, in his opinion, witnessed a change to extensive cultivation.

86. This was a problem I witnessed in the village of Kharwasa in 1979.

87. G.H. Desai, op cit, p. 11.

88. RS, Navsari, 1907.

89. As, however, this included double or multiple transactions relating to the same level it did not necessarily mean the land or houses had changed owners. Figures of mortgages, can therefore, give an inflated view.
one contributory factor to inflated land values.\textsuperscript{90} It therefore had the paradoxical effect of being both a solution to indebtedness but simultaneously boosting factors behind it.

There was, indeed, a variety of opinions and evidence as to how widespread and serious this 'agricultural indebtedness' was. By 1905 it was noted that debts incurred in Jalalpore taluka had been repaid.\textsuperscript{91} Heavy profits from cotton enabled this. The consensus, in general, was that the taluka was free from debt and that the number of mortgages were no greater than would be expected from a prosperous community. Land records for the year 1902-1903\textsuperscript{92} show that the ryots were able to realize most of the land revenue demand, with very few remissions and suspensions granted.\textsuperscript{93} In Bardoli taluka, similarly, the post-1900 years were favourable.

The last year was a flourishing one after a series of unfavourable seasons and many an agriculturist had regained their position by redeeming old debts and improving their agricultural resources.\textsuperscript{94} Favourable prices from rice and cotton meant there were signs of prosperity among all classes, such as the large number of marriages celebrated amongst Kolis and others. Mr. Seddon, therefore, was of the opinion that statements about

\begin{itemize}
  \item Many informants noted land as a primary motive for emigration. See p. 221.
  \item AAR, Jalalpore, 1905.
  \item See table 12.
  \item RS, Navsari, 1907, similarly, the land revenue was collected with considerable ease and few remissions were necessary.
  \item AAR, Bardoli, 1905.
\end{itemize}
'agricultural indebtedness' were 'wild and exaggerated'.

Anavalas and Kolis are pretty generally more or less burdened with debt and we may regret the fact. But I do not think the position is often so serious as it is often represented to be.\(^95\)

For present purposes it may be concluded that indebtedness was one factor that contributed to the need to find extra money. The extent to which it may be taken as an indication of poverty is, however, debatable because it can reflect 'credit-worthiness' which is usually only available to those with some economic security. There is no question that most ryots were indebted and expenditure frequently exceeded income. As these factors accelerated in the years after World War I they will be re-examined in a later discussion.

(e) **Famines**

The foregoing suggests that due to factors such as declining profits, cultural expectations and lack of alternative resources, migration was inevitable. Nevertheless, these were problems faced in many other parts of India and the world, but did not always result in migration. All the aforementioned factors were relevant, but an additional stress that provoked wider interest was the series of bad years and harvests at the end of the nineteenth century. In a region such as South Gujarat, that expects favourable returns and maintains a certain standard of living, such calamities can have a dramatic effect. Thus the impact of localised famines and cultural factors will now be

\(^{95}\) RS, Navsari, 1907, p. 3.
examined. 96

As briefly mentioned above, the famine of 1876-77 precipitated migration to places such as Bombay. Famine re-occurred later, from 1896 to 1898, due to an uneven distribution of rains. 97 It was, however, the famine of 1899-1900 that was considered one of the severest in Gujarat's modern history.

...the whole of Gujarat was visited by a famine the like of which has not been known in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of that fertile province.

The famine was caused principally by a failure of annual rains. In Surat District out of a total of 1,653 square miles 1,557 failed to produce a normal crop. 99

In particular, during these years, the coastal villages

96. There were earlier famines. In 1791, a particularly severe one in Baroda, /Report of Famine Operations in the Baroda State for the Year 1899-1900, Baroda, 1900/. From 1876-1877 rains failed in the Bombay Presidency. Census, 1881, p. 34.

97. Rainfall was unusually heavy from July-August 1896. But from September it was completely absent. Due to shortage of crops prices rose. e.g. In Navsari District the price of jowari rose by 59% from 1896-1897/ /A Short Account of the Measures Adopted to Alleviate the Distress caused by the Scarcity of 1896-7 in Baroda Territory, Baroda, 1899/.


99. BG, 1914, p. iii.
from where many of the New Zealand Gujaratis came, were more adversely affected than the villages a few miles inland.

In the coast villages the prospect was darker than in the inland villages as there are not in this part of the Taluka the same facilities for irrigation and the soil is inferior; here I found that rice had failed utterly and juvar was less flourishing than elsewhere. In some cases hand watering had been resorted to in order to keep life in the juvar shoots.

This shortage of food precipitated a rise in food prices.\textsuperscript{101}

A contemporary observer made the following somewhat romantic remarks on the sad scene:

Gujarat is reputed to be a favoured land, its park-like scenery, shaded little villages, and green fields stretching as far as the eye could reach, as you whirl past through the rich country, in the trath, have unfailingly attracted the notices of the traveller and exerted his admiration. The insalubrious condition of these shaded villages, the want of stamina and the chronic poverty of those who tilled delightfully these green fields, and their lack of appreciation of the favours of nature from want of education have rarely been commented on, as they obtrude not on the sight of the hasty observer. But nature frowned on this favoured land, in the year just closed so cruelly, that not a green blade could be seen anywhere up to the horizon, except where a few oases of green grass may be observed in patches, under well irrigation... that the sturdy patient bullock first squatted down on the land which he was wont to serve, never to rise again, and then laid his bones on it bleaching under the sun; and that his owner, the poor yet contented agriculturist, in many cases, mistrustless of such an unexpected and sudden playing false god of rains, hoping against hope, till too late, gradually brought himself and his household to such a point of physical weakness that a good supply of food would lead to death through indigestion and want of it to the same end through starvation. This was the

\textsuperscript{100} AAR, Jalalpore, 1901.

\textsuperscript{101} Report of Famine Operations..., op cit, average of prices of last 10 years was 26\frac{1}{2} lbs per Rupee while that of 1900 was 17 3/8 lbs per Rupee, a rise of 52\%.
condition of about half the cultivators,"\textsuperscript{102}

Accompanying the famine there also came plague, which hit the towns of Bulsar, Magod, Surat and Rander in 1896. From there it spread with varying degrees of severity throughout Surat District.\textsuperscript{103}

An interesting trend of the famines was that Navsari in Baroda and Surat District in the Bombay Presidency, although suffering distress, were the least affected in their respective regions.\textsuperscript{104} Navsari was the district in Baroda which needed to import the least amount of grains and rice.\textsuperscript{105} The contradiction is partially explained by the different effects famine had on coastal and villages further inland, as Gaekwad territory generally fell into the latter category. All areas, nevertheless, suffered to a certain extent. In particular it proved difficult to pay the land revenue demand, which resulted in the ryots resorting to borrowing or obtaining money from other sources, such as overseas remittances.\textsuperscript{106} In the opinion of H.S. Lawrence the Under Secretary to the Government, however, Jalalpore did not appear to

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{103} BG, 1914, p. iii.

\textsuperscript{104} A Short Account of the Measures Adopted to Alleviate The Distress Caused By The Scarcity of 1896-7 in Baroda Territory, Baroda, 1899 and Report of Famine Operations \ldots, op cit. Elderly informants did not remember these famines which indicate that effects in their homelands were not excessive.


\textsuperscript{106} See Ibid and RS, Jalalpore, 1900. By end of 1900 only 42.7% of total demand had been realized.
be insufficiently serious straits to warrant a decrease in revenue assessment.¹⁰⁷

Some famine continued in the years after 1900 when prosperity was at a low ebb.¹⁰⁸ In 1904 plague and malaria coincided with poor crop harvests in Bardoli and Jalalpore talukas.¹⁰⁹ The effect was ameliorated to some extent for agriculturists by good cotton harvests. The same years witnessed a failure of rains in Baroda. It was, however, in 1911 that the next severe famine hit, with severe frosts that blighted the crops, to be followed by scarcity of rain. In Baroda it was Navsari which again was the least affected by this.

The district of Navsari managed to tide over the distress with its usual good fortune.¹¹⁰ The dramatic increase in land values from 1908 to 1918 in Navsari District was attributed to the 'regular rainfall and consequent immunity from famine' which had 'brought it to the forefront regarding its agricultural land', particularly in Navsari, Gandevi and Palsana talukas.¹¹¹

It can be seen, that the relationship between famine and migration is not entirely clear. The usual expectation is that adversity induces change or movement. In the earlier part of this century, however, this was not necessarily

¹⁰⁷ RS, Jalalpore, 1900, p. 102.
¹⁰⁸ See Report of Famine Operations in the Baroda State For the Year 1911-12, Baroda, 1912.
¹⁰⁹ AAR, Bardoli, Jalalpore, 1905.
¹¹¹ 1918 Statistical Survey of Baroda, p. 16. Navsari land values were the highest in Baroda by 1918.
the case.

In the matter of migrations, the home-keeping agriculturists and artisans and settled labourers, with their inborn ineradicable adversion to migrations, preferred to have work or to die, at their doors, surrounded by their helpless relatives and friends, than to go out to my district to earn a living. Even if the stress of the calamity had the power to breathe within some of them a spirit of adventure, the black and gloomy accounts of the "Kal" (famine) that shrouded the whole province, (the utmost magnitude of the world, as known to them) impeded their steps from taking themselves and their burdens anywhere else. 112

These observations, may, however, be questioned. While perhaps applicable to the majority of districts in Baroda, they were by no means correct for Bardoli and Jalalpore talukas and Navsari mahal. It is suggested that cultural expectations, particularly in relation to economic and social status were of relevance there. At this very period, emigration was in full force from these regions. Nanavati noted in his report that the famine had the effect of encouraging ryots to abandon agriculture for alternative means of livelihood. According to the 1901 Census, famine was an inducement to emigration, particularly to adjacent territories of the Presidency. 113 By 1911 it was observed that the lean years of the past decade had taught the labourers to move further afield, which resulted in material improvements and more independence than before. 114

112. Report of Famine Operations..., op cit, 1900, p. 3.


114. Ibid, see p. 24 for numbers of emigrants. A very large proportion of this migration was to Baroda, Hyderabad and the Central Provinces.
(f) Standard of Living.

The significant factor, therefore, that contributed to the need to find further work abroad was the rise in the standard of living at the end of the last century. In turn, however, rising expectations in living standards were fired by overseas migration. The following sums up this observation which was noted by contemporary writers.

Another feature of the condition of the people is the comparative luxury in which they live. A cup of tea in the morning is becoming a necessity with the members not only of higher classes but also of the middle and lower classes. The increasing consumption of the bounty sugar, Hindu biscuits and confectionery, aerated waters and agars affords further indications of the demand for luxuries. Where one turban sufficed for the respectable Anavala, three or four turbans are looked upon now as necessities. A fancy stick or a cheap watch has become as important a part of the equipment of the ordinary peasant as a good turban was of that of his ancestors. The number of carts used for personal convenience is constantly increasing while the number of those who walk ordinary distances is constantly decreasing. 115

It can be observed that changes in diet, dress and agricultural implements all reflected high consumption levels. 116 Differences in patterns of living were important in terms of reflecting the caste and status system, as today they still are. A variety of terms have been suggested to account for aspirations to higher status by a particular jati, although Srinivas's term Sanskritization is probably that which is most generally applicable. This is a process by which a

115. AAR, 1900, 2297 of 1899, from J.W.A. Weir to F.S.P. Lely, Commissioner, Northern Division, Surat 8 November 1899,

116. e.g. See Keatinge, p. 55. Discusses how value of net imports increased from 1900-1901 and 1913-1914.
"low" Hindu caste, or tribal or another group, changes its customs, ritual or ideology and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently "twice-born" caste'. In the area under study this can be applied within certain limitations. As noted in the previous chapter Kolis of South Gujarat, especially Talabdas considered themselves superior in many of their villages. From my own observations I would suggest that the local Anavil or 'Brahmanical' model was emulated, but increasingly as Gandhi's influence was felt in this area, the model ascribed to was akin to 'Sanskritization', in the adoption of traditional Hindu beliefs and practices, as for example, with regard to vegetarianism and teetotalism. It should also be recalled that Anavils have themselves undergone what Van der Veen refers to as Brahmanization, that is, the adoption of a typical Brahmin style of marriage, centred around dowry instead of exchange. Otherwise a Vaisya or 'Gujarati business ethic' was followed by Kolis in Jalalpore taluka.

Kanbis, especially Matias, and the Levas and Khadwas of Bardoli Taluka increasingly developed a disdain for manual work and strove to claim a standing equivalent to the Levas of Charotar. Later many of the Kanbis of the villages under study identified as Patidars. Vegetarianism had always been the professed ideal but increasingly throughout the period it became standard Kanbi practice. As noted with Kolis, the


118. Van der Veen, p. 11.
model may be classified as Sanskritic but the form it took was sometimes 'Brahmanical' and at other times 'Vaisya'.

Of most significance, in economic terms was that at the end of the nineteenth century, such aspirations to high status were expressed in housebuilding and in ceremonial occasions, particularly marriage. Building a substantial pakka house was one of the goals of the early migrants, as today it still is. As will be discussed, in the Kanbi, Koli and Muslim villages today, the legacy of these builders remains. In addition to adopting particular styles of architecture, it became fashionable to add Western conveniences, especially those of sanitation. Expenses became very high. According to the Bardoli Land Settlement Officer, in 1897, an average of eight hundred rupees was spent on a house.

For the wealthier farmers, however, housebuilding in the early twentieth century came to include a greater variety of expense than that of their parents' generation.

Thatched houses were replaced by tiled buildings within the memory of the older generation, but now country tiles are being scorned and are replaced in their turn by the Mangalore variety. Houses are being built higher, if not more spacious. Storeys and separate rooms are taking the place of the old and dark, though roomy, barn-like structures of the old fashioned prosperous farmer.

119. A.M. Shah and R.G. Shroff, "The Vahivanca Barots of Gujarat: A Caste of Genealogists and Mythographers", p. 63, note change amongst Patidars from claims to Kshatriya status to Vaisyas, as a result of their education and business interest.

120. AAR, 1915. For a close parallel in the Punjab, see Malcolm Lyall Darling, Rusticus Loquitur or the Old Light and the New in the Punjah Village, London, 1930, pp. 162, 168.
Closely related to housebuilding, while certainly affected by overseas migration, was inflated land values caused by the high demand for a very limited amount of land. Overseas migrants (which in the early period meant mainly South Africans) placed considerable importance on the acquisition of land. This applied both to those who originally possessed no land and those who wanted to enlarge their present holdings. The motive for this may be classed as cultural, as the economic value and return from the land did not always measure up to the prices paid. Land symbolised status and security, evidence that the emigrant was a success.

The selling value of land is vitiated by the fact that in a country like India where the possession of land stands for prestige and where agriculture is by far the most important source of occupation, people by competition push its value beyond what it should be due to its actual yield. In many parts of Surat district, for example, people coming from Africa after collecting some money would like to settle down in their own villages. In their desire to get the lands in their villages, they will push the value of the land. The prestige which the possession of land gives combined with absence of any other suitable occupation, results in inflation of land values.\(^{121}\)

Another major expenditure and symbol of social status was that relating to life ceremonies, especially marriage. A report in 1901 noted that costs incurred for marriages in that year were unusually profuse and extravagant.\(^{122}\) In all castes, expenditure was estimated to have more than doubled. The following is an example of the typical amount spent by

\(^{121}\) J.M. Mehta, p. 146. Quotation from a land settlement report.

\(^{122}\) AAR, Surat, 1900.
a Leva Kanbi of Bardoli taluka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Year 1857-67</th>
<th>Year 1897</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Class</td>
<td>Rs 500</td>
<td>Rs 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Class</td>
<td>Rs 400</td>
<td>Rs 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was also considered usual for an Anavala to spend two thousand rupees on marriage. Dowry had risen from 140 to 400 rupees.

It is difficult to ascertain precisely when certain castes began to adopt Brahmanical practices in marriage. This placed an emphasis on the bride being perceived as a 'gift', entailing considerable expenditure on the part of her family. The vankado was a cash payment, settled at the betrothal and paid to the bridegroom's father. In addition, the bridegroom received a paheramni or paithan, that is a dowry or portion with the bride. This practice was common amongst Anavalas, Patidars, Rajputs and Brahma Kshatris.

Difficulty arises in relating changes in marriage expenditure and customs to the particular castes that settled in New Zealand. It can be generally accepted from contemporary and oral reports that Kanbis had adopted the

123. RS, Bardoli, 1897, p. 108.

124. Most of the following is from BG, 1962, pp. 223-333. For a detailed discussion of hypergamy amongst Anavil Brahmans see Klass Van der Veen, op cit, and for Patidars, David Pocock, Kanbi and Patidar.

practice of vankado, which increasingly meant costly expenses for the bride's family. Her father had to feed the groom's kin at the betrothal, and was encumbered with providing most of the feasting for the duration of the wedding ceremonies. Not only was a vankado settled, but he and his kin would receive gifts such as utensils, clothing and ornaments from the bride's family. Amongst families with aspirations to high status, the bride's father was expected to furnish the groom's parents with gifts and feasts upon her return to her husband's kutumb from her own village. At the turn of the century it was estimated that amongst Kanbis of kulia, or 'high family', a dowry of 1000 to 2000 rupees was paid, while those from 'akulia' or 'no family' spent between 500 and 1000 rupees. Thus expenditure on marriage was a major concern in a householder's life, particularly in castes where aspirations to higher status were being propounded.

Kolis had tended to follow the lower status practice of bride-price, that is the bridegroom paying a pallu or cash settlement for the bride.\textsuperscript{126} Marriages of exchange between families of different villages were also common. Nevertheless, the bride's father would feast his village. The exact developments in marriage customs amongst Kolis are difficult to trace. According to the 1901 Bombay Gazetteer, both the bride's and the bridegroom's families were responsible for feasting their respective villages, and an estimated 500 rupees would be spent by well-to-do families. Even today, I found ambiguity about the role of dowry in this caste.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid, pp. 248-9.
The Bombay Gazetteer noted a pallo or dowry as prevalent, although oral reports suggest that the instigation of a large vankado is a more recent development. Some informants emphatically denied any dowry, while others were able to detail cash and settlements in kind, that were identical to Van der Veen's observations amongst the Anaval Brahmins in the same area.

Regardless of when, and whether or not, dowry was adopted by the Talabdas of South Gujarat, certainly expenditure on marriage rose during the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A lavish outlay in wedding expenses reflected a family's standing within the village, wider kin and jati. Particularly among Kolis of the Navsari region, as with most Gujarati castes, the bride's mama (maternal uncle) plays a significant role in the wedding. He and his wife (the bride's mami) present the mosalu, or presents for the bride and her parents, usually in a procession, accompanied by music and women singing songs. The mama is usually responsible for the bride's wedding dress and ornaments, especially the cudo or bangles. In addition, the bride's parents receive presents of rich items, such as, dress. The bridegroom's mama also has similar obligations, but to a lesser extent, because he and his family normally accept costly gifts from the bride's family.

The relationship of this to migration, correlates with

all the other symbols of social prestige. Thus, as the
format of marriage changed and rose in expense, so it was
necessary to either become heavily indebted or seek further
finance elsewhere. The tendency, however, was that a mig-
rant was expected to provide an extremely spectacular wedd-
ing ceremony, not just for his own children but also for
those related to him, especially his sister's children. In
turn, anxious families who desired connections with the
affluent overseas migrants would offer high dowries for
their daughters. 128 This frequently placed a burden of debt
that only further emigration by other members of the family
could alleviate. In short, it was a vicious circle, where
expenditure on marriage, to gain economic and status secur-
ity, necessitated emigration, which in turn, demanded further
conspicuous consumption.

In summary then, why did emigration occur on such a
scale from Gujarat in the years before World War I? Long-
term factors included population pressure, shortage of land,
declining agricultural profitability, a lessened interest in
agricultural occupations, and rural indebtedness. 129 These
set the scene upon which a dramatic plague or famine could
have disastrous effects. Of equal importance, however, is
that, in Gujarat, and particularly in Surat District (and

128. In NZ, when NZ born Indian females began to seek part-
ners in Gujarati villages, the emphasis was reversed,
with poorer families frequently 'competing' to 'sell'
their sons abroad.

129. It should be noted that these are general terms only
the extent to which they may be accepted is qualified,
as discussed in previous sections.
Kaira, for it too was a source area of considerable emigration), higher expectations and standard of living were present than in the rural regions elsewhere.

As noted in the previous chapter, the Talabdas Kolis of Jalalpore taluka and Navsari prant were more prosperous agriculturists, enjoyed a higher standard of living, and were often the dominant caste in their villages. Many were educated and, as we shall see in later sections of this study, increasingly throughout the twentieth century aspirations to a high status, or at least a 'comfortable' economic and social position were expressed. Their role in the independence movement of India reinforced this, as did increased access to education. Of equal or even more significance, however, to the aspiring Kolis of this region, were the influences of internal and overseas emigration.130 Already by the end of the nineteenth century these Talabdas had relatively high status and economic expectations, so when economic difficulties struck, they were able to utilise resources of capital, education and knowledge of an 'outside world' to emigrate in search of work.

The same model is applicable to emigrants from the more prosperous Kanbi villages of Navsari, Jalalpore and Bardoli Taluks. All of the above pressures applied, but aspirations of cultural mobility were expressed in different terms. Matias were concerned to uphold and maintain their position as true Hindu Kanbis. Levas and Khadwas had been considered inferior to the Kanbis of Central and Northern Gujarat, so

130. See pp. 156-20.
those in Bardoli taluka sought to reinforce their position in that locality. As noted in later chapters, the adoption of the term Kanbi, or Patel, and then Patidar, reflected this.

A further category of factors that must be considered in addition to the above are what could be classified as those of access and availability. As previously noted, in Gujarat an early tradition of emigration was prevalent, while there were few taboos on travel or contact with foreigners. Early associations with Arabs and Europeans (as in the Punjab and Madras, both major regions of overseas emigration) were significant in this report. Easy access to Bombay and improved communications stimulated geographical mobility amongst the rural population. Both Bardoli and Jalalpore were situated on the main railway tracks, while at the original settlement survey Mr. Beyts considered Soopa to be better provided than any other district in Gujarat for means of communication with local and distant market towns. South Gujarat was an area in which a cash economy was well established by the nineteenth century, even at village level.

This, then, raises the question of 'pull' factors in emigration, that is why a particular destination is chosen. These are discussed in detail with relation to New Zealand and Fiji in Chapter III, but the earlier movement to South Africa will now be examined in brief. The beginning of

131. RS, Jalalpore, 1900, Appendix R, p. 2. At the Revision Survey, p. 51, Jalalpore taluka was still considered to have better roads than those in any other sub-division of the District.
emigration to New Zealand must therefore be viewed against a pattern of movement to other countries of the British Empire, particularly South Africa and later East Africa. Finally, in this chapter, a brief discussion of the continuity of the aforenamed factors in emigration will be summarised, as they were still relevant in the years after World War I when Gujarati settlement in New Zealand increased.

**Migration to South Africa from Coastal Gujarat.**

The first major country to which the Patels of Jalalpore and Bardoli taluks began to migrate was South Africa. These migrants tended to fit into three categories. A number were employed as labourers for work such as railway construction
in the Transvaal and elsewhere. They were paid twenty-five rupees per month and food, a sum far greater than what they could have hoped for in India. A second group comprised artisans such as mechanics, carpenters, barbers, washermen, shoemakers and potters. Most of these followed their traditional occupations in Africa. The third group was that to which the most migrants aspired, the self-employed trader. This encompassed a wide stratum from the man who hawked fruit with a basket or barrow, through the small dukandar to

132. AAR, Surat, 1900. AAR, Surat, 1904, noted that majority of migrants from this region were labourers. All of the informants I interviewed claimed that there were no Gujaratis who migrated as indentured labour. Koli informants generally were shopkeepers. For details concerning early Indian settlement and the indenture system in South Africa see Mabel Palmer, The History of the Indians in Natal, Cape John, 1957. Hilda Kuper, Indian People in Natal, Natal 1960, N.P. Naicker, "Indians in South Africa", in Indians Abroad, ed, Amirudha A. Gupta, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 274-302. C. Kondapi, Indians Overseas, 1838 - 1949, New Delhi, 1951, esp. pp. 21-25, 190-192, 211 ff. S.B. Mukherji Indian Minority in South Africa, New Delhi, 1959. Bridglal Pachai, The South African Indian Question 1860-1971, Cape Town, 1971, deals more with the immigration issues. The indenture system lasted from 1859-1866, 1874-1911 in Natal. According to Kuper, pp. 6-9, most of the indentured labourers were from the Madras Presidency, Malabar, Bihar, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Orissa and West Bengal, Non-indentured or 'passenger Indians' were mainly Gujaratis or Marathas from the Northern Provinces. Hugh Tinker, A New System of Slavery, London, 1974, p. 389, note 23, indentured emigration from the Bombay Presidency ceased in 1865 due to the demand for industrial labour, especially in Bombay and Ahmedabad. It should be noted that recent doctoral research by Brij Lal on indentured emigration to Fiji has questioned the 'myths' of these labourers as passive, or 'unfree' persons. See, for e.g. "Fiji Girmityas. The Background to Banishment", in Rama's Banishment, ed, Vijay Mishra Auckland, 1979 pp. 12-39.

133. AAR, Surat, 1907.
the prosperous merchant. 134 An informant, now retired in India, recalled his grandfather. 135 Such men travelled through African villages, under conditions they perceived as hard. Experience gained in the fruit and retail business in South Africa affected the direction of employment that was pursued in New Zealand. 136

The documentary evidence is corroborated by the oral reports. A number of informants remembered either a father or uncle who journeyed to South Africa at the end of the last or beginning of this century. Almost every village I visited and all of the castes represented in New Zealand had ancestors who journeyed to South Africa before initial settlement in the Pacific. One of the earliest of these cases of migration involved a Dhobi from Rander who settled in Natal at the end of the nineteenth century. 137 He adopted the surname Natali and although many members of his family

134. AAR, Surat, 1905, noted that the better educated migrants opened shops.


136. See p. 270 ff.

137. I conducted several interviews with Jelal Natali and members of his family in Auckland and Rander from 1977 to 1981. He was one of my main informants, due to the prominent role he has played in the Indian community in New Zealand, and also his wider contact within New Zealand society, as a result of business connections and marriage to a European. A considerable amount of data was also available from newspaper cuttings he collected in a scrapbook. Unfortunately, these were not always accurately documented and as many were from small country newspapers, it proved impractical to locate the source. Wherever possible I have estimated the date. Such cuttings are hereafter referred to as news. cutting, Natali's Scrapbook.
joined him overseas, his wife and youngest son, Jelal, remained in Gujarat. In 1920, however, Jelal set forth for New Zealand.

Another example concerned a Leva Kanbi family of five brothers from Bhuvasan, in Bardoli taluka.\textsuperscript{138} Owning a substantial amount of land, they were acknowledged in the village as reasonably prosperous.\textsuperscript{139} One brother sailed to South Africa around 1893, another to Burma and a third to Singapore. The three men were hawkers but did not accumulate very much money. However, both the sons of the brother who emigrated to South Africa found their fortunes elsewhere, one in Ghana and the other in New Zealand.

As discussed above, all villages and castes represented in New Zealand appear to have precursors in South Africa. A New Zealand migrant of Matia Kanbi caste, Dayal Vallabh, now retired at Pardi (Sarpore), had two uncles from this village who went to Johannesburg in 1885.\textsuperscript{140} Agriculturists, well endowed with land, they were eager to secure further wealth. In South Africa one entered the fruit business and the other opened a laundry. The latter choice illustrates that the migrants were willing to accept work, that in Gujarat would have been considered ritually demeaning for this

\begin{itemize}
\item 138. Int, Ghelabbhai Patel.
\item 139. Today the informant owns 25 acres of land, while the wider kin group has 90 acres. Some of this land was purchased since emigration and I was unable to ascertain the original size of the farm.
\item 140. Int, Dayal Vallabh, Pardi-Sarpore, F.T. 8.
\end{itemize}
Oral evidence confirms the flow of Muslim migration from Gujarat to South Africa. In the 1931 Census they were over-represented amongst overseas migrants in comparison to their population in Baroda. From this state Hindus contributed fifty-five per cent and Muslims forty-five per cent of persons resident abroad. The Muslims were mostly traders, 'daring entrepreneurs and have contributed largely to the building up of the wealth of such places as Transvaal, Natal and Abyssinia'.

Two of the Muslim pioneers to New Zealand originally served in the Transvaal during the Boer War. Ismail Bhikhoo was one of these men and claimed to have been a messenger boy for Lord Kitchener around 1901-1903. This honoured position did not, however, induce him to remain in South Africa as he returned to India before sailing to Fiji in 1911. Like the other cases, Ismail came from a relatively affluent family consisting of five brothers. The other four settled with their families in South Africa, and one of them reputedly became a prosperous merchant. The other Muslim pioneer Mohamed Kara, tried his luck in South Africa, was disgruntled and similarly embarked for Fiji around 1901.

141. See p. 512.
143. Int, Bhikhoo family. Other informants, both Koli and Kanbi claimed to have had family members involved in the Boer War.
144. Int, his grandson, Sulianan Ismail Kara.
It has been noted that these early migrants consisted of a variety of castes and backgrounds. It is also known that they were predominantly men who preferred to leave their families in the villages and remit money to them. A number did, however, send for their sons, though it was not until later that this generation called for their wives. Some of the early migrants were reputed to have taken African and European wives, seen to return to Gujarat with their husbands.

Some of the new emigrants bring new wives of European origin. They come in European costume and for the first few days remain in European habits, but afterward they become habituated to and live content with, a simple Ijar and Koorthe and Jowaree /Sic/ bread and work in the field - along with their husbands under the sun.¹⁴⁵

The above report by N.I. Desai to the Collector of Surat in 1910 probably was exaggerated. It does, however, indicate a willingness to intermarry amongst some first generation emigrants, which will further be examined in relation to New Zealand.

Effects of South African Migration.

Undoubtedly the greatest and most direct effect of the early migration was to raise the standard of living and, in turn, the expectations of the families and villages from which the migrants originated. As they promised, most of them did send their newly-earned riches back. In the 1899 Revision Settlement annual remittances of at least 30,000 rupees to Jalalpore taluka were mentioned, while by 1911 approximately one lakh rupees were reputed to have been

¹⁴⁵. AAR, 1910. The 'European wives' spoke French.
disbursed in the same area every month from South Africa. 146

Of course, sums were frequently exaggerated yet even so the Commissioner wrote:

On wages of this magnitude the ordinary Koli soon begins to send home remittances of a Rs 100, in one case the Patel and Talati of a Jalalpore village in drawing up the Income Tax list, put down the amount thus acquired by a Koli who had returned from Africa at Rs 20000. He appealed to me and I found that an estimate of Rs 3000 was at least fair to the appellant. 147

This allowed the rising standard of living to be met but simultaneously it raised expectations even higher, particularly with the impetus of new ideas from overseas. This in turn prompted reliance on continual overseas earnings and would have encouraged those who could not keep up such standards to venture elsewhere, such as to Fiji or New Zealand.

The peculiar prosperity of this sub-division is to a very great extent dependent on this influx of money remitted by these emigrants to their families and is necessarily diminished by any narrowing of the field of emigration. 148

It was also reported that large money-order remittances passed through the Bardoli Post Office from South Africa in 1904. This enabled debts accumulated during the preceding famine years to be paid off. The village of Sisodra, for example, once heavily indebted, was cleared of debt when 90,000 rupees were remitted there from South Africa and

146. AAR, Surat, 1911. This is a substantial increase from 1907 when the AAR for Surat District estimated remittances per year of Rs 245,900.

147. AAR, Surat, 1900.

148. AAR, 1905, No. 638 of 1904 from Assistant Collector, Bardoli Division to Collector of Surat.
repaid to money lenders. A later report observed, however, that although the overseas money liquidated old debts it also meant the contracting of new ones. Marriage and other expenses were increasing and the overseas migrant was required to maintain a certain appearance so as to enhance his and his family's status in the village, caste and kin community. Factors such as these meant that emigration was a continual process.

A further effect of the early migration to South Africa that related with later movement in the direction of New Zealand was the interest expressed in English-language education. The main reason for this was to try to circumvent the restrictive Natal Government Act of 1897. This required the prospective emigrant to sit an 'education test', that is to write out and sign an application in a European language. Contemporary observers believed this desire for education was stronger in Surat District than elsewhere. Even in 1900 there was a growing demand for Anglo-Vernacular schools, such as the institution at Degam, Chikhli taluka, which was well attended by intending emigrants.

149. Ibid, Sisodra was a village from which a number of migrants to NZ originated.

150. AAR, 1907, No. 1325 of 1906, from Deputy Collector Surat, Olpad Division to Collector, Surat, 17 August 1906.

151. See Palmer, pp. 45ff. Pachai, Chap. 1. The agitation for immigration restrictions was particularly directed towards 'Passenger Indians.'

152. AAR, Surat, 1907.

153. AAR, 1900.
### TABLE 13

**Estimate of emigration to South Africa from Northern Division**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluka</th>
<th>1907</th>
<th>1908</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bardoli</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olpad</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandvi</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Division</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: AAR, 1909. No. 1785 of 1908, from District Deputy Collector, Olpad Division, Surat to Collector of Surat, 14 August 1908, 4374 of 1908, from Collector of Surat to Commissioner, Northern Division, 15 November 1908. Note these are estimates only.
The flow of migrants to South Africa, however, was short-lived. The principal reasons were the aforementioned immigration restrictions brought in by 1897 and the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 which prohibited Asian immigration into the South Africa Union. Some fresh migration, nevertheless, continued, as ways were found to enter the country illegally. One method was to transfer immigration passes from one member of the family or from one partner to another. 154

Table 13 shows that by 1909 the restrictions were taking effect. This was to have a crucial influence in turning the direction of migration towards the Pacific. A direct example from oral testimony involves Bhukandas Masters, an early migrant to New Zealand. 155 A tailor and outfitter, he settled in South Africa prior to 1912. According to his son, he was involved in the Civil Disobedience movement with Gandhi over the issue of permits. After his permit had been withheld he did not bother applying for a new one. Instead he left South Africa around 1912-1914. The next destination was Uganda where he also opened a tailor's and outfitter's shop. Following this he returned to India where his reluctance to return to Africa was reinforced by news of Fiji. Travelling there in 1917-1918 he finally learnt of New Zealand. This example serves to illustrate the route through South Africa that was followed by some of the first generation migrants to New Zealand.

154. AAR, 1907.
Simply an awareness of restrictions in Africa, would have inhibited further travel there. An informant, now retired in the village of Pardi (Sarpore), claims he had his permit ready to travel to Johannesburg but was discouraged by the news of discrimination there. The result was that he waited until after World War I before embarking for New Zealand from India. 156

Although the household survey 157 I conducted of known overseas emigrants from the village of Karadi is limited in its value, it does clearly indicate that before 1948 in falias where the percentage of emigration to South Africa was higher there was minimal migration to New Zealand, or to East Africa. This applies particularly to Panifalia, Nabhalia and Chhotrafalia, 158 where respectively, approximately, 37, 25 and 15 per cent of households have some record of family emigration to South Africa. No one emigrated from Nabhalia or Chhotrafalia to New Zealand, and only 6 and 12 per cent of households had some emigration there to East Africa. In Panifalia, 16 per cent of households had connections in New Zealand and 5 per cent in East Africa. However, in Balafalia, Dhallafalia, Vanivad and Swarajfalia, there were respectively 36, 33, 14 and 23 per cent of households with settlers in New Zealand before 1948, and 22, 9, 4, and 6 per cent in East Africa. The South African connect-

156. Int, Dayal Vallabh.
157. See Appendix 3.
158. These were slightly larger falias, so provide a more reasonable indication of emigration than for e.g. Chhabafalia, where there were only 6 separate households.
ions were very low, at 8, 3, 6, and 2 per cent for the falias of high New Zealand emigration. Swarajfalia provides the biggest contrast. It suggests that an awareness of overseas emigration may have spread through a falia network, and that once South African emigration proved difficult, other countries were focused upon. The same pattern applied to Patelfalia, as approximately 33 per cent of 57 households there had primary East African settlement before 1948, compared to 12 per cent in New Zealand and only 2 per cent in South Africa.

Finally, restrictions in South Africa had the effect of hastening the decision for settlers to send for their families.

From the number of demands for certificates to enable families to go out to join previous emigrants, and for the pride with which the Registration Certificates issued in the Transvaal and other Colonies are produced there does not seem to be any feeling amongst this class of emigrants against the restrictions imposed in the Colonies. 159

In the 1931 Census of Baroda it was noted that in spite of the vigourous repatriation policy of South Africa the number of Barodan emigrants had increased there. 160

Emigration during the years following World War I.

Emigration continued in the post War years, both within and outside India. The following statement of the number of passports issued from August 1915 to May 1921 by the Political Office, Baroda, illustrates the predominance of South

159. AAR, 1911.

160. Census, Baroda, 1931, p. 96. There were however some Indians who were born and domiciled in Africa and repatriated to Baroda. 1921 - 371. 1931 - 938.
Gujarat as a centre of emigration within that State.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Division</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>30.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Division</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>16.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Division</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>44.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathiawad</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>8.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2711</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures were considered underestimates, although at the same census it was noted that the numbers of overseas emigrants from Baroda had increased since previous censuses. At the 1915 Annual Administration Report a pattern of migration that is still prevalent had been observed as well established, especially among the Kolis of the villages of Jalalpore taluka.

In the west of Jalalpore, no men are to be found in the villages except during the rains. For the remainder of the year, they take to the sea or labour in gangs upon railway and other construction work, sometimes in the neighbourhood, but more often in Central India or Bengal. A number of Kolis have made large sums, as labour agents and gang leaders. The exceedingly rich soil is prepared for sowing by the males of the village and the women complete the preparations which chiefly consist of weeding. At about Diwali, they too go forth to labour leaving their old men and women to watch any crops that may be standing and to cut the thick Juvar stalks for thatching and fencing.

As noted above, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of overseas emigrants from South Gujarat because so many were 'free' or 'passenger' emigrants and therefore did

161. Census, Baroda, 1921. Under Defence of India (Consolidation) Rule, 1915, emigration was temporarily stopped with effect from 12 March 1917, except under general or special license. [Source: Statistical Abstract for British India].

162. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 45.

163. AAR, Surat, 1915.
not come under the regulation of the Indian Emigration Act. The following statistics of the number of Barodan subjects residing outside India, reveals the increase of those residing abroad from 1911 to 1931, and again, the predominance of South Gujarat in this movement. This region contributed 63.75 per cent of the total overseas Barodan residents in 1931.

**TABLE 14**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1911 No.</th>
<th>1911 %</th>
<th>1921 No.</th>
<th>1921 %</th>
<th>1931 No.</th>
<th>1931 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Gujarat</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>2471</td>
<td>23.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Gujarat</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>22.78</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Gujarat</td>
<td>2499</td>
<td>70.29</td>
<td>3802</td>
<td>70.28</td>
<td>6687</td>
<td>63.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathiawad</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>6.97</td>
<td>1007</td>
<td>9.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3555</td>
<td></td>
<td>5410</td>
<td></td>
<td>10490</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During this period a growth of 125 per cent in the numbers of overseas emigrants was noted from this State.

Accurate statistics for the 'free' emigrants from British territory were less readily available because of the complexity of administration in the Bombay Presidency; and secondly emigrants did not necessarily depart from the port of Bombay. The Report of the 1929 Special Enquiry into the

164. **Census, Baroda, 1931, p. 96** Source: a) From passports section of Political Office. b) Taluka Vahivatdars furnished statements of persons and families belonging to their charges, known to reside abroad. Note that this would include some born abroad. These statistics must be treated with caution as they relied upon those known, and it seems highly probable that those in more remote areas, such as NZ, would have been more obscure to trace.
Second Revision Settlement of the Bardoli and Chorasi talukas commented on the 'emigration to South Africa, New Zealand and other places abroad', 165. The following figures of emigrants were supplied for individual villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of Overseas Emigrants</th>
<th>Total Population of Village</th>
<th>% of Emigrants to Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarbhon</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>2374</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supa</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambheti</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1328</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vankaner</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>3038</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varad</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2121</td>
<td>4.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singod</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamni</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>5.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 3 is a household survey I conducted of known overseas emigrants in the village of Karadi in 1979. Out of 389 households, only a total of 109, or approximately 28 per cent had no known members of the household who had emigrated overseas. Analysed at the level of falias, it is quite marked that in those where the standards of housing and living conditions were lower, especially Batafalia and Mandirfalia, there were the high percentages of 54 in the former and 45 households in the latter with no record of overseas migration. A further significant point is that almost all overseas migration from these falias was in the years after World War II, primarily to England, and from Batafalia to


166. Ibid.
New Zealand, for marriage purposes.

Table 15 provides some indication of the countries of residence of overseas Barodan subjects at the 1921 and 1931 censuses, while table 16 indicates their length of absence from the State. Navsari Division held the primary position as a centre of emigration, with approximately 60 per cent of families, or 64 per cent of persons originating from there who were resident abroad in 1931. In Navsari Division, the largest group of emigrants, or approximately 26 per cent were absent for 5 to 10 years, while around 47 per cent had departed from Baroda before 1921.

It can be readily seen in table 15 that in spite of immigration restrictions, emigration in the post War years continued to South Africa. The Baroda figures estimate approximately 49.87 per cent of their overseas emigrants from Navsari Division there. In 1921, the corresponding percentage was 29.67 from South Gujarat. It should be noted, however, that the high percentage of those in the 'unspecified' areas of Africa, 64.23 per cent in 1921 from South Gujarat, and 33.36 per cent from Navsari Division at the following census, would have included a large proportion of Barodans living in South Africa.

New directions for overseas emigration, were, however, opening up, especially to East Africa, Fiji and New Zealand.

One of the major inducements for large-scale emigration to East Africa was during the late nineteenth century when the British Government constructed the railway from the coast...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residing in</th>
<th>1921 Census</th>
<th></th>
<th>1931 Census</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baroda State</td>
<td>South Gujarat</td>
<td>Baroda State</td>
<td>Navsari Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>29.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Africa</td>
<td>3214</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>2442</td>
<td>64.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Africa*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Africa</td>
<td>4764</td>
<td>88.06</td>
<td>3614</td>
<td>95.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabia</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straits Settlements</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>197</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, USA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5410</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3802</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* includes Mauritius.  2\* includes 198 in Spain.  Source: Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 106; 1931, p. 101. Note that there was some difference in categories at each census.
TABLE 16

Overseas Emigrants from Baroda by period of absence from the State. (by Division).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of Absence</th>
<th>Baroda State</th>
<th>Baroda City</th>
<th>Amreli Division</th>
<th>Baroda Division</th>
<th>Mehsana Division</th>
<th>Navsari Division</th>
<th>Okhambal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 1 year</td>
<td>5284</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1390</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>3178</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 3 years</td>
<td>10490</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>2433</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>6687</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 5 years</td>
<td>7967</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>5270</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10 years</td>
<td>2523</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1417</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 and above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to Lake Victoria in 1896. Although railway coolies were imported mainly from the Punjab, the majority returned to India at the completion of their contracts. 'This fact is contrary to the usual belief of Africans and Europeans in East Africa who are convinced that the present Indian population is composed of the descendents of coolies who settled in the country.' As noted above, a long-established tradition of principally, Gujarati merchants, had contacts with this part of Africa. When the interior opened they extended their activities as fast as the railway was built'. My own interviews with Gujaratis now settled in England, India and New Zealand, confirmed other observations that neither extreme of the very rich or poor emigrated there, but were principally 'petty traders and artisans'.


170. Ibid.
Consider the example of Bhanabhai, now settled in Manchester, England. He was born in Matwad in 1910. His father sailed dhows off the coast of Gujarat. Bhanabhai had been fortunate to receive some instruction in the English language at a local school and was sponsored by his uncle to travel to Nairobi in 1929. There he found work as a printer-compositor on a newspaper, which also hastened his knowledge of the English language. His wife joined him in 1943. By 1960 Bhanabhai realised that a person in his position had 'no future in Africa' and so he emigrated to England where his skills readily found him employment in a printing firm in Manchester. The older four of his seven children were all in professional positions, which may be seen as a classic case of economic and job mobility through three generations. The connections between Gujarati emigrants in East Africa, England and New Zealand were also illustrated by this case, as Bhanabhai's brother-in-law is settled in Wellington. This example is typical of the pattern of emigration to East Africa, and of the Gujaratis now settled in England. Having been 'sponsored' by a relative who had been employed in South or East Africa, the second generation migrant worked as a tradesman, clerk or shopkeeper, and later moved to England.

Actual statistics of East African emigrants from South

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172. I conducted at least 50 interviews in England, mostly with Kolis in Manchester, Birmingham, Leicester and England. I also interviewed some Kanbis, Harijans and members of other Gujarati castes. This data will be separately written up.
Gujarat are virtually impossible to locate as most were 'free' travellers. The 1921 Kenyan Census recorded 379 Barodan-born persons. The settlers there from Navsari Prant who were Kolis were mostly employed in industrial labour, while the Vohoras and Anavalas were traders and clerks. Table 15, however, indicates that only one per cent of Barodan born emigrants from South Gujarat settled in Kenya in 1921, although the total for Baroda State was approximately 5 per cent. By 1931 the corresponding percentage had increased to 8.69 for those from Navsari Division compared to 14.6 for the State. It should also be considered that the very high percentage classified as 14.6, of those 'somewhere in Africa', would have included Barodans in East and well as South Africa.

As already briefly noted, the household analysis of Karadi in Appendix 3 shows that there tended to be more emigration to East Africa and New Zealand from falias where earlier migration to South Africa had not been established. Patelfalia provided a notable exception, as the percentage of households with emigrants there before 1948 was 33, compared to 12 per cent in New Zealand. The correlation with later settlement in England is also clear, as most of these families re-emigrated there during the nineteen-sixties and early seventies, either by choice or necessity.

As table 15 shows, Gujaratis did settle in other areas following World War I, as well as in Africa. Another destination not marked in this table was Rangoon in Burma.

173. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 106.
By 1921, Surat District had contributed 2,395 males and 801 females to Burma, although Kathiawar and Hyderabad were centres of slightly larger numbers, with a total of 3,739 emigrants from the former and 3,407 from the latter. The majority of those from Surat District followed the Gujarati role there as traders, although according to Mahajani only four per cent of the Indian population in Burma belonged to the elitist category of businessmen and professionals.

Factors in Emigration After World War I.

It may be argued that of equal significance to the factors that precipitated emigration were those that sustained it. Of relevance to New Zealand are the economic and social conditions in the years following World War I, because this was the period when emigration to the South Pacific accelerated. The post-war years were a period of world-wide social and economic change. In India, and Gujarat in particular, there was the evolution of a cash economy and continued questioning of cultural norms, especially those regarding caste. The following therefore is a summary of the factors previously discussed, in relation to the period between the two World Wars.

(a) Profits from Agriculture.

Economic change was acute, especially in regard to the rising cost of all articles, including food grains after


175. AAR, Surat District, 1907. No. 1162 of 1906 from Ass. Collector, Jalal pore and Chorasi Division, to Collector of Surat, 20, 8, 1906.

In the opinion of G.D. Desai this was caused by a shortage of production, the intense comparative demand of 'belligerent' countries for commodities, and the creation of a high volume of credit and currency to finance the war. In particular, cotton prices rose during and after the War, although by 1920 a slight decline had set in. In general the cultivator was in a favourable position until the mid-twenties, because the cost of production was higher than that of the purchased articles. In the case of the non-producer, however, even the increase in wages did not mitigate the higher cost of living.

Subsequent to high prices, the area and quantity of cash crops increased, especially tobacco and cotton in Surat District. According to Jayakar's Land Revenue Report of Bardoli taluka, the acreage under cotton increased from 25,990 in 1894 to 40,009 by 1925, while the corresponding acreage under jowari decreased from 27,554 to 18,642. Hence


178. G.D. Desai, op cit, p. 286, J.M. Mehta, A Study of the Rural Economy of Gujarat, Containing Possibilities of Reconstruction, Baroda, 1930, p. 138, noted that the price of food crops in Gujarat rose from 1915-1920 by almost 100%.


180. e.g. AAR, Surat, 1919. Price of fuel increased. Babul wood sold at 2½ maunds per Rupee, representing nearly a 50% increase in 1918.

a considerable quantity of foodstuffs had to be imported from outside the taluka, all of which contributed to a higher cost of living. 182

Accompanying the rise in prices was therefore a rise in wages. For example, in pre-war days the bulk of agricultural labourers in Gujarat were paid three to four annas per day. 183 By the end of the war, remuneration was around eight annas per day, although wages in Bardoli were somewhat higher. 184 A major reason for higher wages was the continued shortage of labour, a trend throughout India precipitated by the migration of labourers to the towns, especially during the war. 185 Agriculturists, such as Patidars, tended to sublet holdings rather than personally cultivate them, due to the difficulty in acquiring cheap labour. 186 This reinforced migration amongst landlords, especially as at this stage there was no legislation against absentee landlordism in Gujarat. Following the First World War, the Hali system increasingly was eroded, as noted by H.B. Shivdasani, the Assistant Collector for the Southern Prant of Surat District.


184. RS, op cit, p. 7, estimated that labourers were paid on a daily basis 8 annas for reaping, 12 annas for weeding and one Rupee for field labour (mainly cutting). The amount varied between villages and an extra cost was meals provided by employers which cost around 2 annas per day.

185. This was noted by, Baroda Economic Development Committee, op cit, pp. 57-8, AAR, Surat District, 1918.

186. Mehta, p. 41.
With the advance of civilization, the wants, luxuries and domestic expenses of these Halis have increased and seeing that they can get employment at other places and earn more money, they run away and get employment at other places of industrial activities. Also the master does not find that it pays to keep Halis. The Hali labour is notoriously inefficient, and with the present high prices it costs ever so much more to maintain a Hali. In short, the master also finds the system uneconomic. The Hali system is now day by day disappearing. There is an appreciable decrease in the number of Halis for the last few years. There is now a general tendency among these people not to serve as Hali. I think within a few years the system will disappear.  

The shortage of agricultural labour may be considered as one factor in sustaining emigration.

The relationship of prices of emigration can not, however, be viewed as a causal factor. When prices were high in the immediate post-War years, emigration was also marked. When prices and agricultural profitability dropped from the mid-twenties to the thirties, the rate of emigration eased off. The explanation may partly be that higher agricultural returns facilitated capital for men who had knowledge of economic opportunities overseas. The slackening off in emigration during the late twenties was perhaps more directly related to the implementation of immigration restrictions in countries such as New Zealand,

(b) Population Pressure

It was noted in a previous section that the extent of

188. See Census, BP, 1931, vol. 3, pt. 1. p. 9. Unprecedented fall in prices especially money crops. Wages fell slightly but were not proportionate to the fall in prices of agriculture and produce.
further cultivable land was virtually exhausted by the end of the nineteenth century in many regions of Gujarat, especially those from which overseas emigration emanated. Densities on such land were high, but were slightly reduced at the turn of the century by famine and disease. As indicated in table 17, there was no recorded increase for Surat District, in the average cropped area from 1910-11 to 1914-15, and 1920-1 to 1924-5, but during the same years, the density of the rural population per square mile of this fertile area rose from 415 to 424 persons. By the 1931 Census the population density in rural areas was high in Surat and Kaira compared to other areas of the Bombay Presidency. These were, of course, principal centres of overseas emigration. In 1921 an average of 417 persons were recorded in Bardoli and 432 in Jalalpore talukas, respectively corresponding to a four and six per cent increase since the former census. Jayakar's survey of the density of government villages in Bardoli taluka, revealed a higher figure for 1921. The following statistics, nevertheless, illustrate the rise in population pressure in the post-War years.

189. Census, BP, 1931, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 16. Statistics for British territories were underestimated because of population mobility and boycott of the census, due to Civil Disobedience.
TABLE 17
Rural populations, cropped area and density of rural population per square mile of cropped area, 1911-31.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1911 Rural pop. in 000s.</th>
<th>ACA 1910-11 to 1914-15 Density of rural pop/sq mile of C.A.</th>
<th>1921 Rural pop. in 000s.</th>
<th>ACA 1920-1 to 1924 Density of rural pop/sq mile of C.A.</th>
<th>1931 Rural pop. in 000s.</th>
<th>ACA 1930-1 to 1934-5 Density of rural pop/sq mile of C.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>2629</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>2902</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broach + Panch Mahals</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>2028</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaira</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>1169</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br. Gujarat</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>7016</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>2194</td>
<td>7486</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br. India</td>
<td>210436</td>
<td>395430</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>210038</td>
<td>195157</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Key: ACA = Average cropped area. (square miles).
CA. = Cropped area.
TABLE 18

Density of Government Villages, Bardoli Taluka, 1925.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Density per Square Mile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Gaekwad territory Navsari Mahal had a density of 475 people per square mile, equivalent to a 7.52 per cent variation from 1911 to 1921. For the cultivatable area, the mean density was 340 persons per square mile. 191

Population increase in the rural areas was related to favourable economic conditions and the absence of disease in an endemic form. 192 It should also be noted that actual rural numbers still rose as migration to urban areas and industrialisation increased, particularly from the thirties onwards. 193 An increase in the rural population therefore correlated with a high proportion of workers employed in agriculture. M.B. Desai's figures suggest that 67.2 per cent were so engaged in 1911, which dropped to 64 per cent in 1921 and rose

190. RS, Bardoli, 1925, p. 5.
to 71 per cent in 1931. The comparative percentage of the working population engaged in agriculture was 63 for India in 1931. 'Return to land of large working population /sic/ in 1931 was mainly the outcome of world slump in prices which affected severely the employment in organized industries. 194

In the areas of overseas emigration, therefore, the post-war years were those of heightened population pressure in a region where agriculture and land had been under heavy cultivation. Employment in nearby towns was insufficient to alleviate this burden, so that pressures to seek work further afield were maintained. The correlation between density on land and emigration was summarised at the 1931 Census for the Bombay Presidency.

In India in particular the principal impetus to emigration on a capital scale is economic pressure. In areas where the density rate is low and where the pressure of the population on the soil is negligible, the idea of emigration would normally only occur to those who are landless or to those whose holdings have been so reduced by the process of sub-division or imprudent conduct as to render them inadequate as a means of support. 195

(c) Rural Indebtedness

As throughout India, agricultural indebtedness continued in the villages of Surat District during the years following World War I. As noted above, particularly with reference to the homelands of Gujarati emigrants in New Zealand,

194. Ibid, p. 120.

almost all available land had been cultivated. At the 1921 Census of Baroda an increase in smaller sized, uneconomic, holdings was noted. Fragmentation of holdings was still a problem. It therefore was not surprising that actual debts increased, especially when prices of produce began to fall in the late twenties and during the thirties.

The Bombay Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee of 1929-1930 estimated a net debt per acre of cultivated land at fifty-two rupees in South Gujarat compared to twenty rupees in


197. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 394.


Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain the role indebtedness played in precipitating emigration. G.H. Desai clearly perceived a link when he published his report in 1934. The holdings being small and uneconomic, agriculture hardly provides a decent living for the cultivator and his family. What remains to him after paying the government assessment and defraying the cost of cultivation is hardly sufficient, in the majority of cases, to last till the next season and most of the tillers of the soil have to incur debts from year to year which makes their condition from the bad to worse. Others get sufficient to last for two or three months. As soon as Deewali is over, we find them leaving their homes to seek work in ginning factories or the spinning and weaving mills and other factories. Notwithstanding all the labour the cultivator bestows on the soil, he does not get a full living out of his small holding and he has to supplement his land income by working elsewhere. Many young people have emigrated to Africa, Fiji and other places, and exchanged their paternal occupation of farming for that of a labourer, hawker of goods or shop-keeper. Wealthy farmers are few and far between and most of the landlords have earned their wealth not from the profits of cultivation but from exacting rack rents.201

The special Inquiry by R.S. Broomfield and R.M. Maxwell into Bardoli and Chorasi talukas decided that the extent of

200. Quoted in Trivedi, p. 44. This was the first systematic inquiry into the problem of indebtedness of agriculturists for the whole Bombay Province. See Catanach, p. 184 ff. Note that by the nineteen-twenties in most loans from money-lenders were not advanced on security of property but on personal security. (p. 186). Trivedi estimated that by 1935 the total rural debt in Gujarat to be at Rs 35 arores. Per family debt - Sth Gujarat = Rs 551 Nth Gujarat = Rs 340.

201. G.H. Desai, p. 11.
debt there was an indication of the value of security.\textsuperscript{202}

An example was cited of a Kunbi, 'a mere speculator', indebted by 85,000 rupees in the village of Kamalchhod in Bardoli taluka.\textsuperscript{203} However, Mahadev Desai, a prominent satyagrahi in the Bardoli campaign, suggested that the above officers did not accept that the cost of cultivation had nearly trebled since the last settlement, but were prepared to only admit that it had increased.\textsuperscript{204} As noted on page 138, we may conclude that indebtedness was a problem in the years after World War I, partially alleviated by emigration but also reinforced by the effect overseas funds had on inflating land values and expenditure on other symbols of social status.

(d) Standard of Living

The rising standard of living and awareness of this as a reflection of social status continued to be a potent factor connected with economic needs and emigration. Expenditure on houses rose, as noted in Navsari prant at the 1921 Census of Baroda. The census enumerator observed a tendency there to build more open houses, with extra windows and doors, and lighting on roads. This was considered to provide a greater sense of security and comfort. Thatched roofs were preferred

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{202} Bombay, 1929, p. 66. S.S. Nehru, I.C.S., "Caste and Credit in Rural Area", p. 103, quoted in G.D. Patel, p. 466, made the point that debts on litigation, marriage, etc are not wholly unproductive but guarantee social status, conserve, and raise their fellows standard of living.
\item \textsuperscript{203} Ibid, p. 19, para. 35. Although, as noted p. 17, these rental statistics needed to be treated with caution.
\item \textsuperscript{204} Mahedev Desai, The Story of Bardoli, Ahmedabad, 1929, p. 290.
\end{itemize}
instead of tiles, while Kolis were noted as one of the 'lower' castes amongst which such pakka structures were more common. A good indication of such extra expenses is made in the following comment. "Generally the rise in worldly circumstances is indicated by the separation of cattle from the living rooms."205

Land continued to increase in value in the post-War years. In his report for Bardoli taluka, Mr. Jayakar noted the numerous transactions in land sales and leases there.206 In 1921 in Baroda the highest land values were recorded in the rasti tract of Navsari prant.207 Inflated land values were related to a keen demand, and not necessarily to any productivity and profitability. Such investment reflected aspirations of increased social status.208 The returning emigrant usually built a house and purchased land, as a material symbol of his new position in the world. "Men returning from South Africa could think of no better investment than land, not because they were clever businessmen, but because they accepted the traditional belief that possession of land would improve their status."209

Expenditure on marriage ceremonies also continued to be

205. Census, Baroda, 1921, Navsari Prant, p. 81. See Photo
206. RS, Bardoli, 1925, p. 6, 9, Appendix G.
207. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 393. Report of Baroda Economic Development Committee, 1918, p. 58 also noted this land hunger.
208. Also noted by Shukla, p. 232.
209. Mahadev Desai, p. 32.
an important indication of such claims to higher social
Other studies, such as Shuklas of Olpad talukas in 1946 noted
that the costs from celebrating marriage ceremonies contin-
ued to be the largest single item contributing to debt. \textsuperscript{210}
Other ceremonies could similarly encumber a family. I was
unable to plot actual costs and changes in the immediate post
World War I period. Magan Ravji, a Koli of Sagra, however,
estimated that his in his father's generation expenditure from
2,000 to 3,000 rupees on a wedding was common. \textsuperscript{211}

The increase in expenditure in the post-war years did
not just relate to major investments but to everyday comm-
odities. This was not confined to familiar necessities but
to changes in diet, dress and general 'fashions' in a
variety of consumer items. The comparative study of Bhad-
kad, a village in the Petlad taluka of Baroda District plott-
ed the increase in the consumption of rice, dal, wheat,
vegetables, pickles, sugar, molasses and condiments. \textsuperscript{212} As
I also found in my research, clothing styles changed. While
the khadhi dhoti, lehenga, and sadro and topee were preferred
by men, not all women adopted the simple home-spun cloth. \textsuperscript{213}
In the regions from which New Zealand emigrants originated,
the sari began to replace the kachedo, partially as a reflec-

\textsuperscript{210} Shukla, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{211} Int, Magan Ravji, Sagra, F.T. 6.
\textsuperscript{212} The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, Bhadkad, 
Social and Economic Survey of a Village, A Comparative 
\textsuperscript{213} See BG, 1962, pp. 205-207 for discussion of dress.
tion of increased wealth and social standing. The quality of the cloth, especially in silk and luxurious embroidery became a mark of affluence. Fine clothing also indicated that the women no longer performed manual tasks, as the kachedo had been a garment suitable for agricultural work.

The land settlement officer noted the changing consumer patterns in Bardoli talukas

... the present men, as they live less laborious lives, so they have more expensive tastes than their forbears, and to gratify them will resort to the savkar, if there is no money in the house. Formerly the ordinary cultivators to a man wore country cloth; now they must have it of finer texture from Manchester. Cheap local rice, dal and gul /gur/ were enough for the daily food; now vegetables, imported rice and refined sugar are in demand. A more luxurious generation seeks after pan-supari, chiroots, hired servants, sweetmeats and American watches, and will borrow money to get them.

As noted above, emigration therefore had the paradoxical relationship of being both an answer to economic distress but also raising expectations in living standards within a community where an awareness of aspirations to economic and social standing were acute.

(e) Famine

It was argued above that is was the unpredictable factor of famine that may have provided the final impetus to emigrate at the turn of the century. According to Keatinge,

214. The kachedo is a length of cloth (smaller than the sari) worn in a similar style to the sari but tucked between the legs. This allows greater freedom of movement and is still the common dress amongst working women in South Gujarat.

the 1918-1919 famine was equally as severe as that of 1899-1900 and in some respects worse. 216 The main problem was a shortage of grain, compounded by the low carrying capacity of the railways which had been affected by war-time conditions. Nevertheless, one of the main differences between the two great famines was the lack of demand for relief work in 1918. 217

It may be concluded that in post World War I years bad seasons could aggravate existing economic difficulties and thus contribute towards stimulating emigration. The impact of famine or disease, however, was not nearly so great as in former years. At the 1931 Census of Baroda, an absence of bad seasons and a good rainfall were noted for the preceding decade. 218 Overseas emigration still continued from these villages.

216. Keatinge, p. 56.
217. BG, 1962, p. 42A.
CHAPTER III  
THE EARLY ADVENTURERS

One of the most frequently raised questions I encountered in the course of my research concerns the date and name of the first Indian, and more specifically, Gujarati, to arrive in New Zealand. The answer is open to considerable speculation. The earliest report is that of the illustrious 'Black Peter', a pioneer gold prospector at Tuapeka in Otago. After landing in New Zealand around 1853, he achieved some fame by indicating to Gabriel Read and others where gold could be found.1 His real name was Edward Peter and as he claimed to be a native of Bombay, there is a high probability he was a Gujarati. This case, however, may be considered unique, as it has no obvious connection with later Gujarati settlement.2

Neither the official nor the oral record illuminate the search for the first Indian, nor subsequently the first Gujarati to reach New Zealand. Separate census figures for Indians, or 'Hindoos', as they were called, are not available until 1916, when the category of 'Race Aliens'3 was


2. Informants have indicated that he was not from their villages.

established. Immigration statistics, furnished by the Collectors of Customs from 1897, provide some record. They do not, however, separate permanent and temporary arrivals. A number of those recorded included Indians travelling between India and Fiji. In addition departures were only recorded from 1914. Shipping lists also do not distinguish permanent and temporary entries. Instead they do enable a list of Gujarati names to be compiled. In all the above sources, except perhaps for shipping lists, the degree of accuracy is questionable.

This incomplete record indicates that in New Zealand towards the end of the nineteenth century there were a few individuals described as Hindus. This was simultaneously

4. Until the separate category of race aliens was established, Collectors of Customs and census enumerators estimated the numbers of Indians by examining those recorded as born in India and then scrutinising names and other particulars. From this decisions were made as to whether individuals were Asians or Europeans. A small discrepancy can be noted between the list furnished on C33/253M, where 92 Indian arrivals and 12 departures were noted for 1917, and the 1918 Year Book which recorded 97 Indian arrivals and 12 departures, p. 17.

5. See p. 234 ff.


7. Shipping lists held at Auckland Archives were consulted. (hereafter referred to as ASL). Those available from August 1915 to December 1921, C-A 9/2 to C-A 9/8. The complete shipping lists are held at the National Archives, Wellington. It should be noted that the list of Gujarati names is not completely accurate as the surname 'Patel' was not in wide use during the early twentieth century. In addition Muslim names do not usually indicate the area of origin for Indian immigrants. Oral testimony was, however, able to clarify some cases.
validated by the parliamentary record and newspapers which began to include Hindus, as well as Chinese, under the threatening 'great influx' of Asiatics. The problem is, however, to establish the identity of those 'Hindoos' and for present purposes, to ascertain if they included Gujaratis.

While the discussion in Parliament suggested that these men were actually resident in the country some of them may have been sojourning in New Zealand on their journey between India and Fiji. Contemporaries would not have been aware of the differences between those who had emigrated primarily to New Zealand or those who were destined for Fiji. For the nineteenth century such a distinction may be difficult to draw. Prasad does not note any Gujarati migration to Fiji during this period which may mean that if any Gujaratis were in New Zealand then this was their intended destination. Alternatively, the references could be interpreted to mean that Fiji had been the original destination but that either the stop there was brief or that they disembarked at New Zealand first.

Public agitation concerned the presence of 'Assyrians' in New Zealand. During the eighteen-nineties various attempts were made to pass a Hawkers and Pedlars' Bill, aimed at restricting the movement of 'Assyrian hawkers' whom

8. This term was used by the Wellington Trades and Labour Council, NZT, 19 January 1894.

Seddon claimed had been refused licenses in New South Wales. The demand for immigration control, culminating in the Immigration Restriction Act of 1899, similarly was aimed at preventing the entry of these men, along with other undesirables.

Throughout all the debates there was controversy over the identity of these Assyrians. While they undoubtedly included Lebanese and Syrians, Indians were specifically mentioned. For example, on 13 September 1894 at a public meeting in Wellington held under the auspices of the Anti-Chinese Association, a resolution was passed to ask the government 'to stop the further immigration of Chinese, East Indians and coolies'. During the debate on the Asiatic and other Immigration Restriction Bill in 1895, William Pember Reeves showed an awareness that the 'Assyrian hawker' included 'Hindoos'. The representative from Rangitikei, John Stevens, specifically mentioned Indians, as being used


11. See p. 278 ff.

12. NZT, 14 September 1894. East Indians means Indians from India. The term is still standard usage in North America, distinguishing these Indians from the so-called 'Red Indians'. It also is and was a term used to distinguish West Indians from East Indians.

13. NZPD, vol. 89, 22 August 1895, p. 349. Reeves was the Minister of Education, Minister of Justice, Commissioner of Stamp Duties and Minister of Labour.
to a low standard of living in India.\textsuperscript{14}

During the debate of a similar bill in 1896,\textsuperscript{15} Dr. Newman, the member from Wellington Suburbs, indicated that the Assyrian hawkers were really 'Hindoos'.\textsuperscript{16} He further claimed that the Assyrians stated in their entry pages that they were mostly from the Lebanon and Syria.\textsuperscript{17} Nevertheless he had no doubt that some 'Hindoos' were amongst them. In the Legislative Council, L. Walker, the representative of Canterbury described these 'Assyrians' in New Zealand as poor hawkers from India, "box wallahs", as we used to call them in India. I am sure a more useful and more harmless class does not exist than those men.\textsuperscript{18}

In his opinion they belonged to a 'very modest class'. Walker remarked that he often stopped and talked to these men 'in their own language' and they had told him they were 'perfectly happy here'.\textsuperscript{19} There were further references to Indians being present in New Zealand by the eighteen nineties, in newspaper articles, such as,

our dark fellow subjects do... come with... their 'Baboo' English from India.\textsuperscript{20}

It seems, therefore, that the term 'Assyrian' was a stereo-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid, p. 366.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Asiatics Restriction Bill, introduced by Seddon, 16 June 1896, NZPD, vol. 92, p. 18.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid, p. 254.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid, p. 452.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid, p. 372.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{20} NZT, 29 June, 1896.
\end{itemize}
type used in reference to hawkers and pedlars that included both Syrians or Lebanese and Indians or 'Hindoos'.

The official record confirms the above reports of Indians or 'Hindoos' being resident in New Zealand during the later quarter of the nineteenth century. The 1881 census returned six Indian males, classified as Asiatics, one each living in Auckland, Taranaki and Wellington, and three in Canterbury. It is probable the latter were servants, such as those who accompanied Sir John Cracroft Wilson to Christchurch in 1854. Like Black Peter, these domestics had no relationship with the subsequent Gujarati community, except in that they may have provided a link through which news of New Zealand filtered back to Bombay.

It was not until the 1896 census that Asiatics, born in India, were again separately classified. Forty-six male Indians were noted, while the religious returns recorded

21. A number of Europeans born in India were resident in New Zealand during the second half of the nineteenth century which limits the use of census returns where the birthplace was given as India. Until the separate category of race aliens was provided from the 1916 Census onwards, some censuses did distinguish between 'Europeans' and 'Asiatics', born in India. See fn.4, p.191. In addition, there is the problem of which category Eurasians or half castes were recorded under.

22. George MacDonald's card-index dictionary of Canterbury biographies, held by the Canterbury Museum, card no. W599. It is, however, most unlikely that any of his servants would have been from Gujarat as MacDonald's own period of service was spent in the U.P. (Cawnpore and Moradabad). M. Taher, "Asians in New Zealand: A Geographical Review and Interpretation", PhD geography thesis, University of Auckland, 1965, p. 44, fn.26, was informed by an old Indian resident destined for Fiji but resident in New Zealand for a few years.

three male 'Hindoos', forty-six male 'Mahometans' and two male Zorastrians. The Muslims would plausibly have accounted for the forty six male Indians, but the few Hindus and Zorastrians remain somewhat of a mystery. Census figures, however, are likely to have been underestimated, particularly when dealing with Indians, a transitory group of men who would have known very little English.

From 1897 statistics of Indian arrivals began to be collected by the Collectors of Customs. During that year a reputed twenty Indians, including two females, landed in New Zealand.

We have ascertained the presence of Indians in New Zealand by at least 1881 but it still remains uncertain as to whether these included Gujaratis. Enquiries from oral sources confirm W.H. McLeod's research that points to Punjabis preceding the Gujarati migration to New Zealand. Two brothers from Ferozepore District in the Punjab are believed to have arrived in New Zealand in or around 1890. A search by the New Zealand Indian Association, made some years ago, resulted in the following statement,

24. The category, 'Zorastrian' must have designated either Parsees from Bombay or perhaps Persians from Iran.

25. See p. 191.

26. An informant, Dayal Wallabh, (Retired at Pardi-Sarpore, F.T.8), believed that the first Indians to settle in NZ were Punjabis. He put the date at around 1890 and claimed these men were returning from the Boer War. As it lasted from 1899-1902, he was either confused or was referring to a separate group of men who had been in South Africa.

An inquiry should be made about the first arrivals of Indians in New Zealand and it was investigated that the first man was a Bengali merchant in 1881 and after that one Punjabi followed him in 1895.  

Several attempts were made to establish who and when the first Gujarati arrived in New Zealand. As noted above, a few secondary sources suggest 1902 as a tentative date. While oral enquiries support this, the actual year remains uncertain.

It has thus proved very difficult to identify the first immigrants from Gujarat. Informants from a variety of castes have suggested various names but very little firm evidence is available. An informant in Bombay suggested that Chhiba Bhana of Karadi arrived in New Zealand as early as 1895. His immigration record however, revealed an entry


29. For detailed discussion of castes that emigrated to NZ, see p. 507 ff.

30. Int, Rambhai Patel, 24 October 1978, Bombay. He was 66 years old and from Machhad. Rambhai believed the first Gujaratis went to NZ c. 1895-1905. He was clearly mistaken about Chhiba's date of arrival in NZ, as he estimated he was born between 1883-88, so he would have conceivably been too young to have arrived before 1900. This informant also miscalculated certain well-known dates in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indicating the care that should be taken when relying on oral testimony.
in 1913 at Auckland on the Aparima.31 Another informant believed that a Desai from near Baroda city arrived in Auckland around 1903. On another occasion the same informant suggested the name of Narotum Barber, a Hajam by caste, as the first Gujarati in New Zealand.32

An elderly informant in Bodali believed his uncle, Keshav Chhiba also arrived at Auckland in 1903.33 Perhaps the reason for his obscurity amongst the community today is because he died in the 1918 influenza epidemic.34 The only information concerning this man is that he owned a fruit shop on Quay Street in Auckland. His brother, Dayal, arrived in Auckland in 1915-16, and after Keshav's death he and Morar Kali took over the shop which continued under the name of 'Bodalia, Kesaw,C.'35 Parbhu, the third brother, remained on the family land.

31. His son, Parbhuhbhai, (int, Wellington, 18 December 1977), confirmed this.

32. Several discussions with Rameshbhai Patel, of Auckland, 1978-9, in NZ and at his home village of Karadi, Gujarat. He is a prominent member of the Gujarati community and until recently acted as a 'Brahman' at most Gujarati religious gatherings and marriages.


34. Death registration, 20 November 1918, died 9 November at the Auckland Technical College Hospital. Information kindly supplied by Linda Bryder.

Until 1910 the only other specific reference to a Koli in New Zealand is to Kesha Daji, reputed to have arrived around 1905 from Machhad. The known details concerning his life is that he subsequently sent for his sons. Kesha eventually retired to his home in Machhad.

While the majority of Gujaratis in New Zealand were Koli by caste, smaller numbers of the Kanbi jatis were also reported to have settled in the country by 1903. Gulab and Makan Jivan, two brothers from Amadpur were believed to have sailed to New Zealand around that year. Gulabhai, according to his daughter, worked as a newsagent for a number of years, returning to Amadpur for periodic visits. Makan's wife resided on the family plot of land, in between visits to and from her family in New Zealand. Amongst Matia Kanbis, a group of three from Ganesh-Sisodra are said to have settled in Wellington around 1904.

The above are the only specific references found of the first migrants among Koli and Kanbi castes in New Zealand. The entry dates of a large proportion of the first generation of migrants are unclear. Out of a list of 156 known first-generation Koli migrants, 63 were said simply to have arrived before the passing of the 1920 Immigration Restrict-

38. See p. 231.
Informants agree that the majority of Gujarati migrants stemmed from Karadi village. My research has shown that of 123 first-generation Koli migrants, for whom a village was known, 60 or 73.8 per cent had homes in Karadi. Other villages from which Kolis came were: Sagra (13), Matwad (10), Bodali (7), Pethan (1), Kothamdi (5), Machhad (6), Supa (1), Delwarda (1), Tavdi (6), Viraval (3), Navsari (1), Pera (1), Jalalpore (1), Astagam (2), Kardipore (3), and one each from Nimlai in Mangrol Taluka and Nogama in Chikhli Taluka. Within Karadi, the majority were from Dhallafalia and Balafalia, followed by Swarajfalia and Vaniawad.

For the Kanbi sample, 28 have a definite date of entry into New Zealand out of a total of 41. The home villages of 30 of these are known with the largest number consisting of 10 Matias from Ganesh-Sisodra, followed by 6 from Pardi-Sarpore and 2 from Munsad. There was no predominate village from which the Leva and Khadwa Kanbis in New Zealand hailed.

39. These statistics and the following details of caste and village origins were collated from immigration records, oral testimony, street directories, and shipping lists. In particular the registers of entry permits were useful as they usually indicated the name of the father who would have resided in NZ before 1920. For details of the 1920 IRAA, see p. 342 ff.

40. These figures are an indication only and do not represent all Gujaratis that came to NZ before 1920. It should be noted that because research was conducted in certain villages only the sample is selective and no claim is made of it being random. Informants from all castes did tend to confirm the trends indicated by these figures.

41. For a detailed analysis of the falias or sub-divisions of villages, see Appendix 3.
One or two came from the following villages, mostly in Bardoli Taluka: Adada, Bhuvasan, Vankaner, Astan, Amadpur, Barmni, Syod-Puni, Ponsra, Sisodra-Alak and Kafleta in Chorasi Taluka.

In addition to the above, an approximate figure of 271 Gujaratis of unknown caste may be given an entry date up to 1920, while 400 persons with distinctively Gujarati names can be listed as arriving in New Zealand at some time before 1920. Unfortunately, information derived from shipping lists does not separate the permanent and temporary arrivals. There is further difficulty in ascertaining if an entry is a migrant's first or subsequent arrival although age provides some indication here.

Among the groups for which there are fewer representatives in New Zealand, the accounts of origins are more reliable. Mohammed Kara is acknowledged to have been the first Gujarati Muslim to settle in New Zealand around 1907. Born in Aarada, he travelled to South Africa during the Boer War. After deciding it was 'not much use staying in Africa' he returned to Gujarat before migrating to New Zealand via Fiji. Mohammed had settled in Christchurch by about 1912 where he ran a small shop. His son Ismail, aged thirteen, joined him in 1921. Within two years of Mohammed Kara's arrival, Ismail Ahmed Bhikhoo arrived at Auckland from

42. Int, his grandson, Suliaman Ismail Kara, November, 1977, Christchurch.
Manekpore. 43 The third Gujarati Muslim to reach New Zealand was Esup Musa who arrived at Auckland from Sitpon in Broach District around 1910. 44 To facilitate immigration clearance he adopted the name Joseph Moses. These three men were the founders of the present main Gujarati Muslim families in New Zealand. Although they arrived within a short time of each other, it is unlikely the men would have been previously acquainted due to the distance between their villages in Gujarat.

Among Harijans, there were two pioneers, both of the Khalpa jati, who arrived at Wellington, Jaggivan Lallu came in 1911 from Satchin, and Jag Rupa in 1912 from Kadod. 45 These two men had known each other very well prior to emigrating. It seems that the former man encouraged the latter to join him. A third Harijan, from the predominately Muslim village of Manekpore, and possibly encouraged by news of Ismail Bhikhoo, entered the country at some stage before 1920. 46

Pioneers from other jati arrived mostly after the First World War, although official records testify to a Hajam


44. Int, grandson Mohammed Ebrahim Musa, 9 August 1977, Auckland.


settling at Auckland from Kachhiawadi in 1914. He later worked as a barber and civil servant at Rotorua. An informant suggested that Narotum Barber arrived around 1904, while he believed a Desai came in the previous year. Amongst agricultural castes Kachhias were arriving in addition to Kolis and Kanbis, as indicated by the entry of men such as Govan Naran in 1917 and 'Natu Kachhia' from Kachhiawadi. Other barbers arrived, including Kanji Dullabh in 1918, Narotumbhai Ganda in 1919 and Manchhu Mavji. A few representatives from the Darji jati, such as Dhana Bhika from Vankaner, also began to follow the pattern of movement to New Zealand, although it is difficult to accurately estimate their numbers, as some Kolis were tailors by profession. Bhukhandas Master pioneered emigration to New Zealand from the Khatri jat of Navsari city in 1919. He did not, however, undertake the traditional caste occupation of weaving but tailoring and outfitting, as he had done in South and East Africa and Uganda. Jelal Kalyanji Natali similarly emigrated to New Zealand in 1920 as the sole representative

47. Rameshbhai Patel.


49. The dates for Govan, Kanji and Narotumbhai are from ASL. Informant for Manchhu Mavji was J.K. Natali.

50. Int, with son, Raman Dhana, Auckland, 13 September 1980 and grandson Jayanti, 28 March 1981. Date of entry before 1920. Dhana Bhikha's brother had previously emigrated to Durban. ASL have Kolis listed as tailors by occupation.

51. Ints, son Shivalal Bhukhandas Master, Rotorua, August 1977, March 1978. Note that the Gujarati Khatri should not be confused with the Punjab Khatri.
of his Dhobhi jat in Rander city. 52

Like many overseas Gujarati communities there were no members of the priestly sections of the Brahman varna who ventured to New Zealand. In South Gujarat, Anavil Brahmans form the dominant caste, in terms of status and power. As noted on page 89 there were two main sections the Desais and the Bhatelas. (also termed Naiks). The only early representatives of these jati I could trace were, Bhimbhai Desai, a proprietor of Turkish baths living in Auckland around 1920. 'Bahanga Desai', who settled on Pukekohe Hill in the twenties and worked as a carrier and contractor, Gulab Haribhai from Khakwada, and Gulab and Vasanji Naik. The latter three men were all early settlers in Auckland. 53

Wises' New Zealand Directory provides evidence that some Desais stayed in Auckland, as by 1932, 'Desai Bros' had established a fruit business there at 411 New North Road. 54

Another jat of the Gujarati Brahmans are the 'Bawas', of whom at least six journeyed to New Zealand before 1920. The term Bawa means balam or beggar, implying derogatory connotations. Those whom I interviewed in Gujarat preferred to identify as Ramanand, which is strictly a Hindu sect.

52. Several ints, J.K. Natali, Auckland 1977-8. Many of the details of his life are depicted in newspaper cuttings and mementos in his scrapbook.

53. Data from oral reports, Tiwari p. 81, White New Zealand League Booklet, Pukekohe, 1926, and NZH, 24 September 1927, when a B. Desai was involved in a civil case at the Pukekohe Magistrates' Court.

54. WNZD, 1932.
Five of these men from Astan and the neighbouring villages journeyed to New Zealand in 1919. A sixth member of this jat, and related to the group from Astan, originated from Sisodra-Alak. He and Tirbhcvandas Girdhar eventually worked as market-gardeners at Pukekohe. These six men were not beggars as implied above but had moderately sized landholdings, parts of which were endowed.

Of more direct relevance is the subsequent pattern of migration and settlement in New Zealand by Gujaratis. Oral enquiries, naturally, cannot give the statistical detail required whereas official sources do not separate Gujarati from Indian migrants. Shipping lists do help to distinguish the former, but raise the problem of separating permanent from temporary arrivals and of determining the newcomer from those returning to New Zealand for a second time. Table 21 and Figure 3 shows the numbers of arrivals and departures for Indians up to 1921. At times the pattern assumes a type of 'zig zag'. There is a noticeable leap of 24 Indians in 1908 to 157 in 1909, followed by a drop to 80 the next year. By 1911 there is again a spectacular increase to 190, followed by the greatest total of Indians arriving in any year:

55. Int, elderly member of the Girdhar family, Astan, F.T. 4. He claimed they and Govindbhai Patel left together in 1919. Three of these men are recorded on the ASL as arriving at Auckland on the Maheno on 2 October 1920. The names of these five men were not 'typical' Gujarati ones which may explain the difficulty in locating them on the ASL.


57. In return for doing daily puja. They can not perform marriages.
Arrivals and Departures of Indians into New Zealand, 1914-21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals</th>
<th>Departures</th>
<th>Excess of Arrivals over Departures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: C33/253M and NZ Official Year Book, 1915-23. Departures were not recorded until 1914. The above figure for that year includes only the last six months. The accuracy of these figures is questionable. Departures from 1921 are given in table 31 distinguishing sex and permanent and temporary departures.

A negative sign in column three denotes an excess of departures.
325 in 1912. Again in 1913 the number drops to 133 and then bounds to 257 in 1914. It seems evident that a proportion of these arrivals would have been temporary as only 167 Indians were recorded in the 1916 census. Nevertheless, other sources confirm that an increasing number of Indians, particularly Gujaratis, were entering New Zealand from 1910 onwards. Prior to the war news of impending immigration restrictions by the New Zealand government would have hastened those who were contemplating emigration to that country, to leave India. From the latter half of 1914 departures are available. These suggest that the number of temporary arrivals may not have been very high. From 1915 to 1920 only 210 Indians departed from the country compared to 753 entries, which means that a surplus of 543 remained in New Zealand. Further, a number of these departures included Indian and Gujarati immigrants visiting India who did return to New Zealand. These men may be classed as permanent settlers. In particular, those men who bothered to apply for re-entry certificates had every intention of remaining in New Zealand.

**TABLE 20**

Re-entry certificates issued to Gujaratis, 1915-January, 1918.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of certificates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-January</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58. L/28/11 (b). Register of Indians and others issued with Re/entry Certificates, 1911-20.
### TABLE 21

Numbers of Indians resident in New Zealand, 1881-1945, by sex and distinguishing those of full blood and mixed blood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total both sexes</th>
<th>% of MB to Whole</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FB</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>FB</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1038</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indian-Maoris Only (They are included in the above figures also)

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1881-1945. 'Race Aliens'. The figures before 1916 do not differentiate full-blood and mixed blood. Up to the 1926 Census, Race Aliens were defined as full or half caste. From 1926 onwards they were full or mixed blood. No figures are available for the censuses of 1886, 1891 and 1901. See fn.4, p. 191. See text for notes about those on board ships.
TABLE 22

Annual number of Indian males with probable Gujarati name arriving at Auckland, 1916-21, showing port of embarkation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>From Sydney to Akld.</th>
<th>From Suva to Akld.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ASL. See fn. 7, p. 191.
### TABLE 23

Duration of residence in New Zealand of male full-blood Indians 1916-21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1916</th>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ Born</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR-duration of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residence in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>70.63</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>79.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 + over</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1916-21, 'Race Aliens'.

Key: PR = Permanent Residents.
As indicated in the above table in 1916, 18 such certificates were issued to Gujaratis. During the same year there were 39 Indians recorded as departing from New Zealand, which indicates the high proportion of these that were Gujaratis. 59

As expected the number of immigrants declined during the war years due to a virtual cessation of travel by civilians. Numbers rose in the post-war period, precipitated by a variety of causes. Particularly important were the news of impending immigration restrictions, an increased awareness of New Zealand in Gujarat, and post-war economic conditions in India. 60 The shipping lists for Auckland in the post-war years indicate that a very high proportion of these arrivals were Gujaratis. In particular, the shipping lists for 1919 and my oral reports, show that 138 known Gujaratis arrived in that year, out of 193 Indians recorded as entering throughout the whole country.

Census figures give a more accurate picture of permanent settlement. 61 Following the 46 recorded in New Zealand in 1896, which probably consisted mostly of temporary migrants, only six were noted in 1906, and fifteen in 1911. The jump to 167 males in 1916 would be expected following the increased number of arrivals since 1911. There is the further possibility that at previous censuses the number of

59. Prior to 1920 certificates of re-entry were not strictly essential in NZ.
60. See p. 175 ff.
61. See table 21.
Indians were underestimated. Table 23 shows that the majority of male fullblood Indians (70.6 per cent recorded in the 1916 census) had arrived in or after 1912. By 1921 the total Indian population of New Zealand had increased by 270.72 per cent to 671. This included 49 females who would not have been Gujaratis. Most of the male Indians in New Zealand during 1921, that is 79.1 per cent, were residents of short duration.

Apart from shipping lists an alternative source with which to estimate the number of Gujaratis in New Zealand is provided by the religious returns of Race Aliens available from 1916 onwards. These indicate the number of Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, and Indian Christians as well as various ambiguous categories. It is assumed that most Hindus were Gujaratis and all Sikhs were Punjabis. For the pre-1920 period it is known that there were only three Gujarati Muslims, no Gujarati Christians, and no Gujarati women in New Zealand. Hence, taking into account only full-blooded male Indians, if the numbers of Hindus, three Muslims, and those Indians of no religious affiliation are added, then an indication of the total number of Gujaratis may be reached. This is, however, an estimate only. It rests on the assumption that most Indians in New Zealand have been Gujaratis or Punjabis. This suggests that the number of

62. See fn. 4, p. 191.

63. The total in this figure, for some reason, is lower than the total number of Indians recorded in the census.

64. Census, NZ, 1921, pt. 1. "Population".
Sikhs appears to have been underestimated. A very small number of Punjabis were Hindus while a proportion of Sikhs may have been included under such categories as 'object to state'. There is the further possibility that some Gujaratis or Punjabis returned themselves as Christians, while in fact they were not.

Bearing in mind these limitations, and using the above method we estimate that there were 101 Gujaratis in New Zealand in 1916. By 1921 this figure had risen to 539 revealing the dramatic increase in Gujarati migration since the war. These figures compare favourably with my research. While a list of every Gujarati that arrived before 1920 was not possible, a total of 458 were documented. This total consisted of those who may be classed as permanent, that is they and their descendants settled in New Zealand, or at least worked there for some time. If however, those Gujaratis recorded on Auckland shipping lists for which no further references were found, are also included, then the total is raised to 572.

66. It can be suggested that they did so in order not to draw attention to their 'exotic' religions. Many people in fact return themselves as Christians when they do not have any religious committment.
67. This is only an approximation. In almost all cases it was only possible to gauge the permanent settlers when they had a son, daughter or wife apply for an entry certificate after 1920. Unless an oral report was available, it was not possible to compile a record of those Gujaratis who were permanent settlers but did not have children or send for their wives.
As noted in Chapter II while a number of factors can be noted as instrumental in the impetus to migrate it is still not clear why certain villages in Surat District were centres of migration. Such migration was primarily in the direction of Africa, understandable in view of Gujarat's traditional trading links there. The change of direction to the South Pacific requires further explanation. This raises the question of knowledge. How did villages in Gujarat at the turn of the century learn of New Zealand? Secondly, given such awareness, why and how did these migrants embark for such a strange land?

Due to a paucity of source material the question of prior knowledge lies open to speculation. Taher suggests that the early Gujarati and Punjabi migrants would have learnt about New Zealand from Lascars and the domestics of British Officers who served there.\(^{68}\) There is no evidence cited for this but the hypothesis is plausible when considered in conjunction with the early migration from Surat District to Bombay and overseas.\(^{69}\) As we have seen many of these migrants were from backgrounds similar to those of the Gujaratis who settled in New Zealand. Secondly, movement abroad generally went through the port of Bombay and hence it would have been possible for Lascars and returned servants to talk of New Zealand.


\(^{69}\) See p. 109 ff.
A second and more persuasive theory is that news of New Zealand travelled with the migrants returning from Fiji. While the indentured labourers in Fiji generally were not Gujaratis, a number of them and also some Pubjabis travelled there as 'free' or 'passenger' migrants. Prasad has researched Gujarati migration to Fiji, noting increasing settlement there from the beginning of this century. The volume was not great until after the First World War but those who did venture before then predominantly came from South Gujarat. In particular Kolis, Kachhias and artisan castes from the same villages as the New Zealand migrants were journeying there. In addition a regular route between Calcutta and Auckland meant that many of these 'passengers' preferred this trip instead of travelling on the more direct emigration steamers from Calcutta to Fiji. Those who disembarked at Auckland, then transferred to one of the frequent cargo, mail and passenger steamers that plied between Fiji, Auckland and Sydney. Thus news of New Zealand could have filtered back to villages in Gujarat through those men who chose this route. After 1916 a more direct route from Bombay to Auckland via Sydney facilitated such news. A number of Gujaratis travelling to Fiji took this

71. Prasad, chap. 2.
72. Ibid, p. 91.
route, while others continued to journey through Calcutta.\textsuperscript{73}

A number of informants believed that their uncles and fathers heard of New Zealand in this way. For example, one man thought that his father, Keshav Parshottam, heard of New Zealand from his brother in Fiji.\textsuperscript{74} Others testify to learning of and embarking for Fiji first, then discovering news of New Zealand either en route or in Fiji. Jagjivan Lallu, a Harijan, presumably followed the latter pattern to Auckland in 1911.\textsuperscript{75}

A third source of information concerning news of New Zealand was evidently provided by 'advertisements.' An elderly informant at Balafalia, Karadi, believes that the group of six men who left in 1914 read of New Zealand in a Gujarati newspaper.\textsuperscript{76} A second informant recalled the early migration from the village of Astan and surrounding districts. He mentioned an 'advertisement by New Zealand government' in 1918, and the publicity given by passport agents for travel by steamers to New Zealand.\textsuperscript{77} It is plausible that in the post-war years and prior to immigration restrictions, such publicity would have filtered through to Surat from Bombay. The 'advertisements' may have referred to settlement schemes


\textsuperscript{74} Ints, Dayal Kesry, Papakura, 1977-9.

\textsuperscript{75} Int, Hari Jagu.

\textsuperscript{76} Int, Unka Kalidas, Karadi, F.T.2. I did not find any documentary evidence of these 'advertisements'.

\textsuperscript{77} Int, relative of T. Girdhar, Astan, F.T.4.
directed at British migrants. Certainly there has never been any encouragement by the New Zealand government of migration from Asia, which must mean that the version reaching the Gujarati villages had been altered. An informant recalled how his father, Bawa Kana, learnt from his brother 'that New Zealand wanted people from Asia'. 78 Another migrant expressed the view that 'the Immigration Department was calling them to New Zealand'. 79 Jelal K. Natali, in fact, learnt of New Zealand in 1919 when he was employed as a clerk in the passports office at Navsari. His curiosity as to why so many passports were stamped for Auckland, led to further enquiries about this new land. Soon after he too had his passport ready to travel there. 80

Once the first migrants had settled in New Zealand the impetus to migrate must have increased. The frequent letters and visits home would have exaggerated the wealth and opportunities in New Zealand. To have depicted a less than rosy picture would have deemed the migrant a failure. Informants have vividly described how returning relatives to Gujarat depicted New Zealand as a 'land of plenty'. J.K. Natali was informed that it was a new land opening up, full of opportunities. 81

79. Dayal Wallabh, Pardi-Sarpore.
80. Ints, J.K. Natali.
81. Ibid.
The more general reasons for movements in and out of Surat District have already been discussed and we have seen that knowledge of New Zealand reaching the Gujarati villages is insufficient to explain the decision to migrate in that direction. How then did individuals perceive their motivations and why did they choose New Zealand when alternative destinations were possible? It seems clear that migration to the South Pacific was precipitated by the fact that emigration to South Africa was blocked. It has been noted that some migrants first ventured to Africa but returned disillusioned to India. Another group of men were those who had permits for South Africa but were deterred by news of discrimination and the advent of war. These men, such as J.K. Natali and Dayal Wallabh, were keen to seek new opportunities in the Pacific. Migration to New Zealand coincided with Gujaratis travelling to Fiji and it seems plausible that a number would have embarked for there first.

A third country which some migrants perceived as a possible destination was Australia. Under the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, a stringent dictation test in any European language effectively barred Gujarati settlement

82. See p. 163 ff.
there. Ravjibhai Hirabhai, who landed at Auckland in 1914 recalled how his original intention had been to settle in Australia. Upon learning that a hundred pound bond was required to disembark at Sydney, he remained on the ship until it landed at Auckland. Thus in his case he came to New Zealand by chance.

A further possibility for settlement was Canada and North America. In 1910, however, the Government of Canada passed an Immigration Act which stipulated that Indians pay a $200 bond. Further restrictions were introduced by an Order-in-Council of 1913 which prohibited the landing at any port in British Columbia of any Indian immigrant who was an


84. Int, Ravjibhai Hira, 31 January 1976. See Yarwood, p. 129. Indians of merchant, student and tourist classes could apply for certificates of exemption which allowed them to land in Australia. C33/2/40, Correspondence 7 October 1915 - 6 December 1916 between NZ Collector of Customs and NZ Trade Commissioner, Melbourne and Dept. of External Affairs, Australia. Provision was made for Indian residents of NZ visiting India to land in Australia, provided they had identity papers with photo and hand-prints attached, and a certificate signed by the Collector of Customs. The shipping companies would not grant them passage unless the conditions were met. These Indians were exempted from a bond provided they also furnished a through ticket to India and a written undertaking to leave Australia by the first suitable steamer.

artisan, skilled or unskilled worker. Further Indian immigration was banned by an Order-in-Council of 1914 which prohibited the landing of an immigrant in Canada otherwise than by a continuous journey from the country of emigration and on a single boat with through-ticket therefrom. The exclusion of Indians was rendered complete owing to the absence of a direct steamship service between India and Canada. The United States of America virtually closed the door to Indian immigration with the implementation of the Naturalization Act and the Immigration Act of 1917 which excluded people from the Asian 'barred zone', including India. An obvious attraction to the potential Gujarati emigrant, therefore was the lack of severe immigration restrictions in New Zealand prior to 1920. Informants have noted that such news did reach villages in South Gujarat. One man related how his father, Bawa Kana, learnt from his elder brother, who had heard from a friend, how New Zealand had 'relaxed immigration rules'. The brother had been denied entry to South Africa, hence he encouraged Bawa, to travel to New Zealand.

A variety of personal reasons have been given to self-justify such a step. The most usual one was economic: 'to

86. Ibid, pp. 207-8.
88. See p.241ff for discussion of the restrictions that were in force.
89. Int, Hira Bava.
make more money', 'came for work'. Such statements are, however, qualified by those of 'to better one self', which questions the extent to which motivation was primarily economic. It is suggested that economic advancement was primarily a means to social and cultural mobility, to improve one's status among kin, jati and village. Certainly, the pressing realities would have appeared to be easily solved by the accumulation of money, but as already noted a number of these villagers had expectations that demanded a certain standard of living. While such improvement was undoubtedly attractive, it was also to reflect a certain position in relation to caste, kin and village. Informants have frequently mentioned the prospect of purchasing more land as a goal for which they emigrated. Economic


91. Int, J.K. Natali.

92. Prasad, p. 165, found that economic necessity and the desire to improve one's social status were reasons given by Gujaratis to explain their migration to Fiji.

93. See pp. 144, 185 ff.

survival may have been possible by remaining in India but mobility and enhancement of status was much more difficult.

The prospect of adventure must not be ruled out, as early migration would have entailed a high degree of risk, venturing into the unknown. A number of informants described themselves and particularly those of the first generation as 'adventurous', 'pioneers', 'having itchy feet'.

Related to such psychological considerations was the relative position of the migrants in their families. Desai and De Witt have suggested that emigration from Gujarat and the Punjab was usually amongst the junior members of a joint family. Their presence was not indispensable and their labour frequently was superfluous on the family land. I was unable to gather a full statistical sample relating to this, but those cases for which data was available on family composition suggest that amongst the Gujaratis who emigrated to New Zealand before 1920 elder brothers were as probable to be the first to emigrate from their families. Often they would send for their younger brothers and cousins to join them, as did Kanji Samji of Syod-Puni and Rama Vallabh

95. Int, Ravjibhai Hira, 31 January 1976, Laloo Morar, Wellington, December 1977, McGee, p. 55, 'only the highly individualistic, the dedicated and the strong who went to New Zealand.'


97. Most of the data in this section was derived from oral testimony and immigration records.

from Pardi-Sarpore. He was the eldest and after emigrating to New Zealand in 1911 he sent for his two brothers, Dayal in 1918 and Hira in 1920. 99 As in this example it was not unusual for all the brothers of one family to emigrate, even when the land-holdings were reasonably substantial. It would, however, seem plausible that in cases where more than one son would inherit any family property, that the impulse to emigrate would be greater. There were, certainly, a number of examples in which two or more brothers journeyed abroad to supplement the family income. This applied to all castes, such as, the Chhiba brothers from Bhulafalia, Matwad. Koli by caste, they travelled to New Zealand at various stages before 1920, along with their cousin Keshav Vallabh. In other cases some of the brothers had emigrated to South Africa. In the Kana family, Bawa was the eldest and about four years after his two brothers left for South Africa he headed for the South Pacific. 101 Ismail Bhikhoo had joined his four brothers in South Africa at the turn of the century but returned to India before embarking for Fiji. 102 Although the Bhikhoo family had a reasonably substantial land-holding at Manekpore, it was more advantageous for all the adult males to earn money overseas.

It is not suggested that these findings negate those of

99. Int, Rama and Dayal Wallabh.
100. Int, Keshav Wallabh.
101. Ints, Hira and Lala Bava.
102. Ints, Bhikhoo family.
Desai, De Witt and others, but that one must take into account amongst the pioneering Gujarati settlers in New Zealand a range of family structures and the individual migrant's position in it. The lack of adequate landholdings, while important as a factor that 'pushed' the sons to emigrate, was related to the family's socio-economic expectations and needs. Indeed, a number of the early Gujarati migrants to New Zealand were the youngest brothers in their family. These men could be spared from the demands of farming or were seen as superfluous. J.K. Natali described himself as the 'black sheep of the family'. He was the youngest, the rebel who wanted adventure and better prospects. Tirbhovandas Girdhar from Astan foresaw very little future on the small piece of land his older brothers were already farming so in 1919 sailed for New Zealand.

There are also a number of cases in which the migrant was an only son. Almost all of these came from Koli families which possessed no land or very little. As the sole earners these men had a heavy responsibility to support their aging parents and possibly unmarried sisters. As family obligations extended out of the nuclear family these men were often able to take advantage of any prospects offered by cousins or uncles abroad.

104. See pp. 144 ff, 185 ff.
105. Ints, with J.K. Natali.
A further aspect which separates Gujarati from European migration to New Zealand is that the early Gujarati immigrants did not anticipate permanent settlement in the country. They were not, therefore, concerned about opportunities in the new land for their families. This is a contrast to the post-1920 period when the immigrants became concerned about such issues as educational opportunities for their sons. It further contrasts with the period following World War II, in which the decision to choose New Zealand instead of East Africa or England is frequently decided by the style and standard of living in the former, not only for the men but also for their families. All the oral testimony confirms that the first generation of migrants from Gujarat did not intend to settle for a great length of time in New Zealand. 107 Grimes and McGee found a similar pattern,

The first Indians who came to New Zealand were not interested in the country beyond earning money here for their families overseas. 108

107. See p. 35 ff. for discussion of retirement.

This 'sojourner' pattern has also been found amongst most Gujaratis overseas, such as the Patidars of East Africa, and indeed with many non-British migrants, such as the Montserrations in Britain.

A crucial factor determining those families able to sponsor migrants was the cost of the fare to New Zealand. I was unable to determine the exact costs, but estimates varied from Rs 300 for the passage from Calcutta to Fiji in

109. Paul C.P. Siu, "The Sojourner", American Journal of Sociology, vol. 58, July 1952, first described the sojourner. Daniel Lawrence, Black Migrants: White Natives, A Study of Race Relations in Nottingham, Cambridge, 1974, p. 31, defined a sojourner as 'a migrant who leaves his country of origin not with the intention of settling elsewhere but to do a "job" which he originally plans to complete in the shortest possible time...however long he stays abroad - often until retirement or death - he continues to think of himself as a temporary resident... His intention to return may be a dream which is unlikely to be realised. But it is a dream, nevertheless, which continues to influence his day to day behaviour.'

110. H.S. Morris, "The Indian Family in Uganda", American Anthropologist, vol. 61, 1959, p. 780, found that most Indians in Uganda hoped to return home with a fortune and take up an honourable social position in their native villages.

111. See for example, Stuart B. Philpott, "Remittances, Social Networks and Choice among Montserratian Migrants in Britain", Man, vol. 3, September 1968. He found that most of these migrants saw migration as a temporary phase mainly to gain money and anticipated returning home sooner or later. See also Rashmi Desai, p. 27 for a similar pattern amongst Gujaratis in Britain. He noted that the return to India is usually deferred. See also W.H. Israel, Colour and Community, Slough Council of Social Service, 1964. p. 73. D. Brooks, "Who Will Go Back?", Race Today, vol. 1, no. 5, September 1969.
1918,112 to Rs 700 for the fare to New Zealand in 1919. 113 A more reliable estimate put the cost of the passage at 25 pounds from Calcutta to Fiji in 1923. 114 The documentary evidence states that 6 pounds or Rs 160 was the standard fare charged by shipping companies for the voyage from Suva to Auckland in 1921. 115 Of course, the costs would have been less in the years before World War I.

The usual method of securing this large sum of money was to borrow from village moneylenders, 116 or from fellow villagers, family and friends. The six men who left Balafalia, Karadi, in 1914 borrowed money by mortgaging gold ornaments and small amounts of land. 117 A few lucky men belonged to families that simply 'could afford it'. 118 In contrast, however, a large number of families with little or no land were forced to enter into service for the money-lender. Such people were willing to become full or part-time

114. Int, Ganesh Sukha.
115. 1+0222, 1921, L/E/7/1192, telegram from Governor of Fiji to Secretary of State for Colonies. 31 March 1921.
117. Int, Unka Kalidas. There are several other cases, such as, Bawa Kana (int, Hira Bawa).
118. e.g. Ganda Hira, int, Bodali, F.T.2. He has been retired there since around 1975. An elderly Kanbi at Baben, Bardoli Taluka, was given Rs 300 by his family in 1918 to emigrate to Fiji. (int, F.T.4).
halis, an indication of their determination to send a family member abroad. A Harijan, the son-in-law of one in New Zealand, recalled that during the early nineteen-twenties his father borrowed 500 rupees to sail to Kenya. As security for the loan his brother became a hali for a wealthy landowner. When the son returned to India recently, the landowner asked for his loan to be repaid. There had been no documents and as the uncle had not received wages the son refused to pay.

This method of financing the trip therefore put the burden on the family in India. Once 'chain migration' became established the source changed to the migrants in New Zealand who sent for family and friends. In the case of fathers, they naturally paid the cost for their sons to join them, but when an uncle or villager sent for someone he usually advanced the money which he expected to be repaid fairly promptly by the newcomer working for him.

In the years prior to World War I the usual port of departure was Calcutta. This port was extremely busy and served as an emigration depot for dispatching indentured labour to destinations that included Fiji. Some Gujaratis who were 'free' or 'passenger' migrants embarked for New Zealand via Fiji on the steamers that were chartered to

119. See p. 60.
121. e.g. Lallo Morar.
transport repatriated Indians from Fiji.\textsuperscript{122} Alternatively, and more conveniently, there was a direct route plied by steamers of the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand between Calcutta and Auckland. In the post-war years a route between Bombay and Auckland was opened up. Clearly this was the most suitable for the Gujaratis of New Zealand, although it did necessitate a stop at Sydney. The train journey from Navsari station to Bombay took less than a day and most of the emigrants had friends and relatives settled in the city with whom they could stay. A number did continue by train to Colombo, or Madras from where cargo boats sailed to Singapore.\textsuperscript{123}

One informant recalled embarking on such a cargo boat from Calcutta for Australia instead of the usual steamers described above.\textsuperscript{124} He slept on the deck of this ship, used to transport horses. The men cooked their own food which alleviated dietary problems to a certain extent. For those who travelled on the larger steamers, however, the journey frequently meant a period of fasting or subsisting on only sweets, bread and tea.\textsuperscript{125} Another informant declared that it was much easier for non-vegetarians, as on the steamer he travelled by in 1923 they were given a ration of mutton

\textsuperscript{122} Prasad, pp. 91-2 and Gillion, \textit{Fiji's Indian Migrants}, p. 131, discusses the shipping routes.

\textsuperscript{123} e.g. Chhiba Ramji, Dayal Vallabh, J.K. Natali, Laloo Morar.

\textsuperscript{124} J.K. Natali.

\textsuperscript{125} Int, Hari Jagu, who sailed to NZ in 1930.
and bread to prepare for themselves.\textsuperscript{126} Sleeping accommodation for the Gujaratis on the steamers was almost always in a dormitory with bunks as they travelled by steerage or third class.\textsuperscript{127} On the shipping lists a small number were recorded as preferring second class, as did the ten Gujaratis travelling from Sydney to Auckland, on the \textit{Makura} in April 1918.\textsuperscript{128}

A typical feature was travel in groups consisting of either brothers, village or caste mates. Prasad found this to be particularly so with Kolis from a particular locality who undertook the journey together to minimise costs and provide some measure of security. This was necessary as many of them were illiterate.\textsuperscript{129} My research indicates that group travel was favoured by most of the castes that settled in New Zealand. This, as Prasad correctly notes, was normal for Kolis. For example, amongst a group of thirteen Indians travelling from Suva to Auckland, on the \textit{Talune} in April 1919, there was one Punjabi while the rest were Kolis from the villages of Viraval, Bodali, Sagra, Tavdi, Delwarda, and Navsari town all within close proximity of each other.\textsuperscript{130} Kolis within these villages married one another so there is a high probability that the migrants were related. Another

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{126} Int, Ganesh Sukha, who sailed to NZ in 1923.
\item \textsuperscript{127} ASL.
\item \textsuperscript{128} ASL.
\item \textsuperscript{129} Prasad, p. 147.
\item \textsuperscript{130} ASL.
\end{itemize}
example concerns Keshav Vallabh who journeyed to New Zealand in 1918 with his two cousins from Bhulafalia, Matwad.  

Amongst the 'Bawa' jati a group of five from the villages of Astan, Pandar and Warad are believed to have travelled together to New Zealand in 1919. The sixth member of the group was a Kanbi from Astan. As noted before, two of the earliest migrants to travel to New Zealand were Gulab and Makan Jivan, two Kanbis from Amadpur. In the predominately Matia Kanbi village of Ganesh Sisodra, three pioneers, Mavji Jivan, Vaga Mitha, and Dhana Gosai, are reputed to have left together around 1904.  

The few Harijans, Muslims and members of some of the artisan jatis, such as Dhobis, Khatris or Kumbhars, that set off for New Zealand did not follow the above pattern of group travel. In the case of the Muslims the three pioneers to New Zealand were from separate villages. Each was unique in deviating from the path of his village mates and relatives to South Africa, although Ismail Bhikhoo did journey  


132. Int, elderly member of Girdar Family, Astan. As noted on p. 8, fn c, the ASL suggests that these men did not arrive at the same time. As noted on p.204 they were 'Bawas' and not strictly Brahmans.  

133. Int, Gulab's daughter, Bhuvasan.  

134. Int, Hira Bava, Ganesh-Sisodra, F.T.8. A 'Maviji Jevan', aged 27 years, arrived on the Victoria on 26 November 1917. This probably was the same Mavji Jivan who left Ganesh-Sisodra in 1904. The possibility should be noted, however, of two persons of the same name, or that, the oral testimony is incorrect.
with a few other Muslims heading for Fiji.\textsuperscript{135} Harijan emigration was not widespread which similarly meant that the few that ventured to New Zealand were exceptions without group support. Bhukhandas Master, a Khatri, appears to have been the sole representative from his caste to settle in New Zealand before 1920.\textsuperscript{136} He did, however, spend a few months in Fiji first. Since there was a large Khatri community from his home in Kansarawad in Navsari already settled in Fiji it is highly probably that he travelled there with a group of his caste mates. The journey to New Zealand was, however, solitary. J.K. Natali, a member of the Dhobi caste also came alone although he did join up with a group of Gujaratis.\textsuperscript{137}

Not only did caste, kin and village mates travel together, but frequently village groups consisted of men from the same \textit{falia}, who were often related by kin. As previously noted, a group of six men from Balafalia, Karadi, sailed to New Zealand in 1914.\textsuperscript{138} None of these men were brothers. Appendix 3 shows the \textit{falia} preferences for emigration destinations in Karadi.\textsuperscript{139} In the period up to 1948 New Zealand was frequently a choice for those from Balafalia,

\textsuperscript{135} Ints, members of the Bhikhoo family.

\textsuperscript{136} Int, Shivalal Masters.

\textsuperscript{137} Int, J.K. Natali.

\textsuperscript{138} Int, Unka Kalidas.

\textsuperscript{139} See also pp. 164-5.
Dhallafalia, Vaniawad and Swarijfalia.\textsuperscript{140}

The size of the groups that travelled together could be as small as a pair of brothers or as large as 140. A group of approximately this latter size was delayed in 1921 in Fiji. According to one of its members these men were all from nearby villages and had virtually all known each other before departure.\textsuperscript{141} Informants have recalled that even if they had not been previously acquainted with their fellow travellers once on board ship friendships soon developed. These cut across caste lines. For example, after a Kanbi helped a young Harijan boy to settle into life on board ship, a permanent friendship was formed.\textsuperscript{142} Often these contacts extended to useful introductions in New Zealand. Jayawardena has described how 'the experience of a voyage together encouraged the development of the institution of jahaji, i.e. fellow travellers'.\textsuperscript{143} This was a new sense of solidarity that developed amongst the diverse groups of the indentured labourers on board the ships to Fiji. This evidently applied to the New Zealand Gujaratis, at least to a limited extent. Although it did not extend to a 'compensation for the loss of kith and home', and although the Gujaratis knew they were returning to their homes within a few years, the travel in

\textsuperscript{140} See Appendix 3.

\textsuperscript{141} Int, Khusal Madhu, Auckland, 31 October 1977.

\textsuperscript{142} Int, Hari Jagu.

\textsuperscript{143} C. Jayawardena, "The Disintegration of Caste in Fiji Indian Rural Society", in Anthropology in Oceania, L.R. Hiatt and C. Jayawardena, eds, Sydney, 1971, p. 92.
groups alleviated feelings of estrangement and loneliness. It can be assumed that a sense of being a New Zealand Gujarati, indeed a New Zealand Indian, began on board ship.

An area of contention, both today and amongst contemporary observers, was whether the Indians who arrived in New Zealand had sailed from Fiji. It has been frequently assumed that these men were indentured labourers and sailed for Auckland once their bonds had expired. For example, 'Emigrant', writing in *India of Today* in 1924, claimed that the only time when there had been any prospect of Indian emigration to New Zealand was after 1913, when the source was the 'reflow of ex-indentured labourers from Fiji or of recruits who, hearing of higher rate of wages to be obtained in New Zealand, left Fiji to seek their fortune in New Zealand'. He also stated that most were casual labourers. Gangulee later wrongly attributed the increase in the numbers of Indians in New Zealand in 1932 to these Fijian Indians. It was, however, reports such as those in *Quick March*, the journal of the Returned Soldiers' Association that typified the popular stereotype of the Indians in New Zealand as recently-arrived ex-indentured labourers.

Hindu coolies, my brethren, scum of the scum that worships sacred cows knee-deep in filth on the Ganges banks. Sweepings from the bazaars of Delhi and outcast mongrel breeds from Calcutta...they read the Koran by night;


and day and night they pray for the end of their indenture; and their goal is a white man's country. Comes a time when they cease to hew sugarcane, and they drift to Suva... the town whence come the steamers that sail for New Zealand... where fruit barrows on the street corners dazzle the white man's eyes; where toilet saloons are acquired for the asking, where cooks are paid for their labour; where bottles flourish by the wayside... Ah! New Zealand. God's own country! Salaam... But Mohammed...146

Before the end of the war Gujaratis did sail to New Zealand via Fiji.147 Others however, could travel direct from Calcutta to Auckland, as did Rama Vallabh in 1911 on a boat with forty other Indians.148 Auckland shipping lists indicate that from the end of 1917, when the route from Bombay to Auckland was opened up, groups of Gujaratis regularly chose this way.

Those who sailed from Fiji were not, as was commonly assumed, ex-indentured labourers. While the indenture system lasted from 1879 to 1919, very few labourers were recruited from the Bombay Presidency.149 Gujaratis had begun to travel to Fiji from the early twentieth century as 'passengers' or 'free' migrants. Prasad found that a majority


147. Taher, "Asians in New Zealand", p. 44, did a sample survey of 100 Indian families in NZ and found that 11% of their forefathers originally went to Fiji.


149. See Brij Lal, "Fifi Girmitiyas : The Background to Banishment", in Rama's Banishment, Vijay Mishra, ed, p. 20 table 11. His analysis of emigration passes showed that only 120 or .3% of Fiji's migrants came from Western India.
of these originated from South Gujarat, in particular Surat District and the Navsari Division of the Baroda State.\(^{150}\) The earliest Gujarati settlers in Fiji were Sonis from Porbandar and Jamnagar in Kathiawar,\(^{151}\) but from 1911 onwards those belonging to similar castes and villages as the New Zealand Gujaratis began to arrive. Khatris from Navsari established tailoring businesses in Suva. Kolis stemming from such villages as Viraval, Tavdi, Sagra, Kasbapar, Delwada, Kadipur and Manikpur hawked fruit and vegetables or worked as agricultural labourers in Fiji.\(^{152}\) An informant in Karadi told me that five or six families from his village had settled in Fiji, mostly in Ba or Suva.\(^{153}\) Some of the earliest migrants were Matia Kanbis from Surat City and the neighbouring agricultural districts of Bardoli, Jalalpore and Chorasi. A smaller number of Levas and Kadvas emigrated but it was not until 1922 that Patidars from Charotar and Broach in Central Gujarat set sail for Fiji.\(^{154}\) Also in the early nineteen-twenties Kachhias from Bhagwanpura and Kachhiawad in the Navsari Division of the Baroda State settled in Fiji where they initially were hawkers before moving into

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150. Prasad, p. 46.
151. Prasad, pp. 39, 139.
152. Ibid, pp. 37, 147.
153. Ibid, pp. 45, 147.
154. Int, Jeram Govind, Koli, who was a tailor in Fiji. He now lives at Chotrafalia, Karadi. F.T.37.
shopkeeping and trade. 155

My enquiries confirm that a large number of those men who eventually sailed for New Zealand had relatives and village mates already established in Fiji. It is difficult to determine what proportion of the former, having originally embarked for Fiji only, 156 learnt of better opportunities and sailed on to New Zealand. Such migrants are to be distinguished from those who were destined for New Zealand but had chosen the route through Fiji. For example, the group of four men that left Sagra in 1914 had passports issued for Fiji and it was not until they had stayed there a few months that they decided to travel on to New Zealand. 157

A number of the migrants spent at least a few months in Fiji, such as Sukha Gosai who drove a launch around the islands, reputedly earning ten shillings a day in 1914. 158 His brother-in-law emigrated there the year before to work as a tailor. He was reasonably successful and did not move on


156. Ibid, p. 158.

157. Int, elderly man, Sagra, F.T.6. He emigrated to Nairobi in 1929 and his father, Hira Vala was in South Africa in 1893. Dullabh Vallabh definitely was resident in NZ by 1916 as he had a re-entry certificate issued then. A 'Karahanji' entered NZ as a 'recruit', on the Talune, on 27 March 1916 at Auckland, which could be Kara Hansji from Sagra. Nana Laksman, aged 25 was on the Talune when it berthed at Auckland on 21 April 1919. It is conceivable that this could have been a second trip to NZ, as he could have originally left India in 1914 aged 19. No record of the fourth member of the group, Ravji Dallia was found.

to New Zealand although some years later his son did.\textsuperscript{159}

An attraction offered by the stop-over in Fiji was the existence of the 'cramming schools'. These taught the art of successfully passing the 'tests' presented by immigration officials in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{160} It is clear, however, that the Gujaratis who emigrated to New Zealand and form the community today were certainly not ex-indentured labourers. Gillion, Mayer,\textsuperscript{161} and others have noted the strong division in Fiji between those who descend from indentured and 'free stock'. New Zealand Gujaratis have been at pains to dissociate themselves from any connection with indenture. 'Fiji Indians didn't stop in at Wellington,' I was assured.\textsuperscript{162} 'There were no Fiji Indians in New Zealand'.\textsuperscript{163} This is not strictly correct, as we have noted that many did stop over in New Zealand for a few months on the journey between Fiji and India, but enquiries suggest they did not settle in the manner that the 'free' migrants did.

Amongst those who sailed direct from Calcutta to Auckland there is still the possibility that there were migrants

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{160} See p. \textsuperscript{243}.
\textsuperscript{162} Int, Lallu Morar.
\textsuperscript{163} Int, Khusal Madhu. See also "\textit{The Hindu Manifesto}'', I+0 222, 1921, L/E/7/1192, 'wrong to suppose that a number that came to NZ via Fiji that they are ex-indentured labourers to Fiji'.
originally destined for Fiji. Prasad notes that a large number of the 'merchant and hawker categories' from South Gujarat applied for passports for Fiji but apparently did not undertake the journey due to financial hardships. He further found that the numbers of passport applications did not correlate with the census figures. 164 I would suggest that a proportion of these 'lost' cases, simply decided to stay in New Zealand. Ismail Bhikhoo's passport was stamped for Fiji in 1911, but when the boat stopped at Auckland he accepted the custom officer's invitation to remain there. 165 His two companions sailed on to Fiji. Another example concerns a Kanbi, who after leaving South Africa disillusioned, set off for Fiji. When the boat stopped at Auckland he decided that opportunities looked hopeful there. 166

After the war the route from Bombay to Auckland was favoured by both new emigrants and those returning to New Zealand after a visit to Gujarat. This frequently meant a period of time spent in Australia before trans-shipping on to the steamer to New Zealand. J.K. Natali sailed from Calcutta in 1920 via Singapore where he stayed with his uncle. 167 There he joined a party of 25 Gujaratis with whom he sailed to Sydney via Batavia. During his sojourn

164. Prasad, p. 150.

165. Ints, members of the Bhikhoo family. Passport issued at Baroda.


167. Ints, J.K. Natali.
in Sydney he stayed with another Indian, Motiram, who ran a boarding house charging five shillings a night. While waiting for his passage to Auckland on the Maheno. Mr. Natali worked there as a hawker selling peaches and other fruit. When Lalloo Morar journeyed to New Zealand in 1920, he sailed from Madras to Singapore. Because of strikes he then went on to Freemantle and Perth, from where he went by train to Sydney. 168

Shipping difficulties and strikes caused considerable problems for the group of approximately 140 Gujaratis who left their homes in 1920 to sail for New Zealand. The New Zealand government allowed those who had left India before 21 November 1921 to land under the provisions which applied prior to the passing of the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act. 169 Many in this group were forced to spend up to six months in Suva. Parbhu Naran, a member of a group that sailed via Rangoon, was engaged in road work to help meet expenses. 170 While another informant recalled how his father leased land on which he grew pineapples and hawked fruit. 171 Khusal Madhu, travelling to Fiji on the Ganges with his father Madhu Kara, and Parbhubhai, was only twelve


169. C33/25, Memo 1921/8, 21 January 1921, from Comptroller of Customs to shipping companies.


171. Int, Dayal Daji about his father, Sagra, F.T.6. He was on holiday there from Wellington.
years old and so attended the Marist Brothers school.\textsuperscript{172} Their journey was made even more expensive by the increase in the bond required by the shipping companies, from 100 to 150. Under the new immigration regulations the shipping company was held responsible to deport, and for any expenses incurred in the recovery of absconding illegal immigrants. Chhotu Jivanji, on behalf of the Auckland Indian Association, sent a letter of protest to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Massey.\textsuperscript{173} He also forwarded a copy to the Indian Overseas Association who drew it to the attention of the Secretary of State for India. Nevertheless, all the 'stranded' Indians did manage to arrive in New Zealand by May 1921.\textsuperscript{174}

It may appear that all the Gujarati immigrants arrived at the port of Auckland. While the majority did travel to Auckland a number entered at Wellington. Those who planned to work or had family or village contacts there, naturally tried to sail direct to the capital.

**Immigration Regulations in New Zealand Before 1920.**

Throughout this period Indians presented an anomaly because while they were classified by the majority of New Zealanders as 'Asiatics', and therefore, similar to Chinese

\textsuperscript{172} Int, Khusal Madhu.

\textsuperscript{173} C. Jivanji (for A.I.A.) to Massey, 10 December 1920, I+O222 1921, L/E/7/1192. Copy sent to Indians Overseas Association. They sent a copy to India Office, 9 February 1921, 'hopes NZ Government will rectify [sic] those stranded in Fiji'.

\textsuperscript{174} Dominion, 30 April 1921, reported that a 'big batch' of Hindus arrived at Auckland.
they were nevertheless British subjects. Little concern was expressed during the nineteenth century in New Zealand about the small numbers of Indians quietly entering and leaving the country. Under the Liberals and particularly fired by Richard Seddon and William Pember Reeves, the 'Asiatic fear' became heightened, while a stereotype of the 'Assyrian hawker' developed, which included Indians. Various hawkers and pedlars' bills were unsuccessfully introduced to restrict their movement to and within New Zealand. Seddon articulated popular feeling and proceeded to introduce various bills aimed at the restriction of all Asians from settling in New Zealand. Indians, like all Asian British subjects were not subjected to restrictions, and it was not until the implementation of the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1899 that some exclusion was possible. Based on the Natal Immigration Act and satisfying the conditions laid down at the 1897 Colonial Conference in London, the New Zealand Immigration Act imposed a quasi-

175. See pp. 278-80.

176. See J.V. Williams, "A Study of the Gujarati Community in New Zealand Against the Background of Immigration Legislation to 1930", history long essay for B.A. (Hons), University of Otago, 1976, chap. II. The Asiatic Restriction Act 1896 was passed with modifications by the Legislative Council and presented to the Governor for royal assent. Indians and all Asians who were British subjects were excluded from the provisions of the Act. See NZS, Asiatic Restriction Act 1896, No. 64. It did not become law as various members of the Legislative Council protested to the Imperial Government. Britain did not want to offend non-Imperial Asian countries such as Japan. (NZPD, vol. 105, p.161).

educational test on prospective immigrants to prohibit

Any person other than of British (including Irish) birth and parentage who, when asked to do by an officer appointed under this Act by the Governor, fails to himself work out and sign, in the presence of such officer, in any European language, an application in the form ...or in such other form as the Colonial Secretary from time to time directs.178

The wording of British birth and parentage was a compromise which enabled the legislators to include British subjects who were Indians within the provisions of the Act.179

The existing legislation relating to the educational test and to immigration in general was consolidated in the Immigration Restriction Act of 1908.180 A further amendment was added in 1910 aimed to prevent illiterate immigrants learning the application form by rote. Four different forms were now available for the Customs Officer to present to the intending immigrant.181 This was in response to an awareness by the New Zealand Customs Department of a 'cramming racket in Fiji' where 'native interpreters' coached immigrants in writing the alphabet to facilitate copying any form presented

178. NZS, 1899, No. 33. Immigration Restriction Act.

179. V.H.H. Scurrah, "Asiatic Immigration into New Zealand 1870-1920", M.A. thesis, Auckland, 1948, p. 51, also argues that the Act was mainly directed at Indian immigration.


181. NZS, 1910, No. 16, Immigration Restriction Amendment Act.
to them by the Collectors of Customs. Although the 1910 amendment to the Immigration Act was aimed to guard against this, and warnings were issued to the Collectors, that the 'greatest care is to be taken to see that immigrants do not make and return copies of any of the forms under the act', the education test was relatively difficult to enforce, and had little value as a measure of the applicant's knowledge of English. After World War I intending immigrants simply had to write out an application in English and fill in blank spaces. These were passages of not less than one hundred words taken from a newspaper, book or the New Testament. Such applications were submitted by the Collectors of Customs to the intending immigrant upon arrival in New Zealand.

Thus it proved relatively easy for an Indian intending to settle in New Zealand to memorise these passages, usually in special 'schools' in Fiji. Informants recalled a 'Parsi chap', who had been educated in the English medium and operated such a lucrative business. He charged a bond of one hundred pounds and if the intending immigrant for New New Zealand was successful he paid ten pounds to the Parsi

182. Internal Affairs Files 158/15/1, C33/253M "Immigration of Indians, Customs Department for Secretary of Internal Affairs, Indepartmental meeting, 29 September 1950.


for his services.\footnote{185} An elderly Gujarati who arrived at Auckland around 1920 recalled that he 'learnt to write form \textit{sic} in Fiji'.\footnote{186} Other reports also testified to the leniency of many customs officials, who being ostensibly aware of the farcical nature of the education test, let many Indians in who could not write in English. The latter would mark a cross by their name or else a friend would sign their forms for them. J.K. Natali, who was educated in the English medium assisted some of his companions, while Khusal Madhu recalled as a youth in 1921, guiding the hand of an elderly man to sign his application form.\footnote{187}

The public was aware of what they interpreted as a 'cheat's way' of entering the Dominion. The \textit{New Zealand Herald} observed that 'now Indians are deferring their trip from the South Seas to gain more knowledge and gain entry'.\footnote{188}

With the usual colourful sarcasm \textit{Quick March} commented on the 'cramming' schools in Fiji,

\ldots with clean starched collars and new suits, drift along the muddy tracks carefully picking their way. They are happy and chatter away in mongrel Hindustani. Three of the number are chanting various sentences in English, repeating over and over again the same words. Tomorrow they leave for New Zealand. They are memorising the necessary 'test' therewith to greet the Customs official at Auckland. If you listen

\footnote{185}{\textit{Ints}, Dayal Kesry and Jagalish Natali.}
\footnote{186}{\textit{Int}, Lalu Kika, Christchurch, November 1977.}
\footnote{187}{\textit{Ints}, J.K. Natali and Khusal Madhu.}
\footnote{188}{\textit{NZH}, 8 April 1920.}
you may hear the same English sounds coming from twenty filthy hovels on the roadside.189

Some awareness of the limitations of existing immigration legislation to debar Indians from settling in New Zealand led to a demand for an effective restrictive immigration act. This began before the outbreak of World War I and correlated with an apparent increase in the actual numbers of Indians in New Zealand. In 1914 Mr. Fisher, the Minister of Customs, led a debate for an Immigration Restriction Bill, aimed at preventing further Indian settlement.190 Economic fears undoubtedly underlaid the popular and political agitation, as for example, when it was argued in the House that white men had been rendered redundant by the employment of Indians in both the public and private sector.191 Antagonisms were expressed in racial terms with the assertion by H.M. Campbell, the member for Hawkes Bay, that New Zealand should remain a 'white man's country'.192

The outbreak of war, however, intervened with the passing of the Immigration Restriction Bill of 1914 and was not

189. QM, 10 September 1920, vol. 3, no. 29, p.57.


191. NZPD, vol. 163, 20 August 1913, p. 858. Massey ordered services of coolies employed by State Forestry Department at Rotorua to be dispensed with as soon as possible. ibid, vol. 165, 16 October 1913, p. 766, Glover asked Massey if it were true that two coolies had been sent to a nursery in Avondale. Massey denied that the Government was responsible.

resolved until the implementation of the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1920.\footnote{193} This followed the virulent demand by many sector of New Zealand's population for rigid immigration controls against the 'rising tide of colour'. Imperial and diplomatic considerations had also to be satisfied, so that although Massey's government began to draft fresh restrictive immigration legislation soon after the War, a 'breathing space' of a few years enabled enterprising Indians to embark for New Zealand. Until the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act was implemented, therefore, Gujaratis could enter New Zealand with considerable ease, although in-group contacts, particularly linguistic and village ties were important. I have classified these men as the 'pioneers' or first generation. Almost all present-day Gujaratis in New Zealand can trace a tie to some ancestor who settled there before the rigid 1920 Act was instigated. It had a profound effect upon establishing the direction in which Gujarati settlement in New Zealand could develop. In the following chapter the composition and growth of the Gujarati community up to the passing of the 1920 Immigration Restriction Act will be discussed. Economic, demographic, cultural, social and religious aspects will be examined, as far as the evidence allows.

\footnote{193. See my long essay, \textit{op cit}, pp. 54-56, for discussion of Bill.}
CHAPTER IV

'HINDOO' SETTLEMENT BEFORE 1920

The previous chapters have covered the background of the Gujarati migrants who settled in New Zealand. When they arrived in the country, and indeed for many years, they represented a unique group. To the casual observer cultural characteristics, occupations, and accommodation were the most visible points of difference. In addition, the demographic structure of the community was markedly different from the wider New Zealand society, a typical feature of first-generation immigrants.

(a) Age-composition and sex structure.

As illustrated in table 24 the age composition of the Gujarati community differed from that of the New Zealand society as a whole. In the 1916 census, the principal category of fullblooded male Indians (33.12 per cent) fell within the 25-29 age group, while over half (54.37 per cent) were from 20 to 29 years of age. The New Zealand male population, excluding Maoris and Race Aliens, was considerably younger with 23.53 per cent recorded as being under 10 years of age. The difference in age structure extends to those under 20 years, with 41.78 per cent of New Zealanders in this category compared to 6.22 per cent of Indians. In, however, the category of those between 30 to 40 years Indians recorded higher percentages. There were fewer Indians in the older age bracket (14.97 per cent over the age of 40

1. All statistics for Indians, except when noted, are for full-blooded males, as there were no females or half castes amongst Gujaratis in the early years in NZ. Whenever possible, the unit of comparison for the NZ population is adult males.
Percentage of full-blooded Indians in each quinquennial age group, compared to New Zealand population, excluding Maoris. 1916-21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-Group</th>
<th>1916 Indians</th>
<th>NZ Population</th>
<th>1921 Indians</th>
<th>NZ Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>12.22</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>10.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>11.31</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>10.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>10.08</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>9.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>8.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>21.25</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>29.38</td>
<td>7.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>33.12</td>
<td>7.26</td>
<td>28.71</td>
<td>7.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>14.37</td>
<td>8.36</td>
<td>17.36</td>
<td>7.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>8.37</td>
<td>9.34</td>
<td>8.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>7.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>5.99</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>6.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 85</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

compared to 28.69 per cent amongst the general population). Only 6 Indians were over the age of 55 years. There was little difference between the 1916 and 1921 censuses, with 6.49 per cent of Indians under 20 years. This was low, compared to the general population's 40 per cent, while numerically only two Indian males were under 10 years. The largest percentage of Indians was in a lower age group of 20-24 years, with only slightly less in the 25-29 bracket. The combined total represented 58 per cent compared to 14.32 per cent in the 20-29 age group, amongst the general population. In comparison to 1916, by 1921 there was an increase of four per cent in the 30-39 bracket, with fewer elderly Indians than in 1916.

The high percentage of Indians in the 20-29 years group indicated how recently they had arrived in the country. A survey of 131 first-generation Gujarati immigrants revealed that the average age at arrival was approximately 22. Most of the cases fell within the 19 to 25 age group. At this age the migrant was free from parental restraints, usually married, possibly with at least one child, but without the financial and property encumbrances of later years. A number of those over the age of thirty had previously emigrated, usually to South or East Africa, as noted in the cases of Bawa Kana, Bhukhandas

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2. This figure only includes those who were probably permanent entries and for whom the age was given. The average figure was 21.79 but owing to problems of inaccuracy only an estimation is given. Years recorded by informants or on shipping lists and immigration records were complete years only and did not include the extra months.
Masters, Mohammed Kara and Ismail Bhikhoo. These men had experienced frustration and dissatisfaction upon their return to India from Africa and were therefore eager to avail themselves of the opportunities available in New Zealand. Chhiba Dayal, who left Karadi at the age of twenty-eight, did not fit this pattern, as his journey to New Zealand was his first step out of Gujarat.

The Indian community and its Gujarati majority were also markedly different from the New Zealand population, due to their predominately male composition. While in 1916, the census recorded 5 fullblooded and 9 mixedblooded female Indians, and in 1921, 19 fullblooded and 30 mixed-blooded, my enquiries suggest that these did not include Gujaratis. W.H. McLeod also noted that by 1916 only one Punjabi woman had entered New Zealand and by 1921 there were only 4. This uniformly male constituency was an important factor in determining the transient occupations pursued and meagre standards of accommodation which were accepted. Gujarati women would not have lived in the boarding-house style of

4. Int, Unka Kalidas.
5. See table 21.
6. C.F. Andrews, in a letter to Rabindranath Tagore, 30 October 1915, quoted in J.H. Broomfield, 'C.F. Andrews in New Zealand', NZJH, vol.5, April 1973, pp.72-3, noted that 'Gujaratis cannot being their wives out here'. Legally they could have, provided the wife could pass the education test.
7. Personal communication with Professor McLeod.
accommodation which was typical of this early period. While the women were residing in the home villages of Gujarat, the immigrants did not feel so estranged from their home. They could look forward to returning there and finding life similar to when they left. As we shall see, however, it was the migrants who changed and many did not desire a return to the status quo. Certainly, without women in New Zealand, Gujarati cultural and religious activities were not of paramount importance. To a certain extent this 'pioneer' society was more liberated and able to adapt, to a limited extent, to the communities around it. On the other hand, the widely accepted hypothesis that women are the conservative force in society may have been exaggerated. This point will be examined later. 8

(b) Marriage patterns.

It is usually accepted that a lack of females would have influenced the immigrants' relationships with members of the opposite sex of the 'host' society. Contemporaries accused Asians, particularly Chinese, of being the 'victims' of white female seduction. 9 Women of course, carried the blame. There were, nevertheless, accusations of Hindus molesting European women with their eyes. 'The "established" Hindu has a most prosperous air, and he occasionally dares

8. Prasad, p.257, noted that when the Fiji Gujarati community was male in character, there was considerable interaction among the Gujaratis themselves, as well as a high degree of contact with other Indian groups. When the Gujarati women arrived the groups became more isolated.

9. See p. 627.
to ogle white women, if white men are not about.' It has been difficult to find oral evidence concerning the Gujaratis' relationships with females in New Zealand. Most of these men were married before they left their homes. This is in contrast to the Punjabi who, according to W.H. McLeod, were usually single arrivals in the years up to the end of World War I.

Table 25 indicates the conjugal status of male full-blooded Indians compared to adult males of the general New Zealand population. There was little difference in the ratios although there was a smaller percentage of widowers amongst Indians in 1916. This proportion was virtually equivalent to the general population by 1921, indicative of the aging Indian population. This was also reflected in the slight decrease amongst those never married. The disparity in the numbers of married Indians in 1921 may possibly be explained by the 5.5 per cent of no category. It is significant that there were no Indians recorded as divorced. While divorce was not common amongst Gujaratis, nevertheless the odd case did occur. This will be treated in greater detail in a later chapter. Since for adult Gujaratis, society was sexually stratified once overseas, the loss of females would possibly have not been so great. Women were not usually seen as companions, nor was it usual to 'go out' with one. Individuals would have ex-


TABLE 25
Conjugal condition of full-blood Indians compared to New Zealand population (over 21 years), 1916-21. Males only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugal Condition</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>NZ pop.</td>
<td>Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>30.52</td>
<td>30.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>64.38</td>
<td>64.31</td>
<td>59.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1916-21. The statistics for the general NZ population exclude Maoris. Note the difficulty in comparison as the Indian figures include all ages, while those of the NZ population are for men over 21 years only. If only Indians over 21 years were included then the proportion classified as married would be much lower than that of the NZ population.

TABLE 26
Number and percentage of male full-blood Indians classified as living in urban and rural areas, 1916-21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th></th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>51.25</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>48.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1916-21, 'Race Aliens'. Urban calculated from males in cities, boroughs and town districts. Rural from those in countries and adjacent islands not within counties.
experienced a deep loss for female kin and possibly their spouses, but friendship was provided in New Zealand by other Gujarati males.

The increasing number of mixed-blood Indians suggests that there were sexual liaisons between them and other races in New Zealand. Unless a permanent relationship was established, it proves difficult to pinpoint who the parents of these mixed-blood Indians were. A number may have been included under the Maori or European census tables, as presumably the child stayed with the mother. Some of these individuals of mixed race were Eurasians or Anglo-Indians, either the children of Indian and European parents living in New Zealand, or servants of mixed descent employed by New Zealanders who had lived in India. McLeod has documented three Punjabis married to Pakeha wives, and at least two to Maoris by 1916 but is aware of none between 1916 and 1921.

Other mixed-blood may have been the illegitimate off-


13. The terms Eurasian and Anglo-Indian are open to various definitions. The former, referring to children of mixed Indian and European descent, can have derogatory connotations, while the latter can also be applied to Europeans born in India as well as half castes. "Immigration: General Anglo-Indians, Eurasians, Anglo-Burmese", Labour Dept, 22/1/134-1, gives examples. Jean Porteous of Dunedin made enquiries in 1925 to the Minister of Internal Affairs, concerning her brother who was a missionary in India. Upon returning to NZ with his family he intended to bring a Eurasian girl. Wanganui Chronicle, 23 January 1928, noted c.11 Eurasian labourers in 1926-7 in the district and c.36 in NZ. Dr. J.A. Graham, 13 November, estimated 120 Eurasian children entering NZ before 1922. (above file).

14. Personal communication with Professor McLeod. His files include one legitimate child born in 1913 of Indian-Maori parentage.
spring of an Indian father and European or Maori mother. It is not clear what happened to these children, born in a society with strong moral strictures against extra-marital sex. At the annual conference of the Returned Soldiers' Association held at Wellington in 1920 a Mr. Smith declared that the 'Hindu is a menace in the smaller towns of the North Island' because of the resultant half caste Hindu-Maori children 'found in no small numbers'. The consensus of the Returned Soldiers' Association was the common stereotype that such 'intermarriage would lead to the creation of a race of a lower type', a situation to be prevented. Indians were accused by Mr. T. Long of Te Aroha of 'prostituting the Native race', although it is unclear what he meant by this.

Informants have suggested they were made welcome by the Maoris with whom they mixed in areas such as the King Country and Rotorua. Consequently there were temporary and permanent liaisons with Maori women. Consequently there were temporary and permanent liaisons with Maori women.

A first generation Koli emigrant from Dhallafalia, Karadi married a Maori woman. They worked a farm at Waiuku and Paeroa before opening a shop at Onehunga. In contrast to the usual assumption that such offspring would

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15. ODT, 2 July 1920.
16. QM, vol.3, no. 27, July 1920, p.73.
18. McLeod has confirmed de facto Punjabi-Maori relationships during this period.
follow the mother's culture, the two sons spoke Gujarati and were 'more Indian than Maori'. Following the death of their mother when one of the boys was still young, he was sent to his father's family in Karadi where he was educated. It is often difficult for half-castes to marry an Indian bride, but this boy was able to do so. His wife accompanied him to New Zealand, and in turn his daughter recently had an arranged marriage with a Gujarati groom. His brother, however, married a Pakeha girl. One informant estimated three or four Maori wives amongst Gujaratis from Karadi and one from Machhad.  

One of these men, a founder of the Rotorua Indian Association, applied for his Gujarati wife and three sons to join him in New Zealand in the thirties. The boys arrived in 1939 without their mother, after which the father married a Maori woman.  

Two men who settled in Christchurch one of whom originated from Delwarda and arrived in New Zealand in 1919, both married Maori women. The other's wife accompanied him on a visit to India.

Such intermarriage was not confined to Kolis. Another case involved a member of the 'Brahman' caste from Astan. This man originally settled in New Zealand in 1918 and made a return trip to Gujarat during 1925-1926, after which his


wife died. He then married a Maori-European woman who subsequently became the step-mother of his two children by the former marriage. He never visited his home village again as he had 'not much in India to come back to'.

It would appear that these sons had no difficulty in arranging traditional marriages and they identified predominantly with Gujarati culture. It should be noted, that it is more difficult to find cases where such inter-racial liaisons resulted in the man or the children assimilating to the wife's culture.

The only case I found of a first generation Gujarati marrying a European woman concerns J.K. Natali. He met his wife in 1921 when they were both employed in a hotel at Rotorua. The couple were advised by their families and friends not to marry but according to Mr. Natali,

For once Rudyard Kipling was wrong when he wrote: "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet", for our married life has been very happy.

As a leader of the Indian community for many years and as one of its more materially successful members it might be assumed that he would have been accorded the commensurate status. In certain respects this was true but his marriage has still been received with mixed reactions. Of his four children two daughters married, one to a Pakeha and the

23. Ibid.
24. Int, Mr. and Mrs. Natali.
25. J.K. Natali, newspaper report of an address at a farewell function held in his honour, Waimiha, c.1946. (Natali's scrapbook).
other to a Maori. These weddings, certainly were treated as
'society affairs',
appropriate to the position Mr. Natali held with the local Maori and Pakeha community in the King Country. The other daughter and son have remained unmarried. It would have been highly unlikely that they would have married Gujaratis, due to their mainly 'European' upbringing and lack of knowledge of the Gujarati language and customs. This did not, however, prevent Mr. Natali from taking his family with him to his home in Rander on a world trip during 1946-48. He also accompanied his wife when in 1948 she visited her family in England, and it can be assumed from the article written about him in the local Immanuel Church Magazine that the marriage was accepted there by then.

(c) Geographical distribution

As the immigration records show most Indians arrived and departed from the ports of Auckland and Wellington. It is therefore not surprising that they became the two main centres of Gujarati settlement. Such residential concentration will now be considered, as it affected the way in which the newcomers were perceived by the local populace.

Indians have and still do prefer settlement in the North Island. Informants have suggested this was due to the

27. Ibid. He contributed a series of articles to a local newspaper, Taumarunui Press 1946-8.
austerity of the southern climate.\(^{29}\) This was a perceived reality as it can be argued that Wellington has a far more unpleasant climate than many parts of the South Island. Another plausible suggestion is that the Chinese and to a lesser extent the Lebanese had established themselves as pedlars, hawkers, and later, greengrocers in the South Island, thus closing the door to further competition.\(^{30}\) This may be rejected when it is noted that in Auckland and Wellington, the two main urban areas where Gujaratis have settled, Chinese have also been present in large numbers.

Indeed, it seems somewhat unusual that given the urban development and widespread farming in the South Island, the immigrants who were initially very mobile and in search of employment, did not venture there. The most plausible reason for this is that the South Island was strange and the newcomers were unwilling to journey to places unknown. It is equally possible that the type of farming there, predominantly sheepfarming, did not appeal.

There were however, some exceptions. Keshav Parshottam is said to have worked in a goldmine on the West Coast of the South Island when first here in 1920.\(^ {31}\) His son remembers his father telling how he lived in a hut with another Gujarati and worked twenty-four hour shifts. It is not clear what the latter could have implied. The demanding

\(^{29}\) Int, Ravji Hira, 31 January 1976.

\(^{30}\) See Taher, \textit{op cit}, for a discussion of Chinese and Lebanese settlement in NZ.

\(^{31}\) Ints, Dayal Kesry.
work and cold experienced in winter did not appeal, so Keshavbhai moved to Hawkes Bay where he invested in a fruit-shop.

A small number of Gujaratis did, however, remain in Christchurch prior to 1920. The 1916 census recorded eight full-blooded male Hindus in the Canterbury Province, of which three were enumerated in Runanga, two in Christchurch city and one in Picton. W.H. McLeod has, however, estimated that at least three of these Indians were Punjabis. 32 By 1921 the numbers of Indians in the province had increased to seventeen, with eleven in Christchurch city, one each in Picton and Blenheim, and three in Runanga. There was also one Indian female noted but enquiries suggest that she was not a Gujarati. My research confirms Shanti Budhia's findings that the early Gujarati settlers were Kolis from such villages as Karadi, Matwad, Sagra and Tavdi. 33 In addition, Mohammed Kara's grandson stated that he was the sole Gujarati Muslim in Christchurch by 1912. 34

The main area of Gujarati concentration prior to 1920 was Auckland city and province, as reflected in observations by contemporaries that Asiatics in New Zealand were an

32. Personal communication with Prof. McLeod. One of the Runanga men was certainly a Punjabi, and the other two probably were also.


34. Int, Suliaman Ismail Kara.
'Auckland problem'. In 1916 there were 115 full-blooded male Indians resident in Auckland compared to 25 in Wellington. The respective percentages of the total male Indian population were 71.9 and 15.6. The Auckland percentages of Indian males were substantially higher than the corresponding proportions of 28.29 per cent in the general New Zealand population resident in Auckland, while Indians had a smaller percentage settled in Wellington, than the 20.52 per cent of New Zealanders there. By 1921 the percentage of New Zealanders in Auckland had risen to 30.32 while the proportion in Wellington was virtually stationary. Amongst the Indian population in New Zealand, by 1921, there was an increase in the number in Auckland to 382, but a drop in the percentage to 63.8. This was associated with a noticeable rise of the numbers of Indians in Wellington to 118, or 19.7 per cent.

As noted above, the relatively large number in Auckland was to a certain extent due to the city's position as the usual port of entry and departure. Of equal importance would have been job opportunities, particularly in hotels and the fruit business. Auckland's growing population could support such services. A third factor determining settlement was family, village and caste connections. While precise figures are not available, a trend that is still

35. Auckland was the main area that pressed for immigration controls after World War I. See NZH, 27 May 1920, 27 July 1920.

36. See Appendix 7. New Zealand population data from Census, 1926, 'Increase and Geographical Distribution', p. 3.
evident today is the preference for Matia Kanbis to settle in Wellington. Most of the migrants from Ganesh-Sisodra and Pardi-Sarpore followed this pattern.37

Related to the preference by Gujaratis for settling in Auckland was a preference for urban areas. Table 26 shows the percentage of Indians resident in cities and boroughs compared with the number in counties. In the earlier period, as recorded in the 1916 census, there was more movement amongst Indians in rural areas than during later years, presumably due to the type of work available to the early immigrants. At all times, however, Indians, and Gujaratis had higher percentages settled in urban areas compared to both the general population and the Chinese.38 In comparison to the Punjabis, the Gujaratis were more city-orientated. In the early twentieth century Punjabis tended to reside on the Hauraki Plains, the Waikato and King Country, where they were occupied mainly as flax workers, drain diggers or scrub cutters.39 Informants have agreed that most of the Indians in the two main cities were Gujaratis.

Nevertheless, as mentioned, there was and still is, evidence of Gujarati settlement in rural areas. The numbers of Indians resident in rural areas, 78 in 1916 and 187 in 1921, were too high to be accounted for by Punjabis only.40

37. Ints, Matia-Kanbis in Wellington and Gujarat.
Indians were mostly spread throughout the Waikato, Central North Island, Taranaki and Wairarapa regions. In 1916, in particular, there were 15 or 9.37 per cent enumerated in Waipa County, 9 in Waitomo and 6 each at Matamata and Taumarunui, most of whom were accounted for by Punjabis. In 1921 concentrations were in the following counties; 19 in the Waikato, 17 at Waipa, 12 at Waitomo, 17 at Ohura, 24 at Piako, 21 on the Hauraki Plains and 27 at Whakatane. In the boroughs there were 2 at New Plymouth, 8 at Hamilton and 13 at Rotorua. The attraction to these rural areas was primarily economic, as indicated by the many individuals or couples of Indians at such places as, Ngaruawahia, Taihape, Feilding, Wanganui, Dargaville, and Masterton. The smaller areas would have been able to support only one hawker, so it made little sense for Indians to congregate in this occupation except in the larger population centres such as Rotorua. Individuals would also have been employed in the labouring jobs described on page 290, while the larger groups, such as those at Piako, and the Hauraki Plains were involved in swamp clearing, the flax industry and general labouring, rather than the solitary occupations such as hawking. Taumarunui had the additional attraction of the brickworks.

41. See map 2.
42. Personal communication with Prof. McLeod.
43. McLeod's data suggests that few Punjabis were at Whakatane and they do not account for all of the rural areas listed especially Dargaville and possibly Feilding.
44. See p. 291.
(d) Education

Before discussing the occupations of these migrants it is necessary to briefly examine the skills they possessed. This was to have a considerable bearing upon the available choices in jobs and secondly upon the role played within the Gujarati and Indian community. As noted in Chapter I most of the newcomers had been small agriculturists, with a lesser number employed as boatmen, fishermen, hawkers, artisans, labourers and clerks. These skills were to have some relevance to the New Zealand situation, in particular hawking, labouring, clerical and some artisan work, such as tailoring and hairdressing. The type of agricultural and fishing work employed in Gujarat was to have no use in New Zealand. For those who desired economic and social mobility, personal skills, including education were more significant. While the amount and quality of education received in Gujarat would have eased the introduction into New Zealand society, it was the degree and speed of adaption to a new language and customs that was to have longer-term effects.

A number of Gujarati migrants had received some elementary education, particularly those living in Baroda State, as it was compulsory there.\(^{45}\) Informants have agreed, however, that few received instruction in English. For those who had some English tuition, it was still a difficult language to converse in. Five of the six men who departed from Balafalia in 1914 taught themselves some English from a

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\(^{45}\) Note that 'compulsory education' does not necessarily mean that it was enforced.
'Self taught English' book, while the sixth, Chhiba Dayal, had received some education in English. The education tests employed by the Customs Department implied that all Indian migrants could speak and write English. As we have already seen, however, this was deceptive, due to previous 'cramming' in Fiji.

In consideration of this, the accuracy of 54 per cent of full-blooded male Indians returned in the 1916 Census, as able to read and write in the English language is questionable. The other Indians who were fully (22 per cent) or partially literate (11 per cent) in a foreign language probably emigrated to New Zealand prior to the implementation of the education test. Only 11.3 per cent could not read at all. All half castes were fluent in English, an indication of growing up in either New Zealand or in an English-speaking environment in India.

All informants evidently acquired over a period of time full or partial literacy in English. Later immigration records also support this, although their accuracy is open to question. My informants claimed this was learnt mainly through conversation as, for example, Parbhu Naran who 'picked up' English in New Zealand when he was working in a timber company. He recalled that his Maori workmates corrected him when he made mistakes which, according to him were

46. Int, Unka Kalidas.
47. See p. 238.
48. Palakshappa, p. 18 confirms this.
frequent. 49

Other Gujaratis taught themselves from books which Lala Bava described as 'self teacher' publications. 50 Dayal Wallabhb recalled attending English classes in Newtown, Wellington, for three months in 1918, learning how to read, write and speak the language. 51 A report in the Evening Post noted that 'books of study lie about' in the houses of the Indians visited in Wellington. 52 Most informants acquired a reading knowledge of English over the years, particularly from local newspapers.

Certain individuals had some English education in Gujarat and these men soon assumed leadership roles because of their ability to relate to the European society. J.K. Natali is the best example of this. He could read, write and speak English before he came to New Zealand, all of which greatly speeded up his adjustment in the new land. 53 It is unlikely that he would have married an Englishwoman if he had not been fluent in the language. He was President of the New Zealand Indian Central Association for several years and outspoken on issues concerning Indians in New Zealand, Fiji,

49. Int, Parbhu Naran.
50. Int, Lala Bava.
51. Int, Dayal Vallabh.
53. Ints, J.K. Natali, and cuttings from his scrapbook.
Kenya, South Africa and conditions in India. Since he first arrived in New Zealand he has written well-argued and coherent letters to the editors of local newspapers, while from 1946 to 1948 he wrote a series of articles for Taumarunui Press about his world trip. Being well versed in the English language was also an asset for Chhotubhai Jivanji, one of the founders of the Auckland Indian Association. He was employed as a clerk, while also acting as an interpreter and intermediary between Indians and government departments. Like Mr. Natali he served as a spokesperson for the Indians of New Zealand, as for example, in letters written to Massey, and to the Indians Overseas Association,

54. News. cuttings, Natali's scrapbook, several of which were undated. Examples of letters he wrote to the Editor of the AS on India's independence include, 16 May 1922, p. 7; 4 August 1923, p.14; 16 August 1923, p.8. Dominion, 3 January 1923. No source, letters to editors, 9 August 1943 (not AS or NZH); another c. June 1946. Newspaper reports of an address at the Taumarunui Rotary Club on India's rights, c.1940s. Letters to the Editor of AS on rights of Indians in Fiji, 17 June 1922, p.11; 3 July 1922. Letter to Editor of Times of India, 19 December 1947 criticising White Australia Policy. No source, letter to Editor, c.1954 criticising apartheid, South Africa, also AS, 18 January 1971 where Natali replied to a letter by "Logious" and made the distinction between the status of Harijans in India and Bantus in South Africa. On rights of Indians in New Zealand see e.g. AS, 29 April 1926, p.20; no source c. 1 May 1942. Long reply in AS, 17 February 1955, p.6, defending Indians in New Zealand and Fiji and need for New Zealand to implement an immigration quota for Indians. There was considerable correspondence on those issues in the AS, e.g. 27 January 1955, p.4; 4 February 1955 p.4; 9 February 1955, p.6.

55. See p.297 for his occupational history.
concerning the Indians 'stranded' in Fiji. It should be noted, however, that while such knowledge was an obvious advantage in dealing with the European society, it was not an absolute prerequisite for leadership amongst the Gujarati community. Ravjibhai Hira, for example, a founder of both the Wellington Indian Association and Indian Central, as well as serving as President of the former and Vice President of the latter, had no knowledge of English before arriving in New Zealand. He recalled being present at a deputation to a parliamentary committee in 1925, concerning the White New Zealand League and speaking very little English. Other qualities were clearly important for leadership, as will be discussed in a following chapter. Earlier migrants also had an advantage over the newcomers in acquiring the language, a factor which reinforced the dependence of the latter on the former. A basic knowledge of English was necessary to establish a substantial business and so the migrant was hindered until he mastered it. When representations to government departments, magistrates and other public bodies were needed, Gujaratis generally employed the assistance of one of their leaders or people from outside the community. The Wellington Indian Association noted that 'they had a sympathetic hearing assistance and solace from a few kind and affectionate New Zealanders, among whom the name of


57. Ints, Ravjibhai Hira.

58. See ch. VII.
Messrs Anion, Griffith, and Dr. Sher stand out.\textsuperscript{59}

While Gujaratis in New Zealand adopted a new language and certain customs they did not abandon their own language and culture.\textsuperscript{60} Gujarati was and is freely spoken between Gujaratis and many received correspondence and newspapers from home.\textsuperscript{61}

(e) Occupations

A crucial factor influencing the settlement pattern of Gujaratis was occupation. As we have already noted, the early pioneers were highly mobile, a pattern reflected in their choice of jobs. Prior to 1920 rural-based occupations were pursued almost as much as urban ones. Gujaratis, possibly because of their rural background, preferred particular types of work and so they moved at first to areas where such work was available. The King Country and the Wairarapa were two areas to which they tended to gravitate in the early twentieth century, but finding it difficult to acquire land (either due to a lack of capital or to local conditions), they moved to other areas in search of better opportunities. At times Gujaratis were attracted to a district because of the prospect of a desired occupation. The conditions there and the reception they received dictated in turn the subsequent occupations which they actually pursued.

According to the 1916 and 1921 censuses, industries


\textsuperscript{60} See p. 658 ff.

\textsuperscript{61} See p. 330.
which Indians favoured most, were those of fruit and vegetable retailing, agricultural and pastoral, and hotel and domestic work. The censuses broke down industrial groups into eight major categories, each comprised of several occupations, and which included smaller numbers of Indians. Thus in table 27 the number grouped under 'industrial' was not just confined to those working in factories, but included: 'Secondary production, including treatment of raw materials, all manufactures, building and construction of all kinds, and gas, water, and electricity supply'.

Excluding the group of dependants, the Auckland 1916 census Indians had a comparatively similar proportion involved in primary production, to that of the New Zealand male population. By 1921, however, 22 per cent of Indians came within the same industrial category. This compared to 35 per cent for the general population. At both censuses the proportions working in industries were lower for Indians. In 1921 it was approximately 20 per cent compared to 24 per cent for the New Zealand male workers. Virtually no Indians were employed in transport and communication, nor in public administration and professions, while approximately 12 per cent of New Zealand working males were so employed. It was in commercial and financial occupations that Indians demonstrated a considerably higher involvement than the general population, with approximately 34 per cent compared to 14 per cent. In domestic and personal service, Indians

62. See table 27. Figure 4-A gives a finer breakdown for Indians.
TABLE 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial category</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1921</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary production</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>34.59</td>
<td>21.54</td>
<td>35.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>27.33</td>
<td>19.78</td>
<td>24.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport + Communication</td>
<td>11.33</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>12.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce + Finance</td>
<td>34.64</td>
<td>13.94</td>
<td>33.09</td>
<td>14.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public admin + professional</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>7.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic + personal</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other groups</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>3.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1916-25. Note that the above percentages are different to those in figure 4, as for comparative purposes the categorisation in the above table is slightly different. 'Industrial' in the above includes a wide range of occupations. Figure 4 gives a more detailed analysis.

TABLE 28
Grade of occupation of Indian full-bloods, compared to general population in New Zealand, 1916-21. Males and those actively engaged and specified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade of occupation</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>NW Pop.</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>NW pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>11.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on own account</td>
<td>31.37</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>32.68</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative assisting</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-earner</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>57.99</td>
<td>67.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-earner, unemployed</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 'relative assisting', means working with no wages.
similarly were highly represented, with 13 per cent in 1916 and in 1921 compared to approximately 2 per cent for the New Zealand male population. Why then, were Indians and Gujaratis concentrated in particular occupational groups? The following discussion will attempt to explain these patterns.

Throughout the nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth the stereotype of the Indian hawker has persisted. Reference has been made to reports of 'Assyrians' and 'Hindoos' hawking goods about the countryside. I spoke to an elderly lady at Otamatea in Northland who recalled her childhood years when 'an old rotund Indian with a hat on his head used to come around in a caravan selling trinkets', such as kaleidoscopes. 64 She distinctly remembered that he wore a hat, not a turban, and from her description he might have been either a Gujarati or a Punjabi. 65 Enquiries have revealed that a very large proportion of Gujaratis of all castes that settled in New Zealand favoured fruit and vegetable retailing. Self-sufficient through the ownership of one's own business was and is an ideal widely held in Gujarat and indeed throughout most of India. Apart from the economic advantages, it fulfills family obligations through providing employment and support, provides insurance for the future, and is a source of status and prestige. In New Zealand working for wages, particularly for the 'white

64. Int, elderly woman, Otamatea, August 1977.
65. Not all Indian hawkers in NZ were Gujaratis. McLeod, op cit, p.17; 'hawking was a common activity for migrant Punjabis during this early phase'.
man,' has been perceived by many Gujaratis as a necessary encumbrance and serves as a means by which to amass capital to start a small business. This was expressed by J.K. Natali after he and his wife tried to start a business in Auckland in the early twenties and failed;

However, I never lost heart. I always remember the advice given to me by my Greek employers, not to work for wages for long but to branch out on our own account, as soon as one has saved enough to get a start.66

He then moved to Waimiha in the twenties and worked for an Indian before starting his own business with his wife.67

Retailing can incorporate a variety of jobs and businesses. Unfortunately census figures do not always provide details of the functions involved in particular occupations. In the 1916 census,68 it must be assumed that the 38 'dealing in food, drink, narcotics and stimulants' would have encompassed those involved in fruit and vegetable retailing, as would the five 'general and undefined merchants and dealers' and the six 'working' in the former category. 'Working' would presumably have meant working for wages and may not have included retailing. Fortunately the 1921 census gives a more detailed breakdown; with 102 male Indians dealing in vegetables and fruit, as distinct from 32 classified as hawkers and street sellers. In addition 9 were working in department stores, general stores and mixed businesses.

67. See p. 425 ff.
68. Numerical details of occupations are included in text where relevant but for full details refer to NZ Census, 1916-21, 'Race Aliens - Occupations'.
PLATE 1

Indian Hawkers in New Zealand

Source: Free Lance, 7 July 1926, p. 33.
The most simple form of retailing pursued by Gujaratis was hawking fruit and vegetables in a basket from door to door. Such work was an initial step to earn money by the newly arrived migrant, particularly in Wellington and Auckland during the years before World War I. Madhu Kera used to catch the ferry from Auckland to Bayswater and Devonport to hawk fruit around the houses there in 1916. In Wellington during the pre-war years Chhiba Bhana hawked around Lambton Quay to supplement his income. In comparison with the wages that could be earned at labouring jobs, the monetary gain from hawking was not always particularly high. According to Rama Vallabh, in the pre-war years in Wellington he earned about 7s 6d a week hawking bananas and pears from a basket. He found this sufficient but it did not allow any cash for saving. A post-war report made at the Auckland Watersiders Workers’ meeting on 2 June 1920 claimed that Hindus made a 'good business' out of hawking butter door to door.

If sufficient capital was accumulated, then it became possible for the entrepreneur to invest in hiring a fruit stand, which was in effect a hand-cart or barrow.

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69. Int, his son Khusal Madhu.
71. See p. 288.
72. Int, Rama Vallabh.
73. ODT, 3 June 1920.
Wellington these were auctioned at three-monthly intervals. According to a report in the *New Zealand Herald* Indians certainly were attracted to this form of selling fruit, to the extent that forty competed for sixteen stands. Contemporaries were concerned that all Europeans except two had been 'squeezed out' of the fruit hawking business. High prices were paid, ranging from $18 at the waiting shed near Thorndon station, to $26 at Taranaki Street corner, to $41 5s at Courtenay Place. Fruit stands were situated at busy intersections, with those in the heart of the city naturally the most costly to hire, because of the high returns that could be expected from there. While the Europeans noted the high prices paid (in cash an aggregate of $379 12s 6d in half an hour) an informant I interviewed perceived the situation as discriminatory. He now believes that only Indians had to pay for the stands which cost $300 for three months. He did, however, concede that to his knowledge there was only one European stall which was not auctioned. To safeguard European interests, the Wellington City Council agreed to allow the latter to pay at a fixed rental for a permanent stand, at a price lower than Indians would pay.

This informant was nevertheless correct in claiming the occupation as one in which the Wellington City Council discriminated against Indians. In 1918 and earlier, the

74. For these regulations, see extract from minutes of WCC meeting, 26 August 1918.
75. *NZH*, 9 July 1921.
76. Laloo Morar.
Council refused to grant licenses to Indians although regulations stated that they were open to all British subjects. Objections were raised by Mr. O'Leary, a solicitor acting on behalf of the Indians. In his reply the Town Clerk stated,

> While the Council considers it undesirable to issue Licenses to these men, His Worship the Mayor has interested himself in endeavouring to find several of them employment. He has also arranged with the Labour Department which has undertaken to try to obtain employment for the Hindus. Kindly refer the men to the Labour Department.

It has been noted that such hostility began in the late nineteenth century when there was agitation for the introduction of legislation that would restrict the movements of Assyrian hawkers, who included Indians. Seddon and William Pember Reeves were the main champions of various bills introduced with these aims. All of these, including the separate Hawkers and Pedlars' Bills of 1892, 1894, the Undesirable Hawkers Prevention Bill of 1896, and the Pedlars and Hawkers' Bill of 1901 were discharged. Seddon did have support from such groups as the Anti-Chinese League,

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77. WCC Minutes, op cit.
78. Ibid, letter from Town Clerk to Mr. H.F. O'Leary, 29 August 1918.
which had various branches throughout New Zealand. They requested that no further licenses be issued to Assyrians and Chinese hawkers. Seddon had considerable support in the House, as indicated by this extract from a speech by T. MacKenzie, the member for Clutha,

Indian hawkers sold the most worthless brummagem stuff imaginable, which otherwise would not come into these districts; and he had had reports from women of insolence on the part of these hawkers.

The bills all aimed at restricting licenses to residents of at least twelve months in the Colony, and usually included a further stipulation that they only apply to British subjects or those who had been naturalised. A second feature of the bills was an attempt to introduce 'local licenses', although in effect these powers were already available under the Counties Act and the Municipal Corporations Act. According to W.C. Walker this authority was rarely exercised in the country districts, a factor which possibly helped to attract Indians there. All of Seddon's

83. NZT, 30 July 1896,

84. NZPD, vol. 95, 11 September 1896, p. 597. The same arguments were expressed against Indian hawkers in Australia, see Yarwood, p.125.


87. NZT, 8 May 1894. Mr. Doyle stated that for the year, 67 licensed, and a number of unlicensed Hindu hawkers who were unlicensed entered Wellington city.

88. NZPD, vol. 96, p. 778.
attempts failed, however, for they aroused the hostility of commercial concerns which viewed the proposals as restricting their recently-arrived employees. Seddon did of course achieve a partial victory with the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act 1899. The hostility against Indian hawkers and traders flared up again in 1914 when Fisher raised protests in Parliament:

I have seen from personal observations they /the Hindus/ are starting fruit-stalls. In some cases they are very close to European shops, and the men who are paying rent and taxes have these men underselling them. They are keeping their stalls up to date with acetylene lights, and carpets on the footpath, and making their competition very severe to those engaged in the trade. I think it is desirable to put a stop to this sort of thing.

Accusations of Indians undercutting Europeans have been raised virtually everywhere they settled.

Resentment at Indian penetration into the retailing trade was not just confined to Wellington. At a meeting of the Auckland branch of the Returned Soldiers' Association on the 25 May 1920 Mr. L.J. Garmson complained that white men, especially returned soldiers, had no chance of making a success of the fruit business in competition with Hindus.

Another member suggested that 'at the fruit markets the---

89. NZT, 26 June 1894.
90. See p. 242.
91. NZPD, vol. 169, 4 August 1914, p.391.
92. See Yarwood, op cit, p.125. Indians employed as farm workers in New South Wales in the late nineteenth century allegedly depressed wages and contaminated milk.
93. NZH, 26 May 1920.
Hindu managed to catch the eye of the auctioneer more than the white competitor'. The secretary, Mr. E.F. Andrews called on returned soldiers to boycott Asiatics. At an executive meeting in the following month, a Mr Melling moved for the prevention of contracts being let out by government departments to Asiatics, after a returned serviceman at Rotorua had lost the tender for the supply of vegetables to the King George Hospital there. In Dunedin, a deputation representing the Otago Fruit Retailers' Association wanted support for the exclusion of Asiatics from free competition in the retail trade. Such opposition did not, however, hinder Gujaratis, as it would appear that by 1921 they had a monopoly on inner city fruit and vegetable hawking in Wellington. While less evidence is available for Auckland, both contemporary and oral reports show that Gujaratis hawking from fruit stands were a familiar sight there. The hawker referred to on page 283 opened a fruit stand on the corner of Karangahape Road and Queen Street, which was one of the busiest areas in the city. By the post-war years very few of these Indians engaged in commerce would have been Punjabis. The Gujarati preference for urban settlement described earlier correlated with a high proportion involved

94. Ibid.
95. NZH, 16 June 1920.
96. ODT, 23 June 1920. Chinese were the competitors in Dunedin but exclusion was also aimed at Hindus.
97. A search through the Auckland City Council minutes did not reveal any references or regulations concerning hawking.
in fruit and vegetable retailing.

Following the First World War, a number of regulations were introduced to standardise fruit hawking. The Wellington city sanitary inspector, Mr. Doyle, 'indulged in some very straight talk with the Hindus'. He stressed that they were to maintain a 'decent personal appearance, make suitable arrangements for the storage of fruit', as he 'wouldn't tolerate storage in living rooms'. Fruit vendors were compelled to maintain stores for their fruit and three such ones were in Tory Street, Sage's Lane, and Taranaki Street, all of which were areas of Gujarati residence. The stores were carefully inspected as no rotten fruit, garbage or 'anything attracting flies' was allowed. The regulation read as follows,

Every applicant for a hawker's licence shall satisfy the Inspector as to character, and also furnish a recommendation from the Police that he shall also satisfy the Inspector that he has suitable arrangements made for the storage of his goods.

Another stipulation was the prohibition of 'trafficking in stands', that is they were not transferable. In response to alleged complaints about the use of dirty rags to polish fruit, Mr. Doyle stressed the use of clean cloths. A further requirement was that the carts display the owner's name on the front for the 'protection of the public'.

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99. Ibid.
100. WCC minutes, 26 August 1918.
101. NZH, 9 July 1921.
A further step in the hawking ladder was the acquisition of a horse and cart which enabled the hawker to travel about the outer suburbs and countryside. After Chhiba Ramji arrived in New Zealand in 1919 he did this around the Hauraki Plains until upon the advice of his doctor, he moved to the more suitable climate of Auckland.102

The ideal was to lease or own a permanent fruit and vegetable shop. It is difficult to ascertain how many Indians achieved this in the years before 1921. A survey of trades in Cleaves' Auckland Provincial Directory and Wises' New Zealand Directory, revealed only six Gujarati greengrocers in this period. One of these was H.B. Patel who ran such a business in Rotorua in 1919 before moving to New North Road in Auckland.103 Informants recalled that in spite of opposition104 fruit shops were being run at Herne Bay as early as 1912.105 Other businesses included 'N. Dahya', founded by Naranji Dahya, a Kanbi of Bhuvasan, at Auckland,106 one at 63 Victoria Road, Devonport, owned by Natha Govind


103. Cleaves' Auckland Directory and Wises' New Zealand Directory. / WNZD/ It was voluntary for a resident, tradesperson or businessperson to be listed in these directories. It should therefore be remembered that such evidence is selective. In particular in the years before 1921 few Indians advertised in them. WNZD were consulted, 1916-1948 at selected yearly intervals.

104. See p. 283.

105. Int, Govind Rama, Christchurch, November 1977, about his uncle.

106. Int, his grand-daughter, Gulabben Patel, Baben, F.T. 4. She was on holiday from Auckland.
Patel and Bhana Dahia; and another at 9 Broadway, Newmarket under B. Budhia. It appears from these examples that the shops were located out of Central Auckland in the nearby boroughs. Further opportunities were available in developing towns such as Rotorua, Wanganui, Hamilton and Taumarunui. Keshav Vallabhb, now retired at Bhulafalia in Matwad, recalled such a business in Rotorua. He believed it had developed, a 'good reputation', particularly as it supplied fruit and vegetables to hotels and to the Rotorua hospital. This business was 'David & Co.', a business originally founded by Europeans but later sold to Keshav's cousin. In turn, as his three brothers and Keshav himself settled in New Zealand, they managed the various branches at Wanganui, Hawera, Stratford and Rotorua. This business employed a number of Gujaratis, with the founders sponsoring relatives and village-mates to New Zealand. One such example was Ranchhod Pancha of Dhallafalia, Karadi, who worked at the Rotorua branch from 1925-31. It was typical that once a worker was able to establish his own business or become a partner he remained in that job. Keshav had moved among various occupations after he arrived at Auckland in

107. WNZD, 1919.
109. Ints, Keshav Vallabh.
110. WNZD, 1921 lists a David and Co (B), with branches at Wanganui and Stratford. B. David was resident at Hawera.
111. Int, Parbhu Pancha, Dhallafalia, Karadi, F.T.2, elder brother of Ranchhod.
1918, but once he became the manager of the Rotorua branch he remained there for most of the remainder of his stay in New Zealand. He remembers that for fifteen years he would travel by train to Auckland from Rotorua every two or three days to purchase fruit and vegetables, returning on the same day.

Another example was Kanji Kuvel, a founder of the Auckland Indian Association who ran the business 'K. & K. & Co'. Later he sponsored two immigrants from Gujarat, Nana Bhana and Chhiba Vallabh, to work for him. After a period of time they were made partners. 112

Apart from hawking and selling fruit and vegetables, a smaller number of Gujaratis were in the drapery trade. The 1916 census revealed only six Indians in employment associated with textile fabrics, dress and fibrous materials. By 1921 the number had risen to fifteen. 113 A number of these would have been tailors. These numbers were hardly the threat perceived by the Returned Soldiers Association at the Auckland Provincial Conference 114 in June 1920 or by the Grocers' Assistants' Union in the same month. 115

The results of the censuses suggest that the percentage of Indians involved in agricultural and pastoral pursuits

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112. He possibly was the Kangi Kadl, fruiterer, at Melvern Terrace, Auckland, listed in the WNZD, 1919-20.
113. See Census, NZ, 1916-21, 'Race Aliens - Occupations'.
114. NZH, 28 June 1920.
115. NZH, 6 June 1920.
declined from 32 in 1916 to 16.5 in 1921. Further consideration, however, is the separate category of bush-felling and scrubcutting in the latter census which may previously have been included under agriculture. This accounted for four per cent of Indian occupations. Similarly the rise of approximately six per cent classified under 'general labour and construction work' in 1921 is probably due to a shift of classification from 1916. Nevertheless, taking these extra categories into consideration there still is a drop in the number engaged in rural occupations.

As noted above, a large proportion of these would have included Punjabis who generally favoured rural work, in particular flax and scrub-cutting and drain-digging. The numbers of Gujaratis engaged in these pursuits cannot have been very high if McLeod's estimation of approximately 200 Punjabis in New Zealand by 1920 is considered. Since he acknowledges the transitory nature of many of them it is difficult to estimate how many would have been included in the census.

Nevertheless oral and contemporary reports suggest that Gujaratis were involved in these occupations. C.F. Andrews in a letter dated October 1915 to Rabindranath Tagore wrote of Gujaratis engaged in 'wood cutting and brick making and jungle clearing' (the latter presumably meaning scrub-

116. See figure 4.
118. Ibid, pp. 18-19.
cutting). A protest by 'Rohepotoe' in *Quick March* suggested that Indians in the King Country included both 'Ranji Singh' and 'Bombay boys'. When a large party of Hindus arrived at Auckland in April 1920 it was assumed 'they will be fruit hawkers or join bands or workers in country districts'. A number of oral reports also confirmed the Gujarati presence in the King Country as early as 1912. Scrub-cutting, and labouring were pursued by many of the pioneers at Frankton, Waikato and Taupiri. An informant in Christchurch also claimed that his father and other early migrants to Canterbury cut scrub and drained swamps there. The pattern appears to have been that scrub-cutting, along with tree-felling, ditch-digging and swamp clearance, were jobs favoured either initially or after the immigrant, having first attempted fruit hawking, found it unremunerative. These rural occupations were

120. *QM*, 11 October 1920.
122. eg. Rama Vallabh around 1912; Manga Nathoo (ints, son Parbhubhai); Ravji Hira; Budhia Gopal (ints, son Chhaganbhai, Karadi, F.T. 9, he was on holiday from Auckland). The Census, NZ, 1916, does not give separate figures for scrub-cutting and bushfelling but in 1921 16 Indians were recorded in this occupation. 10 were working in bush sawmilling.
124. In 1921 31 Indians were involved in land drainage. Hari Jagu claimed his father did swamp clearing.
therefore preferred during the early years when Gujaratis were most mobile.

According to one informant, part of the attraction of scrub-cutting was the relatively high wage paid. He recalled earning thirty shillings a week in the King Country in 1916.\textsuperscript{125} C.F. Andrews was told by the Gujaratis he met in 1915 that they received nine shillings a day or roughly 200 rupees a month.\textsuperscript{126}

A similar occupation which some Gujaratis followed was flax-cutting and working in flax mills such as the one at Foxton.\textsuperscript{127} The Auckland branch of the Returned Soldiers Association reported that large numbers of Hindus were members of the Flax Workers' Union.\textsuperscript{128} Such claims may have been exaggerated but it was more probable that Census numbers were under-estimated, as in 1921 only five Indians were recorded as engaged in flaxmilling and two as working in rope, cord and twine. There was no equivalent category in the 1916 census.

Farm labouring, while including the above work, also encompassed milking and other jobs. The 1916 census noted 24 Indians engaged in pastoral pursuits, while by 1921 there were 26 involved in sheepfarming, 36 in dairying and 27 in general farming. The 23 recorded under the class-

\textsuperscript{125} Int, Ravji Hira.

\textsuperscript{126} C.F. Andrews, quoted in Broomfield, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{127} Int, Ranchhod Rama, Wellington, 23 November 1977. Prof. McLeod has noted that no Punjabis worked at Foxton, but mostly on or near the Hauraki Plains.

\textsuperscript{128} NZH, 26 May 1920.
ification of agriculture in 1916, may have been involved in actual farm work, bushfelling, scrub-cutting or any rural activity. This makes a precise comparison with the 1921 census difficult, when the 114 Indian fullblooded males classified under the category of agriculture and pastoral, included 3 working in cropping, 25 in sheep, 36 in dairy, 26 in mixed farming, 4 in market gardening, and 16 in bush-felling and scrub-cutting. Four were indefinite. In addition classified under forestry were 8 in bush saw-milling and one in kauri gum gathering.

There is some oral testimony concerning farming amongst the Gujarati pioneers in New Zealand. Prior to the settlement of Gujaratis at Pukekohe as self-employed market gardeners, as early as 1911 some Gujaratis did attempt labouring there. 129 After arriving at Auckland in 1919, from Astagam Parsotbhai Naranbhai worked at Pukekohe but finding it unremunerative returned to Auckland to work in hotels. He and his son did, however, return there and eventually developed a successful market garden. 130 Another informant remembered his father describing how he lived in a hut at Pukekohe but did not earn enough money to buy land there. 131 In other parts of the country, however, wages could be more attractive. For example, when Ranchhod Pancha worked on a farm at Paeroa he earned twelve shillings a day

129. Ints, Hari Jagu about his father.
in 1923.\textsuperscript{132} He recalled that certain farmers would employ groups of Gujaratis for labouring and dairying work. Even the agricultural and labouring jobs which some Gujaratis accepted aroused hostility. As in similar periods of economic recession the 'foreigners' were perceived to be competing for jobs that contemporaries held should be reserved for citizens of that country.\textsuperscript{133}

Considerable opposition was expressed over the employment of five Indian workers by the Public Works Department on a contract for the construction of the Evans Pass Road near Christchurch.\textsuperscript{134} These men, who probably were all Gujaratis, had previously been working on railway construction in the North Island. The other workers struck accusing the Indians of working for below average rates when in fact their paysheets showed that on their last contract they had earned in excess of the average rate which was thirteen shillings a day.\textsuperscript{135} This rate had since increased to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{132} Int, Ranchhod Pacha, Dhallafalia, Karadi, F.T.2; now retired there.
  \item \textsuperscript{133} See p. 608 ff - discussion of the relationship between discrimination and economic conditions.
  \item \textsuperscript{134} \textit{The Press} (Christchurch), 3 July 1920, p.8.
  \item \textsuperscript{135} Accusations of Indians working at below award wages evoked protest from Indians, e.g., I + O 222, 1921, L/E/7/1192, "The Hindu Manifesto", signed by Indar Singh, Purihar, Tiparchand, Gangu, Parema, and Hukam Singh, stated that it was 'incorrect that the average Hindu bushcutter works on less than the statutory or white man's standard wage.' This 'manifesto' was sent to Polak of the Indian Overseas' Association, who forwarded a copy to Montagu, India Office. (I.O.L.) In New South Wales Indian farm workers were alleged to have depressed wages and contaminated milk.
\end{itemize}
fourteen shillings and eight pence.

In the Wairarapa similar protests were made, particularly by the local branch of the Returned Soldiers Association, over thirty-eight Indian 'coolies' hired by the Public Works Department to lay down a road on Manawa Station near Tinui and Masterton. 136 These men had been divided into two gangs, one reputed to be composed of 'Bombay coolies', and the other, 'Madresses'. According to Gordon Coates, the Minister of Public Works, in reply to enquiries by A.D. McLeod, the member from Wairarapa, Indians had been employed because of the urgency of the work and the lack of tenders. The Maoriland Worker reported that such gangs would in future be engaged on road construction in the 'far back-blocks' as it was almost impossible to obtain white labour. A reassuring note was added to the effect that, the Indians under question were on the same wages as the white men. 137.

Gujaratis also found employment in brickyards, frequently in conjunction with scrub-cutting and other labouring work. The evidence suggests that amongst Indians only Gujaratis undertook brick-making. 138 While there was no separate classification at the 1916 census, 139 by 1921


137. MW, 13 October 1920.

138. Personal communication with W.H. McLeod. Punjabis, did not, to his knowledge, work in brickyards.

139. Census, NZ, 1916, pt. X 'Race Aliens'. 9 Indians were working in metals and other minerals which possibly may have included working with bricks.
there were 42 engaged in 'brick, tile, drainpipes, fire, clay and potteries'. C.F. Andrews found a group of Indians at Taumarunui, working in the brickyards, 'all of them Gujaratis'.\footnote{140} The 1926 list of the Country Section of the New Zealand Indian Central Association listed nine men, all of whom arrived in New Zealand prior to 1920 and were living at these same brickyards.\footnote{141} All Koli by caste, in Gujarat these men had lived within close proximity. Daji Govind and Ravla Nanji both came from Avdafalia in Matwad. Lala Daya and Soma Pakir belonged to the same village but in Bhulafalia. Gosai Bhula was from Kothamdi, Bhana Hari was from Pethan, and Nana Lakho was from Machhad. Parsutam Bijla\footnote{142} and Sukha Gosai came respectively from Patelfalia and Swarajfalia of Karadi. This information was derived from Rama Ranchhod, who sailed to New Zealand from Machhad around 1914 and joined the above group. He also mentioned a fellow villager, Govind Kaya, as working with these men at Taumarunui. The other main brickworks which employed Gujaratis were situated in Wellington. Lallu Morar recalled seven Gujaratis working at three of Murphy's brickyards in 1920. Two which manufactured pipes as well were situated in the city, one at Taranaki Street and one at Miramar. The third was in the Hutt Valley.\footnote{143} Lallu

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\footnote{140. C.F. Andrews, quoted in Broomfield, p.72.}

\footnote{141. NZICA, Country Section, members 1926, from ints, J.K. Natali and Rama Ranchhod now retired, Machhad, F.T.2. See also p. 52, fn.f.}

\footnote{142. Also known as Pasottam Brijla, ASL.}

\footnote{143. Int, Lalloo Morar, Ranchhod Rama, Ravji Hira.}
Kika recalled that when he was employed by Murphy's he earned approximately one pound a week. 144

Another occupation that was to assume considerable importance with Gujaratis in the twenties and thirties was bottle-collecting. 145 Before 1920 a few began to enter this trade. Kesha Daji, one of the first Gujaratis to arrive in New Zealand in 1905, collected beer bottles from which he reputedly made 'quite a bit of money'. 146 A number of the Gujaratis who settled in Auckland and Wellington around 1910-1912 combined bottle collecting with fruit hawking, labouring or working in the brickyards. 147 Separate figures are not available for this pursuit from the 1916 census but in 1921 thirty Indians were classified as engaged in the collecting of metal and old bottles. 148 A report in the Evening Post stated that the Indians in Wellington in the Tory - Haining Street area earned their living almost exclusively by bottle collecting or fruit vending, or both,

Literally thousands of bottles are stacked at the back of their premises and bottles of all descriptions. 149

144. Int, Lallu Kika.

145. Professor McLeod found that Punjabis were not attracted to this occupation.

146. Int, Amrut Morar.

147. e.g. Dahya Bawa (int, son, Jivan, now retired at Pardi), F.T.8. father of Ranchhod Rama, Wellington, father of Ganda Nager (int, his nephew, Lalloo Morar), int, Ramanbhai Vallabh concerning his grandfather, Pukekohe, 1977.

148. Census, NZ, 1921 'Race Aliens'.

The bottle collectors sold their supplies of mainly beer and whisky bottles every week or two. The novice to the trade began gathering with a sack and after a few weeks was able to purchase a hand-barrow. The next step was the acquisition of a small cart and horse, a pattern similar to that in fruit-vending. One such collector was Ismail Bhikhoo who arrived at Auckland in 1911.\textsuperscript{150} His entry into the trade was made by assisting an 'old chap' to lift crates. Typical of the desire to be self-employed, Ismail Bhikhoo acquired two horses with which he hawked goods around the countryside. He left New Zealand during the war and upon returning opened a general store at Tuakau. Another bottle-collector in Auckland around 1910 similarly invested in the fruit business as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{151} A report in the \textit{Evening Post} noted the move from bottle-collecting to fruit retailing among Indians,

\begin{quote}
if he doesn't like the game and has ambitions he invests in the fruit trade, securing a 'stand', and later possibly a shop in the city. They are frugal and saving.\textsuperscript{152}
\end{quote}

A few, however, were able to establish successful bottle businesses which lasted through the twenties.\textsuperscript{153}

The third-largest sector in which Indians, and particularly Gujaratis, were employed in the early twentieth

\textsuperscript{150} Int, members of the Bhikoo family.  
\textsuperscript{151} Int, Mrs. Ranchhod, Pukekohe, 17 September 1977, concerning her grandfather.  
\textsuperscript{152} EP, 15 December 1920.  
\textsuperscript{153} Int, Ranchhod Rama, Wellington, about his father.
century was in hotel and domestic work. In 1916 12 were recorded in the census as supplying board and lodging, and 8 were employed in domestic service and attendance. This was a total of 20 or 12.5 per cent. By 1921 there were 4 Indians working in private domestic service, 42 in licensed hotels and accommodation houses, 21 in private hotels and boarding houses, 2 catering in restaurants and tea rooms, and 7 working in bath houses. This was a total of 76 Indians employed in hotel and domestic service which was almost the same proportion as in 1916. Informants have recalled that around 1920 a number of Gujaratis found such employment, usually as dishwashers and kitchenhands in hotels or in domestic service, either for private individuals or in boarding houses. Hari Parak was such a 'house-boy' at Devonport in 1918. J.K. Natali who had been a clerk in Gujarat, worked as a kitchenman in a private boarding house earning 25 shillings a week, when he first arrived in New Zealand:

"office jobs for a coloured man at that time /1920/ were out of the question so I took a job as a kitchenman...Washing pots and pans, peeling potatoes and scrubbing floors was a bit hard and a "come down" from an office job I had been used to, but I had no other choice. After a week on the job the landlady asked me to scrub the stairs. Not having done this sort of work in my life I took the bucket of water to the top of the steps and poured it down! Well, I got the sack on the spot! The next job I secured was in the Empire Hotel at Rotorua as kitchenman-porter at 35 shillings per week. I stuck to this job for

154. Prof. McLeod confirmed that few Punjabis entered this work.

155. Int, his grandson Magan Ranchhod, Pukekohe.
for two years. 156

There are a number of reasons why such employment appealed. The pay was reasonably reliable and attractive. The work would have appealed to immigrants, such as J.K. Natali, a Dhobhi by caste, who had few contacts in a strange land. The hotel industry generally had a high turnover of staff, hence casual work was readily available. There was a considerable managerial and occupational network amongst the hotels which enabled the mobile worker to keep in fairly constant employment. For example after Parsot Naran left Pukekohe in 1919 he was employed at the Glen Elg hotel and the Mon Desir in Auckland. 157 This occupation generally only appealed to the Gujaratis for a few years. According to informants, 'service' (particularly domestic service) was a burden borne only out of necessity before entering into new enterprises.

The above represent the main occupations in which Gujaratis were employed. In addition to rural labouring, a few Gujaratis were employed in the cities, both outdoors and at factory work. From 1918 to 1919 Keshav Vallabh worked for fifteen months in a 'lolly' factory in Wellington before taking over a fruit business in Rotorua. 158 Another informant was employed in similar work in Wellington around 1920 before shifting to Christchurch where he worked for

158. Int, Keshav Vallabh.
fourteen years in a jam factory. 159 It was not, however, until the post-war years that large factories opened in New Zealand. As noted above Gujaratis worked amongst their own people or for themselves, in preference to employment even in smaller factories or with tradesmen.

During this early period there were very few Gujaratis employed at white-collar jobs. The lack of an English education amongst most of them accounted for this. 160 One exception, however, was the founder of the Auckland Indian Association, Chhotu Jivan. 161 Initially he worked in a clerical or managerial position for a shipping company on the Auckland wharf. According to an informant, Chhotu faced opposition from the Europeans who refused to work in a position subordinate to him and threatened to go on strike. Rather than attract undue attention he resigned. This illustrates how opposition to Indians was not just confined to areas in which there was economic competition. The above protests presumably came from men who were not competing for Chhotu's position but instead resented a 'black boss'. Chhotu, did however, continue in clerical work in a less conspicuous position in a jeweller's shop.

The other Gujarati with an English education who came to New Zealand at the close of this period was Manilal. Born in Baroda in 1881, he became renowned as a lawyer and spokesperson for Indians in Mauritius during the years 1907

159. Int, Govind Bhana.

160. See p. 265 ff.

to 1911.\textsuperscript{162} From 1912 to 1920 he and Jehi Behn, his wife, worked amongst the Indians in Fiji until the couple were prohibited access to most parts of the colony due to the prominent roles they played in the sugar workers' strike of 1920.\textsuperscript{163} On April 1920 the Manilals and their two children arrived at Auckland on the \textit{Atua}.\textsuperscript{164} Manilal applied to be admitted to the Bar in New Zealand but the New Zealand Law Society rejected his application. His case had been referred to Fiji from where a reply was issued stating that Manilal was not a fit person to be enrolled.\textsuperscript{165} Since he and his family could not legally remain in New Zealand they sailed on to Australia. After 'eight months of wandering'\textsuperscript{166} the Manilals returned to India.

Two main patterns emerge from the foregoing discussion of occupations. First, there was initially amongst the Gujarati migrants high occupational mobility. Information derived from interviews verified this. One case concerns

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{164} ASL. Noted in \textit{NZH} 21 April 1920. \textit{MW}, 19 May 1920, p.20.
\item \textsuperscript{165} \textit{New Zealand Law Reports}, vol.2, July 8-11, 1921. \textit{NZH}, 27 November 1920, 9 July 1921, 11 July 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{166} Tinker, \textit{op cit}, p. 240.
\end{enumerate}
Ravjibhai Hira who arrived at Auckland from Kardipore in 1914. For two years he hawked fruit from a basket before entering the more demanding but lucrative field of scrub-cutting and milking. After World War I he decided to try his luck in Wellington, where he briefly collected bottles. Again he resumed fruit-hawking but this time with a wheelbarrow. After 1920 he was able to find regular employment at Murphy's brickyard in Hutt Valley until he entered the fruit business, working for other Gujaratis and then finally investing in his own shop. Rama Vallabh's story follows a similar pattern. From the village of Pardi-Sarpore, he arrived in 1909. He initially tried cutting scrub around Auckland before moving to Wellington where he was employed in a mill that made lamp-posts. His venture into the fruit business began with hawking, until he bought a fruit shop in partnership with his brothers. Dayalbhai, one of these brothers, had arrived in 1918 and tried labouring, gardening and working in a honey factory before the fruit venture. Indeed, almost all of the occupational histories of the early migrants follow this pattern of employment in a variety of labouring, hawking or 'collecting' jobs for short periods of time, frequently taking them to various parts of the country.

Factors influencing such mobility were the attraction of employment in certain places, either because of financial

167. Int, Ravji Hira.
168. Int, Rama Vallabh.
169. Int, Dayal Vallabh.
rewards, or because fellow-Gujaratis were already there. For the newcomer it was virtually essential to work in a job with other members of the ethnic group, not only for practical reasons but to combat loneliness and to help them learn the new language and culture. It has been noted that most migrants, except the very early ones, did have a contact upon arrival. As noted below, contemporary observers had also noted that Indians preferred to move about in groups or gangs, particularly in rural areas. The seasonal nature of this work led naturally to mobility. 170

A further factor influencing mobility was the reception by the local community, in terms of job and accommodation availability. It should be noted, that even when facing considerable hostility, as in rural work (such as the controversy over the Evans Pass or the gang at Manawa Station) or in hawking and retailing (as when the Wellington City Council refused to grant licences to Hindus), the Indians were not deterred from persevering in these occupations. Many of the later successful fruit and vegetable retailers had to face widespread opposition in their early days, but they did not shift to a less conspicuous trade.

Nevertheless, Indians were effectively barred from certain rural areas and suburbs in towns and cities. An incident at Carterton in the Wairarapa serves to illustrate

170. IA 13/63/47, "Report by Right Honourable V.S. Srinivasa Sastri P.C. Regarding his Deputation to Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and Canada", Simla, 1923. He noted that casual labour during the economic depression was a precarious source of livelihood.
this. 171 This involved a 'party of eight Hindus' who after scrub-cutting at Whareama arrived at Masterton where they were unable to secure accommodation. The report in the New Zealand Herald suggested that this was 'probably owing to an objection there of housing them'. They then moved on to Carterton whey were able to rent a small cottage in the High Street. The result was a minor fracas when 'seventy or eighty whites marched up to the cottage and demanded that the Asiatics should move on. They threatened that if they did not do this of their own free will they would be forcibly ejected from the town' Two policemen arrived upon the scene and reminded the Hindus of their rights, offering them protection should they decide to stay in Carterton. It appears that the Hindus did not wish to face any trouble and after conferring with one another they decided to return to Masterton. 172 The police escorted them to the train and according to the reporter, the evicted men slept in a park that night before splitting into smaller parties, some of which travelled north and others south. In smaller numbers, they would not have been so 'visible' and presumably be perceived as less of a threat to the local populace. The incident at Carterton had occurred a week after a local meeting of the Returned Soldiers Association at Masterton where 'some very straight talk was indulged in against the Hindu menace'. 173 Their main grievance was a fear of econ-

171. NZH, 9 July 1920.
172. Ibid.
173. Ibid.
omic competition, as Indians were being employed on local stations. While the locals feared they were earning below the average rate, as noted above, this was not always true and it seems clear that the hostility was more than economically induced.

A second occupational pattern of the first generation of Gujaratis in New Zealand was a preference for self-employment. Although the 1916 and 1921 censuses both indicate that a majority of fullblooded male Indians were employed as wage earners (62 per cent in 1916 and 57.99 per cent in 1921), a considerably higher proportion than the New Zealand adult male population were working on their 'own account'. For the latter the percentage was approximately 16 per cent at both censuses while amongst Indians it was 31.37 per cent in 1916 and 32.68 per cent in 1921. The proportion of Indians who were employers was approximately three quarters less than that of the general male population. The smaller numbers of Indians employers would be expected in a recently-arrived community which had little capital. In 1916 there were slightly smaller proportions of Indians than the New Zealand population entered as 'relatives assisting' while in 1921 there were slightly more. This category was defined as a relative working for no wages so it would have excluded the large number of Indians who were employed by relatives but did receive remuneration. No Indians were recorded as unemployed in 1916 but by 1921 a total of 23 or 4 per cent of male fullblooded Indians were out of work. There was rising unemployment following World War I, as indicated by the rise in the associated percen-
tages in the general population of adult males unemployed.

The high numbers of Gujaratis and Indians employed as hawkers and bottle-collectors accounts for those who were working on their own account. As noted above, however, even those Gujaratis working for wages aimed at self-employment. Why was there this attraction for jobs which in comparison with most wage-earning, frequently involved harder work, had lower status, aroused hostility from the local people, and had no fixed income? There were several factors accounting for this. As noted on page 100, there is a typical 'Gujarati ethos', the ideal of a merchant or entrepreneur which Harald Tambs-Lyche described as a 'petit-bourgeois mentality', with an emphasis on saving and property accumulation and high values placed on wealth and business success. 174 Writing in 1856, Forbes had made similar, if very condescending observations.

There is nothing more adverse to the prosperity of the Hindus, than this unfortunate feeling of theirs in regard to money and expenditure. With them a mercantile man has "abroo" (honour), he is a respectable man, nay a great man - "a muhajin" - by which they merely mean, that he is wealthy, though he may be, indeed he too frequently

is selfish, meanness itself.\textsuperscript{175}

J.K. Natali, one of several Gujaratis in New Zealand who epitomised the ideal expressed by Tambs-Lyche, expressed this in a speech made at Waimiha in 1946, 'with ambition, incentive, thriftiness and by giving service to the public everyone has an opportunity to make a success of life in this wonderful country.'\textsuperscript{176} While the 'Gujarati ethos' applied directly to the trading \textit{varnas} of Gujarat, the same ideals were applicable to the agricultural castes (the Patidars, Kanbis and Kolis). Prasad has noted conservatism in the occupational choices of Gujaratis in Fiji which may be referred to as a 'sheep mentality'.\textsuperscript{177} This does not necessarily mean that the migrants pursued exactly the same jobs (particularly farming) as in Gujarat, but that in Fiji, New Zealand, Africa and elsewhere, Gujaratis have worked within a fixed range of alternatives, especially in hawking and collecting. It is unlikely that Kanbis followed such pursuits in Gujarat although some Kanbis and Kachhias hawked their own and others' produce there. Prasad has noted somewhat more versatility amongst Kolis with regard to occupations both in India and abroad.\textsuperscript{178}

At a more practical level hawking and collecting appealed to the new immigrant because of the small amount of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{175} Forbes, \textit{Ras Mala}, p. 246. (1856).
\item \textsuperscript{176} news. cutting, Natali's scrapbook.
\item \textsuperscript{177} Prasad, p. 276, found that this term was used by Gujaratis in Fiji referring to when they imitated the occupations of members of their immediate circle.
\item \textsuperscript{178} \textit{Ibid}, p. 148.
\end{itemize}
capital and equipment required. Only a minimum of English was necessary, as the public dealt directly with the product and paid in cash. A self-employed worker knew that the harder he worked, the more benefits he could reap. There was 'unlimited overtime' and so it was possible to accumulate some financial gain.

The expansion of this business to a shop or larger bottle-yard offered additional advantages. Amongst members of the host society the shop owner had considerably more status than the hawker or labourer.\(^{179}\) Owning a shop necessitated more capital and knowledge of the dominant language and culture than did hawking. Of even more significance was the status conferred by the Gujarati community on the shop owner. As a shop owner the Gujarati could act as a sponsor and benefactor towards his family and village mates. Prasad noted in Fiji that

> through the shop an individual not only saw the materialization of his desire to accumulate wealth, but he also used it as the channel to discharge his obligation to a larger scale of people, primarily by providing shelter through which his kinfolk could come to Fiji.\(^{180}\)

The same observations can be applied to Gujarati settlement in New Zealand and, as we have already seen, there were several examples of this, such as 'David and Co'.\(^{181}\) In the post-1920 years, with the arrival of families, the Indian greengrocery would serve as a unit to incorporate kin in

\(^{179}\) Int, Parbhbhai Nathoo, who gave this as one reason why it was desirable to own a shop.

\(^{180}\) Prasad, pp. 242-3.

\(^{181}\) See pp. 284, 414.
work and residence. It can be suggested that Gujarati culture was easier to maintain with groups of the same background working and living together in an environment in which the power was controlled by Gujaratis. Certainly it facilitated language retention. Again, at a practical level employing relatives and friends was convenient. They could be paid at a rate lower than non-Indian and union labour, although their food and board had to be provided. Because they frequently had been sponsored by their employer they had a debt to repay, not only in money but also in terms of deference. Labour was more reliable and if the owner offered the prospect of an eventual partnership, then there would have been more incentive for diligence. Moreover, when the owner was visiting Gujarat he could be assured that his business was in reliable hands.

During this early period there was virtually no investment in New Zealand as the Gujarati settlers had insufficient capital. Saving certainly was encouraged and pursued but remittances of money home and visits there took up the bulk of savings.\(^{182}\) The repayment of debts accumulated to finance the trip to New Zealand was a priority. Following this, investment was likely to be in a small business such

\(^{182}\) See p. 328 Confirmed by many informants of all castes. Grimes, p. 79 noted that the first Indians in New Zealand wanted to accumulate capital for a higher standard of living in India at a later date but did not make their fortune in New Zealand. The money was spent on trips to and from India. He noted, p. 39, that very few houses were bought by Indians before 1939. This is not completely correct. See pp. 330-5.
as a fruit stand rather than in land or housing. Narsai Ravji was of the opinion that the first generation was over-cautious with new ventures or investments. 'Like to gradually save money'. This naturally reinforced conservatism in occupations. European contemporaries did, however, note with apprehension that Indians had begun to either buy or lease land. At the 1920 Auckland Provincial Conference of the Returned Soldiers Association, E.F. Andrews expressed concern that at Te Awamutu, Hindus had taken some of the finest land available. As a result a returned serviceman land agent refused to sell further land to a Hindu who planned to establish a market garden. By 1921 the farm which was a 'cause of jealousy in Te Awamutu, had been offered for sale.'

Almost all the Gujaratis I spoke to have emphasised thrift as part of their character. An informant, here as a young boy in the twenties, boasted of his ability to save even when earning five shillings a week. A willingness to abstain from luxuries and a pride in doing so was stressed. Gujaratis tried to repay debts as quickly as possible and not to contract them out of their community.

183. See p. 276.
184. Int, Narsai Ravji.
185. NZH, 28 June 1920. Prof. McLeod informed me that this farm was owned by Punjabis.
186. I + O 222, 1921, L/E/7/1192, "The Hindu Manifesto", pointed out that land acquired by Indians in New Zealand was infinitesimal and 'doesn't affect the country in any way.'
McLeod's report in Parliament of an interview in the Wairarapa Age noted that the Indians in that district had 'contracted no bad debts'. An informant of the first generation expressed this clearly. 'Indians always save. They never overspend. They never have mortgages or debts as Europeans do.' It may have been difficult for the foreigner in New Zealand to secure credit and if a Gujarati were to borrow from a fellow-countryman he would probably pay little or no interest on the loan.

(f) Settlement patterns.

The transient life style typical of the Gujarati settlers was reflected in their choice of accommodation. This was a temporary arrangement to serve the basic needs of a place in which to eat and sleep. C.F. Andrews was invited to visit the group of Gujaratis working at Taumarunui who lived in a small shed,

We all sat on the ground and there was not an inch of spare room in the hut: we were all packed like sardines in a tin, with a fire in one corner and a room full of smoke.

These men slept on the ground. The group of Gujaratis employed at Mananwa Station in the Wairarapa were reported

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188. NZPD, 1920, vol. 188, p. 351.

189. Int, Laloo Morar.

190. Rashmi Desai, "The Social Organisation of Indian Migrant Labour in the United Kingdom with Special Reference to the Midlands", unpub. M.A. thesis in Anthropology. London University, 1959, p. 112, found amongst Gujaratis in Birmingham, that no interest on loans was asked by fellow-Gujaratis and that more than a casual relationship must exist between the partners, such as kin.

to be living in 'huts made of manuka scrub with manuka wind
breakers' and were said to be 'very hygienic in habits'. 192

Although there did not develop an 'Asian ghetto' or
quarter in New Zealand cities there were, in the first half
of the twentieth century, areas and streets in which
Gujaratis and Chinese tended to live. Factors influencing
this were occupations, cheap rentals, a shortage of housing
after the war, and discrimination from residents in certain
areas. Gujaratis did, however, tend to disperse to the
outer suburbs as they opened fruit and later, dairy busines-

ses.

Almost all informants affirmed that in the cities the
first generation of settlers lived together in rented houses,
in groups of about four to six men. These men could be
either brothers, village friends, or Gujaratis who had met
on the voyage to New Zealand. 193 Economy was an obvious
reason for sharing a house, but of equal importance were
cultural considerations. Living with those who shared a
common language, occupations, diet and background would
obviously have eased the introduction into New Zealand
society and combated loneliness. As my informant said, 'It
suited them to live together'. 194 Depending upon the size
of the house this could result in overcrowding. It certainly

192. NZPD, vol. 188, p. 351.
193. eg, Parbhu Chhiba lived with his brothers.
194. Ibid. Int, Parbhu Chhiba.
was usual to share a room. 195

In Wellington the streets most favoured for settlement by Gujaratis were Tory Place, Tui, Tasman and Taranaki Streets in the Te Aro area.

near the Basin Reserve which had been under water until an earthquake tossed it up, it was a melting pot of Asiatic shops and quarters, narrow wooden houses in which old Chinese smoked opium and cut greasy cards, or thin legged, great-eyed Hindoos carried on their business as small fruiterers ripening bananas under their beds. The Orientals were merely Orientals, and too poor for elaboration; white slatterns had settled down among them, like a convey of gulls on ships waste 196

A report in the Evening Post on 15 December 1920 estimated approximately fifty to sixty Hindus living in around nine houses within the locality of Tory Place, Tory Street, and Frederick Street, and Haining Street. 197 The latter was, however, famous in New Zealand folk-lore as a 'Chinese Street'. 198 This was a central area convenient to the fruit stalls which the Gujaratis operated.

In Auckland also Gujaratis preferred to reside in the inner city streets. The few who stated an address on their entry papers named Quay (1), Grey (5), Wakefield (1), Alexander (6), Vincent (3) and Wellesley (2) streets. 199 The popularity of Grey Street which had many boarding houses,

195. eg, Ravji Hira lived in a house where four men lived in two rooms.


198. Also informed in Int, Laloo Morar; WNZD, 1921 confirms this.

199. ASL.
was confirmed by informants who lived there in the early twentieth century. We have also noted that Dayal Chhiba had a fruit stall on Quay Street, while Gujarati hairdressers ran the business of Kangi Dullabh and Co on Wellesley Street, a shop which acted as a convenient meeting place for some of the community. By the 1921 census a majority of 148 Indians were settled in Auckland City, but there were also 5 recorded in Northcote, 4 in Takapuna, 5 in Devonport, one at Newmarket, 4 at Mt. Eden and 2 at Mt Albert. This illustrates the beginning of the trend towards settlement in the Outer boroughs of Auckland.

As Indians took up residence in the above areas the public developed a fascination with 'Asiatic' facilities and sanitation. During the late nineteenth century, in Wellington, Mr. J. Doyle, the Chief Inspector of Nuisances, began regular inspections of the dwellings and fruit stores of Chinese and 'Assyrian' hawkers. By 1914 Indians were under his jurisdiction when he submitted a report to the Wellington City Council of this 'careful, common-sense

201. See p.198.
202. WNZD, 1919-20; Int, J.K. Natali.
203. Two of these were Natha Govind and Bhana Dahia, 63 Victoria Road WNZD, 1919-21. Madhu Kara also hawked fruit there.
204. B.J. Patel, (WNZD, 1921), and H.B. Patel, (Cleaves' Auckland Directory), 1920; both at 155 New North Road.
205. NZT, 8 May 1894.
system of inspection by civil authorities'. He found the conditions under which fruit hawkers lived as 'menacing the health of all who purchased their fruit'. The inspections he conducted were said to be in a military-like fashion.

Floors and stairs are required to be scrubbed, beds to be made daily, bed linen and blankets to be tolerably clean, cupboards, sinks and lavatories to be in a wholesome condition and windows to be left open during the day. Mr. Doyle described his duties with the somewhat patronising attitude, as,

...rigid demands and yet by using tact and kindly recollection that these members of another race and country need educating up to our standards.

An interest in Asian sanitation intensified in the post-war years at a time when the country was recovering from the horror of the 1918 influenza epidemic and when the filthiness of Auckland was compared to Calcutta. New Zealand was to be 'cleaned up' after the war.

Rama Vallabh who lived in Wellington during this period recalled a Mr. Downie presumably an inspector, and that the 'Police told them how to behave'. Another informant said that these inspections did not cause 'any trouble' and that the Indians were anxious to conform to the necessary standards. According to the Evening Post, Mr. Doyle

207. Ibid.
208. Ibid.
209. Int, Rama Vallabh.
210. Int, Laloo Morar.
was a "respected and popular person". An informant has suggested that there was little concern with housework until the women arrived in New Zealand. There did seem to be considerable concern over the sanitary habits of 'Asiatics', while for example, the conditions under which the solitary Pakeha male lived, did not evoke the same moral reprobation. Quick March recorded the dangers of 'Asiatic filth',

aided to lucrative paths of fruit hawking, bottle-gathering etc by countrymen who are 'established', because they seem to herd together in slumdom, and occasionally are prosecuted for keeping in foul 'bedrooms' the fruit they will vend from street barrows.

However, there were also reports testifying to how clean Indians were. An inspection in 1920 found 'very little fault', 'cleanliness and tidiness of dwellings'. The reporter ruefully attributed this as 'undoubtedly a result of systematic inspection and prosecution where disregard is shown'. Three or four houses in Frederick and Haining Streets were in a shocking state of disrepair which the Hindus claimed was a result of the current shortage of housing.

The Hindu, in some instances, appears to have had to select houses that both Europeans and Chinese have passed over though not in all

212. Int, Ganesh Sukha.
213. See e.g. the Me and Gus, stories by Frank Anthony.
cases. The inhabitants made the point that their dwellings were little worse than some tenanted by Europeans and the reporter noted that the Indian dwellings were as clean as possible under such conditions.

For this early period there is little evidence concerning the interiors of these dwellings. The description in the *Evening Post* suggests that the houses were adorned in a fashion similar to those in Gujarat today.

...the walls are generally adorned with numerous photos of friends, and of prominent compatriots in India. Portraits of His Majesty the King, and the Prince of Wales, are also plentiful.217 Many of the Gujarati homes I visited in England, Gujarat and New Zealand similarly displayed an assortment of photos, calendars, religious 'bazaar' prints and portraits of Indian nationalist leaders, especially Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. In the years prior to 1920 it seems highly probable that these would have included portraits of the royal family, as indicated above.

*(g) Religious observances*

We have noted in Chapter I that formalized religious behaviour, particularly for males, was not a typical feature of the village culture in which the New Zealand Gujaratis originated. It is therefore not surprising that the settlers in New Zealand displayed very little evidence of widespread religious activity. This point will be discussed

216. Ibid.
217. Ibid.
more fully in the following chapters but for present purposes a brief analysis of religion amongst the Gujarati community in pre-1920 New Zealand will follow.\textsuperscript{218}

While most informants agreed that there was very little overt religious activity during the early years in New Zealand, an increasing number from the 1916 census onwards nevertheless identified as Hindus.\textsuperscript{219} In that year 33 per cent of full-blooded Indian males were so returned which increased to 62 per cent by 1921. The increase in the percentage of Hindus was clearly related to the rise in the proportion of Gujaratis amongst the Indian population in the country. To call oneself a Hindu, however, does not necessarily reflect a belief in any of the deities or principles of the many paths of Hinduism. A Hindu can be an atheïst, agnostic or just apathetic with regard to any religion. What the title does reflect is the individual's identity with the culture in which he or she was. For many 'Hindu' is synonymous with 'Indian', notwithstanding the fact that this overlooks the multitude of other religious groups in India. A further difficulty is the question of definition. Some Gujaratis had never been asked to name their 'religion' and when this was done it raised problems of definition within the general meaning of 'Hindu'. At a personal level their beliefs and observances revolved around allegiance to the mata, or to incarnations of Vishnu or Krishna, and to rituals associated with these traditions. It was taken as

\textsuperscript{218} See p.461 ff.

\textsuperscript{219} See Appendix 4.
'natural', with little concept of its relationship with other religions except perhaps Islam. This may partly explain why the pre-1916 censuses have such categories as 'Brahmins', 'Vedatists', 'Zorastrians', and the 1916 census had in addition the curious categories 'Vedos Sanskrit' and twenty-two returned some as 'Vishnu'.

There were also some Indians included in the ambiguous categories such as 'Freethinker', 'Object to state' and 'Unspecified'. This increased from approximately six per cent in 1916 to eleven per cent by 1921.

While this may have reflected uncertainty as to religious affiliation it also indicated a small degree of conscious freedom from formal religious allegiance, or atheism and agnosticism. One Koli informant claimed that his father continued to express a disdain toward 'superstition' and 'religious mumbo-jumbo' that had begun in his village of Karadi. While a complete rejection of traditional belief was uncommon, informants recalled that there was very little overt observance in the early days. The usual reason given is that 'there was no time' as the pioneers were too busy earning a living. One elderly informant, now retired, expressed the opinion that now there is 'time to be religious'.

The mobility of the early migrants made planning for religious activities

220. 'Visnu' obviously means 'Vaisnava', i.e., a Hindu devotee of Vishnu.

221. Int, Ramesh Patel.

difficult while the lack of numbers and a priestly class prevented temple building. There was no need to perform 'rites of passage' because of the age and sex structure of the community. The only exception was a small number of funerals. During this period at least five Gujaratis are known to have died in Auckland as a result of the 1918 influenza epidemic (Kesha Chhiba, Wallabha Bijla, Rama Bhana, Chhiba Dayal and Rangi Parbhu).\(^\text{223}\) In addition, Makan Daya, another Gujarati, a member of the Salvation Army, died of pulmonary tuberculosis.\(^\text{224}\) A seventh death concerned a Gujarati hawker who was declared by the jury to have committed suicide by cutting his throat.\(^\text{225}\) This took place at Grey Street, presumably at his residence, approximately three years after his arrival in New Zealand. I found no references to this suicide from my informants, indicative of the taboo that surrounded such a subject. All these men were buried in the Waikumete Cemetery as there were no facilities for cremation until 1923. While the ideal is and was for a Hindu to be cremated, in fact, in many of the villages of Gujarat this was not invariably practised.

Groups of Gujaratis did, however, regularly meet to participate in readings from the Gita, Maharabharata and

\(^\text{223}\) Death certificates except for Rama Bhana - oral information. The list of Indians who died from influenza was supplied by Linda Bryder.


Ramayana, the three works treasured by most Hindus.\textsuperscript{226} The function of such gatherings was not wholly pious, as the tales could prove very entertaining. Working long hours, the men had little time or inclination for recreational pursuits. In addition the meetings reinforced ethnic identity and served as a focus around which the communities in the various cities and towns were maintained. It is not clear if these religious meetings transgressed caste lines, but judging by later participation in the Indian associations it seems that they would have done so. It was indeed from such meetings that the Indian associations developed. The first of these was the Auckland Indian Association, founded in 1918, by Chhotubhai Jivanji, and Kangi Kevel.\textsuperscript{227} The development of this organisation and those which followed it in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, will be discussed in the following chapter.

As we have noted in a previous chapter, diet is an important component of Gujarati religion. The relative degree of vegetarianism partially reflects the individual's status and the extent of 'Sanskritisation'.\textsuperscript{228} In the process of settlement in an alien culture two related issues were raised. These were the cultural changes in diet due to the shift from one society to another, and changes in the Gujarati diet in New Zealand which resulted from an individual or caste desire for recognition of status change. The

\textsuperscript{226} Int, Ravjibhai Hira, Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA.

\textsuperscript{227} Int, Ganesh Sukha.

\textsuperscript{228} See p. 145.
introduction of extra money and its influence on diet is a further factor.

For the first generation of immigrants there is a paucity of data, amounting to nothing more than a few oral reports. The initial dietary changes began on the voyage to New Zealand. One of the first changes was that men had to do their own cooking. J.K. Natali, who had never cooked in India, expressed this attitude in Thursday.

in India, even today, the women do all the cooking - not the man. It is still a woman's job. If a man cooks there he is called a sissy.229

Once the immigrant had arrived in New Zealand the degree of necessary adaptation largely depended upon accommodation and occupation. For the men working at agricultural labouring it would have proved difficult to subsist on a wholly vegetarian diet, as the supply of fresh vegetables, lentils and spices in certain rural areas presented serious problems. In the cities, however, the Gujaratis employed in the green-grocery trade and sharing a house would have found it easier to maintain a diet similar to that at home. Frequently members of different jatis cohabited so that some compromise may have been necessary in diet. Nevertheless, as in Gujarat and New Zealand today, it is perfectly acceptable for most vegetarians and non-vegetarians to live and cook

229. Thursday, 30 October 1974, p. 61.
together, provided that utensils are not shared.  

For Gujaratis inhabiting country areas cooking was facilitated by communal living. C.F. Andrews was invited to share an evening meal with the Gujaratis he met at Taumarunui. The men informed him that they had kept to a 'strict vegetarian diet' but found it difficult to procure the necessary foodstuffs. Dal (a staple of a vegetarian diet) was unavailable and butter was freely used in place of ghi. Even in the cities it was not easy to adjust to a European diet. J.K. Natali described how the group of men he worked with in a hotel coped with the problem.

When I first came to New Zealand - there were three or four of us - none of us could eat the insipidly cooked vegetables. We lived mainly on bread, butter, jam and tea. Then we asked our boss permission to cook our own vegetables. Permission was allowed and we cooked them with some curry powder. Spices were unheard of and we subsequently had them sent out from India by ship. With them we cooked our own tasty food. We all took turns in preparing the meals and that is how I learnt to cook.

Other Gujaratis who worked and lived with Europeans and Maoris, such as in timber camps, ate the food cooked by

230. Even this precaution, however, is not rigidly maintained. Rashmi Desai, Indian Immigrants in Britain, p. 104, found that there was no stigma attached to non-vegetarian food amongst Gujarati in the United Kingdom. As most of them belonged to the two dominant castes there were no rules of commensality.


232. C.F. Andrews, quoted in Broomfield, p. 72. Split peas, used by the NZ cook in soups, can be substituted for the urad or tuwar dhal, although the result is not as satisfactory.

them, including beef. Some of those employed as scrub-cutters and farmworkers were given rations of mutton and milk by the farmers. One informant said he did not bother to eat 'Indian food' in the early days.

Lala Bava described how with improvisation a Gujarati diet could be followed. Moong beans, dried fish and rice could be obtained from Chinese greengrocers. Later, Indians would import these and other Gujarati commodities. In addition, the new or returned migrant usually carried Indian foodstuffs, a practice still common today. These included betel nut, a necessary ingredient of pan, a delicacy chewed after meals, incense, most spices (as the New Zealand cook was not very adventurous), 'Bombay Duck', lentils and pulses, and perhaps a small quantity of the newly harvested juwar.

The extent to which the early migrants, and indeed Gujaratis today, were and are vegetarians is a question open to varying answers. The relationship with caste is somewhat clearer although there can be divergence between belief and practice. Generally, as in Gujarat, I found the consensus amongst informants that Koli Patels were and are meat eaters, while Leva Kanbis are strict vegetarians. Matia Kanbis, however, have been described as encompassing both extremes. There are two points to consider. First, there has for

234. Int, Parbhu Naran.


236. Int, Parbhu Naran.
some time been a tendency towards stricter observance. It seems probable that earlier in this century most Koli Patels would have eaten meat and eggs if available, but since then (and particularly with the permeation of Gandhian philosophy into the villages) certain individuals have adopted a vegetarian diet or one that permitted only eggs and fish. Matias, similarly, have become more rigid in their attitude towards vegetarianism. Secondly, while Levas have been primarily vegetarian, amongst certain wealthier sections it has become fashionable, particularly for men, to eat meat. There is a certain degree of recognition that this has occurred and continues to do so, although overtly the existence of the practice is denied. It is difficult to document when or how these developments took place and it is quite possible that changes in eating patterns which have appeared in New Zealand may represent practices which were being simultaneously accepted by corresponding groups in Gujarat.

The few cases I have in which dietary details for first-generation Gujaratis in New Zealand were given suggest that out of the seven Kolis reported to me five ate meat, one ate meat other than beef, and one was a vegetarian.\textsuperscript{237} All except the latter drank alcohol and three of them smoked. Amongst Matias there was one first-generation migrant who was reputed to be a 'strict vegetarian', a

\textsuperscript{237} The following data was collected from interviews. As this was personal and sensitive information, no names and therefore few footnotes are given. It was not possible to gain a representative sample and indeed, difficult to establish what the actual dietary practices were and are.
teetotaller, and a non-smoker. At the other extreme was an informant who said he ate anything in New Zealand. One Khatri and all the Harijans who entered the country in this period similarly consumed meat, while later their sons were to find this repulsive when they joined their fathers. J.K. Natali, a Dhobhi, claimed to have been a vegetarian in Gujarat but when he left he shifted to a diet that included meat. This slowly began by tasting eggs, then fish and other meats. A taboo on beef was, however, maintained.

Various and conflicting estimates were given by informants as to the degree of vegetarianism and teetotalism. One Matia claimed that there was a 'fifty-fifty' adherence to both practices. With respect to alcohol consumption, another of the same caste suggested, that during this period Gujaratis abstained, while a Koli recalled that most of the castes in New Zealand drank a little. As noted above, a pattern which has become evident is that a number of second-generation migrants claimed to have been vegetarian while their fathers were not. This applies equally to Levas, suggesting that some of the pioneers ate meat in the New Zealand environment. Two second-generation Gujarati immigrants, a Kachhia and a Kanbi, believed that most of their predecessors were vegetarians, while one of their contemporaries living in Wellington estimated that this applied to only two or three of the early Gujarati community in the city. A frequent justification offered for adopting a meat diet was the colder climate in New Zealand or the advice of a doctor. One elderly informant claimed that he tried to follow these suggestions but could not do so. He
preferred to persevere with a vegetarian diet although he did admit that in the early days it proved difficult.

While meat was and is eaten by the majority of Gujaratis in New Zealand, the taboo on beef eating has remained fairly persistent. New Zealand has an abundance of good quality, reasonably cheap beef and for many years it was generally considered by the New Zealand public, as 'healthy' to consume thick steaks of roast beef. Most Gujaratis, particularly those born in India, would outwardly express a repulsion to such food, but many nevertheless consume beef in the form of minced steak, sausages, pies or beef tea. An elderly informant resigned himself to the situation by saying that 'once you eat meat - that's it', meaning that for him there was very little difference between the taking of the life of a chicken or a steer. An additional justification is that New Zealand cattle are not regarded as really sacred by Indian people. As J.K. Natali expressed it in Thursday:

I was brought up a vegetarian. My family is Hindu and vegetarianism is part of the religion...I started eating meat after being here for a couple of years. I still don't eat beef, I still have the old prejudice that the cow is sacred - Mother Cow as we called her in India. I will eat mince as it doesn't seem like beef to me. And anyway it is made from New Zealand beef, not Indian beef.\(^{238}\)

Various precautions were, however, taken by others in order to avoid all contaminating contact with beef. Some would visit the butcher early in the morning to buy fish or chicken, before the butcher had cut beef with his knife.\(^{239}\)

\(^{238}\) J.K. Natali, \textit{op cit.}

\(^{239}\) Int, Lalbhai Patel, a Kachhia, Auckland, 19 July 1977. He was a prominent leader and lawyer of the Indian community in New Zealand.
Few ate in restaurants, preferring when travelling to eat bread and drink tea. The informant at Otamatea recalled that her mother offered the Indian hawker a plate of beef stew. He accepted and took it back to his caravan but later was observed discreetly throwing it away. He could not appear impolite and refuse but his beliefs forbade him to eat it.

The Muslim diet raised different problems in New Zealand. It was easy to avoid eating pork but it was not so practicable, in the days before home freezing, to conform to halal slaughter when one was a solitary Muslim. In the early days in Christchurch, Mohammed Kara occasionally slaughtered chicken or sheep in his backyard until the city by-laws prevented this. Ismail Bhikhoo, however, was not so concerned as to whether or not his meat had been killed by a Muslim.

(h) Caste patterns

As we have already noted, cultural data, such as that relating to religion and diet, is difficult to obtain for this early period. It is therefore not surprising that information concerning caste is sparse for this era in New Zealand. Caste, a fundamental aspect of Gujarati culture, is a particularly sensitive area of belief and social practice. The few informants who were available to speak on the subject, were influenced to a considerable degree by

241. Int, Suliaman Ismail Kara.
242. Int, members of the Bhikhoo family.
their attitudes of later years.

My research confirmed the findings of McGee,243 Taher,244 Palakshappa245 and Grimes246 that there was no duplication of the Gujarati caste system in New Zealand as it existed in the villages of the migrants. This result comes as no surprise and duplicates research concerning caste amongst Indian communities overseas.

No overseas community has perpetuated caste as a system of hierarchically ranked units operating in the economic and ritual framework.247

One major reason for this was the selectivity of the castes, which emigrated from India and particularly which arrived in New Zealand. The absence of a Brahman caste meant there was no 'model and gauge of ritual conduct', a situation similar to that of the Patidars in East Africa.248 Of equal importance was the fact that ritual power or status could not be validated by economic power or force in the new society. This applied in particular to the Kanbis, many of whom came from families that enjoyed both economic and social status in their villages in Gujarat. In New Zealand they were socially at the bottom of the local ladder while their occupations hardly yielded much power or persuasion. The

245. Palakshappa, chap. 1.
pioneer Gujarati society was, of course, too young at this stage for definite cultural patterns to have developed, but some features would have been present.  

While the Gujaratis of New Zealand were undoubtedly more homogeneous in composition than similar communities in other countries, they did nevertheless originate from different environments. This resulted in different perceptions in the caste system. In particular, Kolis from Kanthabigwad and Kanbis from Bardoli Taluka had different relationships and indeed different local caste compositions. As noted above, very few of the higher or lower castes, such as Anavalas and Dublas, emigrated to New Zealand, nor did many belonging to Artisan castes. There was no overall framework, within which, Kolis and Kanbis could fit in the new country. 

The result was, and is, that the relationship between the two caste groups has been ambivalent. There certainly has been a great deal more mixing in New Zealand than there was conceivably possible in Gujarat and this feature persists today. It is tentatively suggested that this may be because in Gujarat the two castes do not usually reside in the same villages. While they are often found in the same district, there is sufficient space between them for social and ritual distance to be maintained which is not possible in New Zealand. Conversely, there is also sufficient contact and  

249. Few informants are revealed in this section as the issue of caste is a sensitive area.  

knowledge for each group to be aware of the other's standing.

Any such awareness has been maintained in New Zealand, to a certain extent, so that Kanbis still perceive themselves as higher in status than Kolis. Conditioned in early twentieth century Gujarat must be remembered when evaluating caste relationships during the initial settlement in New Zealand. As we have noted, Kolis (particularly those from Navsari Taluka) are an aspiring jati, a trend that became more pronounced with the influence of Gandhi and the independence movement. Hence it is difficult to assess how they would have perceived themselves in relation to Kanbis sixty years ago.

Informants have stated that caste 'did not cross the waters' to New Zealand. When pressed further, a number of the elder informants indicated as their meaning that the caste system as a whole, with connotations of purity and pollution, did not come to New Zealand. There is also a recurrent suggestion that in the early days of settlement Gujaratis were too aware of their different status in relation to Europeans to worry about jati differences. Smaller numbers and a need for Gujarati friendship meant that relationships were frequently cemented between Koli and Kanbi. Firm evidence concerning the acceptance of other castes was not available, but the Khatri, Dhabhi and Darji informants were emphatic that they or their fathers were friendly to all. The Harijans who settled in New Zealand appear to have been similarly accepted, although to what extent is unclear today. Friendships between different jati often began on the voyage to New Zealand and were
continued, so that common residence of cohabitation between separate jatis was continued in New Zealand, particularly in the 'boarding house' environment. It should, however, be remembered that diet would have been a factor inhibiting common residence of cohabitation between vegetarians and non-vegetarians. It can be assumed that men living communally would usually have cooked and eaten together, but the extent to which there was commensality is unclear. Informants suggest that those who worked together in rural areas were more likely to abandon caste restrictions on interdining. I was informed, however, that there were no caste restrictions on any common worship, although little was practised at this stage.

The relationship between caste affiliation early occupations is similarly difficult to assess. It seems unlikely that this would have caused any problems when they were hired by a Pakeha. The few small businesses that Gujaratis started in the earlier part of this century usually included members of the same jati, mainly because partnerships were generally formed between kin groups.

The most fundamental aspect which maintains caste membership, jati, endogamy, is not relevant to this discussion because there were no Gujarati females present. We have noted that most migrants were married or continued to marry in the traditional manner.

(i) Contacts with India

Cultural change was retarded during the early years by three main factors. These were the short period which the Gujaratis had spent in New Zealand, the continuing supply of
migrants from Gujarat, and the contacts maintained with home villages. Related to the least of these three was the question of retirement, as those who did not suffer 'cultural alienation' from their home culture would find it somewhat easier to adjust to retirement in Gujarat. These aspects of contacts and retirement in the villages shall now be considered.

There were three channels through which contact could be maintained with the village. These were correspondence, visits, and news brought by newcomers or those who had visited their villages. Since most immigrants were literate in Gujarati they were able to write frequent letters home. They would either memorise the address in English, or ask another Gujarati or European to write it. As most of their wives were illiterate another member of the family usually wrote on her behalf. Frequently Gujarati news items, pamphlets, and religious literature were also sent out.

An obligation which necessitated regular contacts was the remitting of money to the migrants family. I did not find any evidence of the amounts remitted during this period. Immigration records, however, show that such practice was typical of later periods. It may be assumed from these records and from the general references by informants to remittances that remitting money home was common in earlier days. In fact it was probably more common then, since there were no families in New Zealand and obligations were strong due to the short time that had elapsed since arrival. Initial remittances were to repay costs incurred for migration. More importantly, remittances were to help maintain
wife, parents and family, an obligation which if neglected could cause considerable censure, not only for the emigrant but also for his family. It could be construed that marriage into such a family was undesirable if one of the sons had neglected his duties toward his wife in India. It was thus up to the individual to decide what surplus could be sent to upgrade the family house and increase the family land. This reflected favourably upon his and his family's status. Research does, however, suggest that the first migrants did not begin housebuilding until at least the late twenties.

A second means of contact was through visits to Gujarat. This was typical of the early migrants, although as is the case today, the frequency and length of time spent at home was an individual choice. It seems clear that those men with wives and families in India were more tempted to visit home. Their relative youthfulness was another factor, as visits were necessary if a family was to be established. The members of the New Zealand Indian Central Association who made submissions about re-entry certificates to the Minister of Immigration and the Minister of External Affairs

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251. I did not find any examples of this amongst the Gujarati settlers in NZ, but a similar case involves a young man sent to the USA ten to twelve years ago from the village of Baben, Bardoli Taluka. His family had raised his fare but he did not remit any money home nor call for any of his family to join him. As a result he was seen as a disgrace to the family, who would appear to have considerable need of any financial assistance he might have provided. (Int, F.T. 4).

252. See p. 564.
in 1935 noted this pattern.

'If he253 had a wife he would leave her in India and would make periodic pilgrimages to his country - stay there for three-four years, raise a child or two and work a farm or build a house and then return to New Zealand.'254

The actual details of such visits cannot be precisely documented255 but a search at a register of re-entry certificates from 1911 to 1920 revealed only twenty three such cases for Gujaratis. 256 These men would have departed from New Zealand with the purpose of returning. However, as entry permits were not strictly necessary before 1920 it seems probable that many of the Gujarati departees would have left without bothering about such registration.

Almost all the early Gujarati immigrants for whom data was available made at least one trip back to their home villages. Usually a period of approximately seven to eight years elapsed before sufficient capital had been accumulated in New Zealand to make this possible. Before World War II the time spent out of New Zealand was normally between two to three years, although some men spent greater periods of time in Gujarat. For example Ravji Hira, who arrived in New

253. 'He' means the Indian immigrant in NZ.


255. The following data was collated from oral reports and immigration records, which were frequently incomplete.

256. Register of Indians and others issued with Re/entry certificates, 1911-20, L/28/11(b).
Zealand around 1914, returned to Kardipore for a period of seven years from 1921 to 1928. Madhav Hira, another early immigrant in New Zealand, spent from 1915-25 at his home village of Ganesh-Sisodra. For both of these men, as for many others, there were at least three or four visits between New Zealand and India during the course of their lifetime. Obviously the age at which and the country where the migrant retired influenced the number of visits he made. Ravji Hira (who happened to be visiting India while I was conducting my research there in 1978/79) has made at least five visits, while Ranchhod Parshottam visited his home at Bagamara in Mahal Palsana at least six times.

As noted above, factors such as whether the migrants' wives accompanied them to New Zealand, greatly influenced the number of visits made. In addition, the extent to which status was dependent upon kin-village networks in Gujarat affected such travel. Both J.K. Natali and Tirbhovandas Girdhar, who did not marry Indians, restricted their travel to India.

A further factor which influenced the number and length of visits made to Gujarat was the type of living conditions available there. Many of these early migrants anticipated retirement to Gujarat and in preparation for this built comfortable homes there. This also made the attraction of extended visits greater, as did a willingness to retain

257. Int, Ravjibhai Hira.
258. Ints, J.K. Natali and grandson of T. Girdhar.
259. See p. 564.
contact with kin in Gujarat. Housebuilding, as well as conspicuous consumption through gifts and feasting, was an obligation expected of the successful migrant. This therefore, made the cost of visits much higher than the mere purchase of a berth on a steamer. In particular, as visits usually coincided with important family ceremonies, especially marriage and childbirth, the migrant could be expected to leave India virtually penniless. This in turn, reinforced the need to stay abroad. It was a spiralling effect. The more successful a migrant became the higher his expenses in India rose.

Besides economic expectations, the returned migrant generally was considered more knowledgeable about the 'outside world'. Frequently he was a source of innovation, especially with regard to technology and agriculture. He was also less likely to show deference to those in positions of authority, so that many returned or retired emigrants became leaders in their communities. These effects on village society will be treated in greater detail in a following chapter as they can be documented more clearly during the post-1920 years.

While held in respect, the returned migrant simultaneously was considered unclean or even 'dangerous' because of his contact with the unknown and as a result of the possible taboos he had broken. One informant recalled how in 1931 he

260. Malcom Darling, Rusticus Loquitur, p. 178, noted that emigrants in Jullunder District of the Punjab who returned from overseas were better off, morally and materially. They 'appreciated clean surroundings, understood the advantage of telling the truth, and valued education'. 
was required to undergo a purificatory ritual and how even then he was prohibited from entering his mother's kitchen. Most migrants were required to shave and bathe before losing 'outsider status'. Today this is not so common, presumably due to the widespread geographical mobility of Gujarati society.

(1) Long-term objectives.

A third factor which reduced a sense of cultural alienation from the Gujarati's home society was the intention of retirement there. This was a goal to which many of the early generation in New Zealand aspired.

The early Indian immigrant was an adult who had migrated in search of an El Dorado. Although he found one in New Zealand his outlook at that time was to regard his stay here as a means to an end - that retirement in his own motherland was his ultimate aim.

It has not been possible to obtain exact percentages but oral reports suggest that a substantial proportion of first-generation Gujaratis did retire to their villages in India. I was able to trace forty-five such cases across most of the castes represented in New Zealand.

A number of factors clearly influenced which country was perceived as 'home' and the probable place of retirement. First, there was the question of where a man's wife had lived. Those who made a definite decision to retire in India, usually had a wife there, unlike some of the early

261. Int, J.K. Natali.
262. NZICA, to Minister of Immigration and Minister of External Affairs, 18 March 1953, I22/1/134.
263. Oral sources and imm. records.
migrants who sent for their wives to join them in New Zealand in the thirties and forties. Gopal Lakhu fitted this pattern when he retired in India in 1947 to be with his wife at Tavdi. After her death, however, he applied to the immigration authorities in New Zealand for permission to join his family in Christchurch. The above pattern did not apply to all those who retired to their villages. For example, Dayal Vallabh's wife joined him in Wellington in 1930, but later in 1952 the couple returned permanently to Pardi-Sarpore. Bhana Vallabh Chibba's wife had also lived with him in New Zealand before they both retired to their home at Sagra.

Secondly if the elderly Gujarati in New Zealand had a son and family with whom he could compatibly live, he was less likely to remain permanently in India. This was not always an easy solution as in later years some of these retired men found it lonely and depressing to remain in the house while their son and daughter-in-law were both at work. In one such case the father decided he would prefer village life in India where at least he could be guaranteed the company of his contemporaries.

Thirdly, those men who accumulated land and property in New Zealand were less likely to dispose of it although some preferred to leave their assets in the case of their descendants. Associated with this was the practical consideration

264. Int, Dayal Vallabh, Entry Register.
266. Int, son, who wanted identity kept confidential.
of losing the old-age pension to which the men were entitled if they remained in New Zealand.

A fourth factor influencing the decision to return to India may have been a preference for the country of adoption, concomitant with a sense of estrangement from their birthplace. Some of the first-generation migrants expressed a distinct preference for the New Zealand life-style and material comforts.

Betty Davison found that those Jamaicans who had retired home from Britain generally had been reasonably successful there. In the majority of the cases I could trace the returned Gujaratis who were sufficiently successful in financial terms to build retirement houses. If they had not accumulated sufficient capital for this purpose while in New Zealand the prospects of remaining in New Zealand would have been preferable.

Bhana Chhiba, for example, was one of the partners of 'David and Co', a profitable fruit business with branches throughout New Zealand. In anticipation of his and his brothers' retirement he built in 1925 at Bhulafalia, Matwad, what still must be one of the most imposing, multi-storied houses in the villages of Gujarat. Estimates of the cost are exaggerated but if a figure of ten thousand pounds is accepted as the original price, then it certainly was


268. See pp. 284, 414.

269. See plate 2.
PLATE 2

House of Bhana Chhiba, Bhulafalia, Matwad.
Built 1925.

PLATE 3

House of Bhana Jasmat, Swarajfalia, Karadi.
Built 1960.
expensive. 270 Unfortunately Bhana never did retire there as he died on a steamer while visiting India. 271 Bhana Jasmat, another early fruiterer in New Zealand built in his village of Swarajfalia a house reputed to have cost between 35,000 and 40,000 rupees. 272 This house was the largest in the falia, but like Bhana Chhiba, Bhana Jasmat never did retire there and instead lived in New Zealand until 1978. Dayal Vallabh of Pardi-Sarpore did however, retire to the three-storied house he had constructed in 1972 at the cost of 200,000 rupees. 273

Because adequate financial resources took time to earn most of the Gujarati settlers in New Zealand did not retire until their mid-fifties or later. I found only one case of a first-generation migrant returning before the age of thirty. 274 As most of these men did not retire later than sixty years, they were able to play a reasonably active role in village life after their return. 275 Because most Gujaratis arrived in New Zealand in their twenties, the nineteen-fifties was the decade favoured by most for retirement. Men who had migrated to New Zealand at an earlier age retired

271. Int, Keshav Vallabh, who now lives on the ground floor of this house.
273. Int, Dayal Vallabh.
275. See p. 571.
in the nineteen-thirties, as did Bawa Kana, Ismail Bhikhoo
and Madhu Kara. A number of these men were therefore able
to be self-sufficient in their retirement, although frequently (as does Keshav Vallabh) they maintain some land either
for subsistence or cash crops. In addition to its economic benefits his land provides Keshav with an interest. A
majority of those who retired in Gujarat were, however, also
dependent upon remittances and gifts from their family who
had settled in New Zealand.

A survey of the place of death of sixty-nine first-
generation Gujarati migrants reveals that almost equal num-
bers died in New Zealand and India. This raises the
question of determining whether they made a conscious dec-
ision to retire in a particular country. Enquiries suggest
that for many equal time was spent in India and New Zealand,
which suggests that it was 'fate' which decided where they
died.

A small number of the early migrants, difficult to
trace and document, were disillusioned by their initial
experience in New Zealand and left after a few years. Dayal
Chhiba spent only five years in New Zealand before he re-
turned to Bodali. According to his nephew Dayal did not
make much money as a partner in the fruitshop on Quay
Street, Auckland. A further contributing factor to his

277. Int, Keshav Vallabh.
278. 30 died in NZ and 39 in India. It was not possible to
gather comprehensive details concerning this.
retirement may have been the death of his brother in the
1918 influenza epidemic.\textsuperscript{279}

Most of the early migrants did settle in New Zealand
and eventually sent for their families to join them. This
did not negate the goal of retirement in Gujarat. As noted
above, most did not achieve this until they had spent many
a number of years away from the villages. For others it was
never realised. Daniel Lawrence suggests that when the
goals of migration are not well defined nor set within a
definite time limit the goal of retirement is deferred, as
the migrant continually seeks to 'better himself' in his
new home.\textsuperscript{280} In turn he becomes accustomed to the new
society and may come to prefer it to that of his past.
Rarely did those Gujarati migrants who made only one trip or
non to India contemplate permanent retirement there. In
particular the post-1920 years saw a greater identification
with the New Zealand environment as the Gujaratis strove to
establish a security. It was in these years that the second
generation began to arrive. The following chapter will aim
to describe and understand this more concrete development of
an Indian and Gujarati community, the foundations of which
began in pre-1920 years.

\textsuperscript{279} Int, Parshott Parbhu.

\textsuperscript{280} Daniel Lawrence, \textit{Black Migrants:White Natives. A Study
of race relations in Nottingham}, London, 1974. p.34.
THEY SLEEP STANDING
UP : GUJARATIS IN
NEW ZEALAND TO 1945

by

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# VOLUME II

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(a) The 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act.

On 11 August 1920, Massey, the Prime Minister of New Zealand introduced an Immigration Restriction Bill into Parliament. By 9 November 1920 the Bill was law. Its speedy passage may be seen as a result of a consensus throughout New Zealand. There was probably good reason to claim that the Bill is the result of a deep-seated sentiment on the part of a large majority of the people in this country that this Dominion shall be what is often called a 'white' New Zealand, and that people who come here should, as far as it is possible for us to provide for it, be of the same way of thinking from the British Empire's point of view.

The Bill also reflected a general agreement that Indians in New Zealand created as large a problem as the Chinese, if not perhaps far worse. The member for Waitemata, Harris, described them as a far greater menace than the Chinese and hoped the Bill 'will be found sufficient to control, if not totally exclude, the Indian influx also'. Mitchell of Wellington South supported this, stating that Indians in

1. NZPD, vol. 187, p. 84.
2. NZS, 1920, no. 23, Immigration Restriction Amendment Bill. It was gazetted on 13 January 1931.
many ways are less desirable than the Chinese. Other accusations claimed that a criminal class was entering the Dominion.

In fact popular pressure to control Asian entry into New Zealand had been present virtually since the country was colonized. As noted in a previous chapter, however, it proved difficult to exclude British subjects. Two main factors precipitated the hasty implementation of the 1920 Act. Massey's government was facing criticism as the economic slump hit after an immediate post-War boom period. A direct example was the disillusionment expressed by returned soldiers at land settlement schemes. The same group was also one of the main exponents of a 'White New Zealand'. Therefore by the implementation of immigration control directed against Asians the Government could appease popular feeling and appear to be taking steps to control

5. Ibid, pp. 920-921. Scurrah, p. 64, maintains that the Hindus 'were never, however, at any time, subject to the hostility that was to be the lot of the Chinese'. The above evidence nevertheless suggests that by 1920 attitudes towards the Indians were as strongly felt as those towards the Chinese.

economic, moral and social problems. 7

The second major factor that allowed the Act to be passed was the 1917 and 1918 Imperial War Conferences which provided a satisfactory consensus and framework for the dominions to proceed with legislation to control immigration. A principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the self-governing dominions was reached. 8 The resolutions adopted at the 1917 Imperial War Conference and repeated the following year formed the basis of New Zealand's immigration policy. 9 The main conditions as suggested by the 1917 Report of the India War Office were adopted at the 1918 Imperial War Conference and accepted by Massey. First, British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce,


including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of these visits were to be regulated on the principle of reciprocity, subject to certain conditions. Secondly, Indians, already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children. This latter condition was to be of particular importance to the development of the Gujarati community in New Zealand.

Thus the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act was able to exclude Indians by the implementation of a individual permit system that did not infringe the above conditions. This provided that:

(1) No person other than a person of British birth and parentage shall (except as by this Act is specially provided) enter into New Zealand unless he is in possession of a permit to enter in the form and to the effect provided by regulations under this Act.

(2) A person shall not be deemed to be of British birth and parentage by reason that he or his parents or either of them is a naturalised British subject, or by reason that he is an aboriginal native or the descendant of an aboriginal native of any dominion other than the Dominion of New Zealand or of any

9. Internal Affairs file. C33/253M. See Appendix


11. GH 2270/20, 27 October 1920, telegram from Jellicoe, Governor General of New Zealand to Milnes, Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated that the Government had been careful to observe resolutions of the Imperial Conference that were moved by Indians. Appendix shows a copy of the application form for a permit to enter New Zealand that all intending Indian immigrants had to complete.
This wording clearly made a permit necessary for Indians as they were not of British birth and parentage although they were British subjects. The permit system was to replace the education test which had proved ineffective. To discourage immigrants before they actually arrived in New Zealand, application for the permit had to be made before departure from India. Any person who was required to have a permit but who nevertheless came to the Dominion without one, was to be deemed a prohibited immigrant and refused permission to land. A later official publication of the Labour Department stated that the Act of 1920 left every application for entry to be decided on individual merits and that no specific criteria were laid down.

The Act did not, however, apply completely on an individual basis, as under Section 6 the Minister-in-Charge could make the following special exemption:

The Governor-General may, by Order-in-Council, from time to time declare that the provisions of this Part of the Act shall not apply to nations.


13. Ibid, Clause 11. But C33/25 1921/8, 10 December 1920. Memo from Attorney General to Shipping Companies stated that persons of foreign but European race would be granted permits to land upon arrival C33/25, 1921/43 19 April 1921, said that Indians would not be granted verbal permission to land in New Zealand.

or peoples specified in such Order-in-Council.\textsuperscript{15}

Although Jellicoe, the Governor-General, had assured Milner, the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Government did not propose to utilise this provision,\textsuperscript{16} and Massey informed the House that the Act 'is not intended to penalise the people of any country in particular',\textsuperscript{17} in fact definite policies were followed towards specific nationalities.

In 1923 Harris enquired as to the effect of passing the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act.\textsuperscript{18} The reply given was that Government refused permission to Asiatics who desired to emigrate to New Zealand. The Government did maintain the stipulation as agreed at the Imperial Conferences of allowing the entry of legal wives and the minor children of Indians already domiciled in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{19} This was administered on the establishment of a Relationship Certificate upon arrival but a problem soon arose as these were frequently not

\textsuperscript{15} NZS, 1920, no. 23, 6.(1).
\textsuperscript{16} GH 2405/20, 9 November 1920, telegram from Secretary of State to Governor-General, GH2467/20, 22 November 1920, telegram from Governor-General to Secretary of State.
\textsuperscript{17} NZPD, vol. 187, p. 907.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid, vol. 201, 24 July 1923, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{19} GH 2467/20, 22 November 1920, telegram from Governor-General to Secretary of State. Assurance of this was given to the Secretary of State. P.A. Ponton, "Immigration Restriction in New Zealand. A Study of Policy 1908-1939," unpub. M.A. thesis, 1946, Victoria University of Wellington, pp.66-7 notes that the legality of this measure was questionable as according to international law the son maintains the domicile of his father even after his majority. Under New Zealand law the right of the father's domicile was lost by the son upon attainment of majority.
in English and therefore accuracy was difficult to check.  

In 1925 an agreement was made with the Indian Government to accept only documents signed by more important officials in India. Another regulation stipulated that Indians in New Zealand had to produce a certificate (bearing a photo) and signed by a responsible public official verifying his residence in New Zealand before an entry permit under the 1920 Act would be issued to the wife and children. A Statutory Declaration in English, made by the Indian in New Zealand and signed before a Justice of the Peace, was also necessary. All these stringent regulations point to the illegal or semi-legal means Indians would use in order to enter New Zealand, and this in turn testifies to the rigidity of the permit system.  

Provision was made for re-entry permits or Certificates of Registration to be issued to Indians for a period of four years. It was found that frequently the time limit was too short and with a suitable excuse the holder could have their certificate extended for up to ten years. These regulations continued throughout the period of this study until severe restrictions were implemented in the years after the Second World War. Following a Cabinet meeting on

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20. C33/253M. L/E/7/1281, I + O 3050, 1922 (on C.O. 26679), from Governor-General of New Zealand to Secretary of State for Colonies, requested that Government of India arrange that certificates which are required in NZ for the identification of dependents be in the English language. This was accepted by G.S. Bajpai, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Simla, 1 October 1925.


22. C33/253M.
13 March 1951, the Government limited re-entry permits for Indians to eighteen months. This was partly to encourage those men settled in New Zealand to bring their wives to their adopted homes. A further aim was for young Indians to be educated in New Zealand instead of arriving in their late teens 'fully indoctrinated in the Asiatic way of life'. This was intended to 'speed up assimilation'. The Immigration Advisory Council also considered that shorter absences by Indians abroad would lessen the perceived drain on overseas funds caused by remittances to families in India.

These restrictions evoked protests from delegations of Indians resident in New Zealand and from General K. M. Carriappa, the High Commissioner for India in Australia and New Zealand. In response to this, as well as to administrative difficulties, the Minister of Immigration reintroduced the four year re-entry permit in 1957.

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23. 158/15/1. C.M. (51) (18) Confidential memo from P.M.'s office to Minister of Immigration, 19 March 1951.
24. 22/1/134. Memo for Minister of Immigration from Director of Employment, 23 February 1953.
25. Ibid, for Secretary of Labour, 7 November 1955.
26. Ibid.
27. e.g. 22/1/134, letter from six Punjabis, to Minister of Immigration, Taumarunui, 26 January 1953. Deputation from NZICA to Minister of Immigration, 18 March 1953.
28. 22/1/134, H.C. for India in Australia and NZ to Minister of Immigration, 14 May 1954.
29. Ibid, from P.M. to Minister of Immigration, C.M. (57). 25, following Cabinet meeting 1 July 1957.
Returning to an examination of the Original Act, we may also note that bona fide visits were permitted.

Any person to whom this Part of the Act applies who arrives in New Zealand without a permit but proves to the satisfaction of the Minister of Customs that he desires to enter New Zealand as a visitor only for purposes of business, pleasure, or health, and that he intends to leave New Zealand within six months after his arrival, may be granted a temporary permit in the prescribed form by an officer of Customs. 30

Temporary permits were subject to conditions laid down by the Minister of Customs and could be revoked at any time. Moreover, a bond had to be paid a provision which caused resentment amongst Indians. 31 It appears that this was relaxed in cases of 'important' visitors.

A further requirement of the Act was the swearing of an Oath of Allegiance or affirmation of the laws of New Zealand. 32 However from 1923 British subjects were permitted to enter New Zealand without these formalities. 33

Applicants who believed that each individual application for admission into New Zealand would be considered on its own merits were to find that in practice they were judged more on the basis of their race and nationality. In 1937 an enquiry was made by Dr. Graham from St Andrew's Colonial Homes in India concerning the entry of young Eurasian children into

30. NZS, 1920, no. 23, 8. (1).
31. Internal Affairs file 158/15/1, 5 February 1951, memo from P.M. for Secretary of Internal Affairs, "Asian and Polynesian Immigration".
32. NZS, 1920, no. 23, part II.
33. NZS, Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1923, no. 11.
the Dominions. He was informed by the Minister of Customs that persons of mixed blood who might culturally be English were regarded, generally, as not being the most desirable type of immigrant. It was not possible, the Minister claimed, to grant permits at that time. It would appear that the colour of one's skin was an important factor in the decision to grant entry permits. It was also stated in an earlier memorandum that persons born in India, those whose parents were both of European race and colour might be granted verbal permission to land.

Finally it should be noted that Indians of British nationality and New Zealand citizenship were not under any of the above restrictions provided they had a valid passport. By the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act of 1948, all British subjects permanently resident in New Zealand throughout that year acquired New Zealand citizenship. Many Indians did not, however, qualify for this, either because they were absent from the country or

34. Labour Department Files, 22/1/134-1, "Immigration: General Anglo and Indians, Eurasians, Anglo-Burmese", 13 November 1937.

35. Ibid, 21 November 1927. It should also be noted that all immigration to NZ had been severely restricted at this time due to the effects of the Depression. This still does not negate the discriminatory nature of the reply by the Minister of Customs.

36. C33/25, Memo 1921/43, 19 April 1921 from Controller of Customs to Shipping Companies.

37. Labour Dept, H.O. 108660 to Collector of Customs, Auckland, 27 July 1955, noted that Indians of NZ citizenship were still approaching the Labour Department for re-entry permits although this was unnecessary.
resident there only on a temporary basis. The third major complication was that many Indian immigrants originated from the state of Baroda and were awarded British Protected Status. Technically they were stateless but provision was available for them to register as citizens of India after Independence. If they had emigrated to New Zealand before 1948 then they could be deemed aliens and had to apply for naturalisation before they could be granted New Zealand citizenship.

(b) The New Arrivals.

By the early twenties almost all Asian immigration into New Zealand had ceased. This meant a partial victory for the exponents of a 'White New Zealand' but it did not end their desire to see the country bleached even whiter. Observers were correct in noting that small groups of Indians were still arriving at the ports and that the Indian community in New Zealand was slowly growing. In this chapter the development of the Gujarati and Indian communities will be examined and the reaction by the New Zealand 'host' society to them. Racial friction reached a peak in the post 1920 years with the formation of the White New Zealand League, a story that will be discussed later.

The new Indian immigrants were, however, a different group from those in the pre-1920 period. Following the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act the only new permanent

38. 22/1/134. Memo for Secretary E.A. from Secretary I.A. 2 November 1953.

39. "British and British Protected India", notes supplied from Passports Division. Dept. of Internal Affairs.
Indian settlers that were permitted entry were the wives and minor children of those men already domiciled in New Zealand.

In the twenties the Gujarati settlers mostly sent for their young sons to join them but in the later years of the decade the sight of Gujarati ladies in their saris began to appear on New Zealand streets. Many of the Gujarati boys who sailed to New Zealand were raised there by their fathers. The immigration record reveals that prior to the twenties virtually no males under the age of sixteen emigrated to New Zealand.

As table 29 shows, in the post 1920 years a fluctuating proportion of new Indian immigrants, that is those intending permanent residence, were males under the age of fifteen years. The proportion of males in this category from 1922 to 1945 was approximately one third or 30.59 per cent. This rose to 44.51 per cent from 1928 to 1933 and fell to only 17.09 per cent during the war years. The percentages under the age of fifteen years were slightly lower if half castes were excluded, of whom the majority were not Gujaratis. The ages of full blooded and half castes, intending permanent residence in New Zealand, are separately available from 1922 to 1930. With both groups combined 28.4 per cent were

40. See chapter VI.

41. The term 'permanent residence' is drawn from that used in immigration statistics, but as noted on page 335 most Gujarati immigrants intended to return home eventually. To be eligible to live and work in NZ, it was however, necessary for them to declare themselves as 'intending permanent residence'.

42. See p. 255 for a discussion of Eurasians.
TABLE 29

Number and percentage of Indian males, intending permanent residence in New Zealand, distinguishing those under and over 15 years, by approximately five yearly groups, 1922-45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indian males Intending Permanent Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1922-7</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 1928-33</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 1934-9</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 1940-5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migration Statistics, 1922-46. Note the above categories are approximate as the year changed from 12 to 15 months in 1933-34. See note on p.

Therefore in the above table, II includes 3 months of 1934, III included 3 months of 1940 and IV includes 3 months of 1946.
TABLE 30
Summary of Indian arrivals to New Zealand, 1922-46, by classes. Males only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>I Intending PR</th>
<th>II NZ residents returning</th>
<th>III Visitors</th>
<th>IV Not stated</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>51.11%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24.07%</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>52.31%</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34.13%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30.69%</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>38.61%</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29.23%</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>56.63%</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22.89%</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18.98%</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>47.69%</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>56.43%</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.58%</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>74.07%</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31.36%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>53.17%</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-4*</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20.69%</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>52.93%</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23.97%</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>53.72%</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-6</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31.16%</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39.86%</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>30.46%</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>51.66%</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-8</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>43.54%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29.25%</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-9</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>39.07%</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27.91%</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>74.38%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.92%</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>52.38%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.76%</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.86%</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.46%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26.98%</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.02%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.43%</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>29.52%</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>41.82%</td>
<td>2896</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Key: I Intending Permanent residence

III Visitors includes, tourists, on business, theatrical entertaining, sporting etc, officials, and others, in transit.
under fifteen years, but, for the same age group, there were only 26.5 per cent of fullbloods.

Table 30 also indicates the high percentage of Indians arriving at the ports who were New Zealand residents returning after a visit to India. This led observers to incorrectly perceive a rise in the number of Indian arrivals. In 1926 for example (the year of the White New Zealand League's concern at the 'peaceful penetration' of Indians into the country), 112 out of the 224 Indian arrivals or 50 per cent were New Zealand residents returning. In addition, each year a certain proportion of Indians came as tourists, businessmen, entertainers, officials, or in transit. Again, in 1926, 65 or 29 per cent fell into the 'temporary' categories, leaving only 18.3 per cent of these 'Asiatic hordes', as new immigrants, most of whom were males under twenty-one years. In addition the number of departures from these classes confirms this.

The registers of entry permits for Indians clearly indicate the high proportions of permits issued and utilised by the sons of Gujaratis resident in New Zealand. From 1921 to 1929, permits were issued to 343 Gujaratis and 81 to non-Gujaratis, which respectively were around 81 and 19 per cent. From 1930 to 1945, 352 Gujaratis were issued with permits compared to 42 non-Gujaratis. The corresponding percentages

43. See chapter VII.
44. See table 31.
# TABLE 31

Summary of Indian departures from New Zealand, 1922-46 by classes and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>NZ residents departing</th>
<th>Temporary residents departing</th>
<th>Totals (excluding crews)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanently</td>
<td>Temporarily</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-4*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-6</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-6</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>1333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.34</td>
<td>33.24</td>
<td>57.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of around 89 and 11 per cent reflected the increasing dominance of Gujaratis in the New Zealand Indian population.

The percentages of Gujaratis who actually arrived in the country were slightly lower. From 1922 to 1929, 176 or 78 per cent of the total Indian arrivals were Gujaratis. 46 This rose, however, to 90.5 per cent from 1930 to 1951. 47 Throughout the whole period, approximately a quarter of the Gujaratis for whom permits were issued did not arrive in New Zealand. 48

The numbers of Gujaratis emigrating to New Zealand, tended to fluctuate, with only certain years correlating to the official migration figures of Indian immigrants intending permanent residence. The statistics on the registers of Indians who were granted entry permits do not, however, match those who declared their intention to be permanent residents of New Zealand. Hence the higher figures from the migration statistics do not reflect the actual yearly numbers of Indian immigrants. The yearly arrival of Gujaratis was haphazard during the twenties, but like that of the total Indian immigrants, substantially dropped in the years of the early thirties depression. The numbers of arrivals for both groups rose during the mid to late thirties but virtually

46. Permanent residents from Entry Registers.

47. Permits were only calculated up to 1945 but 60 were utilised by Gujaratis from 1946-51. The total number of Gujaratis who arrived on an entry permit 1930-51 = 360.

48. 77.12% of permits issued to Gujaratis 1921-45, were utilised 1921-1951.
ceased during the war years. 49

As noted, under the immigration regulations in operation from 1920 onwards, eligibility to claim residence in New Zealand was usually open up to the age of twenty-one years. Table 32 gives a more detailed analysis of the ages of these new residents. Migration statistics, unfortunately, do not break down ages under fifteen years but clearly most of the minors arriving were between fifteen to twenty years. It is clear that from 1927 onwards there were high numbers recorded in the over twenty-one age bracket. Due to the rigidity against allowing new immigrants into the Dominion, this discrepancy can be explained by the practice of entering those New Zealand residents who left the country for more than five years as new immigrants when they re-entered.

It was possible to gather a sample to give an age at arrival in New Zealand for second-generation Gujaratis. This was about thirteen years. 50 While there was insufficient data to complete a yearly analysis, the pattern suggests that these children arrived from the age of eleven upwards, as did, Khusal Madhu in 1921, Ismail Kara in 1923, and Parag Kanji in 1924. Others were, however, as young as who sailed to New Zealand aged three in 1936, and aged six in 1940. It may have been easier to adjust to life in a new environment at such a young age,


50. This sample was not random. It was determined from immigration records and interviews, including fraudulent entries.
but in most cases the child was brought up in an almost totally male society.

The arrival of young Indian males was reflected in the higher proportions in the younger age brackets throughout this period.51 The percentage aged under 16 years remained around 5 during the twenties and thirties but by 1945 had increased to 14.32. It was not possible to equate categories but a comparison of the percentage under the age of twenty-five in 1926 with those under twenty in 1921, revealed comparative figures of 21.35 and 6.17. By 1936 the comparative percentage was 24.94 which increased to 31.43 by 1945. This clearly indicated the growing youthfulness of the Indian population in New Zealand.

The comparative age groups for Hindus available from the religious returns of the censuses correlate closely with the above percentages, with 26.5 in 1936 and 30.34 in 1945 of male Hindus under the age of twenty-five. The proportions in the younger age brackets was approaching that of the New Zealand male population in which 35.18 per cent came under

51. See tables 24, 33. Only male fullblooded Indians are discussed here. It should be noted that units of comparison for the two tables are different. At the 1921 census the quinquennial group goes up to 15 years but for 1936, 16 years is adopted as the age bracket. There was no census during the Depression in 1931.
TABLE 32

Ages of Indian arrivals, intending permanent residence in New Zealand, 1922-38. Full bloods only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 15</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>21-44</td>
<td>45+ over</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Under 15</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>21-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-31</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-8</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1019</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>21.</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>47.</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>100.</td>
<td>18.52</td>
<td>19.44</td>
<td>61.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migration Statistics, 1922-38. Note that from 1933 the year ends at March. See notes on p. Hence the final year for this table includes 3 months of 1939.
### TABLE 33
Age-patterns of male full-blood Indians and Hindus, 1926-45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Indians 1926</th>
<th>Hindus 1926</th>
<th>Indians 1936</th>
<th>Hindus 1936</th>
<th>Indians 1945</th>
<th>Hindus 1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5.95</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>14.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>18.99</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>17.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>44.44</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>14.05</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>26.24</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>36.07</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>11.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>20.76</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>25.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+over</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1926-45. Race Aliens - Age and Religious Professions. (for Hindus). Note, ages of Hindus at 1926 census not available. Unspecified ages are excluded from totals. See 1945 census for more detailed breakdown of ages.
TABLE 34

Duration of residence in New Zealand of male full-blood Indians 1926-45. (Permanent residents only).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NZ born</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ born</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR - Duration of residence in years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>23.63</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>48.37</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 + over</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1926-45, 'Race Aliens'

Key: PR = Permanent Resident.

TABLE 35

Number and percentage of male full-blood Indians classified as living in urban and rural areas, 1926-45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indians living in areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the age of twenty in 1945.52

The male Indian population of New Zealand therefore continued to reflect both this more recent migration and the effects of pre-1920 migration as the proportions in the older age brackets increased. In 1926 an unusually high percentage of 44.5 came within the 25-34 age bracket while 26.2 per cent were in the 35-54 age group. By 1936 there was a substantial drop in the former age bracket to 14.05 per cent but an increase in the latter to 36.07 per cent. In 1945 the percentages in the 25-34 bracket had increased to 19.9 which revealed the ageing of the post 1920 immigrants but the percentage in the 35-45 group fell dramatically to 11.03. This decline in the numbers of Indian males in the middle age range corresponded with a rise in the proportion of those over forty-five years, that is, the first generation. In 1926 there were only 5.56 per cent in the 45-54 age group which rose to 20.76 per cent by 1936 and 25.48 per cent in 1945. An equally significant rise occurred in the percentage of those over the age of fifty-five from 2.47 in 1926 to 4.17 in 1936, and 12.17 in 1945. The latter was still lower than the national percentage of 24.49 males in the general population over the age of fifty years.

The lack of males in the middle age groups during the nineteen thirties and forties meant that the Gujarati community was dominated by older men. As they retired, the younger men, particularly those who arrived in New Zealand

52. All statistics for NZ population do not include Maoris unless stated. There was a separate census for Maoris.
in the twenties, were able to take advantage of opportunities for advancement in Gujarati-owned businesses and in the Indian Associations, than would have normally been possible.

The table of duration of residence on page 363 also reflects the implementation of the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act. At the 1926 census a substantial proportion of approximately 49 per cent of New Zealand Indian male residents had immigrated around 1920. Approximately 24 per cent had entered New Zealand since the introduction of the immigration restrictions, while about 20 per cent had been resident in the country for over ten years. The following censuses revealed the longer settlement of the Indian community when in 1936 63.25 per cent of the Indian males had been living in New Zealand for over ten years. This percentage dropped to 46 by 1945, but numerically this drop was only from 501 in 1936 to 424 by 1945. Nevertheless, the percentages and numbers of more recent arrivals continued to increase. In 1936 255 or 32.2 per cent of Indian males had been resident in New Zealand for less than ten years, while by 1945 there were 402 or 43.6 per cent within the same category.

Second-generation Gujarati migration to New Zealand displayed a greater degree of regularity, conforming to the pattern of chain migration. 53 In the New Zealand context, it was usually the migrant who was resident in the country before 1920 who sent for his son to join him. The cases for

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53. This is in contrast to Prasad's finding that 'Kolis entered and left Fiji at random in the hope of residing in New Zealand eventually.' Prasad, p. 148.
which data was available suggest that the majority of Gujarati pioneers applied for permits for all their male offspring, although in some cases (as for example, when the family had sizeable landholdings in Gujarat) the eldest son sometimes remained at home or in India.

Permits frequently expired because one of the sons was over the age of twenty-one and therefore ineligible to emigrate to New Zealand. Such circumstances applied to Pragji Ravaji. His father was granted a permit for Pragji and his brother Kanji, on 31 October 1924. When Pragji arrived at Auckland on 9 September 1927, the Customs authorities noted that he was over twenty-one years. Since he was granted a temporary permit for three months he departed from the country in December. 54

It is clear from the emigration patterns of the sons of the early Gujaratis in New Zealand that they either followed their fathers to this same destination, or else remained in Gujarat. In one case a second generation Gujarati had a brother who emigrated to Ghana. The explanation for this deviation from the usual pattern was that the father had emigrated to South Africa, and the son who chose to settle in New Zealand was an illegal immigrant. Most of the younger migrants travelled together in small groups under the care of either one of the fathers or a village friend. When Hira Bava left Ganesh-Sisodra in 1924 to join his father

54. Entry Registers. There are several examples of a father applying and being granted a permit for more than one son and only one of the sons eventually utilising the permit.
In Wellington he sailed on the Mooltan with a group of ten Indians. Often brothers did not emigrate together, due to differences in age. The five sons of Chhiba Bhana of Dhallafalia, Karadi, for example, joined their father between 1928 and 1949. The Bawa brothers from Ganesh-Sisodra also spaced out their migration. Hira, the eldest, arrived at Wellington in 1924 aged sixteen, Jivan in 1927 aged eleven, and Lala in 1928 aged thirteen. Some brothers did, however, travel together, almost always in couples, such as Narsai and Dullabh Keshav in 1924. Since in many cases the young migrants travelled without kin support, the institution of Jahaji or voyage mates, developed as in earlier years, although not to the same extent. When Ganesh Sukha sailed to New Zealand in 1923 he made friends with a group of five boys.

By the mid-twenties those Gujaratis embarking for New Zealand departed from Bombay, preferring the route via Sydney in contrast to the earlier travel through Fiji. Conditions on board ship improved in the years after 1920, as gradually travel by tourist class became normal. This meant increased costs which could be met by finance from

55. Int, Hira Bava.

56. Int, Parbhu Chhiba.

57. Ints, Bava brothers. There are several other examples of large groups of brothers joining their fathers at different times, e.g. Panchia brothers from Dhallafalia, Fakir brothers.

58. Entry Registers. Several examples.

59. Int, Ganesh Sukha.
New Zealand. Bawa Kana, for example, paid approximately fifty pounds, for the cost of his son Hira's passage on the Mooltan, a P and O mail ship. For this price, beds and substantial meals were provided. This was in contrast to the conditions under which Ganesh Sukha travelled, when for the cost of twenty-five pounds, he slept in a bunk and cooked his own food.

Improved travel conditions did not detract from the sense of mingled loneliness, bewilderment and excitement experienced by the younger migrants. As noted on page some of this generation had been raised under a Gandhian dietary regime and were therefore vegetarians, while their fathers were not. Hari Jagu, who had been educated in a Gandhian ashram, found the food repulsive on board ship in 1931 and would only eat sweets and drink tea. He was fortunately able to adjust to the changes in diet once he settled in New Zealand. While the changes in life style on board ship may have been traumatic for some of these young men, their youthfulness, made adaptation easier.

An additional advantage in the post 1920 years, was that direct sailings were more readily available from Sydney to

60. Int, Hira, Bava. He could have been incorrect about this price.

61. Int, Ganesh Sikha. There was a considerable variation in the estimations of the cost of the passage to NZ. Govind Lallu claimed that his father paid $9 in 1940 for his passage and Parbhu Natha estimated that his brother paid $48 in 1948. In the post-war years, prices did rise.

either Auckland or Wellington. From 1923 to 1941 there was only a slight preference amongst the second generation of Gujarati migrants to disembark at Auckland.\textsuperscript{63} Changes in the choices of ports of arrival may have been one factor in inducing Gujarati settlement in Wellington, which subsequently eased the Aucklanders' concern over the 'vast' numbers of Asians that had in the past been perceived to be arriving at their port.\textsuperscript{64}

\textbf{(c) Growth of Gujarati Community in New Zealand.}

As a result of this second-generation immigration and the arrival of wives and daughters, the Indian population of New Zealand continued to grow in numbers after the implementation of the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act. Between the 1921 and 1926 censuses it increased by 316, although the major proportion of this, 243, was an increase in the Indian mixed-blood population.\textsuperscript{65} By 1936 there were 1200 Indians which included 865 full-bloods or 809 males. The latter represented an increase of 22.39 per cent or 213 since the 1926 census. In this group there was a slightly higher jump by 29 per cent to 922 full-blooded Indian males at the

\textsuperscript{63.} Data from Entry Registers, 52.48\% or 232 arrived at Auckland, compared to 47.51\% or 210 who disembarked at Wellington. Of course the choice of port may simply have depended upon which sailings were available at Sydney. A year by year analysis of the ports of arrival does indicate substantial variations.

\textsuperscript{64.} There was one isolated case of 3 Gujaratis arriving at Invercargill, 21 June 1928, but they did not settle there. Entry Registers.

\textsuperscript{65.} There were 625 males, excluding those on ships, 661 males in total. See table 21.
at the 1945 census. The total Indian population of New Zealand was 1554, which included 1038 full-blooded male and female Indians. As will be discussed on pages 460, 542, the greatest proportional increases were in the female and mixed blood sections but the effects of male full-blooded Indian immigration into New Zealand, particularly in the mid-twenties and late thirties were discernable.

As noted on pages 460, 542 Gujaratis came to increasingly dominate a larger numerical proportion of the Indian population of New Zealand. The method described on pages 212-3 (to estimate the number of male full-blooded Gujaratis in New Zealand), shows that their actual numbers were also rising from approximately 500 at the 1926 census to 700 at the following one and approximately 800 at the 1945 census. It should be noted, however, that this reliance on religious returns is merely an indication, for clearly there were more than 57 Sikhs enumerated in New Zealand at the 1936 census. Indeed, the numbers returned as Sikhs declined from 90 in 1926 to 52 by 1945. Relying on the above estimates, we may conclude that adult Gujarati males represented approximately 81 per cent of the corresponding Indian population in

66. Although there were 146 on ships so total was 776 not 922.

67. Gujaratis include all Indians of no or non-specific religions which means that some of these may have included Punjabis. Also some Gujaratis were Christians and a number who possibly had some connections with Christians may have returned themselves as Christian although not actually practising. For the 1926 and 1936 Censuses I allowed an estimation of 10 Muslims and for the 1945 census, an estimation of 15, for Muslim Gujaratis.
1926, 84 per cent in 1936, and about 87 per cent in 1945. This reflected the preference by Gujaratis for having their sons join them in New Zealand.

(d) Illegal Immigration.

It was virtually impossible for Gujarati males to emigrate to New Zealand unless they were under the age of twenty-one and the actual (not adopted), sons of New Zealand residents. The attraction of a foreign country was still very strong after 1920 and New Zealand had been one of the major destinations for overseas travellers from certain villages in Surat District. Even after the New Zealand government imposed stringent immigration regulations for Indians there was still in the villages of Gujarat the desire to obtain a passport and entry permit by whatever means possible. Partly this attraction was enhanced by the stories and material possessions the Gujaratis returning from New Zealand brought on their visits to India. There were also few alternative destinations for overseas settlement apart from East Africa.

This resulted in a considerable number of people being willing to break the law and to obtain through illegal means the necessary documents for travel to and residence in New Zealand. It is still a highly sensitive area and full details are difficult to obtain. 68

Illegal emigration to New Zealand operated at two

68. Most of my sources were confidential, so names or specific references will not be used in this section. I also consulted Political and Services, 1941, 4499/34-E, "False Relationship Certificates for certain persons proceeding to New Zealand", Political, P/10 of 1923, "Rules and Regulations for grant of Passports".
levels. It occurred on an individual and amateur basis within families, and also through organised, professional 'rackets'. Immigration officials in 1956 estimated around ninety Indians who had gained entry into New Zealand as 'fradulent sons'. Amongst these the actual numbers of illegal Gujarati immigrants are not available, nor are the organisers and others (such as the 'fathers', interpreters and sponsors). I did, however, locate amongst Gujaratis in the period from 1920 to 1950, forty-nine cases of successful illegal immigrants who remained in New Zealand; seven doubtful cases who had their entry permits cancelled but some of whom may have emigrated; three who entered the country but were deported; and two who were granted permits, had them cancelled and remained in India. This makes a total of sixty-one who attempted to enter New Zealand, or actually succeeded in doing so. In addition there were two Gujaratis suspected of being illegal immigrants who were acquitted of the charge. Approximately thirty men posed as the fathers of these men, while others were involved as witnesses to documents and organisers of their immigration. These numbers, nevertheless, were not great and accounted for only a tiny portion of the hundreds from many countries over the years who gained access into New Zealand by illegal means.

There were two main periods between 1920 and 1950 when illegal emigration from the Surat District took place to New Zealand. Between 1924 and 1928, following the introduction of immigration restrictions, nine Gujaratis successfully emigrated to New Zealand illegally. The bulk of the illegal
Gujarati entries were the twenty-two who entered between 1939 and 1941. In addition seven others were discovered and had their entry permits cancelled before they left India.

The main reason for this peak was an illegal racket operating at this stage. It was mainly organised by 'brokers', local Gujaratis who canvassed in the villages for clients. One of these brokers was a Gujarati resident of New Zealand. He was well known and was a fruiterer in New Zealand but spent the duration of the war in India. Another of these brokers had a brother who illegally entered New Zealand aged twenty-six in 1940. These men would accompany their clients to Bombay and make false declarations in a magistrate's court so as to obtain an affidavit. This was necessary in order to obtain a relationship certificate, which stated that the 'client' was the natural lawful son of a Gujarati resident of New Zealand. It was mainly through this loophole that illegal emigration could be arranged to New Zealand. The brokers were usually careful to make their declarations out of their native districts because of the possibility of identification. Frequently the brokers assumed an alias. A passport agency at Bombay, with a branch at Navsari, was also part of this racket and the prospective immigrant had to pay the large sum of three hundred rupees to obtain his passport. Commissions were paid out to those involved, including the person who posed

69. P + S, 4499/34-E, District Magistrate to Chief Secretary to Governor of Bombay, Surat, 14 June 1941.
as the father.

Of those illegal immigrants for whom the villages are known, eight out of seventeen came from Karadi, while most of the others were from the other nearby Koli villages of Bodali, Kothamdi, Matwad and Kachhad. The majority of these had obtained illegal entry through a broker while the few from Kanbi villages had done so on an individual basis. The higher numbers from these villages only reflected the pattern of Gujarati settlement in New Zealand.

As it was more convincing if the 'father' had some relationship with his 'son' many were related in varying degrees. A number of these fathers had no sons of their own which made it easier to claim a nephew as their own child. The New Zealand Customs Department was thrown into some confusion over Gujarati names. A Gujarati in New Zealand, named, for example, Daya Bhana, might have a brother in India named Naran Bhana. If they had sons, normally, they would adopt their fathers first name as their second name, but it was possible by New Zealand convention to adopt the second name as a surname. Hence Daya could claim to have a son named Parsot, who in India would be named Parsot Daya, but could assume the name Parsot Bhana in New Zealand to hide his true identity as Parsot Naran. The use of the surname Patel also added to the confusion. In one case brought to the attention of the New Zealand Comptroller of Customs in 1941 by a Gujarati at Pukekohe, a Gujarati of the Kanbi caste had posed as the father of a Koli from Kothamdi. This

70. Fictitious names.
relationship was not convincing and clearly relied upon the silence of other Gujaratis in New Zealand. It was a Desai who informed on them.

In addition to legally obtaining a relationship certificate for a permit by making a false declaration in court, an alternative method was to forge documents. One New Zealand Gujarati resident who had married three times but had no sons forged a certificate in 1928 purporting to be from the District Magistrate of Surat and stating that his two-year-old nephew was his lawful son. The same man was responsible for five attempts at illegal entries.

A third method of evading immigration restrictions was to try and obtain a temporary entry permit into New Zealand as a student, visitor or businessman. There were a few Gujaratis who came in as students during this period and those who did usually came from Fiji. Once educated in New Zealand and usually employed in a profession, it was possible for them to apply for permanent residence in the country.

The individuals involved in this drama were not particularly dishonest nor were they 'undesirable' types as might be assumed. For most of the illegal immigrants it was the only crime they committed and once they were permitted to live in New Zealand they worked very hard, some of them becoming successful businessmen and leaders in the Gujarati community. It is somewhat more difficult to ascertain the motives of the 'fathers' though in some cases it was merely

71. P + S, 4499/34-E.
out of duty to one's kin, particularly in cases where the illegal immigrant was the nephew of a New Zealand resident.

There was one case in which a Gujarati fruiterer in New Zealand successfully obtained the entry of his brother's son in 1948. This son posed as the dead son of the New Zealand resident. When the New Zealand 'father' retired to Gujarat in 1953 he wrote to the Customs Department in New Zealand informing them of the fraud. As a result the police questioned the 'son', who admitted that he had forged papers and had sworn the oath of allegiance under a false name. He also declared that his actual father had paid the uncle money for this. When the 'son' was subsequently charged under Section 12A of the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act and Section 4 of the 1951 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, his solicitors argued that from his own arrival in the country until his uncle's retirement, their client had handed over all his wages from factory work to the uncle. This case illustrates the risks individuals would take and the exploitation they would endure to remain as permanent residents in New Zealand. The person involved did lose his New Zealand citizenship as a result, but the charges laid against him under the Immigration Acts were withdrawn due to a legal technicality. He was in fact able to re-apply for citizenship later and his wife was permitted to join him. In this case there clearly had been some dispute between the adoptive father and his 'son', indicating that duties to kin were not always the primary consideration. 72

72. Source can not be divulged.
In a great many cases Gujaratis posed as fathers for the monetary gain, either directly or (more frequently) as a means of obtaining labour for their fruit businesses.

Certain successful individuals who employ a number of Gujarati shop assistants over the years acted in a number of cases as either the 'fathers' or in some other capacity as a sponsor, or 'go-between'. Many of these businesses were in rural areas, which involved the difficulties in obtaining labour. One man who acted as a 'father' to four illegal immigrants fitted this pattern. By taking such a role, these fathers and sponsors not only benefited economically but also enhanced their own status and influence, in their particular Gujarati community, both in New Zealand and Gujarat. This is not, of course, to deny the cases when risks were taken out of compassion for the individual or family concerned. Some sponsorships confirmed probable marriage ties between families.

There were also cases where an individual had been unsuccessful in procuring a son and genuinely wanted to adopt one. 73 Such applications for an entry permit for an adopted child were not considered by the New Zealand Government, as minor adopted children of Indians domiciled in the Dominion were ineligible for admission under the Reciprocity Resolution of 1918. 74

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73. Imm. files.

74. E, H, + L - O/B, July 1928, Nos 1-2. This was since one of the conditions was that not more than one wife and her children should be admitted for each Indian. Also HO3050, 1922, L/E/7/128 telegram from Charles Ferguson, Governor-General, to Amery, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 10 April 1928, conveys this. See also p. 3 of some series on adopted sons.
The Customs Department usually caught up with the illegal immigrants when another Gujarati informed on them, either by writing to the New Zealand Customs Department or to the Passport Department at Bombay. The informant was normally a fellow villager who had some resentment against the illegal immigrant or his adoptive father. The racket that operated during the war in the Koli villages around Navsari was exposed when one prospective emigrant to Mombasa from Karadi attempted to obtain a passport and his passage from a broker. At the office in Bombay he had been asked for a fee which he refused to pay, whereupon (he alleged) his passport had been snatched off him. As a result he circulated a leaflet to the residents of Karadi alleging that the broker (a resident of New Zealand), and the firm he worked for were unreliable agents. This resulted in the New Zealand broker filing a suit for defamation before the Magistrate's Court at Jalalpore, which he lost and was required to pay the informant four hundred rupees. Such arguments were often based on deep-seated village or family feuds.

When the Customs Department was alerted to these cases of fraud to gain entry into New Zealand, they would usually place the suspected illegal immigrant on a temporary permit and initiate further enquiries concerning his identity. This frequently meant a visit to the suspected overstayer's residence by the police in New Zealand and investigations

75. For e.g. see P+S, 4499/34-E.
76. Ibid.
into his tax record, bank balance and remittances to India. Often enquiries into the suspect's character were made, such as his reputation in the local community. Further questions frequently were directed to the District Magistrate at Surat who had issued the certificates of identity, or to the Passports Office at Bombay, particularly when an applicant for an entry permit was suspected of fraud.

It was, however, difficult to implement any prosecutions, particularly in cases where a legal relationship certificate had been issued by the authorities in India, although the identities were false. I found twenty-one cases where the individuals were noted as fraudulent sons but were not prosecuted because of insufficient evidence or some defence, such as adoption or language difficulties. Some of these cases had been noted before they arrived in New Zealand but were nevertheless permitted to retain their entry permits. There were eight cases where the permits were cancelled but no prosecutions were made by the authorities in the Bombay Presidency. In addition I noted fifteen cases where the fraud was discovered but it was not possible to trace the outcome. 77

A few others were treated with exemplary severity, usually because there was sufficient evidence to do so. Two Gujaratis were sentenced to be deported and, as noted above, there was a case in which New Zealand citizenship was revoked. Six Gujaratis were listed as having been charged

77 Although it is unlikely that there were very serious consequences otherwise they would have been noted on the files.
under the 1908 Justices of the Peace Act for making false declarations, but the fine was hardly prohibitive as it was usually under twenty pounds.

The more drastic effects of this illegal immigration were practised when these 'fraudulent sons' attempted to procure the entry of their wives and families. In some cases they had been able to call them out to New Zealand before their offence had been detected but for others the Government refused to allow them the rights of Indians domiciled in the country. By the late fifties the Immigration Department made provision for the entry of the sons of illegal immigrants provided they had a satisfactory record in New Zealand and their entry had not been initiated by themselves. Considerable caution was nevertheless exercised,

...the notorious non-assimilation of the Indians together with their lack of virtue as exemplified by the numerous cases brought to our notice of income tax evasion and Reserve Bank fraud would seem to make it desirable to be circumspect in the cases we approve.

One case involved an illegal immigrant who had arrived in New Zealand in 1940 at the age of twenty-six, under the sponsorship of a person described as 'instrumental in securing the entry of several others of doubtful identity'. He made several applications for the entry of his wife and daughter from 1953 onwards, with prominent parliamentarians acting on his behalf. Because he was an adult when he arrived in New Zealand, he was held culpable for his actions and it was suggested by one public servant that if he really

78. Imm. record.
wanted reunification with his family then he should join them in India. By 1959, however, the Minister of Immigration was sympathetic to the case and the family's entry was approved. 79

Another false son of the same sponsor of the above case was not permitted the entry of one of his own legitimate sons by his first wife. As happened in a number of cases, initial applications were made when the son was under twenty-one, but after repeated delays he became too old for entry. In a memorandum to the Minister of Immigration it was noted that if the Department backed down on this one the law would be cheapened and therefore encourage the Indian community in their dishonesty.

The immigration authorities in New Zealand introduced various measures during this period to prevent such fraud. By the mid-twenties, the relationship certificate issued by the Indian Government was standardised in the English language and only documents signed by a Chief Presidency Magistrate in a Presidency town, a Political Officer in an Indian state, or a District Magistrate elsewhere were acceptable. It also became the practice to insist on the production of a certificate accompanies by a photograph and signed by a responsible public official, certifying an Indian's residence in New Zealand before an entry permit was issued to a wife or child. In addition the Indian resident in New Zealand was required to complete a Statutory Declaration.

79. This was for a mother and one daughter. The other daughter and her husband were refused entry as she was over the age of 21 and married.
in the English language under the Justices of the Peace Act, 1908, regarding his relationship to the immigrant. These latter two measures were designed to alert the New Zealand resident to the consequences of any attempts to secure admission for illegal immigrants. As a result of the relatively high numbers of Gujaratis who circumvented the law in the early forties an interpreter was provided by 1944 to translate the document to the declarant and to complete a statutory declaration confirming that he had done so. This was because in some cases where the fraudulent fathers had been caught they had pleaded inadequate knowledge of the declaration they had made under the Justices of the Peace Act.

(e) Geographical distribution.

The settlement patterns established by the early Indian and Gujarati immigrants continued in the years after 1920. A preference for residence in the North Island was maintained, while the few Gujaratis who chose to live in the south were centered in Christchurch city. Only nine male Indians, including seven Hindus were enumerated there in the 1926 census. By 1936 the corresponding figures were 37 and 19. The number of Indian males fell slightly to 30 at Christchurch in 1945 but the total of Hindus rose to 22. This followed the national trend towards greater Gujarati domination of the New Zealand Indian population. It also indicated the beginnings of a settled Christchurch Gujarati


81. All these statistics apply to male full-bloods only.
community, where an Indian Association had been established by 1936. Kolis were the predominant caste there, while fruit-hawking and bottle-collecting (particularly the latter) were the principal occupations followed until the nineteen-fifties.

The Gujarati attraction to Auckland continued but was associated with an increasing proportion settling in Wellington. The actual numbers of Gujaratis and Indians settling in Auckland continued to rise but the proportion slightly declined out of the Gujarati and Indian total population of New Zealand. The movement towards Auckland followed the New Zealand 'drift north'. In 1926, 31.58 per cent of the general population were enumerated in Auckland province while by 1945 this proportion had risen to 35.47. In Auckland city and boroughs, excluding Newmarket, the population increase from 1936 to 1945 was markedly above the average for New Zealand as a whole. The segment of the New Zealand population living in Wellington remained around twenty-one per cent during this period. At the 1945 census the long-term factors given for this 'northward drift' were a more genial climate, more extensive industrialisation, greater suitability for the promotion of dairy farming, a more favourable position in the North Island with regard to

82. See figure 5 for arrivals, 1922-45.


access to world air and shipping routes, and a gradual exhaustion of the gold-bearing areas in the South Island. Some of the short-term effects were a war time concentration of overseas shipping at the main ports (especially in the North Island); a greater relative intensification and expansion of industry (particularly clothing and munitions); and movement both voluntary and due to manpower direction.  

Occupational opportunities were, however, an inducement for Gujaratis to live in Wellington. The establishment of a strong Indian Association there and the associated communal activities were further attractions. As noted in a previous chapter, Kanbis (especially Matias) tended to establish themselves in Wellington. This trend continued from the twenties onwards, particularly as families began to settle in the capital. As Appendix 7 indicates, the proportion of Indians living in Wellington province increased from approximately 19 at the 1921 census to 40 by the 1945 census. During the years of the Depression, the percentages of Indians in Wellington increased by about ten. The proportion of Hindus was higher than that of Indians, which reflected the predominance of Gujaratis in the Wellington Indian community. At the 1945 census, however, thirty-four per cent of Hindus resided in Wellington, lower than the 40 per cent of Indian males living there. The settlement patterns of Indians in Auckland showed a decline from approximately 66 in 1926 to 51 per cent by 1945. The percentage of Hindus

85. Ibid, p. vi.
86. See p. 263.
there also fell to about 56 at the 1936 and 1945 censuses but this was higher than the percentage of Indians resident in the province out of the total New Zealand Indian population.

The only other province in which there was a noticeable group of Indians was Taranaki where approximately four per cent of the Indian and Hindu populations settled during this period. These men were engaged in a variety of occupations such as hawking, greengrocery, farm labouring and scrub-cutting.

The tendency for Gujaratis to settle in urban areas became more marked in the years after 1920, as the proportion rose from approximately 58 per cent in urban areas at the 1926 census to 72 per cent at the 1945 census. This was associated with changing occupational patterns, as many of the first-generation migrants moved out of labouring and hawking in rural areas to working in fruit businesses or as bottle-collectors in the cities. When many of the second-generation Gujaratis arrived in New Zealand, they tended to join their relatives who were already established in the cities. Of equal importance, however, was the growing urbanisation in the country, particularly from 1936 onwards. In 1926 58.74 per cent of the population were urban but by 1945 the percentage had risen to 63.08. This was related to

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87. See table 35. Urban calculated from males in cities, boroughs and town districts. Rural from those in counties and adjacent islands not within counties. Those on ships, etc subtracted from total.

88. Figures are exclusive of Maoris or those on ships. Figures from 1945 census.
the development of improved methods of agriculture and a more efficient transport system, which meant that the same proportion of the population was not necessary for farm production. The war accelerated industrialisation and this also tended to draw people to the major towns.

The changing occupational circumstances of Gujaratis and Punjabis was reflected in the rural areas where they settled. Between the wars there was a decline in the numbers at Waipa, Piako and on the Hauraki Plains, generally reflecting a lessened demand for scrubcutters and workers in flax. The 'peaceful penetration' of Gujarati market gardeners into Franklin County was revealed by the increase there from 17 males at the 1926 census to 27 by 1936. In the same census 35 males were also enumerated in the Pukekohe Borough. Small communities of Gujaratis developed at Hamilton, Rotorua, Dannevirke, New Plymouth, Hawera, Stratford, Wanganui and Palmerston North. This pattern was identical to that of the Gujarati fruit businesses. The groups of 10 to 20 Indians recorded at the censuses in the counties of Otorohanga, Waitomo, the Hauraki Plains, Taumaranga, and Whakatane included both Gujaratis and Punjabis, of whom the latter had a distinct preference for rural work. It was noted on page 292 that a small group of Gujaratis worked in the brickyards at Taumarunui but after they moved

90. See table 39.
91. See p. 413 ff.
into fruit businesses in the late twenties the Indian community at Taumarunui was predominately Punjabi in composition.

(f) Education.

The age at which the second generation arrived in New Zealand affected the education they received and occupations that were subsequently available. All my male Gujarati informants received some formal education, either in Gujarat, New Zealand, or both countries. The majority, however, had the bulk of their schooling in their villages in Gujarat. Because many emigrated at about thirteen years of age they were exempted from attending school in New Zealand as until 1944 the school leaving-age was fourteen years. Some of the younger immigrants received a few years education in New Zealand but because it was short-lived, the benefits were minimal. A further pattern was that frequently the son would join his father at a young age but he would be sent back to Gujarat for the bulk of his education.

The education received in Gujarat was therefore of more importance for this generation. In Baroda State and Surat District, and particularly in those talukas from where the New Zealand immigrants originated, there were high literacy ratios compared to other parts of the Bombay Presidency and India. In the years after the First World War the proportion of literates in these regions steadily increased. In Baroda, the number of male literates rose by 54 per cent

92. In 1944 the school leaving age was raised to 15 years.
between the 1921 and 1931 censuses. This corresponded with a 45 per cent increase in the Navsari Division, while in 1931 the Rasti Division of South Gujarat had the high figure of 48.6 per cent of males recorded as literate. In 1921, 36.53 per cent of males in Surat District aged 20 and over, were classified as literate. A more detailed and relevant analysis for 1931 showed the proportions of literate male Hindus who were not Brahmans, as 15.67 in Bardoli Taluka and 28.12 in Jalalpore Taluka.

The rise in literacy applied particularly to those castes of which the migrants to New Zealand were members. It was noted in the 1931 Baroda census that Talabda Kolis had 'taken to education', and included a number of English literates, matriculates, and 'at least one graduate'. 31.49 per cent of adult male Talabdas were recorded as literate in this census, a figure almost as high as the 38.7 per cent of Kadwa Kanbis who claimed to be literate. Lewa Patidars in Baroda, were however, still far ahead of these two castes with 60 per cent of males as literate. The two Kanbi castes had clearly risen in literacy since the 1921 census, when only 19.31 per cent of male Kadwas and 36.84

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93. Census, Baroda, 1931, vol. 14, pt. 1, p. 313. A literate was defined as someone able to read and write in any language.


95. Ibid, p. 318. Only those aged 7 and over. Note that Semi Rasti and Rani Divisions of South Gujarat had lowest literacy ratios in Baroda State.

96. Census, BP, Imperial Table VIII.

per cent of male Lewas were literate. Increased literacy in South Gujarat was also associated
with comparatively high ratios of English literates there. It was noted at the 1931 Baroda census that English schools
had multiplied during the last thirty years, although most of the pupils were Parsis and Christians. As noted on
page 161 emigration had been one factor in the demand for English education, and at the 1921 Baroda census, the num-
bers of English literates were believed to have been under-
estimated as 'It must be presumed therefore that the losses
through emigration are serious'. A majority of the men who emigrated to New Zealand, however, did not receive
instructions in English, and those who did had only a few years of it at secondary school.

Many of the Gujarati emigrants to New Zealand attended Nationalist schools, which were separate from the institut-
ions maintained by the British. A similar curriculum was followed but with emphasis upon education for Independence
and Gandhian practices and ideals. In 1931 the Karadi Ashram and Nationalist school was the centre of Gandhi's
activities for the Salt Satyagraha. Recently ex-pupils,

98. Census, Baroda, 1921. 6.9% male Kolis were literate but this was not broken down into different sections of Kolis so it was difficult to compare them with Talabdas.
99. 268 males/10,000 which was the second highest after Baroda city. Ibid, p. 324.
100. Ibid, p. 266. 174/10,000 males; South Gujarat.
now settled in South Africa and New Zealand, sponsored a world tour for Manibhai, a prominent teacher during this period. One of his graduates was Rameshbhai Patel who taught at the school until he emigrated to New Zealand in 1940. With the training he had received in Karadi, he was one of the main organisers of the Gita class and Gujarati school in Auckland. In other villages such as Ganesh-Sisodra, there were similar institutions. The village Nationalist schools were integrally linked with overseas migration, and were dependent upon money from New Zealand, South Africa and Fiji. In turn, by providing an education they encouraged further emigration to the countries from which they received donations. G.N. Patel, attended the Karadi Nationalist School until he was nineteen. He then emigrated to Kenya in 1940 where he worked as a clerk. After later qualifying as an accountant he is today employed as one by the Westminster City Council. In the post-independence years the Karadi primary school continued to rely upon donations from the South Africa Koli Association, while the high school depended upon money from Kolis in New Zealand. In most of the Gujarati villages where there has been emigration overseas, such support has been typical.

To some extent the Nationalist schools were modelled on the Gandhian ashrams. Hari Jagu, a Harijan who joined his

102. Informants were Ramesh Patel, Dayal Kesry, Chhotubhai Sima, Ganesh Sukha, Prabhoobhai Nana.

103. Hira Bava was educated there to Standard 2.

father in 1931 aged twenty-one, lived at the Godhra ashram for four years from the age of ten.\textsuperscript{105} This period had a lasting effect on him. His concern with punctuality was instilled by the strict regime adhered to in the ashram. Hari still practises yoga which was another skill he learnt there. He also learnt shoemaking, a craft closely related to his traditional caste occupation. Hari has played an active role in the religious, cultural and educational activities of the Indian Associations in Wellington and Auckland. This interest was developed during his period at the ashram under the guidance of his guru whom he calls 'Mama'.

Some of the Gujarati children who emigrated to New Zealand at a young age, had a few months or years education here before returning to Gujarat to attend high school. Often the son joined his father to guarantee that he would qualify for New Zealand residence. There was still, amongst certain families, a degree of importance attached to a Gujarati education, not just at school but in terms of an understanding of their religion and culture. A further advantage was that a suitable marriage could be arranged during these years. As discussed below,\textsuperscript{106} Shivalal Masters had a few years education at Te Puke before he returned to Navsari for nine years. He has an appreciation of Hindu customs and believes that it was fostered during those years in India.

The Second World War, however, had the effect of

\textsuperscript{105} Several Ints, Hari Jagu.

\textsuperscript{106} See p. 394.
prolonging such stays in a number of cases for a longer period than the students' fathers had intended. Abdul Samad Bhikhoo arrived in New Zealand in 1936 aged eight and attended school for three years. He did not return to New Zealand until 1948. Fortunately he did not have any problems in obtaining extensions to his re-entry permit, but for others there were complications when it came to claiming permanent New Zealand residence. In the post-war years the Customs Department was concerned to prevent Indians from sending their sons back to India for an education as this was considered to lead to them being 'indoctrinated in the Asiatic way of life'. There was, in fact, no direct evidence to support such a claim.

There were some matriculates amongst the second generation of migrants. Two Kolis, one from Bodali and one from Supa came to New Zealand, the former in the nineteen-twenties, and the latter in 1947. The man from Supa was the youngest of three brothers, two of whom were residents of Wellington. He had been able to secure an education in English medium with their assistance.

Lalbhai Patel, a Kachhia, was also sent to an English-medium school. With these qualifications he joined his uncle in 1938 at the age of eighteen on a student's

107. Int, Abdul Samad Bhikhoo.
108. 22/1/134, memo for Minister of Immigration from Director of Employment, 23 February 1953.
110. Int, Parbhu Naran.
permit. He studied law while he lived with his uncle and assisted him in his fruit shop in Auckland. It took him eight years to gain his Bachelor of Laws degree, his major difficulty being the Latin prerequisite for the course. Lalbhai went into a partnership and was the first Gujarati solicitor to practise in New Zealand.

Another matriculate from Ganesh-Sisodra, Chunilal Madhu, arrived in New Zealand in 1937. He also helped in his uncle's fruit shop in Auckland but found this work mentally unsatisfying. He was able, at the age of twenty-one, to gain ad eundem admission to Otago University Medical School and to gain his medical degree.

As noted in Chapter IV the variety of education the migrants had received in Gujarat was not always of much relevance for life in New Zealand. Most of the second-generation of migrants, however, received more schooling than their fathers, and possibly because of the younger age at which they arrived in New Zealand they acquired a greater fluency in English. A much larger proportion were able to read and write in English which proved a definite advantage in business. There was little difference in the mathematical curriculum pursued at the schools in New Zealand and Gujarat so at least in this area those with an Indian education were not at a disadvantage. The younger ones had some education in New Zealand, as for example, Khusal Madhu who sailed to

111. Int, Lalbhai Patel. Entry Register.
112. Int, Chunilal Madhu.
Auckland in 1921 aged thirteen. He was the first Indian boy to attend the Nelson Street school where he was put in Standard Three, on account of his mathematical ability and some knowledge of the English language which he had acquired in Fiji. Khusal completed Standard Four before 'skipping' a class to Standard Six. Like many New Zealanders, he wanted to attend secondary school, but his father could not afford to maintain him and it was imperative that he support himself. Keshav Parsot had also received some education in Gujarati medium at Astagam before he joined his father at Auckland at the age of eleven. When he attended school there he was given individual tuition so that within six months he had learnt English. He passed 'proficiency', the school-leaving examination, but like Khusal was unable to attend high school as his father was unable to support him.

Shivalal Masters, who is very articulate in English, had his initial education at the Te Puke school from 1929 for twenty-one months before he returned to Gujarat for the rest of his education. While there he learnt accountancy and bookkeeping, and continued to learn English by correspondence from England. His command of the language must have been very good, for when he returned to Wellington in 1940 he taught English classes for immigrants and students of all nationalities at the Wellington Technical College. He simultaneously trained as a fitter and turner, and as a

114. Int, Keshav Parsot.
115. Int, Shivalal Masters.
tailor.

Most of my informants had pleasant memories of school in New Zealand and gave the impression that it made a welcome change from the routine of the fruit shop. Until the arrival of Gujarati women most of the school children lived in a totally male environment except for when they attended school. There was also little time for 'play' at home as they were usually expected to help their fathers or uncles in their fruit businesses after school hours. Gulabbhai Moral, the first Gujarati male born in New Zealand in 1926, had visited Karadi in 1929 with his parents and two sisters, but after the death of his mother only he and his father returned to Marton. The following quotation reveals some of the impressions of being the solitary Indian boy in his local community,

As a small child in Marton I have no recollection of any racial bias whatsoever. I had plenty of school friends, and I think probably I was rather spoilt by some of the local mothers, as my mother died in India in 1930, and I was brought up by my uncle in Marton. Being such a small community and being the only Indian among them I think helped in no small way to my being accepted just as another child. I have pleasant memories of meeting people I knew in Marton, many years later and talking about the 'good old days' and they were happy days for me.116

He attended New Plymouth Boys' High School where 'being the only Indian boy at school probably helped me a lot as far as making friends and being accepted socially', although it was at this stage that he began to become aware that he was of a 'different heritage', mainly because of attitudes towards

the opposite sex. Gulabbhai was one of the few New Zealand Gujaratis of this generation to attend university. Because he has spent almost all his life in New Zealand Gulabbhai displays more of the characteristics found amongst third-generation Gujaratis. He demonstrates a greater confidence in the English language as most of his early contacts were with English-speaking friends and families, although he did become President of the New Zealand Indian Central Association during the nineteen-seventies.\(^{117}\) The majority of the second-generation Gujaratis in New Zealand were still more at ease in Gujarati, although they had command of English as well.

Ibrahim Bhikhoo who was thirteen when he arrived in New Zealand in 1925 said that the Maori children at Te Kohanga school helped him by communicating with signs until he learnt English.\(^{118}\) Like many of the Gujarati schoolchildren he was given special tuition by a schoolteacher. As a result Ibrahim developed a good command of written and spoken English.

In contrast to this, other informants recalled being teased at school when they made errors but said they could laugh it off.\(^{119}\) An informant who arrived at Wellington in 1925, aged ten, was educated at the Mount Cook School where he had to fight 'those boys who made fun of him'. Possibly

\(^{117}\) This relates to most leaders being part of two cultures. See p. 632.

\(^{118}\) Int, Ibrahim Bhikhoo.

\(^{119}\) Int, Khusal Madhu.
because of such pressures he 'didn't take much notice of school'.

(g) Occupations.

Occupational patterns for Gujaratis continued to deviate from those of the general New Zealand population. The most noticeable trend was consolidation in the commercial sphere, especially in fruit and vegetable trading. The greengrocer thus became the stereotype formed by New Zealanders of the Indians here. This, as we noted, was a pattern that began in earlier years. From 1920 to 1945 there was a decline in the numbers of Indians attracted to agricultural work, and an even bigger drop in the numbers involved in hotel and domestic work. This corresponded with Indians entering other spheres, in particular industry. As far as is possible, the relationship of these patterns to the two different generations of Gujaratis in New Zealand will be discussed, in association with their effect on cultural maintenance and ethnic identity.

The biggest occupational attraction for Gujaratis in New Zealand was and always has been fruit and vegetable retailing. This proved particularly popular with those who wished to develop a family business. Such a goal was easier for certain individuals than for others. While it may be accepted that an 'entrepreneurial ethos' was and is very much alive amongst Gujaratis, especially those who migrated to New Zealand, there was still a wide gap between the successful and not so successful. Indeed it depends upon

120. Int, Ranchhod Rama.
which cultural framework is accepted as a means of defining what constitutes success or failure. The Gujarati ideal was self-employment, especially with a family business, with the founder as head of both spheres. The attraction for self-employment was strong enough for most Gujaratis to mean that it was preferable to run a bottle-collecting business than being employed in a factory with a regular income. Job satisfaction was of little importance except that it should provide opportunities for economic advancement.

The pattern that emerged in the years before the Second World War was for most Gujaratis to try to establish some sort of independent business. It will be noted, however, that many of these were short-lived, often because of external factors, particularly the Depression of the thirties and the brevity of the boom enjoyed by the small rural towns in which many of these businesses were located. Table indicates the high percentage of Gujaratis who were employers or self-employed. The percentage of employers was approximately five at the 1926 and 1936 censuses, which corresponded to about half of the national percentage. By

121. R.M. Burdon, The New Dominion, A Social and Political History of New Zealand, 1918-1939, Wellington, 1965, p. 134, notes that 'In the early thirties farming was New Zealand's major industry to an even greater extent than it is today. Commercially and economically its ramifications were all-pervading. When farmers dismissed employees, gave up spending, and left debts unpaid, a reaction set in from the effects of which few could escape - certainly those who had nothing to sell but the work of their hands.'

122. See table 36.
TABLE 36
Grade of occupation of Indian full-bloods, compared to general population of New Zealand, 1926-45. Males and those actively engaged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade of Occupation</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>NZ pop.</td>
<td>Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>11.06</td>
<td>4.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on own account</td>
<td>29.28</td>
<td>14.26</td>
<td>51.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative assisting</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-earner</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>70.01</td>
<td>36.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed + partly</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>5.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1926-45. 'Relative assisting' means working with no wages.
Partly unemployed are those not on relief work. In 1926 this was 20 or 2.74% of Indians. 19 or 2.6% were unemployed but on relief work. Amongst the NZ male population, 7.12% were classified as unemployed and 3.23, partly unemployed in 1936. Note that in 1945 the category of wage-earner included those in the armed forces.

TABLE 37
Estimated number and percentage of European and Asian retailers in the main cities of New Zealand, c. 1936.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Number of retailers</th>
<th>% of Asian: European Retailers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunedin</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1945, however, the proportion of employers was equivalent to that of the general male population of New Zealand. The most noticeable differences were in those classified as working on their own account. In 1926 29.28 per cent of male Indians came within this category but by 1936 the effects of the Depression were discernible, when approximately 51 per cent were self-employed. The corresponding proportion in the general population in 1926 was 14.26 per cent but by 1936, this had dropped to 12.75. By the 1945 census, the percentages of New Zealand males who were self-employed fell to 11.64, while that of Indians was 29.65. This was a substantial drop since the 1936 census, but was still considerably higher than that of the general population. As in the years before 1920 there was still a hierarchy of grades in these small businesses and it now remains to examine them.

Oral reports suggest that while hawking fruit continued to be an important livelihood for some Gujaratis in the years after 1920, it was beginning to lose its popularity. This was associated with an increase in the number of fruit shops which could directly employ new immigrants or the less enterprising, those who formerly would have been more likely to have hawked fruit. Traffic congestion in the inner city areas put an end to fruit-hawking by barrow.\textsuperscript{123} A further reason for the decline in the number of Indian hawkers was that many of those who would have followed this trade preferred bottle-collecting. Numerically there was a decline

\textsuperscript{123} Pat Lawlor, \textit{Old Wellington Days}, Wellington, 1959, p. 84, noted this.
in Indians working as hawkers from 32 at the 1921 census to 24 at the following one. The comparative percentages of Indian working males employed as hawkers were 5 in 1921 and 3.36 in 1926 which clearly indicated the drop in numbers. 124

Unfortunately the results of the census after 1926 do not differentiate hawkers from the more general categories of greengrocers or fruiterers. This also reflected the decline in this type of occupation, although oral reports suggest that during the Depression hawking did assume importance as a source of livelihood, particularly for those who were reliant on wages.

It is difficult to obtain specific details of hawking as it was a transitory trade in New Zealand and did not operate in one place. There were, however, three Indians recorded as hawkers in Auckland during the twenties, all operating from Alexander Street. This was situated between the inner city suburbs of Newton and Kingsland, both areas of dense population. One of these men, Odhav Kuverji, was one of the first Gujarati migrants to New Zealand from Ganesh-Sisodra. 125 Of course, it was unlikely that hawkers could have afforded or needed to advertise in the Trades Directories, so it was not surprising that there were no other entries until 1938, when Chhita Jivan was classified

124. It should be noted that such categories are ambivalent and some hawkers may have defined themselves as greengrocers etc. Figures refer to male Indians, not dependants.

125. Hira Bava confirmed that Odhav did hawking, labouring and entered into service. The other two hawkers mentioned were Chas. Ambalah and Bhana Bhula.
as a hawker operating from 72 Cook Street in Auckland.

Oral reports suggest that in the earlier years of this century Grey Street was an area that attracted a number of Asians in Auckland, of whom many were hawkers. Antagonisms and competition were not absent, as was revealed when Ranchhod Parsotam, a hawker of Grey Street, assaulted Naranji Daya of Te Papapa, an area to the South of Auckland city, on St. Patrick's Day in 1926. Naranji's counsel stated that his client, 'a small man', had been kicked by Ranchhod, 'a big man', at Te Papapa and that Naranji was now in mortal fear of his life. In reply to these allegations, Ranchhod's lawyer said that he denied this and that some time ago Daya had sold his fruit-round, complete with horse and cart, to Ranchhod for one hundred and twenty pounds and had left for India. Upon returning to New Zealand Daya resumed working his old fruit round which annoyed Ranchhod. 126

Hawking also continued in rural areas. When Hari Jagu arrived in New Zealand in 1931 he hawked fruit and vegetables in the Frankton Junction region for a few years, using a horse and cart. 127 Sukha Parsot also hawked there but was killed in an accident in 1931. 128 At Tauranga, Ibrahim Musa, a Muslim, hawked fruit with a barrow from his arrival in New Zealand in 1925 until he opened a general store on Matakana

126. AS, 26 March 1926. The case was adjourned for one month, but I found no further reference to this case in the AS.


128. Waikato Times, 8 June 1931, 10 June 1931.
Island.\textsuperscript{129}

As we noted above, a significant factor in the reduction of hawkers was the establishment of fruit shops. This had the greatest effect on hawkers who had operated in fairly dense areas of population, particularly in rural towns, the inner city, and nearby suburbs. By the mid-thirties the practice of leasing fruit-stands in central Wellington had ceased. Local shop-keepers considered this system to be unfair competition. Shops paid high rates, rents and taxes, and more stringent regulations were enforced than with a fruit-stand.\textsuperscript{130}

Most of the new greengrocery businesses were opened by men who had begun as hawkers. For hawking to remain a viable trade, it therefore became necessary to provide services to customers who did not have a convenient fruit shop close by. This meant that the sphere of hawking shifted to the outer suburbs and to rural towns in the hinterland. While there had always been hawkers in these areas it became necessary for the hawker to cover a greater number of customers in as short a time as possible. The horse and cart became less of a regular feature, as the hawkers adapted to economic pressures by delivering their goods by van or car. This necessitated a greater capital outlay although if motorised the hawker could expect greater returns.

The Fruit Marketing Committee of 1937 discussed the

\begin{flushleft}
129. Int, Mohamed Musa.

\end{flushleft}
activities of the new 'lorry hawker' who with a heavy motor lorry was able to travel much further afield.\textsuperscript{131} Usually these men called on the orchardist and negotiated for lower-grade fruits. With the competition of a large number of lorry-hawkers, house-to-house distribution was dropped in favour of selling the fruit to the retailer and at wholesale fruit markets, which tended to lower the prices for the grower. Criticisms were also directed at the unregulated hours the lorry-hawkers worked.\textsuperscript{132}

Most Gujaratis, however, continued to deal directly with the customers at their homes. Lala Bava, for example, began his ventures into the fruit business by assisting his father, Bava Kana, to sort fruit for his round. This covered the area around Titahi Bay and Porirua. When Bava retired to Ganesh-Sisodra in 1931, his son bought the fruit round from him but modernised the business by changing from a horse and cart to a truck. The business appears to have been reasonably successful as it lasted approximately twenty-five years. Lala Bava then ran a bottle-collecting business from 1962 until 1967.\textsuperscript{133}

Lallu Morar, a first-generation migrant, spent nearly twenty years working at odd jobs such as hawking fruit and bottle-collecting. In the years after the depression he was able to start a motorised fruit round in the Johnsonville

\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Ibid}, p. 122.
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Ibid} pp. 122-124.
\textsuperscript{133} Int, Lala Bava. He combined the latter with taxi-driving and then later, a paper delivery.
area adjacent to Wellington city which lasted several years. Another informant, Ranchhod Rama, started a fruit round in the early thirties around Titahi Bay. He used a truck until he visited India in 1939 when he passed the round to his brother. The brother sold the business when he also visited his village. Ranchhod, however, continued to sell fruit by this method when he returned to Wellington after the war. He continued doing so until he invested in shops and other business ventures.

As noted in Chapter IV the goal was to lease and eventually run one's own fruit shop. There were two ways this could be achieved. The first and the most common path chosen in the earlier part of this century was to begin by hawking, collecting bottles, or labouring until enough capital was accumulated to lease either a fixed 'stand' or a small shop. Ravji Hira, for example, hawked fruit, cut scrub, and was employed in brickworks until after the Second World War when he was able to buy a fruit shop at Karori with his son. He had some previous experience in running the business of a friend when he was away on a visit to India. Ravji's business at Karori was not successful as the local people would not be seen going into his shop although they would buy from hawkers who called at their homes. Ravji then worked in a nickel factory while his son continued to work in the fruit business, but this time for an

134. Int, Lalu Morar. Also registered in WNZD.
135. Int, Ranchhod Rama.
136. Int, Ravji Hira and Narsai Ravji.
uncle. Around 1955 they managed to find a suitable grocery shop at Petone where they still remain.

The second means of acquiring a fruit shop, one which became increasingly common, was to begin working for an 'established' Gujarati fruiterer and then either become a partner in his firm or else start a separate venture. This method became more popular with the demise of hawking as a common form of retailing. It was the usual pattern for the second generation of Gujarati immigrants, in contrast to the earlier ones. The period that the individual stayed working for wages was not long, however, as it was convenient for his employer to invite him to be a partner. With registration as a partner, the Shops and Offices Act of 1921-1922 and it's amendments could be circumvented. The implementation of the 1927 Shops and Offices Amendment Act meant that this was in fact illegal, as a fruiterer's shop could only be registered in the name of one proprietor as occupier, although the other persons in the shop may not have considered themselves assistants. The occupier was required, when requested by the Inspector, to display in a conspicuous place in the shop, a timetable in English showing the hours that each shop assistant was engaged in the shop. No assistant was to be employed in the shop outside his set working hours.\(^{137}\) The 1937 Fruit Marketing Committee noted, however, that Asian fruiterers were evading these regulations as they were only enforceable upon notice by the Inspector.\(^{138}\)

\(^{137}\) NZS, 1927, no. 53, s. 23.

\(^{138}\) Fruit Marketing Committee, Report, 1937, p. 132.
Most of the Gujaratis who began as assistants were usually the new arrivals and the sons or nephews of the employer. When Dayal Kesry arrived in New Zealand in 1931 at the age of twelve he had some education there before returning for a further period to India. From 1939 to 1953 he was in the fruit business with his father, Keshav Parsottam at 'Kesry & Co', of Manners Street in Wellington.139

Lala Bava came to New Zealand in 1928, aged thirteen, to join his father, Bava Kana.140 For two years he attended school in Wellington and after school hours helped his father sort vegetables for his fruit round. Lala claims that not much of his education 'sank in' so as we have already observed he worked for his father after leaving school. When Bava retired to Ganesh-Sisodra in 1931, Lala bought the business from him.

Because partners were strictly self-employed it is impossible to ascertain from census figures if they were partners in the usual meaning of the word or really under the employment of someone else. Table 36 indicates that less than two per cent of Indian males were classified under the categories of unpaid 'relatives assisting', which was a lower proportion than that for the general New Zealand male population.141

Figure 4-B shows the dramatic rise in the percentage of working Indians employed in commercial occupations, from

139. Ints, Dayal Kesry, WNZD, 1938-47.
140. Int, Lala Bava.
141. See table 36.
approximately 30 per cent at the 1921 and 1926 censuses, to around 47 per cent by 1936. This was a substantially higher proportion than the general New Zealand male population, in which approximately 15 per cent were classified under the general category of both commerce and finance. Until 1936 this was the third-largest industry in which New Zealand males were employed, after primary production and industry.

By the end of the war, the percentage of male Indians in commerce had dropped to 34. This reflected the tendency of Gujaratis to be self-employed, particularly in small fruit businesses and as hawkers, frequently of a short duration during the years of the Depression.142 In 1945, however, the proportion of New Zealand males employed in commerce and finance was only 13, as employment in the public service and professions had superseded the former category in importance. The Fruit Marketing Committee of 1937 noted the high numbers of Indians and Chinese fruit retailers in the four main centres, particularly in Auckland and Wellington.143 The respective percentages of 18.95 and 42.18 of the total fruit retailers were Asians.144

A further indication of the number and variety of Indian greengrocers may be gleaned from oral reports, immigration records and Wises' Trade Directories. There was a considerable growth in the number of Indian fruit businesses

142. See table 36.
143. Fruit Marketing Committee, Report, 1937.
144. See table 37. In Dunedin 20.17% of fruit retailers were Asians but these were all Chinese.
in the twenties. This fell off in the thirties and was renewed after the Second World War, thus reflecting the changing economic circumstances. In both Auckland and Wellington, the two main centres of Gujarati settlement, fruit shops were located both on relatively densely populated main streets in the inner city and in the more sparsely populated outer suburbs. In Wellington, the streets favoured by Gujaratis for business were the inner city streets of Cambridge Terrace, Courtenay Place, Lambton Quay, Tui, Manners, College, Cuba, Taranaki and Tasman Streets. Adelaide Road, a long route running from the city to the nearby suburb of Newtown attracted several Indian fruitshops, as did Riddiford Street which continues from Adelaide, Colombo, Waripori and Rintoul streets, also situated in Newton, were also popular as venues for fruit hawking.

There were also five different Gujarati fruit shops recorded on Coutts Street, a main road in the suburb of Kilbirnie. Many of the other suburbs had a single Gujarati fruit shop, such as those run by Ravji Hira and his son at Karori, Lala Ramji at Moxham Avenue in Hataitai in 1934, Lallu Morar's business at Johnsonville, the 'Moral Bros' at 97c Upland Road in Kelburn in the forties, Vallabh Ramji at 44 Washington Avenue in Berhampore in the thirties, Natha Vithal at 81 Aro Street in the thirties and forties, and V. H. Patel at 17a, and Dullabh and Rama Madhaw at number 21,

145. A large proportion of the data in this section was confirmed by WNZD. See note on use of directories, p.283 fn, 103.

146. Int, Ravji Hira.
Rotherham Terrace in Miramar in the forties.

Following substantial residential and industrial development in Petone, Lower and Upper Hutt in the thirties and forties, Gujaratis began to open fruit businesses there. In Petone the Bhana brothers opened a shop at 223 Jackson Street (the main street), while Bhana Nana and Kanji Bhula ran a business at number 303, and Bhana Vala one at number 214. On Randwick Road in Lower Hutt, Perna Dullabh operated a fruit business at number 101, along from Vallabh Daji at number 131. There were several greengroceries opening up to the north of Wellington as the Hutt Valley became urbanised. Tawa, now a heavily populated area in the Valley, had a Gujarati greengrocer named L. Baya establish a business there during the Second World War.

In Auckland some Gujarati businessmen began operating in the inner city areas, but because rentals were high most transferred their fruit businesses to the main arterial routes leading out of the city. Only four Gujarati fruiterers were registered in the directories at Greys Avenue and Grey Street as this area attracted fewer Asians by the thirties. The fruit shop under the name of Keshav Chhiba Bodalia continued throughout the twenties on Quay Street, although the founder of the business had died during the

147. Census, NZ, 1936, "Increase and Location of Population", p. viii, noted the outstanding development of Lower Hutt where the population more than doubled in a decade.

148. WNZD, - also lists Bhula bros as having a greengrocery at White's Lane, Lower Hutt.

149. WNZD.
influenza epidemic.\textsuperscript{150} Naran D. Patel ran a fruit business at 25 Wellesley Street in 1924, and Ranchhod B. Patel at 132 Victoria Street West in 1932, both at the centre of the city. These were, however, the only references which I found to inner city Gujarati fruit businesses during this period. In the twenties and thirties, the most popular roads for green-groceries were Ponsonby and Jervois which run in a line from Karangahape Road. There were fourteen separate fruit businesses run by Gujaratis on the former two roads.\textsuperscript{151} During the thirties and forties more fruit shops began to open on Great North and the New North Roads (the main route to the Western Suburbs) and on Sandringham, Dominion, Manukau and Mt.Eden Roads, all major roads traversing heavily populated suburbs.\textsuperscript{152} The censuses indicate the dispersal of Gujaratis from the city to nearby boroughs. In 1926 147 Indians were enumerated in the city but by 1936 this total had dropped to 98. By 1945 there were 157 Indians in the city. Meanwhile, the numbers of Indians residing in Takapuna, Devonport, Mt. Albert, Mt. Eden, Otahuhu and Onehunga increased as they established greengroceries there.\textsuperscript{153} To the south of Auckland Dahya Kanya opened a fruit shop on the Great South

\textsuperscript{150} Int, Parshott Parbhu, Bodali, F.T. 2, \textit{WNZD}, see p.

\textsuperscript{151} Information from \textit{WNZD} and \textit{A 1938/59, List of Registered Members of Auckland Indian Association, Incorporated.}


\textsuperscript{153} Figures are for male and female fullblooded Indians. See table 38.
### TABLE 38

Number of male and female full-blood Indians resident in Auckland City and Boroughs, 1926-45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1926 M</th>
<th>1926 F</th>
<th>1936 M</th>
<th>1936 F</th>
<th>1945 M</th>
<th>1945 F</th>
<th>1926 M</th>
<th>1926 F</th>
<th>1936 M</th>
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</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1926-45, Race, Aliens.
Road in 1934, while in the forties there were businesses on
the same road at number 288, run by Unka and Sons, and at
number 419 under P.D. Patel. In Onehunga, an older borough,
Naranji Dahya and his son, Maçanlal operated a greengrocery
at 226 Queen Street (the main street).¹⁵⁴

There were few fruit shops on the North Shore of
Auckland as residential development did not thrive there
until after the harbour bridge was opened in 1959. Devonport
and Takapuna, were, however, well served by a regular ferry
service, so there had been considerable settlement there
before the Second World War. As noted in Chapter IV
Bhana Dahi and Natha Govind established a business at
Devonport before 1920, which continued in the twenties.
After the war the firm of Daya and Son at 23 Victoria Road
Devonport was started. Mr. Daya built up a regular clientele
over the years and the business is still run by his son.

During this period there was also a marked growth of
Gujarati fruit businesses in the rural towns of the North
Island. Many of these began in the twenties or earlier, some
being established fruit businesses that were bought from
Europeans by Gujaratis. B. David and Co, which had branches
at Rotorua, Stratford, Wanganui and Hawera, was bought by
Bhana Chhiba before 1920. His brothers Bhikha and Nana, and
his cousin Keshav Vallabh were all partners, and several
other Gujaratis were employed in this venture.¹⁵⁵ The
business established by William Shire on High Street in

¹⁵⁴. A/938/59, WNZD, 1930.
¹⁵⁵. See pp. 284, 419-20.
Dannevirke was bought out by Chhiba Pancha. After his arrival in New Zealand around 1920 he found initial employment with his relatives at the Rotorua branch of B. David and Co. By the forties a Chhiba Panchia was also listed as a fruiterer at Eltham, a town situated on the opposite side of the North Island to Dannevirke. Keshav Parshottam from Matwad, took over the Hawkes Bay Fruit Co from a Greek owner in 1924, after working in various labouring and hawking jobs since his arrival in New Zealand in 1912.

A further example of a large business that was established by a Gujarati before 1920 was that run by the Moral brothers. They had branches at Marton and New Plymouth, towns separated from one another by approximately two hundred kilometres. There was an additional branch at Feilding, a town close to Marton. Wallabh Soma Moral founded this business after his arrival around 1917 from Dallafalia, Karadi. He appears to have made a decision soon after his

156. WNZD, 1938-47, lists the fruit shop 'Wm Shire and Co' at 134 High Street, Dannevirke. 1944-7, the shop at Eltham also noted. Other data from J.K. Natali, November 1980.


158. WNZD, Moral bros, 1921-24 at Devon St E, New Plymouth and Marton. By 1944 the same address at New Plymouth had shifted to 84 Devon St W, Wallabh Soma Moral was still at Marton.

159. WNZD, 1921-26, Fergusson St, Feilding.

160. ASL, notes that Wallabh Soma arrived on Willimora, from Sydney to Auckland aged 25 years with 5 other Gujaratis. Ganesh Sukha, an informant from the same village believed that he arrived in 1915.
arrival to settle permanently in New Zealand as he was the first Gujarati to bring his wife to New Zealand, and he made no effort to maintain the family house in his village.

These Gujaratis invested in such businesses during the early twentieth century, at a time when there was steady development in the rural sector. Because most of the above businesses had many branches they tended to have a high turnover of employees. Often these were related kin or village mates, and usually recent arrivals in the country. Parshott Parbhu, for example, arrived in New Zealand from the village of Bodali in 1925 and worked for two years for Bodalia and Co, a firm managed by Gujaratis from Bodali and situated in the Square at Palmerston North. He also found employment in a fruit business at Hawera before opening his own shop at Ke Kuiti. Today it is run by a friend of Parshott.

Because of a shortage of capital, few Gujaratis bought rural fruit businesses during the economic recession of the late twenties and early thirties. In the late thirties the Indian greengrocer, as distinct from the hawker of earlier years, began to make his appearance in certain areas. Attracted by the established success of Bodalia and Co in the square and by the steady development of Palmerston North other Gujaratis opened businesses there. Nine different

161. See p. 473.
162. Int, Bodali, F.T.2, also WNZD.
163. Census, NZ, 1936, "Increase and Location of Population" p. viii, noted this. Also 1945, p. viii.
ventures were noted in the Trades Directories for this period, of which three were situated in the Square. These included those of W. Bodalia, Dahya Patel and Mitha Naran. Naik, Patel and Co and Dahya Patel's other business were located on Main Street, while Gujarati fruit shops run by W. Bodalia, Hira Ranchhod, Rama brothers and Dahya Ranga were located on the other important streets.

As noted above, the Moral brothers owned shops at Marton and Feilding, both towns close to Palmerston North. During this period Dahya Bhangia and the Daji brothers also operated fruit businesses at Marton. In the same region Bhula Manga owned a fruit shop at Foxton in the thirties, while Gujaratis worked as fruiterers in the city of Wanganui. Taranaki, a prosperous dairying province, also provided opportunities and during the twenties businesses opened in several of the towns there. Gujaratis such as Chhiba Panchia and Unkla Ravla opened shops at Eltham in the thirties and forties. At Stratford, the second largest town in this region, four different Gujaratis ran fruit ventures during this period. There was a similar attraction to Hawera where B. David and Co had a branch. In New Plymouth, the main centre of Taranaki, it appears that the Moral brothers dominated Gujarati business as there were no others noted as


165. The following were recorded in WNZD, as greengrocers at Hawera; Bhana Makan, 48 Victoria St, 1944; Sukha Ravjee and Co, 18 Union St, 1936-47; Patel Bros, 86 High St, 1932; Lala and Co, 121 High St, 1938.
operating there.

A few Gujaratis also established greengroceries in the Eastern half of the North Island. Most were attracted to Dannevirke in the northern Wairarapa. Chhiba Pancha's business of 'Bill Shire' was the main employer of Gujaratis in this region, but there was also a fruit shop owned by Bhana Hari in Dannevirke in the late thirties and one by the Patel brothers in the forties. There were even two Indian fruit businesses noted at Waipukurau, a small town south of Hastings.**166** Possibly because of the sparse settlement on the East Coast, not many Gujaratis were attracted to this region.

Nevertheless, a considerable number of Gujaratis worked in the King Country and Central North Island, both areas of scattered population. Where a specialised fruit shop could not be supported it was more common to open a general store. In addition there was difficulty in obtaining supplies of fresh fruit and vegetables.**167** Ravla Nanji did, however, open a fruit shop in the small town of Raetihi from 1929 to 1932, in the midst of the Depression.**168** At Tokaanu, on the southern edge of Lake Taupo, M. Hari ran a fruit business during the thirties and forties, which would have competed for trade with the store owned by Morar Chhiba.**169** Further north in the centre of the King Country, fruit businesses


**167.** See p. 285.

**168.** Int, Lala Ravla, Matwad, F.T. 2.

**169.** See p. 429.
were run by Naran Dhedia, Parshott Parbhoo and I. Patel, in the predominately Maori town of Te Kuiti. R.M. Sukha also established a greengrocery in the nearby town of Otorohanga.

It has been noted that Gujaratis and Pundjabi were present during the early twentieth century living in and around Taumarunui working as scrubcutters and in the brickworks so it was not surprising that some bought into fruit businesses in the town. Bhana Ravla, Parsot Bhawan and B. Patel all ran such ventures there in the late thirties and forties. The other main rural centre in which Gujaratis settled and opened shops was Rotorua. Rama B. Patel had established a greengrocery there by 1917 causing alarm amongst groups such as the Returned Soldiers' Association. He was still doing business there by 1932. Throughout this period Keshav Vallabh managed the Rotorua branch of David and Co which employed many Gujaratis.171

A feature of these fruit businesses was frequent changes in ownership. The geographical mobility noted in the years before 1920 continued, although it was somewhat restricted during the period from the twenties to the forties. This was reflected in the employment patterns of Gujaratis working for other fruiterers. Vacancies might only arise when an


171. WNZD, Int, Keshav Vallabh.
employer or employee was visiting India, so that when he returned the employee could be faced with finding alternative employment with another fruiterer. Such vacancies could send the employee to various parts of the country. There was a degree of financial risk involved in the establishment of these businesses and many arrangements were not envisaged as permanent. When business was slow the employer might suggest that his employee work for someone else. Mobility was particularly high during the Depression. Because of the village and kin networks in the Gujarati community it was, however, reasonably easy for a fruit shop employee to find work elsewhere. This is illustrated by the case of Ranchhod Pancha 172 who came from Dhallafalia, Karadi, arrived in New Zealand in 1923 and worked as a farm labourer at Paeroa for two years before finding employment with the firm of B. David and Co from 1925 to 1931. The proprietors of this firm were from Bhulafalia, Matwad, and related to him by kin and caste. After a few years absence in India Ranchhod returned to work for the Moral brothers (who were also from Dhallafalia) in their fruit business at New Plymouth. He earned approximately one hundred pounds a year and his board provided. After a brief spell there he moved to Wellington to establish a successful fruit business with his two brothers. 173

Lala Ravla from Avdafalia, Matwad, also illustrates this pattern of mobility. He was employed with both B. David and

Co and 'Bill Shire and Co' at Dannevirke when he returned to New Zealand after World War II and claims that he was a shareholder in the latter business. At David's shop he recalled receiving 'bed and tucker' and the basic wages. He must have been able to amass sufficient capital as he opened his own fruitshop at Woodville, which his sons still run today. Govind Kalidas, from Nachhad, who arrived in New Zealand in 1939 was a partner in the Dannevirke business and eventually was able to open his own fruit shop at Milford on the North Shore of Auckland. His two sons and daughter-in-law are now doing a busy trade there. There are several examples of recently arrived Gujaratis working and moving within the larger businesses, particularly in the rural towns, before settling and opening their own enterprise. 174

Personal reasons also accounted for some occupational changes, or simply the prospect of better chances available elsewhere. For example, Parbhu Chhiba, who sailed to New Zealand in 1928 from Karadi at the age of seventeen years, initially found employment in a fruit shop at Taihape for a few months. Although he was treated well he only received £1-1-0 a week. As the business was unsuccessful he joined his father in Wellington. Parbhubhai worked in hotels for six years before he ran a fruit business from 1934 to 1937 in the capital. After a two year visit back to India he established a successful business back in Wellington. 175

Partnerships and businesses changed hands for similar

174. e.g. pp. 414-5, 419-20.
'Bhana Bros', Ponsonby, Auckland.
reasons to those stated above. Of significance were visits to India and personal reasons, but of equal importance was the economy at both a national and local level. In some cases rentals became too high for the fruiterer to continue in certain areas, or else his lease or business was sold to some other concern. There are several examples, documented in the Trades Directories, of a fairly rapid succession of changes. One such example is the fruit shop at 129 Ponsonby Road. In 1926 it was registered under the name of Daya Bhana, and from 1927 to 1928 under K. Daji and son. In 1932 Jeram Gopal, a former bottle-dealer, ran the business, until finally by the mid-forties the Bhana brothers, the name under which the business still operates, took over. In addition to all these changes of names, the business was simultaneously registered under Mewa Ramjon from 1919 to 1934.

The fruit business at 229 New North Road provides another example of the succession of Gujarati owners. N.B. Patel and Co ran it in 1932; from 1934 to 1939 Bhana Gopal was the proprietor; and he was succeeded by N. Keshaw from 1947 to 1949. I found slightly less changes amongst the fruit businesses owned by Gujaratis in Wellington. There were some examples, such as the business at 516 Adelaide Road run by R. Ranchhod in 1934 and then by Chhagan Parag in 1944. It is more difficult to document changes in the ownership of fruit shops in rural areas or changes from one city to another. Oral reports suggest that there was a

176. See plate 4.
reasonable degree of movement from Auckland to Wellington, but slightly less in the other direction. It did, however, take place as, for example, with Keshav Parshottam who ran the business of 'Kesry and Co' in Wellington during the thirties and forties. He also had a business at Matamata in the early fifties but eventually settled at Papakura around 1954 where he opened a fruit business with his son Dayal.

A smaller number of Gujaratis were also involved in other spheres of retailing, such as operating general stores, drapery and tailoring businesses. In the Wises' Trades Directories between 1920 and 1949 only 16 Indians were listed as proprietors of general stores, of which most were located in isolated rural areas. The censuses also indicate the small number of Indians involved in commercial occupations as storekeepers or grocers. A peak number of 31 was recorded in this category at the 1936 census taken after the Depression, but by the post-war census it had dropped to 25.

The following case provides a further example of geographical mobility between country stores, which was facilitated by kin connections within the Bhikhoo family. When Esup Bhikhoo joined his father, Ismail, in New Zealand in 1923 he immediately went to Te Kohanga near Port Waikato where he assisted his father in running a general store.177 By 1925 Esup's twelve-year-old brother Ibrahim had joined them and he attended the local school until he joined his

brother in the shop when their father retired to Manekpore around 1927. Esup visited his village in 1930 when Ibrahim took over the business and then when Esup returned to New Zealand, Ibrahim made a visit home in 1933. By the late nineteen-thirties, Esup had opened a general store at Kawhia on the West Coast of the North Island. Ibrahim also went into a partnership in a store at Te Puna, near Tauranga, from 1938 to 1939, which he then took over. Ibrahim did not enjoy the isolation, finding the lifestyle monotonous, and so tended to move around different general stores. This was reflected in his next move to Opotiki, to the east of Tauranga, where he opened a shop for eighteen months. In 1940 he managed his brother Esup's stores at Huntly and Tuakau before he visited Manekpore for the second time.

When he returned to New Zealand after the war he ran a store at Tuai, an isolated village near Lake Waikaremoana in the Urewera National Park. His next move was more settled when he opened a shop in Auckland city in 1951 which lasted until 1966. In the meantime Esup was a partner in a store at Huntly during the thirties, until he dissolved the partnership and carried on the business alone. In the fifties he moved to Auckland where he ran a shop in England Street for six years. This was interrupted by a trip to Manekpore.

Upon returning to Auckland he opened a second shop for eighteen months, but it proved to be unprofitable.

Ibrahim Musa, another Gujarati Muslim, joined his

father Isab in 1925 at the age of seventeen. After hawking fruit from a barrow around Tauranga they opened a shop on Matakana Island where they catered to the local Maoris employed in forestry work. Ibrahim also owned a second store on the mainland, near Tauranga. Like the Bhikhoos he too had moved to Auckland by 1956 where he opened a confectionary business on Victoria Street West.

The Natali story illustrates the diversification that was possible with initial investment in a remote general store. Indeed, it is a 'classic' example of expansion based on entrepreneurial enterprise, which J.K. Natali himself has acknowledged. In the King Country he and his wife opened a general store at Waimiha, a small, remote and predominately Maori community. As noted on page 274 they had unsuccessfully attempted to establish a business in Auckland in 1922. Mr. Natali then worked for another Indian at Waimiha before opening his own business with his wife. Before the Second World War Natali invested in other businesses and properties such as the King Country Timber Company at Waimiha. When he initially attempted to purchase nearby property at Mapiu, in October 1944, the Crown opposed him at the Taranaki Land Sales Court. The Crown argued that Natali was unduly aggregating land, 'in view of the fact that he was not a farmer himself and he was not a suitable man to own property such as this'. Natali's counsel claimed that his client

179. Int, Mohamed Musa.
181. Ibid.
intended to retire on the property in the next few years and farm the 739 acres. This was the only reference I found to a Gujarati buying a substantial farm, although it seemed likely that Mr. Natali did not seriously see himself as a farmer. At the hearing it was revealed that Natali had shares in a farm at Taumarunui, had purchased the Waimiha boarding-house in 1925, a building at Birkenhead in 1938, Pegler's Building at Manurewa in 1940 and flats in Birkenhead in 1941. In addition, his wife had purchased four house properties in Auckland. The Crown won its case but Natali appealed to the Land Sales Court at Hamilton. Because the property had been abandoned and was not considered suitable for an ex-serviceman, Mr. Justice Finlay ruled that the sale to Natali should be allowed. \(^{182}\)

By the end of the war, Natali had left the Waimiha store in the care of his daughter and her husband and moved to Browns Bay on the North Shore in Auckland. He had accumulated a considerable amount of money from his investments and during the fifties lived comfortably, serving as a director of Natali Investments Limited. Natali and Company Limited, King Country Timber Company Limited, Taranaki Timber Company Limited, Tamaiawhana Timber Company Limited, Paepaeroa Farming Company Limited and Napier Estate Limited. \(^{183}\) During these years Natali was able to serve a term as President of the New Zealand Indian Central Association.

While he was at Waimiha Natali soon became a local

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183. Business card, Natali's scrapbook.
identity in the area and was well accepted by local Maori and European communities. His marriage to a European would have eased this. When he and his family left on a world trip to India and England in 1946, a farewell function was held by the local community in the 'Natali Hall' at Waimiha. One of the guests referred to the place of honour the Natali family held in the community and 'said that Natali's store was famous for its service, especially in the trying war period'. Upon the family's return from their trip the Maoris of Waimiha formally welcomed them home with ceremonies and a dinner at the local Pa. When Mr. Natali's daughter married a local man from Waimiha at Auckland, the wedding was reported in considerable detail as being of interest to many King Country people. Princess Te Puea Hera of Ngaruawahia was present at the wedding, which indicated Mr. Natali's 'mana'.

Natali also had a reputation as a benefactor when he helped local settlers in the Depression. He donated £100 to the local Returned Services' Association and promised them an interest-free loan towards building a new club.

185. Ibid, June 26, c.1949. "Waimiha Reception". They were also welcomed by residents of Waimiha and the King Country at the local hall.
188. Ibid, c. early 1940s. Memo from Te Kuiti and District Returned Services Association to J.K. Natali, Waimiha, 3 November 1945, thanking him for payment of 500.
He must have been a successful businessman as he was able to donate the net profits from his store to the government during the war and raise a large sum of money for the Red Cross. Of a 1120 victory loan raised by the people of Waimiha the Natali family contributed forty-one per cent.

In another part of the King Country, Dahya Lala ran a general store called Lala and Co at Kakahi, a lonely spot near Taumarunui. When Dahya opened the store there in 1935 the town was thriving with a population of around three thousand. His father Lala Sukha had earlier opened a fruit shop at Hamilton, and was also able to manage the Kakahi store when Dahya visited Gujarat during the war. In turn, Dahya's son Manu arrived in New Zealand in 1949 aged seven and was raised at Kakahi where he eventually took over the store. Peter McIntyre has sketched this settlement and noted the importance of the store as the focus of news and social life in Kakahi. 'Here you can buy anything from a rifle to a raisin. Manu and Kamu have retained the old style casual, personal touch that died elsewhere with the advent of the supermarket.' Dahya was very well known in the area and according to McIntyre, had a very good relationship with his customers.

Most of the other general stores operated by Gujaratis

189. Ibid, c. 14 August 1943.
190. Ibid, letter to Editor, from "Waimihaite".
were also situated in the central North Island. By 1932, Morar Chhiba from Jalalpore had opened a store at Tokaanu. He employed a number of Gujaratis over the years, some of whom he sponsored to New Zealand. Dahya Lala worked for him before he moved to Makahi. Morar's sons also worked in the business and today they run a grocery and fruit shop at Turangi, the town which superseded Tokaanu in growth in the nineteen sixties.

There were also stores opened by Gujaratis around Lake Rotorua. Bhana Wallabh ran one at Ohinemutu, situated on the outskirts of Rotorua. It was listed there in Wises' Trades Directory from 1934. By the late thirties he had opened one in the centre of the town on Lake Road. C. Bhana also had a store here after the war. Nearer to Kawarau Dahya Ratanji had a store at Te Teko in the post-war years. Since his arrival in New Zealand in 1920 he had been a tobacconist at 118 Hobson Street in the centre of Auckland city.

Why did these Gujaratis prefer to live in such isolated areas area from their countrymen? One reason was the chance of buying into such businesses at a reasonably cheap price

193. WNZD, Int, Manu Lala.
194. WNZD, Bhana Wallabh, Ohinemutu, 1934.
195. WNZD, Chhiba Bhana, Lake Road, 1947. Ram and Das ran a store 1925, Whakarewarewa. May not have been Gujaratis. Also possibility S.F. Kara, who had a store at Ruatoria, on the edge of East Cape, 1934 was a Gujarati.
196. WNZD, A 1938/59, Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA, mentions he was an executive of Auckland Indian Association, 1926. He was on the list of members of Auckland Indian Ass, 1938. WNZD, Storekeeper, 1947. This lasted from 1950s-60s.
during the pre-World War II period. Some proprietors were able to endure the geographical and social isolation for a number of years, while other owners sold up, often to other Gujaratis, and moved elsewhere, after only a short period of time. Today many of these general stores are no longer necessary as most people in isolated rural communities have their own transport. This was not common until after the Second World War, particularly in Maori communities. Population movements also affected their fortunes. When wide-scale movement from the country to the cities increased during the war the population of many of these small settlements declined to such an extent that they could no longer support a general store. During the fifties many of these Gujarati proprietors followed the 'urban drift' and settled in Auckland or Wellington.

A second pattern amongst these storekeepers was that many (such as Natali, the Bhikhoos, the Musas and the Rupas) belonged to castes or a religion in which there were few representatives in New Zealand. They could not rely on kin, caste or village support to the same extent as the fruiterers. In Mr. Natali's case, he still remained active within the Indian Association, but established his business enterprises on his own account without relying on Indian support. The Muslim families of Bhikhoos and Musas were able to utilise immediate family help and the Bhikhoos were fortunate in that the presence of four males enabled them to operate stores and leave them in one of the brothers care if they chose to visit India. For these men, who did not belong to the main Gujarati castes in New Zealand, there was little need to be
resident in Auckland or Wellington.

A third factor that encouraged a preference for store-keeping was that Indians generally were readily accepted by their Maori clients, possibly to a greater extent than Europeans. Most of my informants who lived in these communities enjoyed the friendly, relaxed life-style, although as Ibrahim Bhikhoo noted it could at times be extremely dull.

In the urban areas very few Gujaratis ran grocery businesses, but instead remained entrenched in fruit retailing. It is not clear whether this preference was by choice or related to difficulties in acquiring a grocery shop, either in terms of capital, clientele, or a licence. A few exceptions were noted, such as in Wellington during the forties when Dahya and Ranchhod ran a grocery shop at 22 Adelaide Road, the road favoured by a number of Gujarati greengrocers.\textsuperscript{197} Naran-Gopal also operated a store on the same road at number 59.\textsuperscript{198} Another store was V.H. Patel and Co at 25 Dundas Street.\textsuperscript{199} Parbhu Naran was listed as a grocers at 39 Union Street when he joined the Indian Association in 1944, while Baldev Singh Jhouty, one of the few Punjabis living in Wellington was his shop assistant.\textsuperscript{200} In Auckland the only case I found of a Gujarati-owned store during this period was that named Patel and Naranji. This

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{197} WNZD, 1947.  \\
\textsuperscript{198} W44/36.  \\
\textsuperscript{199} WNZD, 1944-7.  \\
\textsuperscript{200} W44/36.  \\
\end{flushleft}
was situated at Glen Eden, an outer suburb of Auckland.\textsuperscript{201} The partners who operated it were Naranji Dahya and Parbhubhai Kasanji, both from Bhuvasan. Naranji, a first generation migrant, had an occupational history that neatly fitted the usual pattern of being a hawker in the twenties at Te Papapa,\textsuperscript{202} to opening a fruit shop on Manukau Road in the thirties and forties, and then investing in the store at Glen Eden.\textsuperscript{203} Parbhubhai had been sponsored to New Zealand by Naranji in 1932 and was a partner in the fruit shop before he ran the store at Glen Eden with his wife.\textsuperscript{204} It was not, however, until the late fifties and sixties, that Gujaratis began to expand their fruit businesses and invest in dairies, supermarkets or grocers.

Gujaratis did not invest in other areas of retailing apart from fruit, grocery or general stores. An exception was Dhedia Bhana who came to New Zealand in 1914 from Karadi and opened a drapery business at Frankton Junction. He imported silks and hosiery and did most of his trade from a motor lorry.\textsuperscript{205} By the forties he had moved to Waganui where he continued in the same business, called D.B. Patel and Co. Another exception was Hira Bava, who after the Depression was able to invest in a milk run at Wainuiomata which lasted from 1937 until 1962. He was able to leave it

\begin{enumerate}
\item 201. \textit{Ibid.}
\item 202. See p. 402.
\item 203. \textit{WNZD}, Ints, Gulabben Patel, A1938/59.
\item 204. \textit{WNZD}, Ints, Thakor and Shanti Parbhu.
\item 205. \textit{WNZD.}
\end{enumerate}
in the care of his son, who had arrived in New Zealand in 1938, while he tried an orchard venture at Kerikeri after the war.206 His son eventually took over the milk business.

The second major occupation into which Indians were attracted was primary production, in particular agricultural and pastoral work. While there was a slight decline noted in the percentage so employed between the 1916 and 1921 censuses,207 during the post World War I period until the end of the Second World War the numbers and percentages increased. In 1921 only 16.6 per cent Indians were employed in agriculture, but by the 1926 census this had risen to 22.2 per cent and by the 1936 census peaked at 28.7 per cent. By the post-war census taken in 1945, there was a substantial drop to 19.2 per cent employed in agriculture. It should be noted, however, that an unusually high number of 146 or 18.8 per cent of Indian males were employed as sailors. These men were not part of the permanent Indian population of New Zealand. The drop in the numbers in agricultural work also paralleled a decline in those employed in forestry, saw-milling, mining and quarrying. Nevertheless, at all times there was only a small number of Indians working in these industries.

The above pattern of Indian employment in agriculture corresponded to that of the New Zealand male population, in which 31.58 per cent were engaged in primary production in

206. Ints, Hira and Jivan Bava.

207. See p. 227. The following figures are exclusive of dependents and include half castes.
1926. This rose to 33.35 per cent at the census taken after the Depression but drastically fell to 26.27 per cent in 1945. Until the post war years the majority of male New Zealanders were employed in the primary industry sector but by 1945 a larger proportion were in the secondary and tertiary industries.

A large proportion of Indians employed in rural occupations were Punjabis, although Gujaratis continued to work as farm labourers and scrub cutters. This normally applied to the more recently arrived immigrants, but during the Depression, some Gujaratis roamed the countryside in search of work, as did a number of unemployed New Zealanders. Gujaratis also became established as market gardeners during the years between the wars, particularly at Pukekohe.

The table of occupational groups, available from the 1926 census, allows a finer examination of rural occupations, although it should be noted that categorisation could be ambiguous. A large proportion of Indians employed in rural occupations were classified as farm labourers at the 1926 and 1936 censuses. At the former census they accounted for 39.4 per cent of those classified under agricultural and pastoral industries. By 1945 only 34 or 22 per cent were in the same occupational group. Most of these labourers were employed on sheep, dairy and mixed farms, as few Indians

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208. This includes only males actively engaged.

were classified as farmers. The increasing number of sharemilkers and dairy farmers were almost all Punjabis.

Oral and documentary reports have confirmed that Gujaratis continued to work as farm labourers up to the forties, often combining this with scrubcutting and drain-digging. The census returns reveal that few Indians classified themselves in these industries. The effect of the Depression is indicated, however, by the scrubcutter-bush-feller increase from 24 at the 1926 census, to 41 in 1936. By 1945 only 10 Indians were in this category. While land was cleared in the North Island, the demand for scrubcutters continued. The shift in occupation by Gujaratis can be partially explained by increased capital accumulation and heightened life-style expectations. Especially once Gujaratis began to send for their families to join them in New Zealand.

Both Ganda Hira and Ranchhod Pancha recalled working on a dairy farm at Paeroa. Ganda arrived a few years after Ranchhod and worked with three other Gujaratis on this farm. This was during the late twenties, at a time when they had all found it difficult to procure work. Ganda stayed there for one and a half years before joining his brother at Pahiatua to cut manuka on a contract basis. As he was anxious to earn more money Ganda worked as a greengrocer at Palmerston North, but found it unprofitable. This was during

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210. Evidence, 1929, p. 55, by Nurse O'Gorman, Taumarunui noted that Hindus worked on European and native farms and cleared gorse.

211. Ints, Ganda Hira and Ranchhod Pancha.
the Depression and when he returned to farm labouring he found that wages were only fifteen shillings a week. There being 'no chance to make money', he returned to India from 1934 to 1946 and in the more prosperous post-war years was able to acquire a fruit shop at Kingsland in Auckland.

Hira Bava also confirmed this grim picture of the Depression, although he eventually managed to find work as a farm labourer earning eighteen shillings a day on a large farm. He shared a tent and worked with five Gujaratis. Following this he ventured to Northland and for six years cultivated a small sixteen-acre citrus orchard with his brother Jivan. They both recalled enjoying the relaxed atmosphere and pleasant climate there. Hira and Jivan mixed quite freely with the local Maoris and did not miss the support of the Gujarati community they had known in Wellington. The venture was, however, unprofitable and so they returned to the capital.

After Parbhu Naran arrived in New Zealand in 1920 he spent the next seventeen years working in rural labouring occupations. He found it impossible to acquire work in Auckland when he first arrived and after an unsuccessful attempt at growing potatoes at Pukekohe he journeyed south to Reperoa, a small predominately-Maori community between

212. Int, Ganda Hira.
213. Int, Hira Bava.
214. Ints, Hira and Jivan Bava. Census, NZ, 1936, noted 1 Indian employed in fruit and nut grocery.
Taupo and Rotorua. He was the only Indian employed on a road labouring gang. This was work he found strenuous, but he enjoyed living with his Maori workmates. He then lived for five years in the even more isolated spot at Kaiangaroa, the largest pine plantation in New Zealand, where he cut scrub and planted trees. His next employer was the Taupo Timber Company, an Australian firm which in 1934 paid sixteen shillings and sixpence a day for his labour. Parbhubhai recalled a few other Gujaratis working there, although he mixed with all nationalities. It seems that Parbhubhai's brother was concerned at his isolation from his countrymen, as he visited him at Taupo and persuaded Parbhubhai to manage his grocery shop for him while he visited India. By 1937 Parbhubhai had settled in Wellington.

The only division of farming in which Gujaratis were self-employed and invested capital was market gardening. During the twenties, and increasingly in the thirties and forties they began to establish themselves as market gardeners, particularly in Franklin County. In 1921 four Indians were returned at the census as market gardeners and by 1926 this had increased to only six. In addition there were smaller numbers of Indians classified as dairy farmers and 'gardener undefined'. The increase in the number of Indians settled in Franklin County and in Pukekohe Borough correlates with the entry of Gujaratis into market gardening.216 In addition to those Gujarati farmers, a smaller number worked as market gardeners at Otahuhu, such as P. Budhia,

216. See table 39.
TABLE 39
Number of Indians resident in Franklin County and Pukekohe Borough 1916-45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Franklin County</th>
<th></th>
<th>Pukekohe Borough</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1916-45, 'Race Aliens'. The above figures include mixed and full-bloods.
Ravji Kaya and Bhana Chhita. 217 At Awakeri, near Whakatane, Bhana Budhia, was a farmer during the late thirties, although it is unclear as to the type of farming he pursued. 218

In the early twenties about fifty to sixty Gujaratis worked at Pukekohe as labourers for European market-gardeners. 219 Some of these men began to lease a few acres, paying between ten and twelve pounds per acre. 220 Working initially on a part-time basis they grew their own potatoes and onions. By 1929 at least five Indian market-gardens had been established at Pukekohe, 221 although land was still only leased. 222 According to Tiwari, the first Gujarati to settle in Franklin County was Mitha Unka, although no details were given about him. 223 Other Gujarati growers who settled in the district by the mid-twenties were Jeka, Uka and Kanji Chhiba who together leased twenty-two acres. 224

217. WNZD, respective years were 1934-9, 1938, 1947. Occupation, gardener.


219. Evidence, 1929, p. 83, Mr. Cronin, President of WNZL, probably exaggerated the numbers. Also see p.


221. Report of Committee on Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens, 1929, A-J, G-11, p. 2. [hereafter referred to as Report, 1929] Evidence, 1929, p. 78. Mr. Thompson, the Inspector of Health, noted one Indian garden in Pukekohe Borough and 4 in Franklin County. There were 2 Chinese market gardens in the county and 5 in the borough.

222. Int, Keshav Parsot.

223. Tiwari, p. 57.

224. Evidence, 1929, p. 102, 118 A-E.
B. Lala who worked five acres; D.P. Patel; and a joint property leased by P. Lala and Tribhovan Girdhar. Kanji Chhiba's eleven year old son Parag joined him in 1924 from Kasbapar. Following his father, he too became a market-gardener, as did his own sons. The numbers of Indian market-gardeners were never as high as that feared by the White New Zealand League, but by the 1936 census, 67 Indians had settled in the Franklin County and Pukekohe Borough. The 17 founding members of the Pukekohe Indian Association were all listed as market-gardeners by occupation.

Several factors were instrumental in attracting Gujaratis to this occupation and to Pukekohe. Like most of the employment chosen by the first and second generation immigrants the hours were long, the work tiring, and financial returns were not always predictable. Like hawking or bottle-collecting, the initial entry into market gardening required little capital, and the greater the effort the greater the returns that could be expected. Keshav Parsot was initially attracted to Pukekohe in 1932 when he learnt from a friend that he could earn five shillings a day picking and bagging potatoes for European growers. He had been earning only seven shillings and sixpence a week as an assistant in a fruit shop in Auckland. He leased land at Pukekohe and eventually saved enough to buy some property. Farming,

226. See table 39.
228. Int, Keshav Parsot.
therefore, offered the further attraction of being self-employed, a goal already noted as central to the Gujarati aspirations and ideals. In both New Zealand and Gujarat land was a status symbol for Gujaratis. Of more importance were the economic advantages and security offered by investing in land. Pukekohe was attractive to market-gardeners because of the ready and ever-increasing market for crops in nearby Auckland.

As with other occupations, once some Gujaratis had established themselves in it, their village, caste or kin associates were attracted to the same area and occupation. Contemporary observers, such as Mr. Denniston, a Pukekohe grower noticed this. 'One man will come and lease a piece of land', he commented, 'and then the others will follow.'

Madhav Kalidas Master, his son Haribhai, and Motiram and Naran Vallabh were all Pukekohe market-gardeners from Sisodra-Alak. The latter two were members of the Bawa jat, as was Tribhovandas Girdhar, another market-gardener although from the village of Astan. Makan Lala, Uka, Jeka and Kanji Chhiba, all early migrants to New Zealand from Sagra, established themselves as market-gardeners at Pukekohe during this period. R.C. Hari, also a second-generation migrant

229. Evidence, 1929, p. 95.
from Sagra, joined these men. Once some Gujaratis established their own farms in the district, other Gujaratis came to work for them instead of for Europeans. In turn they were offered interest-free loans and help in acquiring their own land, a practice that aroused the opposition of the local European growers.

The 1929 Committee on the Employment of Maoris on Market-gardens noted that Hindus tended to employ Hindu labour. When additional help was needed (usually during the main crop from October to February) the growers employed Maoris, either on a contract basis or at a daily rate. Profits could still be made as low wages were paid, with an average of four to five shillings per day for weeding and thinning vegetables. Higher rates of pay were given for bagging potatoes. Nevertheless, the above committee noted that Maoris generally preferred to work for Chinese or Hindu employers, as they were more considerate at advancing finance on prospective earnings, giving monetary assistance and supplying vegetables in slack periods. For these reasons, it was noted that Maoris would leave the employ of Europeans to work for Asians. This resulted in the White

233. Ibid and Int, Magan Ranchhod, Bombay (NZ) 17 September 1977. Note that there is an area in South Auckland called Bombay.

234. See ch VII. Also noted NZH, 6 February 1952.


New Zealand League accusing the Asians of 'enticing' their labourers away. The same fears were expressed in 1952, when it was estimated that more than one third of market-gardens in Franklin County were owned or under lease to Asiatics, of whom around fifty were Indian growers. 237

Up to and including the 1936 census the hotel industry attracted the third-largest contingent of Gujaratis. The numbers and proportions, however, declined sharply from 13 per cent at the 1921 census to 6.34 per cent by the 1936 census. 238 By 1945 only 46 or 5.7 per cent were enumerated in this occupation. These were still substantially higher proportions than those for the New Zealand male population. 239

As in the years before 1920, 'service' was generally perceived of as a temporary measure and as soon as an outlet in the fruit or bottle-collecting business became available, hotel work was usually abandoned. A major consideration was the low rates, as for example, by 1922 in Auckland the average wage for hotel employees was about £2 per week. 240 Khusal Madhu, however, spent approximately thirteen years in this type of employment. 241 He had arrived in New Zealand

237. NZH, 6 February 1952.

238. See figure 4-B.

239. Of those males actively engaged: 7.82% - 1926, 2.43% - 1936, 2.15% - 1945.

240. NZH, 9 January 1922. Awards fixed by Arbitration Court varied according to region and number of employees in the hotel. Compare these rates to a basic wage of 1s. 3½d to 1s. 7½d per hour for unskilled workers, fixed by the Courts on 8 May 1922. /In Burdon, New Dominion, p. 457.

in 1921 at the age of twelve and then spent two years at school. His first occupation was as a houseboy for Sam White and Sons in Auckland for six months. He only earned one pound a week and so took up the offer of work as a shop-assistant for B.N. Morar in his fruit shop at Frankton Junction. After three years there, Khusal spent another six months employed in a guest-house at Havelock North, while his father Madhu Kera visited Gujarat. When Madhu returned to New Zealand he called Khusal back to Auckland where he found steady employment as a kitchen-hand at the Sacred Heart College from 1926 to 1939, with eighteen months break in India. Khusal said that he was treated well by his Catholic employers and that he preferred the secure employment during the years of the Depression. He spent the duration of the war in India and when he returned to Auckland he was able to fulfill the usual 'goal' of Gujaratis and purchase a fruit shop. This was situated on Richmond Road, where he remained for fifteen years.

Other informants who managed to find similar employment during the Depression tended to remain in it during the lean years. Both Lala Ravla and Parbhu Chhiba joined their fathers in New Zealand in 1928. Lala's father, Ravla Nanji, had a shop at Raetihi which he sold during the Depression, while Lala found work as a porter at the Arcadia Hotel in Wellington. He recalled that he and four other Indians earned £2-7-6 a week. Lala left New Zealand in 1940 to spend the next eight years in India and East Africa. When

242. Int, Lala Ravla.
he returned after the war he became a partner in a fruit shop in Palmerston North for three years. Parbhu Chhiba also was initially employed in a rather unsuccessful fruit business until he moved to Wellington where from 1928 to 1934 he worked in hotels. His next step was to open a fruit business in the city. 243

The occupational group which superseded hotel work as a major employer for Gujaratis was manufacturing and industry. In 1926 9.3 per cent of the Indians in the work force came within this category, which was considerably lower than the 25.84 per cent so employed amongst the New Zealand male population. By 1945 the proportion of Indians was only slightly higher at 10.3 per cent, but it should be remembered that an unusually high proportion were sailors, included under the category of transport and communication. At the 1936 census there was a drop in the proportion of Indians working in manufacturing and industry by over 50 per cent to 4.87 per cent. This partially reflected the recession in these occupations during the years since the 1926 census, although within the New Zealand male population, the proportion remained almost the same as in 1926. While the numbers of Gujaratis employed in industry were slowly rising, by the end of the war, approximately 30 per cent, the largest occupational group of New Zealand males, were in industrial work.

Within this category Gujaratis were employed in a variety of factories and trades. This diversification

243. Int, Parbhu Chhiba.
increased after the war when many new industries developed, but it was not until the fifties and sixties that large numbers entered these occupations, either voluntarily or through economic necessity. In 1926, the majority of Indians in the industrial category were employed in flax-mills, mostly in the Foxton area. The majority of these mills ceased production during the Depression which explains why only two Indians were noted as flaxmill hands at the 1936 census. This work was hard but wages were comparatively high. Employment in brickworks also ceased during the Depression period. Most of the other Indians recorded as working in industrial and manufacturing were employed in foundries, light engineering, car mechanics, food processing, meat processing, bakeries, printing and clothing manufacture. Those who were tailors or cobblers fell within this category. Few of my informants were engaged in industry or manufacturing, apart from tailoring, shoe-making and in the brickworks. Shivalal Masters provided an exception, as he trained, and was employed as a fitter and turner, as well as a tailor, after he returned to New Zealand in 1940.

As noted in the previous chapter, bottle-collecting was


245. See p. 291 for discussion of brickworks. 1926, 6 Indians - brickwork. 1936, 5 Indians working in stones, clay, earthenware, glass and minerals.

246. See p. 511.

247. Int, Shivalal Masters.
an occupation that assumed some importance for Gujaratis after 1920, particularly during the years of the Depression in late twenties and early thirties. It is unclear why there was a numerical drop in the numbers of Indians employed in the dealing of scrap metal, waste materials and old bottles at the 1926 census, a decrease from 30 at the previous census to 19. By 1936, 53 Indians were involved in this occupation which indicates the numbers that were attracted to it during the Depression. Of this latter figure, 31 were classed as scrap metal and bottle dealers, as distinct from those who gathered bottles. For the same occupation the numbers were similar in 1945 when 34 were classified as dealers and 15 as gatherers.

The attraction of Gujaratis to bottle-collecting was confined to certain areas, especially Wellington and Christchurch. While the majority of Gujaratis were settled in Auckland, only a few took up bottle-collecting or a related occupation such as dealing in scrap metal. Only two references were found in Wises' Trades Directories, of which one was Jeram Gopal, a bottle dealer in the twenties. By 1932 he had a fruit business at 129 Ponsonby Road. Mobility from bottle-collecting to a fruit shop was a typical trend. Andrew Patel was also listed as a dealer who operated from Church Street in Auckland. Oral reports suggest that Gujaratis mainly entered this trade in Auckland in the pre

248. WNZD, 1924-5. bottledealer. 1932 - he was a fruiterer.
249. WNZD, 1934.
1920 period or the twenties. Two exceptions were Makan Jivan and Lala Bhana, both first-generation immigrants who in 1938 ran a second-hand business at 108 Union Street in Auckland.

It is not clear why so few Gujaratis were engaged in the bottle business in Auckland. The most plausible explanation is that opportunities for employment in fruit shops and in hawking were considerably greater than in the rest of the country, particularly as Auckland's population grew and new suburbs developed.

Wellington was the main centre in which Gujaratis were bottle-collectors and dealers. This was frequently combined with fruit hawking until enough capital could be saved to invest in a fruit shop. A number of Gujaratis, however, ran quite large bottle-collecting concerns for a number of years and found it profitable enough to be the sole means of income. There were, indeed, sufficient numbers for the Gujarati bottle-collectors of Wellington to form their own group in 1943, the Wellington Indian Bottle Dealers and Waste Products Association. A list of twenty-six members and those entered in the Trades Directories indicate the locations from which these men operated their businesses. The addresses coincided with those of the inner city fruit

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250. e.g. a man from Balafalia Karadi, Kesha Daji (See p. ) Naran Vallabh's father; collected bottles in Auckland in the 1920s, Jaggivan Lallu.

251. A 1938/59.

retailers which indicates the connections between the two trades.

A second pattern was that the bottle-collecting businesses were frequently run as partnerships. More than two men were often recorded at the same address. Four bottle-collecting businesses were noted in the forties on Adelaide Road. At number 108, Jivan Dahya, Dahya Kalyan and Dullabh Naranji shared a business, while at number 47 Dahya Bala, and Dahya Bava worked together. At number 6 were Kuverji Bhagwan, Bhikha Hari and Dahya Rama. Ravjibhai Hira recalled in an interview collecting bottles and hawking fruit until he bought his own business and lived alone at 161 Adelaide Road.²⁵³

In Taranaki, Tory and Vivian Streets, there were three groups, each of four Gujaratis working and living at the same address. Tui Street seems to have attracted a number of such businesses. One of these five, belonged to Lala and Jivan Bava who were both second-generation migrants. Jivan recalled that they collected up to four hundred dozen bottles a day, mainly from dustmen, and then sold them to the breweries. The brothers ran the business in the thirties and forties while Lala also operated a fruit round. Jivan attempted farming with Lala at Kerikeri, but later returned to Wellington in the sixties where from 1962 to 1967 he and Lala operated another bottle-collection depot. This time people deposited the bottles with them, so there was less time and energy involved, and according to Jivan a comfortable

²⁵³. Int, Ravjibhai Hira, on W43/36.
profit was made, one that enabled him to retire to a newly-built house at Ganesh Sisodra in 1970.\textsuperscript{254}

While many Gujaratis viewed their period in bottle-collecting as temporary, for others, particularly during the Depression, it was considerably lucrative. An informant in Wellington recalled that his father acquired a Model T Ford and ran a successful bottle business during the twenties and thirties in Wellington.\textsuperscript{255} Ganda Nager, the President of the Bottle Collectors' Association and the New Zealand Indian Central Association, also ran a large business from 100A Freyberg Road.

It was under Nager's initiative that the Wellington Indian Bottle Dealers and Waste Products Association was formed in 1943.\textsuperscript{256} Kanji Bhana, another collector, acted as secretary. According to Lallu Morar, a cousin of Nager's, the organisation was precipitated by the unfair treatment the Indian bottle-collectors felt they were receiving in Wellington. In 1928 the Wellington City Council passed a by-law requiring all Indian bottle-collectors to wear a strap on their sleeves. On behalf of its members, the Wellington Indian Association arranged a deputation to the Council. The Council subsequently amended the by-law, substituting a requirement that a small bottle-collectors badge be placed on the coat instead of wearing arm bands.\textsuperscript{257} During the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{254} Ints, Lala and Jivan Bava.
\item \textsuperscript{255} Int, Ranchhod Rama.
\item \textsuperscript{256} W43/36.
\item \textsuperscript{257} Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA. Ints, Dayal Vallabh, Lallu Morar, See p. 651.
\end{itemize}
forties, the manager of the Dominion Breweries bottleyard, who, was also a City Councillor, insisted that the Indian collectors stack crates when they delivered bottles to the yard.\textsuperscript{258} Lallu Morar recalled that the Wellington Indian Bottle Dealers and Waste Products Association, through Nager, made representations to the Council, with the effect that Indians were no longer required to stack crates.

The Wellington Indian Bottle Dealers and Waste Products Association can also be understood as an attempt to form a trade union in which membership was based on ethnicity. It was clearly stated in the objects of the Association that it was formed to assist the common welfare of the group and their interaction with those in the same occupation:

\begin{quote}
To afford means of reference and communication and to promote better feelings between Indian and European bottle dealers and Waste Products workers and Merchants.\textsuperscript{259}
\end{quote}

The other two objects were more closely related to the actual trade, that is to watch and consider proposed changes of prices relating to bottles, and to inform every member on matters concerning bottles and waste products. The Association, was, however, short-lived, as the Assistant-Registrar of Incorporated Societies noted that the Association had issued no financial statements from 1945 to 1955. On 13 March 1957 Nager wrote to the Registrar stating that the Association was now non-existent and had been for some

\footnote{258. Informant was Lallu Morar. It is unclear if this applied to all collectors or just Indians.}
\footnote{259. Rules, W43/26.}
years. The main reason for the short span of this organisation was that by the early fifties few Indians in Wellington (unlike Christchurch) were operating as bottle-collectors. During the forties bottle-collecting, as with fruit hawking, became motorised, which tended to push the smaller-scale collectors out of business. An article in the Christchurch Star Sports noted that until about 1920 bottles were collected by handcart and that after 1920 the horse and cart gradually replaced the barrow. This made the work easier and enabled a larger area to be covered. In the thirties and forties this method of collection also came to be superseded by the truck.

Christchurch was the second main city where a number of Gujaratis were attracted to bottle-collecting. It is suggested that it was a more important occupation for Gujaratis there than fruit retailing until the nineteen-fifties. Most of these bottle dealers and collectors operated from streets such as Colombo, Madras, Durham, St Asaph and Southwark (which are close to the city) or in streets such as Kingsley, Battersea and Falsgreave, located in the inner city suburb of Sydenham. Lala Patel was an exception to this pattern as he worked as a marine dealer from Clyde Street in Fendalton in 1924. He and Rama V. Sheba were the only

260. 16 April 1957, Assistant Registrar dissolved it.
262. All this information is from WNZD.
263. Probably not a Gujarati.
Indians listed in these occupations during the twenties. The main years for Gujarati involvement in bottle-collecting began in the Depression of the thirties. M. Budhia estimated that in Christchurch in 1948 there were about twenty 'bottle-ohs' who were almost all Indians, with the exception of a few Europeans. These men used a truck for collection. As in Wellington the Indian collectors formed their own organisation, the Waste Products and Bottle Dealers Association in 1943.

In contrast to other parts of New Zealand, many Gujaratis remained in the business well into the nineteen-fifties. By the sixties, however, bottle-collecting had ceased to be a profitable occupation and only collection depots remained. Bottling firms instead relied on returns from shops or from the public depositing them at their yards, particularly from bottle drives run by charitable organisations.

An elderly informant in Christchurch, Lallu Kika, began collecting bottles in Wellington during the Depression and continued this trade when he moved to Christchurch in the fifties. He still collects bottles and stores them behind his house in Sydenham. His son who runs a grocery

264. Christchurch Star Sports, 23 September 1967. The men were nicknamed 'bottle-ohs' as they would cry out 'bottle-oh, cash for bottles, bottle-oh, any bottles.'
265. Tiwari, p. 61. I could not find any further details of the Association.
267. Int, Lallu Kika.
business informed me that bottle-collecting was always more lucrative than working for wages in a fruit shop. At a time when Gujaratis usually earned two pounds a week as a shop assistant, a bottle-collector could earn four to five pounds. M. Budhia, one of the last collectors to push a barrow in Christchurch, after he arrived in New Zealand in 1930, recalled that he walked around ten miles a day, six days a week, collecting and paying for bottles, and earning on an average seventeen shillings worth of bottles a day. A few Gujaratis also worked as bottle-collectors in Hamilton in the nineteen-thirties and forties.

It has been noted that Gujaratis displayed a preference for employment in fruit and vegetable retailing, agriculture, hotel work and bottle-collecting. Working for wages was normally an intermediate step towards self-employment, usually in a fruit shop, store, bottle business or market-garden. Until the nineteen-sixties another area in which Gujarati involvement was minimal was in white-collar jobs. By 1945, 15.84 per cent, the third largest category of New Zealand working males, were employed in public administration or professional services. Only a handful of Indians came within this category, of whom a few were clerks. Some informants, who were first or second generation Gujarati

268. Int, Govind Lallu.
270. WNZD, notes Bhokha Jeram, 1934-39 and Bhula Gosai, 1947, both at 13 Greenwood Street.
271. Census, NZ, 1926 - 10 Indians, 1945 - 17 Indians within this category.
immigrants did become clerks, lawyers or doctors but not until the years after the Second World War.272 The lack of a higher education in English was the major factor, but even informants who would have been eligible for office work preferred to be self employed and in business.

272. Chhotu Jivan was an exception. See p. 297.
CHAPTER VI

SARIS ON THE STREETS. CULTURAL PATTERNS, 1920-1945.

(a) Female migration and settlement patterns.

The picture painted so far is that of a predominately male Gujarati society in New Zealand. Yet a provision of the 1917 and 1918 Imperial Reciprocity Resolutions was that the wives of the Indians resident in New Zealand would be allowed to join them. During the period up to the Second World War, however, few took advantage of this. As it was during the immediate post war years and the fifties that larger groups of women began to arrive, it is not possible to deal with Gujarati women in any great detail here. Nevertheless, the arrival of some females began to have a significant effect on Gujarati institutions, culture and religion in New Zealand. It was also during this period that the marriage arrangements of the second generation sons and daughters in New Zealand began to assume importance.

The registers of entry permits indicate that approximately 75 Gujarati wives and 10 daughters arrived in New Zealand up to 1941. Only 6 individuals settled in New Zealand.

1. Following a direction from Cabinet meeting, C.M. (51) (18), memo from Prime Minister's office, to Minister of Immigration, 19 March 1957, mothers had to accompany Indian boys over 15 years who were emigrating to NZ.

2. See table 40 . Indexes of Registers of Permits issued, 1921-1945 L/25/1 - L/25/3. These numbers are approximate as with female names, unless the husband's name is given, it is difficult to ascertain if the woman is a Gujarati or Punjabi. Women, however, who have Kaur as their second name certainly are Punjabis. Also during the Second World War years, the entry registers do not clearly distinguish permanent from temporary entries, as almost all Indian immigrants were issued with temporary permits.
Zealand before 1930 but from 1930 to 1935, the number increased to 14. From 1936 onwards until the close of this period in 1941, the majority of Gujarati wives arrived. This was 55, with 15 arriving in both 1937 and 1939. The increase in the numbers of married Gujarati females was associated with the arrival of the unmarried ones from 1935 onwards.

The pattern of female Gujarati settlement as derived from the entry registers can be compared with table 41 which shows the number of fullblooded Indian females who arrived in New Zealand intending permanent residence. From 1922 to 1941 a total of 138 Indian women over the age of 15 came within this category. Assuming that most of those in this age bracket were married, then it appears that approximately 53 per cent of the Indian female immigrants were Gujaratis. However, some caution is necessary, as the yearly analysis does not quite so clearly correlate. 46 fullblooded Indian women, over the age of fifteen, immigrated into New Zealand from 1922 to 1929, compared to only 6 from the Gujarati sample. From 1930 to 1935 there was also a higher number of Indian women immigrants compared to Gujaratis, but in the years after 1936 the numbers in the former category were accounted for almost completely by Gujaratis.

It is suggested that some of the earlier numbers of Indian female immigrants were accounted for by Punjabis, as these men tended to send for their wives at an earlier date than the Gujaratis. The latter clearly accounted for almost all of the female Indian immigrants during the later years of this period. There was also a probability that I underestimated that the numbers of Gujarati female immigrants,
### TABLE 40

Number of permits issued and utilised for female Gujaratis and non-Gujaratis (wives and daughters) in New Zealand, for permits issued 1921-45.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Gujaratis Wives</th>
<th>Gujaratis Daughters</th>
<th>Non-Gujaratis Wives</th>
<th>Non-Gujaratis Daughters</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Entry Registers, 1921 - 1945. The above figures do not include temporary permits. Arrivals on permits go up to 1951, although permits issued after 1945 are not included.
Summary of female Indians arriving in New Zealand, intending permanent residence, and distinguishing those under and over 15 years, 1922-41.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Under 15 yrs.</th>
<th>Over 15 yrs.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922-9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Migration Statistics, 1922-41. Note that in 1933 the year ends in March 1934. See note on p. ...

TABLE 43

Proportions of females to males of Indians and those returned as Hindus or Sikhs at the New Zealand Census, 1926-45. Full-bloods only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Proportion of Women : Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>1:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>1:14.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>1:7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Proportion of Women : Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>1:111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>1:28.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>1:5.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1926-45. 'Race Aliens'.
as taken from the entry registers, as there was a higher number for whom permits were issued but were not clearly marked as having arrived in the country. Only 26 Indian fullblooded females under the age of 15 years arrived in New Zealand intending permanent residence between 1922 to 1941. This correlated with the 10 daughters recorded on the entry registers as emigrating to New Zealand.

Census figures give a further approximation of the numbers of Gujarati and Indian women in New Zealand, but can include temporary visitors, and disregard those permanent residents who were visiting India at the time of enumeration. Tables 21, 42 illustrates the slowly rising number of full-blooded Indian females resident in New Zealand. In 1921 only 9 married and 10 unmarried women were enumerated but by 1945 the corresponding figures were 78 and 116. The most noticeable leap is amongst the number of unmarried females from 22 at the 1936, to 116 at the 1945 census. Using the method described on pages 238-9 it is possible to arrive at a closer estimation of the number of Indian females recorded at the census who were Gujaratis.

At the 1921 Census only one Hindu female was noted, which would be expected, as according to the above record, there were no Gujarati females in New Zealand by this stage. By the following census there were 3 Hindu females, as well,

3. Numbers of Sikhs were not given.
as 9 Indian females of ambiguous religious categories. Seven female Sikhs were resident in New Zealand. The numbers of female Hindus in New Zealand increased in 1936 to 19 but only 6 female Sikhs were enumerated. Twenty Indian women came under the category of no definite religion. By the 1945 census there was a substantial rise to 102 fullblooded Hindu female which correlated with the increase in female Gujarati emigration to New Zealand. At the same time there were 22 female Sikhs and 45 Indian women of no definite religion, of whom the latter may have included both Gujaratis and Punjabis.

Table 43 indicates the high proportion between the sexes of Indians in New Zealand. In 1926 there were approximately 22 Indian males to every female, but by 1945 following the migration patterns described above, this ratio had been reduced to above 8 males to every female. However, upon closer examination of those Indians who returned themselves as Hindus or Sikhs, the sexual imbalance for the earlier period, becomes more marked with respect to Gujaratis, who composed the majority of the former religious category. At the 1936 Census there were 28 Hindu males to every Hindu female, compared to approximately 10 Sikh men for each female of the same religion. The increase in female Gujarati settlement after 1936 was noted at the following census when there were 5 Hindu males for each Hindu female, while Sikhs had about 2 men to

4. These were categorised under 'object to state', 'unspecified' and 'others'.

5. Note that 25 were categorised under 'object to state'.

6. Fullblooded only.
each woman.

Oral reports and immigration records agree that the first Gujarati women to arrive in New Zealand were Divaliben, the wife of Govind Daji, and Dudhiben, the wife of Wallabh Soma Moral. Both arrived in 1922. Diwali was a Hajam by caste and stayed in New Zealand for only 5 years. Dudhiben, a Koli, came from Karadi, and returned there in 1929. The next trace of a female immigrant who may have been a Gujarati, was Maya Devi who came accompanied by her two sons. While in the period up to 1941, female Gujaratis in New Zealand were represented by all castes, there does seem to have been a higher proportion of Leva and Matia-Kanbi women arriving and settling at Wellington. It was not possible to gather a statistically valid sample, but out of 25 female immigrants for whom caste origins were known there were 6 Matia Kanbis, 7 Leva Kanbis or Patidars, one Kachhia, one Hajam and 2 Muslims. This means that amongst the female Gujaratis in New Zealand Kanbis appear to have been over-represented compared to the male population. Because so few daughters emigrated to New Zealand during this period it is difficult to trace any caste patterns, although two Kanbi men, one at Wellington and one at Auckland, sent for their immediate families which included the daughters. A slightly higher

7. Tiwari, p. 67, claims that Dudhiben arrived in 1920 but the entry register shows 1922.


9. The statistics are for wives only.
number of female Gujarati immigrants disembarked at Wellington, which reflected the higher proportion of Kanbis settled there. Tentative suggestions can be given to explain the greater rapidity with which Kanbi males sent for their wives and families. Some Kanbis have claimed that it was because their diet was more rigid than that of Kolis, especially as a higher number of Kanbis had been vegetarians in Gujarat. Associated with this was religion and a need to retain Gujarati culture, which the women traditionally had greater responsibility for. I do not, however, see any reason why it may be supposed that Kanbis were any more 'culture conscious' or in need of a Gujarati diet, than other Gujaratis in New Zealand. If necessary, Gujarati men were capable of cooking vegetarian food, just as the non-vegetarians were able to cook Gujarati meals.

A further factor may have been that female emigration was partially encouraged by a form of 'chain migration'. A number of women were more willing to migrate provided they had some fellow village, kin and caste mates to both travel and associate with in New Zealand. For example, Lakhiben, and Maniben, the wives of two brothers, both sailed to Wellington from Pardi-Sarpore in 1930, with Mani's son Rama. Their permits had been issued at the same time. Jasoda, a

10. Out of a sample of 75 Gujarati wives taken from the entry registers, 34 landed at Auckland, 39 at Wellington and there were 2 for whom no port of disembarkation was given.

11. Prasad, p. 251. found that the dietary problem was a strong inducement to vegetarian groups, especially Kanbis and Patidars to bring their wives to Fiji.
Kachhia, and Nandi, a Matia Kanbi, similarly had permits and travelled together to Wellington in 1931. In the pre-war years a small group of predominately Kanbi females gathered in Wellington, which would have eased some of the feelings of estrangement from home. A positive factor was that the emigrant women could escape the immediate control of their parents-in-law. Gujarati and Indian literature constantly depicts the meek young bride at the mercy of an over-bearing mother-in-law. Kanbi families may have enforced tighter control on the young wives which possibly may have been an inducement to emigrate. 12

When the women travelled to New Zealand, they were always accompanied by their husband or a fellow villager who was returning to New Zealand after a visit home. Many of the women journeyed with their sons, and more frequently, from the forties, with their daughters. One of the inhibiting factors in the decision to bring young daughters out to New Zealand was future marriage prospects. During this period there was no provision for New Zealand women to bring fiancés into New Zealand although of course if legally married they could apply to have their husband join them.

It could therefore be difficult to arrange a suitable match for a girl living in New Zealand, as there was a very limited

choice of young men amongst the resident Gujarati population there. An additional problem was that some prospective in-laws in Gujarat would not look favourably upon a girl educated and raised in 'Western ways', although there were families in which such a match was seen as prestigious. The problem of calling daughters to New Zealand did not of course arise for those families that had only sons or married daughters.

Marriage prospects were even more complicated if one were a member of a Gujarati caste which had few representatives in New Zealand. Two Muslim ladies arrived during this period. One, Mariam, the wife of Esup Bhikhoo, had no daughters. The other, Bai Bibi, was the second wife of Ibrahim Mahomed Musa. Before she came to Auckland in 1936, she had no daughters, although her husband had one by his first wife. This daughter was not allowed into the country. Another case concerned a second generation Harijan resident of New Zealand, who left his three year old daughter in the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad. 13 Most Gujaratis in New Zealand recognised the problems that would arise should they have a daughter raised in that country, but in later years be forced to return permanently to Gujarat to live with their husbands.

As noted on page 253, few of the pioneers sent for their wives to join them in New Zealand. Financial and personal reasons accounted for this. The most common reason

was that a man could not send for his wife without calling the whole family over. This was impracticable for the reasons noted above. It would have also been extremely difficult to save money while supporting a wife and young family in New Zealand. The cost of living was much cheaper in Gujarat, so it was preferable to remit money towards the family's support, as they usually resided with their husband's kin. Very few of those men who lived with their wives in New Zealand during this period were in the itinerant or casual occupations such as hawking, bottle-collecting, labouring or hotel work. The majority were fruiterers or storekeepers. A further prerequisite before the families joined the men was for some form of accommodation to be available. Most of the small shopkeepers had such quarters at the backs of their shops. Following the Depression a few were also able to invest in low-cost housing. For many of the pioneers, however, once they were in a relatively successful financial position, their wives were too old to want to disrupt their lives and settle in a new land, away from grand-children and family. Often health problems prevented any changes. As already noted on page 225 the majority of the first generation had perceived their stay in New Zealand as only temporary. Although many did not retire to Gujarat, they still held to the probability of doing so. Others, once they were financially stable, did retire, instead of calling their wives to New Zealand.

Of the female immigrants who arrived in New Zealand between 1922 and 1941, the majority were nevertheless the
wives of first-generation migrants. Most of these men were however still relatively young and had young families.14 Two of the first generation migrants who called for their wives to join them during this period were known to be over the age of forty. Rama Vallabh was still only forty when his wife came to New Zealand in 1930, although he had in fact emigrated here in 1911.15 The other man in this age bracket, Morar Khusal, had originally arrived in New Zealand in 1916 and was forty-three when his wife came here in 1935. It seems therefore that age was an important factor when Gujarati men decided to apply for their spouses to join them.

Perhaps of even more significance was the age of the wife. As noted on pages 528-30 she was frequently younger than her husband especially if it was his second marriage. Most Indian and Gujarati women in New Zealand during this period were in the younger to middle age bracket. The few migration statistics of permanent female Indian immigrants indicate this.

From 1922 to 1931 the majority of 98 per cent of full-blooded Indian female immigrants were aged below 45 years.16 Approximately 81 per cent of this group were over 15 years. The corresponding migration statistics for the years after

14. In a sample of 13 first generation migrants for whom ages were known, 9 were between the ages of 30 + under 35.
15. Int, Rama Vallabh.
16. See table 32 . External migration statistics. These are only for fullblooded Indian females intending permanent residence in NZ.
1931 until March 1939 indicate that there were no permanent residents aged over 45 years. About 65 per cent of these immigrants were aged over 21 and under 45 years while around 19 per cent were under 15. The slight increase in younger arrivals reflected those Gujarati daughters settling in New Zealand. It is significant to note, that there were few women within the more mature age brackets.

The above age patterns corresponded with the censuses. In 1926 approximately 38 per cent of Indian women were in the 25-34 age bracket. Following the settlement of these earlier immigrants, by the 1936 census, approximately 20 per cent were aged over 35 and under 45. New arrivals were included in the 24 per cent who came within the 25-34 age group. Indian daughters were also settling in New Zealand, as the percentage of female fullblooded Indians aged under 16 years increased from 24.14 in 1926 to 52.1 by 1936.

Figures for Hindu women, as available from the religious returns probably give a more accurate indication of the age structure of the Gujarati community. In 1926, 2 Hindu women were aged between 25-29 years, one under 35 and one under 40. By the following census, the majority of Hindu women were aged under 35 years, 11 (44 per cent) of this group over 16 years and 9 (36 per cent) under that age. Four Hindu women were over 35.

From 1945 a more detailed breakdown of the age structure is available. The substantial numerical rise to 101

17. See table 44. Fullbloods only.
TABLE 44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-patterns of female full-blood Indians and Hindus, 1926-45.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hindus</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Census, NZ, 1926-45. Race Allens - Age and Religious Professions. (for Hindus). Note, ages of Hindus at 1926 census not available. Unspecified ages are excluded from totals. See 1945 census for more detailed breakdown of ages.
(approximately 52 per cent) in those aged under 16 reflected the arrival of Gujarati daughters. Thirty-eight Hindu females were aged under 5 years, while 62 (56.36 per cent) were classified under 16. \(^{18}\) Of those Hindu women who presumably were married 38 (34.55 per cent) were aged as between 21-39 years. With the figures for Indian women, the group that most came within was aged 30-39. Forty were in this category compared to 32 in the 16-29 age group. The same trend was followed with Hindu women, where 18 were aged between 16-29 years compared to 22 from 30-39. While the numbers involved were not great, it seems clear that Gujarati women in New Zealand during the pre-1950 years tended to be either young daughters or mothers in the 25-39 year age bracket.

(b) **Lifestyles of female Gujaratis in New Zealand**

One of the reasons behind the male Gujarati's decision to have his wife join him in New Zealand was economic. While the presence of the females entailed extra expenses, they were also a source of unpaid labour for the fruit shops and stores. This labour was permanent and reliable. Daughters were also useful in this capacity, at least until they married or were employed in an outside occupation. Almost all of the Gujarati women who were married to shopkeepers worked long hours in the shop, usually cleaning, bagging and

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18. A small number of fullblooded Indian females aged under 16 may have included Indian students from Fiji and visitors. Female Indians on student's permits: 1945=2, 1944=3, 1943=1, 1941=1. Also 6 females on temporary permits 1-1945. Source: Entry Register.
sorting vegetables. They did not often interact with the customers and never went to the markets, due to their lack of English. In 1950 a report on the Indian community noted.

The Indian population does not deny that there is much to do. Many women, residents for years in New Zealand, cannot speak English. Confined to their homes, and not encouraged by their men to mix with Europeans, the women lead loney lives.19

It is somewhat unclear whether this reticence was due to shyness and dependence upon their husbands and children, on the womens' part, or if it was encouraged by their families. While a housebound wife who did not talk to strangers may have been ideal, it was also inconvenient as it meant that someone else usually would have to accompany her when she went shopping, or visited the doctor.20 Prasad noted that when Gujarati women emigrated to Fiji, the mobility they had experienced in India (such as visits to the temple, socialising readily with friends and relatives, and visiting the marketplace) was curtailed because of unfamiliarity with local conditions and the language barrier.21 Frequently, however, the lack of English was not as great as appeared, and the immigrants were able to form friendships with their neighbours. In the years after World War II, Mrs. Satyanand, a non-Gujarati nurse, ran English classes for newly-arrived


20. Oral reports.

21. Prasad, p. 254. Grimes, p. 41 also noted the Indian wife's dependence upon her husband in NZ.
women and children but attendance was voluntary. There was, however, no record of the earlier Gujarati female immigrants being in a position to accept employment outside their families' businesses.

In addition to the shop work, the woman was responsible for all of the housework and most of the childbearing. These were, of course, expected duties that Gujarati women shared with their New Zealand counterparts. Many of these Gujaratis had relatively large families, often during the initial years of settlement. The pressures of childbearing and helping in the shop must have been considerable, particularly as there were no older kinswomen with whom to share the burden. The lack of female company from the same background added to these burdens. The anonymous writer of "Indian Women in New Zealand" has painted an excessively rosy picture of the status of the first generation of Indian women,

Women did not feel inferior or superior to men, as they came to feel in the second or third generations. The relationship between husband and wife was one of mutual respect in a way not previously considered possible. By pooling resources, mainly labour, both gained equally, and the family, rather than individuals, gained status. This is in direct contrast to the host culture where individuals seem to gain status and where the woman lives 'through' the work of her husband.23

It was not possible to obtain a fully representative sample of the details of these women, but the following cases give some indication of the pressures they were under when they settled in New Zealand. Dudhiben, one of the first two female Gujaratis in New Zealand went straight to Marton where her husband had a successful fruit business. Within three years she had given birth to three children. She was the only Gujarati woman at Marton, a small rural town. In 1929 the whole family returned to Karadi and after Dudhi passed away the following year the two daughters remained in the care of their father's family while he and his son returned to New Zealand. 24 During the father's visit to Gujarat in 1940 he remarried and his second wife emigrated to New Zealand in 1951. Divali, the other Gujarati woman who emigrated about the same time as Dudhi, did not spend a great deal of time in New Zealand, as she returned to Gujarat in 1927. The four children of this marriage were raised by her sister after Divali passed away in 1944. 25

Two cases concern Gujarati women who emigrated to New Zealand in 1933 and 1934 while pregnant. One of these ladies was aged forty-one, a considerably advanced age for a Gujarati woman to give birth. As neither of these ladies spoke English, they must have felt overwhelmed in the maternity hospitals. In their home villages it was usual to have the delivery at their parent's home unless there were

24. See pp.33-36 for discussion of Gulabbhai, Int, Gulabbhai Morala and letter. The following information is confidential and sources will not be given.

25. Although he remarried in 1953.
complicating factors in which case the woman would be confined in one of the hospitals at Navsari. Childbirth in Gujarat is an auspicious occasion and attended with considerable ritual. Grimes noted in the New Zealand context, that there was often a party in New Zealand for the first born or first son at home, but that this bore no religious significance.  

In the village the mother enjoyed considerable support from female relatives and was able to spend as much time with the infant as she desired. Compare this to the regimented maternity hospitals in New Zealand which had been moulded according to the doctrine of Truby King and the Plunket Society, 'the bastion of the status quo', in which the mother and the baby were in separate rooms, feeding was preferably by bottle at set intervals, and visitors could only call at prescribed hours. This was quite in contrast to the typical scene in Gujarat,

As soon as it is born the child is bathed in warm water and about ten inches of the navel cord is left uncut and tied to a red cotton thread which is wound round the child's neck. For three days the child is fed on a liquid mixture of clarified butter molasses and castor-oil called golthuthi, and on the fourth day it is suckled. Cowdung ashes are rubbed on the naval daily for three or four days at the end of which the cord dries and is separated from the navel. On the sixth day the chhathi ceremony is performed. In the evening,

26. Grimes, p. 68. J.K. Natali, Int. 27 November 1980, said he did not know of any birth ceremonies celebrated by Gujaratis in NZ.

on a footstool near the mother's bed are laid a piece of paper, an inkstand, a reed-pen, red rice, flowers, a rupee, a few copper pice, a lamp fed with clarified butter, some molasses, some cocoa-kernal, and a piece of the waistcloth of a man whose children are all alive. These things are taken away in the morning. The silver and copper coins are melted along with similar coins and made into an anklet or wristlet for the child, and the piece of the waistcloth is made into a jabhla or small coat. On the morning of the tenth day the woman bathes, but continues impure for twenty-five days more in the case of a son and for thirty days in the case of a daughter. On the morning of the thirty-fifth or fortieth day she bathes, worships the sun and well and the door post, and is pure. Four or five months after the birth the woman is sent to her husband's house. The woman's father, besides making presents of cash ornaments and clothes to the child and its mother, gives the child a cradle, a small mattress, and pillows. Except that the name is fixed by the family astrologer, no naming ceremony is performed. The child is named on the sixth or twelfth day or on a lucky day in the first second or third month. Four boys in the case of a boy, or four girls in the case of a girl, rock the child in a piece of cloth and the father's sister names the child. The father's sister receives a robe or sadi, a piece of silk for the bodice, and from Re. 1 to Re. 2 in cash.28

The above description referred to Kanbis at the turn of the century but nevertheless indicates the impossibility of replicating many aspects of the ceremonies in the new environment. The woman's parents, however, usually continued to send some gifts for the grandchild, even when it was born in New Zealand. It should also be noted that changes and simplification of the childbirth ritual were simultaneously

28. BG, 1901, p. 158. Gujarat, Population, Kanbis. Muslim women were also polluted for up to 40 days. For a discussion of this see Patricia Jeffrey, Frogs in A Well : Indian Women in Purdah, London, 1979, p. 113. For childbirth and naming ritual and Muslins, see Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat, p. 79ff.
occurring in urban Gujarat. In fairness, it should be considered that while the New Zealand maternity system was alien to many of these women, it did offer benefits to the baby and the mother's health that were not available in India. Infant mortality was still considerably higher in Gujarat than in New Zealand. For example, at the 1921 Baroda Census, the average number of births per family was 5.25 but the number of surviving children was only 3.2. With improved health facilities in New Zealand, the potential for larger families was high. Statistically, however, the difference between the number of children born to married Indian women and their New Zealand counterparts was not great. The 1971 New Zealand Census indicated that married Indian women in the 33-44 age group had an average of 3.99 children, those in the 45-64 age range had 3.79, while women aged 65 and over had 3. Of course, many of the earlier immigrants were dead at the time of this census, and there was a high probability that these included women who had more pregnancies. Out of a non-random sample of 36


30. Census, Baroda, 1921 p. 221. Koli = 4.94. Average number of children surviving was 2.9. Census, BP, 1931, pt. I, p. 22, also found 4.06 was the average number of children per home. Married women had on the average 2.82 surviving children but the average rate of children born alive was 4.

31. The 1945 NZ Census also gave statistics on the number of children but for male Race Aliens only. It therefore is unlikely that respondents would have included all their children born and resident in Gujarat. The average number of children born to married Indian males in NZ was only 1.46.
second generation Koli males in New Zealand, the largest
group of 12 had 4 children.32

Amongst the corresponding age brackets for the general
population at the 1971 Census, the figures indicate a simi-
lar number of 3.31 children in the 35-44 age bracket, but
slightly less children were born to older women. Women who
were aged 45 and over, had by 1971 given birth to an average
of 2.8 children.33

Generally Gujarati women were ignorant of contraception
and had relied upon their husbands' long periods of absence
overseas as a means of limiting the size of families. It
was however, noted at the 1921 Baroda Census that,

Certain sections of Hindu or Musalman castes,
who have come under European influence or have
travelled extensively to South Africa or Europe,
know of the uses of these 'rubber-goods' and
have even adopted them in their homes. Certain
chemists and 'Europe shop' keepers in the City,
or towns like Navsari, Mehsana, Patan or even
Kadi are known to stock these goods and number
among their clientele, besides Europeans and
Parsis, Anavalas, Vohoras and even Vanias and
Kanbis.34

Other forms of family limitation used were the restriction of

32. Not a very reliable sample as it includes children
born in NZ and India, only when known on Immigration
records.

33. Census, NZ, 1971 Vol. 1C, "Number of Children Born
Alive to Ever-Married females usually Resident in NZ
By Marital Status and Age of Mother." Married only.
Table 28. See also Table 1.2, "Average Number of Live
Births/Finished Women with Completed Family By Marriage
Cohort," (Maoris excluded), from Vosburgh, 1971, Table
12, p. 123 printed in Olssen and Levesque, op cit.,
p. 16.

34. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 217.
intercourse to the 'sterile week' and the use of Ayurvedic and Hakimic devices. 35

One of the women mentioned above gave birth to another son two years after her first child in 1933. A third child, a daughter, was born in 1936. The following year she returned to Gujarat permanently and gave birth to a son in 1952. After her death at the age of forty-six, her husband remarried as was expected when a man had a young family. Another woman had her three year old son with her when she emigrated to Wellington where her husband was a fruiterer. In 1941, 1943 and 1946 she gave birth to three daughters, then in 1948 to a son. She returned to Gujarat in the fifties, and in 1953 and 1957 gave birth to a boy and a girl. During this period all of the children born in New Zealand had returned with her to continue their education in India. With seven children she would have needed the support available in her village. 36

A similar case involved a Kanbi woman who joined her husband in 1938 when she was twenty-one. Her eldest child, a daughter was only a few months old when she came to New Zealand. Within three years this lady was pregnant and from 1940 to 1946 gave birth to four boys and one girl. Her husband was a prominent member of the Wellington Indian community so her duties in receiving guests were considerable.

35. Postponement of the consummation of marriage was also an important method.

36. The sad sequel is that this wife emigrated to NZ in 1958, died in 1959. He remarried again and had a son and daughter by his second wife.
It should also be recognised that because of his standing she was accorded commensurate status, particularly when she was left a widow while her children were still young. The success of her sons as professionals and her daughters in marrying professionals, was taken as proof by other Gujaratis of the mother's determination to see her children succeed.

The first Gujarati Muslim women in New Zealand certainly were in a minority amongst other Gujaratis. Bai Bibi, the second wife of Ibrahim Joseph Musa arrived in Auckland in 1936 at the age of seventeen. 37 She went straight to Matakana Island near Tauranga where her husband ran two stores. In 1938 she gave birth to Mohamed, the first Muslim Gujarati to be born in New Zealand. She had another son the following year and altogether gave birth to nine children. In addition, Ibrahim had two sons by his first wife join him in New Zealand. Mariam, wife of Esup Bhikhoo and the second female Gujarati Muslim to arrive in New Zealand, came in 1940. 38 The couple, however, had no children, so Mariam was free to assist in her husband's store at Huntly and later, in the fifties, in the shops he had in Auckland.

Couples such as these, who lived in isolated rural areas, did to an extent, communicate and depend upon each other more than was usual in Gujarat. When the wife was the only one with whom conversation in the native language was possible, then such a close bond was inevitable.

37. Int, Mohamed Musa.
38. Int, Esup and Mariam Bhikhoo.
It has been argued by many writers that women are the conservative force in the cultures where they are responsible for child-rearing. It is usually expected that they will enculturate their children with the same values they hold and often those of their own mothers. This assumes that the mother is the central figure in the young child's life and that she will not conceive of raising her child in a manner different from that in which she was herself brought up. The Gujarati women who raised children in New Zealand did attempt to maintain many aspects of their village culture, but they acknowledged that changes were necessary in the new country. Indeed many were eager to learn of 'modern' methods of child-rearing and were pleased when their children mixed freely with local children at home and school. Family discipline, was however, rigidly maintained, with the father holding ultimate authority. Almost all second and third generation children spoke Gujarati, while many of them learnt the script at home or later at the Gujarati schools run by Indian Associations. Education was stressed but girls were not encouraged to consider a career. After school-hours, many of the children were expected to help in their father's business, or the girls to assist their mothers in the home. The most important training for a young girl was generally considered to be preparation as a wife. The

39. Verity Saifullah Khan in De Souza, pp. 165-8 and p. 174 argues that Asian women in England are the conservative force especially those who expect to return home who impede the children's assimilation.

brighter sons were encouraged in a vocationally orientated education, with medicine and law as the favourite goals. Generally, however, it was expected, and indeed happened, that most children entered their father's business. 41

Moral discipline was strictly enforced but again, boys had greater freedom here than girls. In many cases it was acceptable for a boy to date a non-Gujarati girl, if it was kept clandestine and marriage was not considered. Almost all of the first and second generation informants stressed that they did not permit their daughters to mix socially with members of the opposite sex unless this was a Gujarati boy who may have been a prospective husband. The traditional role of the woman serving to her husband's, sons' or brothers' needs was continued. For example, in many cases when the family received guests the wife would serve them and eat later. In dress too, tradition was maintained. Young girls wore the same clothes as their European friends but once they were past puberty they were expected to show modesty and usually wore a sari when mixing with other Gujaratis. Until the sixties almost all married Gujarati women in New Zealand wore the sari and did not adopt European dress. Muslim women wore a dress over trousers and covered their heads with a scarf.

In the following sections I will discuss those aspects of Gujarati culture, such as diet, marriage, kinship, religion and caste in religion to the post-1920 Gujarati

41. This discussion is collated from interviews with second and third generation Gujaratis.
community in New Zealand up to the end of World War II. An attempt will be made to evaluate any changes since migration and the responsibility that the women assumed for any change or maintenance of the traditional culture.

(c) Diet.

It has been suggested that one of the ways in which women have sustained a conservative role in Indian cultures overseas has been through the supervision of dietary patterns. Most informants have agreed that it was not until the women's arrival in New Zealand that a more comprehensive diet of Gujarati food, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian was adopted. A number of Gujarati women, generally have maintained, or at least professed an adherence to a vegetarian or eggs-only diet, in a greater extent than the men. This applied in particular to Kanbi women. Some Koli women in New Zealand claimed to be vegetarians but unfortunately there was insufficient evidence to ascertain the extent to which this applied, particularly in the pre-World War Two years. As noted on page 323 some of the sons of the pioneer Gujaratis were vegetarians when they left their homes. Almost all Kanbis claimed to have been and as noted amongst the women, some of the Kolis were. Two members of other castes, one a Khap and one a Khatri, also came within this category. If the father had been eating meat in New

42. R. Desai, Indian Immigration in Britain, p. 12 maintains that Gujarati women in England are the more conservative force especially with regard to vegetarianism.

43. See also p. 368.
Zealand he would usually attempt to persuade his sons to follow his preferences. The Khatri vegetarian claims that his father surreptitiously gave him a chop to eat while on the boat to New Zealand. Since then he has eaten 'anything', and to rationalise this he maintains that it is hypocritical being a vegetarian if any animal product is to be consumed, such as dripping or gelantine.44

In one Matia Kanbi family, the father ate meat but of his three sons who emigrated to New Zealand, the eldest adhered to a vegetarian diet, that only permitted the consumption of eggs. The second-eldest brother who arrived in New Zealand in 1928 remained a vegetarian for the first three years but said he had no 'problems' in switching to a diet that included meat. Where the eldest brother and the youngest, a meat-eater, retired to Gujarat, they preferred to live separately, as one of the sources of conflict was over their different diets. Although in this predominately Matia-Kanbi village meat is consumed by a number of the men, it is still kept strictly covert, and overtly all claim to be strict vegetarians, sending their lower-caste servants to purchase the taboo food.

One second generation Koli expressed considerable repugnance over the smell of meat and having to slice the small-goods for his grocery shop. Both his father and his wife are vegetarians, although they know that their children eat meat products when they are not at home. Another Koli who

emigrated to Wellington in 1960, to join his father, did consume meat when he was young but since an active interest in the Brahma Kumari began, he had adopted a strict vegetarian diet. 45

While it was not possible to obtain precise statistics, oral reports indicate that the taboo on eating beef was maintained by a considerable number of the second-generation Gujarati migrants of all castes in New Zealand. Almost all Gujarati women of the first and second generations professed a repugnance to eating beef although they will cook it if their families request. When Khusal Madhu was employed at the Sacred Heart College in the twenties and thirties he had to frequently prepare and cook beef, although he did not eat it. 46

Almost all informants agree that one of the most pleasant effects of the arrival of their wives, was that a more traditional Gujarati diet could be cooked, as the women had more time to prepare the food. Gulabben Patel recalled how her mother, a Kanbi, coped with the problems of adhering to a Gujarati vegetarian diet in the New Zealand environment. 47 She was able to obtain mung beans and lentils for dhal, and with the use of a handgrinder was able to make her own rice flour. Cardamoms and rose-water, often used in the

45. This Hindu sect has become popular in Wellington during the last ten years. It stresses vegetarianism and meditation.

46. Int, Khusal Madhu. It should be noted that there is of course considerable difficulty in differentiating between reported and actual practice.

47. Int, Gulabbhen Patel.
preparation of sweets, were purchased from a chemist shop. Mrs. Patel, like most of the Gujarati women, started to tend her own garden so that she could grow Indian vegetables and herbs, such as egg-plants, chillies, garlic and coriander. The chillies and coriander were dried and then pounded so that fresh spices were available. It was however difficult to obtain the correct flour for roti, unless a friend had brought back a fresh supply of juwar from Gujarat. The wholemeal flour available in New Zealand was not always of the correct consistency. It should be appreciated that in the days before widespread home refrigeration, and before electric grinders and mincers, the Gujarati cook in New Zealand would often have as time-consuming a job as in the village in Gujarat.

Attitudes towards and the adoption of alcohol consumption are also somewhat ambivalent for the pre World War II generation. Most vegetarians professed to abstain from liquor although not in all cases. I was informed by one elderly man now retired in Karadi, that particularly in the rural areas of New Zealand drinking alcohol was the norm amongst Gujaratis, as it provided one of the main forms of entertainment. It is noted on page 48 that Indians were accused of supplying illicit liquor to Maoris in the King Country. The above informant suggested that 'those fellas in Auckland were a bunch of "wowsers".' Clearly some were,

48. As most of the Indians resident in the King Country were Punjabis, then they would have accounted for a large proportion of the supply of illicit liquor.
but the majority probably were not. There was far less of a moral stricture against smoking and it would appear that it was a very much an individual choice, although most vegetarians were non-smokers. Amongst the Gujarati women of this period in New Zealand the pattern clearly shows that none of them professed to drink alcohol or smoke.

The taboo on eating pork was observed amongst the second generation of Gujarati Muslims in New Zealand.49 It appears that the practice of halal slaughter was continued on certain occasions with conditions permitting, but that most of the time it was impracticable, until the Muslim community in New Zealand grew and home freezing became available.

The suggestion that it was the women who were responsible for an adherence to a Gujarati diet in New Zealand is acceptable to a certain extent. The decision as to what types of foods were to be cooked, and whether the diet would be vegetarian or include meat or beef, was almost always left to the husband. In many cases, those children, especially the boys, who had a mother with them in New Zealand during this period, still adopted a non-vegetarian diet even if the mother had not eaten meat.50 There were several instances, especially with Kanbis, where the son of a vegetarian mother had married a vegetarian, but he had still continued to request his wife to cook meat for him. Indeed

49. Ints, Muslim informant.

50. Grimes, p. 43. noted that women cooked meat for men but refused to eat it themselves.
one of the prerequisites of a Kanbi bride, is her adherence to a strict vegetarian diet and her ability as a vegetarian cook. The men, have however, adopted the diet they prefer, regardless of their wives' preferences. This double standard has been maintained to the extent that they refer with a mixture of scorn and praise to the Koli woman's abilities as a cook of meat curries. It is often forgotten that a large proportion of the Koli diet consists of vegetable, pulse and milk products.

With women in New Zealand cooking Gujarati food, the additional problem occurred of the maintenance of menstrual taboos in relation to cooking. Without other women in the house it was not possible to avoid the kitchen for five days, unless the men were willing to take over the work. Until the mothers were able to call upon the assistance of their daughters, they did not observe these taboos, and even when help was available, in most cases the mother still worked in the kitchen. In a recent study of Gujarati women in Ahmedabad, Wood found that it was only usual for Brahman women living with their husband's elders to avoid the kitchen during menstruation. Changes in taboos therefore may not necessarily reflect a substantial departure from those in modern Gujarati.

(d) Religion.

It was noted above that many writers have suggested that women have a conservative effect upon Gujarati culture,

51. Data on New Zealand from female Gujarati informants.
52. Wood, p. 48.
such as in dietary patterns. The same trend has been re-1ated to religious observances. Prasad noted in Fiji:

Women were not only stalwart custodians of Gujarati culture in Fiji but also its leading exponents in their role as the main religious teachers of their children. 53

An important consideration for the historian is the difficulty to document and plot changes in religious belief and practice, especially with Hinduism, as many of the rituals are private.

Most informants agree that once the women and their families began to settle in New Zealand, religious practices began to assume more importance. 54 A number of the first generation migrants did light the dewar daily and offer prayers to the gods and goddesses represented by the various murti, or images, that were usually grouped on a shelf in a corner or a cupboard in the house. In addition almost all houses had some pictures of the deities and their incarnations, displayed with family portraits, pictures of Indian and New Zealand politicians, and Indian calendars. 55 The majority of my informants stated that this practice became more regular once the women arrived, as in Gujarat this was usually done on behalf of their family. Such changes can be


54. As religion is a personal matter I have not named informants.

55. Grimes, p. 66 was told of a 'sacred corner' but he saw none. This may reflect a bias in the people he interviewed.
demonstrated by the case of a Koli family in New Zealand. The wife and daughter were scrupulous in their religious observances but the father claimed that he did not have the time 'to be religious'. It was noted that Kanbi women in earlier generations almost always stated that they lit the _dewar_ every day. There was less of a consensus among Koli women although it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which changes have occurred since prolonged settlement in New Zealand. Almost all of the older women maintained fasts for special goddesses on certain days of the week, especially Sundays and Tuesdays, and at festivals, such as _Janmastami_, and the eighth day of Navarati, known as _Mata-ashtami_.

An important aspect of religious maintenance by Gujaratis has been the observance of _samskaras_ or rites of passage. These became increasingly frequent as the community settled and families grew up in New Zealand. Without religious specialists or Brahmans it was not possible to observe many of the usual ceremonies in Gujarat, while the lifestyle in New Zealand prohibited certain practices. We noted above on page that customs relating to birth were curtailed although a few families postponed these until the child visited Gujarat. Prasad found that ceremonies giving the child the right to worship the _kuldevi_ or _devite_, that is the family god or goddess, were usually delayed. I noted a few cases where the first haircut of the child was delayed

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57. Prasad, p. 256. See also Thoothi, pp. 144-5, 364.
until a visit to India, although this was in the years after 1950. Many Gujaratis wrote back to their homes in order to consult an astrologer on their child's horoscope.

Few Gujarati marriages were celebrated in New Zealand during this period as Indian males, even if citizens of New Zealand were required to marry overseas. Any that were conducted were not by a Brahman priest but usually by Ramesh Patel (a Koli) or Shivalal Masters (a Khatri). Such a compromise was necessary in the new environment, where Gujaratis of all castes utilised their services.

The other main rite of passage, the funeral, was increasingly needed in New Zealand. In most cases there was a minimum of traditional ceremony because of the difficulties of living in a non-Hindu society. Normally a funeral director supervised the funeral and frequently a Christian minister conducted a service. In 1926, however, it had been observed that a dead Hindu was placed in a coffin and conveyed to a cemetery 'or other place'. The coffin was dismantled, placed on a pyre of logs and 'with due religious ceremony reduced to ashes'. Certain parts of the body from the ashes were recovered and send to India to be immersed.

58. I22/1/134, Pt, 4, 16 December 1970, from Secretary of Labour to Minister of Labour.
59. See p.576ff. for more detailed discussion of marriages.
60. Grimes, p. 71, noted this too. Professor McLeod also has found this to have been the Punjabi convention in NZ.
61. FT, 21 April 1926. Unclear if this took place at Pukekohe or not. AS, 27 April 1926, "Pukekohe Affairs".
in the Ganga (Ganges) or some other sacred river. It is unclear as to whether all these details did take place but as a result the 'Indian citizens of New Zealand' petitioned the Director General of Health, 'requesting that facility may be granted to British subjects for cremating their dead, if possible near the cemetery.' The Director-General asked the Pukekohe Borough Council for its comments, to which Councillor D.R. Hamilton replied that the local cemetery was unsuitable. There was, however, a crematorium in Auckland at Waikumete.

A number of Hindus continued to bury their dead, as had been the custom in Gujarat, but others, perhaps increasingly aware of the ideal Hindu practice, preferred to cremate their deceased. Muslims had a separate section in the larger cemeteries, such as Waikumete. There were few actual ceremonies at the Hindu funerals except that normally a dewar was kept burning. When women settled in New Zealand they did not usually attend the funerals but comforted the relatives of the deceased at their home. This was closer to European practices as traditionally in India, the nearest relatives remain impure for ten days and may touch no one. They may not pray to the household gods, nor change their clothes or shave. After this period the men would shave and a purificatory bath was taken before a ceremony was performed to propitiate the deceased. Then friends and relatives were

62. The special parts of the body were the so-called phul or 'flowers' such as knuckle-bones.
feasted. Such prohibitions clearly were not practicable in New Zealand, particularly when most members of the household were working and dealing with the public. Indeed, around Navsari in the post-World War II years, Kapadia found in a survey of secondary school students that the shraddha 'celebration has become a tame affair and the practice is slowly dying out'. Two informants did state, however, that many Gujaratis observed restrictions with regard to prayer, social visiting and would not offer any food to visitors. Relatives in Gujarat also observed the death. Women, both there and in New Zealand, almost always adopted the white sari of widowhood. In some cases dehras were erected in the cemeteries in Gujarat as a memorial to the deceased.

In the years before the nineteen-sixties there were few occasions when Gujaratis engaged in corporate worship. In 1957 Grimes noted the lack of Hindu festivals in Auckland, but Narsi Patel, writing in 1976, clearly underestimated

63. BG, 1901, p. 162, with reference to Kanbis. See Abbe J.A. Dubois, ch. 10, pp. 489ff. for burial ceremonies pertaining to Hindus in general.


65. A second generation Koli migrant erected one in memory of his wife when she died on a trip to India.

religious behaviour amongst Gujaratis in New Zealand. 67 Several factors contributed to the earlier absence of ritual and ceremony. First, as we have seen, with small numbers of women there was less emphasis on the celebration of days of religious significance but political dates were marked, often with elaborate festivities. 68 These were, during this period, one of the main expressions of any community worship. Secondly, no Hindu temples were built in New Zealand which placed more emphasis on the home mandir. Instead the halls constructed by the Indian Associations in the fifties were utilised for the celebration of festivals and the holding of regular Gita classes. 69

The public mandir was not an established institution of the villages of the Gujaratis in New Zealand and not been until recent years have they been constructed. 70 There were no Brahmans in New Zealand who could serve in temples, while immigration regulations prevented any from immigrating. 71

67. Narsai Patel, "Hinduism Outside India. Selective Retention in Gujarati Families", in Family and Social Change in Modern India, ed, Giri Raj Gupta. (Main currents in Indian Sociology. vol. 2), Durham 1976, p. 241, noted no home shrines in NZ, which does not agree with my findings. His survey of five different families in five different countries was in the case of NZ, too selective for generalisations to be made.

68. See p. 660 ff.

69. See p. 659 ff. for discussion of Gita classes.

70. For example in the last few years mandir have been built at Aathan, Mahhed and Bula. Plans are made to build one in Karadi to replace the little used mandir in Mandirfalia.

71. The same situation is reported by Prasad, p. 256 and H. S. Morris, The Indians in Uganda, p. 62.
Grimes was informed that a temple would only be patronised by women, and hence it was considered non essential.\textsuperscript{72}

A further factor was the small numbers of Hindus, scattered throughout New Zealand, but of equal importance was the lack of sectarian allegiance. The census returns of Indians indicate the growing numbers simply returned as Hindus, while very few chose to identify under designations used in earlier years, such as 'Vishna' or 'Vedos Sanskrit'.\textsuperscript{73} While Grimes has argued that Gujaratis in New Zealand were Vaishnavas,\textsuperscript{74} and Palakshappa that they were Shaivites,\textsuperscript{75} it would appear that the identity was between these extremes. Most Gujaratis would concur that Krishna was and is their main God but they pay equal respect to his many incarnations, as well as to Rama, Shiva, Vishnu, Hanuman, Ganesha, Lakshmi, Parvati, Indra and all of the main gods and goddesses of the 'Hindu pantheon'. In contrast to Indian settlement in Fiji, there was virtually no allegiance in New Zealand to the Arya Samaj, nor to any of the other neo-Hindu movements.

While it might appear that the Gujaratis of New Zealand were like Indians in other parts of the world 'ritually and philosophically impoverished',\textsuperscript{76} it should be remembered

\textsuperscript{72} Grimes, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{73} See App. 4. See p. 316 for earlier years.
\textsuperscript{74} Grimes, ibid.
\textsuperscript{75} Palakshappa, 29; Prasad, p. 255 with reference to Indians in Fiji.
\textsuperscript{76} Van der Berghe, 1965, p. 43, quoted in Narsai Patel, \textit{op cit}, p. 233, with reference to South Africa.
that the religious life in the Gujarati village was centred upon what had been termed the 'little tradition'.\textsuperscript{77} Narsai Patel also noted this,

One asks, if the religious situation in the overseas Indian communities is observed to be "impoverished", is it entirely due to their isolation from their cultural base in India, or is it the very nature of Hinduism which looks "impoverished" to an expectant eye but is otherwise similar to the Little Tradition one finds in Indian villages from which most of them hail?\textsuperscript{78}

Instead, in New Zealand village and household deities continued to be revered, such as the worship of \textit{sakti} or 'power' and its manifestation as a \textit{mata} or mother goddess.\textsuperscript{79}

A belief in spirits was diminished with emigration, as many were associated with a particular locale in Gujarat, such as a tree near a village that was said to be 'spooked'.\textsuperscript{80} Many Gujaratis, especially women, continued to have faith in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{77} See pp. 97-8.
  \item \textsuperscript{78} Narsai Patel, p. 234.
  \item \textsuperscript{79} Prasad, p. 255 noted this too. Agehananda Bharati, \textit{The Asians in East Africa}, Chicago, 1972, p. 282, noted that most Gujaratis there worship the Devi in one form or another, as the mother goddess who is called Amba or Ambika. There is a more direct emphasis on mother goddess worship in East Africa and an interest in magic and healing.
  \item \textsuperscript{80} Enthoven, \textit{op.cit}, pp. 189-202 discusses these Rakshasas or evil spirits or demons that were said to haunt trees groves, deserted tanks and woods. A ghost of a person of the Kunbi or Shudra caste was called a Chetak or Dav while that of the Kharva or Koli caste was called a Zoting.
\end{itemize}
spells or wishes. For example, some women who were barren or had difficulty in conceiving a son would take a vow to abstain from certain foods and, if possible, embark on a pilgrimage to the abode of a god or goddess, such as Ambaji at Mount Abu or Jalaram in Saurashtra. The belief in nagar or the 'evil eye' was still prevalent in New Zealand, although practices such as smearing kohl around a baby's eyes to protect it from spirits, often were habits and did not necessarily imply belief. It has been a favourite pastime for Gujarati men in New Zealand to dismiss such interest in spirits, vows or spells, as 'hocus-pocus', or 'women's nonsense'. I met the wife of a Koli who had grown up in New Zealand in the thirties. She ties the shoes of people around her favourite trees in her Auckland garden to protect her family from nagar. In the earlier part of this century in the Bombay Presidency, R.E. Enthoven also observed:

'In order to avoid injury from evil eye, coconut shells or a shoe are tied on a conspicuous part of a tree or a creeping

81. Ibid, pp. 34-5, discusses many aspects of this 'little tradition'. Also pp. 281-3 for so-called 'women's rites'.

82. G. Sukha, F.T. 8 said that Jalaram was very important for wishes and pilgrimages. He was very popular with Gujaratis from Africa, who send lots of money to the foundation.

83. See David Pocock, Mind, Body and Wealth, Oxford, 1973, Chap. 2; Enthoven, op cit, p. 222. Informants told me about nagar.

84. cf. Pocock, op cit, p. 74 about more recent moralistic attitudes with regard to unclean cults, especially mata amongst the Patidars of Central Gujarat.
Yet I also spoke to a Gujarati man who has lived in New Zealand since 1931 and told me that it was best to conceive a child at full moon as then a male issue would be assured. Such beliefs should not be dismissed as superstition but appreciated as valid an aspect of Hinduism in New Zealand as the reading of the Vedas or the Gita. Recent criticisms suggest that the distinction between the 'little tradition' and the 'great tradition', or the extent to which the impulses, and strategies collectively described by the term 'Sanskritization' may be accepted have been exaggerated.

There is much evidence to show that the origins of the great tradition in India lie often in little traditions, and that these origins generally remain visible in the later stages. The new does not replace the old, but the old continues to exist side by side with the new.

As noted on page 482 it has been suggested that certain Gujaratis in the second generation in New Zealand were vegetarians while their fathers were not. The same trend can be noted with regard to religious practice. In all the castes represented in New Zealand a number of individuals would appear to have a greater knowledge of Hindu texts, discuss them more, meditate, and participate in singing

85. Enthoven, p. 225.

bhajans to a greater extent than their fathers had. It is, of course, extremely difficult to document such changes. The most potent factor was education, which enabled the second generation to have a wider access to Hindu texts, but more often, to the commentaries and interpretations. Secondly, the teaching in the Nationalist schools emphasised spiritual development, which often included meditation, singing and an appreciation of music and art. It should, however, be noted that education did not necessarily lead to a deeper religious awareness, but secularisation in many individuals.

A third factor in the generational differences in religious belief and practice was the influence of modern Hindu 'gurus', such as Satya Sai Baba, Sri Aurobindo, and Ragneesh. Many of my informants, particularly those who considered themselves well educated, received and read literature relating to these and other modern Hindu teachers. A second-generation Koli emigrant, now retired in Karadi, stressed the Gita as a comprehensive code for correct living. In conjunction with this conservative attitude, my informant expressed a willingness to 'try out' other religions. He personally had been attracted to Aurobindo because of his 'rational' teachings, his reticence in claiming miracles or seeking converts. This informant had visited Pondicherry Ashram. He did 'try out' Ragneesh but did not follow his

87. e.g., one second generation migrant claims he meditates five hours per day.
ideas, particularly his attitudes to sexuality and morality. Another Matia-Kanbi, however, one who emigrated to New Zealand in 1928, receives literature from Ragneesh's ashram at his house in Wellington. A considerable number of second-generation Gujaratis in New Zealand, particularly women, are followers of Satya Sai Baba and the original Sai Baba. These are just a few examples of what Agehananda Bharati termed the 'pizza effect'. Many Indian teachings, ideology, music, art and food, began to be more widely accepted in India once they were appreciated in the West. Similarly, amongst Indians overseas, modern aspects of Hinduism became popular after being fashionable outside India.

Perhaps the most significant ideological impact on the second-generation Gujaratis in New Zealand was that of Gandhi and the general climate of Indian independence. A considerable number of my informants were actively involved in local disturbances, particularly in 1931-32 and 1942-43

89. Int, Lala Bava.
90. Agehananda Bharati, The Asians in East Africa, Jayhind and Uhuru, Chicago. 1972, p. 325. The 'pizza effect' refers to the embellishment in the USA of the simple Italian pizza. Since World War II the pizza has become a popular dish all over Italy. See also "Indian Expatriates in North America and The Neo-Hindu Movements", paper delivered at Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, New Delhi, Dec 10-17, 1979.
91. Bharati, p. 210 found this with Asians in East Africa.
around Navsari. Many were imprisoned, for actively disobeying the authorities, such as Dayal Kesry, who was charged with being culpable in the shooting of a policeman in 1942 at Matwad. He had emigrated to New Zealand in 1931 at the age of eleven but returned to Matwad for an extended visit before the outbreak of the War. Others, such as Chhotubhai Sima, a fourteen year old, and Hari Jagu, were sent to gaol as youngsters because of their membership in Nationalist schools or ashrams. In the volatile months of 1941 to 1942, almost the whole population of villages, especially Karadi, Matwad and Macchad, were uprooted as they crossed over into Gaekwad territory to avoid imprisonment. Chhotubhai was interned for three months by the British authorities in Gujarat. His father, an early emigrant to New Zealand, was imprisoned for nearly three years during the Second World War. It therefore comes as no surprise

92. See Home Dept, Special, 110(6)-A-(7) of 1942; 110(6)-A (7)-I, 1/3/43 to 23/3/44; 110(109)-G of 1942-3; 800 (73) 7 of 1932; 800(74)(7) of 1932-4; 800(84) A-11 of 1935; 800(14) A of 1932; 800(14) B(7) of 1932; 1020(5) (5) of 1940-1, for detailed daily and weekly reports of civil disobedience, Surat District, 1932-44. /hereafter referred to as Special Reports/.  


94. See Special Reports.  

that Gujaratis carried a deep sense of commitment and awareness of the Independence movement to New Zealand.

Gandhi's teachings with regard to the basic unity of all religions were also accepted by many Gujaratis in New Zealand. A Koli informant who settled in Wellington in 1928 expressed attitudes I heard in many homes. These include the claims that all religions are true, all are equal, none is better than the other. As discussed on page such non-discriminatory attitudes led to an overt denial of caste differences in New Zealand. Grimes noted the same expressions in his study of Indians in Auckland which he interpreted as a rationalisation for the absence of a Hindu temple there. Hindus did not need to compete with other religions.

Allegiance to Gandhi was overtly depicted by the almost obligatory picture of him in every Gujarati home I visited in New Zealand, England and India. The Indian associations in New Zealand gave considerable support to any celebrations associated with Indian Independence, while the halls built in the fifties, were aptly named 'Gandhi Hall' in Auckland, and 'Nehru Hall' at Pukekohe. Most first and second-generation informants are still proud to identify as a 'Gandhian'. At Karadi, the pervasiveness of the Independence struggle and the presence of Gandhi and other important leaders, such as Morarji Desai, was exemplified by the recent building of a memorial, the Gandhi Smriti Mandir.

96. Int, Parbhu Chhiba, Wellington.
97. Grimes, p. 60.
98. See pp. 663-4.
Finance for this was derived from Gujaratis overseas and the Gujarat State Government. One informant estimated that around Rs. 200,000 had been donated from New Zealand.\(^\text{99}\)

This two-storied concrete structure is an imposing feature of the village and is utilised by local people for bhajan singing and kirtans, sarvodaya and khadi workshops, and as a general meeting-place. The bottom level has a memorial, with almost sacred qualities attached to it, while up a flight of stairs is a large room in which is displayed a photographic history of Gandhi's life. This mandir, while not formally devoted to any deity, has assumed far greater importance than that dedicated to Dwarki Krishna, and known as 'Ranchhod Mandir'. Reputed to be around two hundred years old, it is situated in the outskirts of the village in Mandir-falia.\(^\text{100}\)

As with Gujarati communities elsewhere,\(^\text{101}\) there was very little conversion to Christianity in New Zealand. Appendix 4 shows the small numbers of full-blooded Indian Christians, compared to those of mixed blood. Even when Gujaratis worked in Christian establishments (such as Khusal Madhu at Sacred Heart College) or attended Sunday School, they rarely had more than a curiosity for other religions. Because Hinduism encompasses so many deities and manifestations of 'truth', it could allow for Jesus to be included in its arena. A Gujarati informant suggested that when

\(^{99}\) Int, Ganesh Sukha, F.T.2.

\(^{100}\) Ibid and village sarpanch.

\(^{101}\) Prasad, p. 32.
Christ disappeared into the wilderness, he went to the East where he learnt yoga, and that the resurrection was a yogic trance, as demonstrated by Tagore in the United States. Perhaps of more significance was that Hinduism is so integrally a part of kin, caste and marriage customs that it is virtually unassailable by an alien belief system. One exception was a Matia Kanbi who converted to the Salvation Army, mainly because he was under their care as a young boy. His daughter, however, was married in the traditional manner and identifies as a Hindu. Another Gujarati who emigrated to New Zealand in 1938 had a 'temporary Christian phase' while a student in Dunedin. His wife was also attracted to Christianity. He attributed his interest to his isolation from his kin when he lived in a hall of residence and broke taboos, such as eating beef. They considered that at this stage in their lives, they had felt 'aimless', 'agnostic'. After the couple left Dunedin they returned to the Hindu fold but took a renewed interest in neo-Hinduism, particularly Aurobindo.

A third 'deviant' from Hinduism in New Zealand was a Gujarati in Auckland who became a Baha'i in the nineteen-forties. He was more involved in the Gujarati community than with the Baha'is. When he visited Navsari around 1945 to 1946 he married a Hindu. His family, however, did not

102. Except where conversion follows caste lines which in practice has generally been amongst those of no caste, i.e., Harijan.
approve of his conversion. 103

Therefore few Gujaratis in New Zealand did not identify as Hindus. As noted, however, the Muslim pioneers, Ismail Bhikoo, Joseph Musa and Mohamed Kara all sent for their sons to join them in New Zealand. In turn, most of the wives of this next generation settled in New Zealand. 104 Their role in the religious sphere was far less than that of their Hindu counterpart. This was partially a result of the social and cultural isolation of women such as Mariam Bhikoo and Bai Bibi Musa from other Gujarati Muslim women, but also because traditionally the Muslim male is responsible for the maintenance of many religious traditions. Prohibitions upon the woman's access to religious instruction and to places of public worship were far greater in India than for the Hindu female.

The situation in New Zealand was even more bleak as with such small numbers of Muslims there, corporate worship for both sexes was virtually impossible. Until 1950, there was no formal Islamic organisation, but in that year Esup Bhikoo became the first President of the New Zealand Muslim Association. 105 Suliman Bhikoo has acted as a mullah or religious leader for this organisation which incorporated not only Gujaratis but Muslims from Albania, Yugoslavia


104. See pp. 585-608.

105. Ints, Esup, Ibrahim and Mohamed Bhikoo.
and Fiji. Property was purchased on Hargreaves Street where a house was utilised as a 'mosque'. Women were not, however, permitted to enter this building and also may not observe salat in their homes while menstruating.

Before this formal organization, maintenance and observance of Muslim prayer and custom was up to the individual and their family. Although he lived for many years in isolated country stores, after his arrival in New Zealand in 1925, Ibrahim Bhikoo attempted as often as possible to observe salat, that is to pray five times a day. He had taken his religion very seriously. Indeed, he went to considerable lengths with me to explain the Quran and the Old Testament of the Bible. Like most Muslims I interviewed he was more sympathetic towards Christians than to Hindus who were perceived of as 'heathen' because of their worship of idols.

His home was typical of many Sunni Muslims in New Zealand, with no decorations except for a Quranic verse or a photo of Makka. Ibrahim disapproved of singing and dancing. He claimed, like most of my Muslim informants of all ages, to observe customary fasts, especially that during Ramadan. Similarly all the informants of this generation I had interviewed, had in later years, taken the obligatory haj or pilgrimage to Makka.

Mohamed Musa, the first Gujarati Muslim born in New Zealand (1939), differed little in overt behaviour and the attitudes he expressed, from those of men belonging to Ibrahim's generation. Mohamed, his seven brothers and two
sisters were all raised by their mother in New Zealand. Mohamed recalled observing the fast of Ramadan even when sitting exams at school in Auckland. While he does not read Arabic, he still says his prayers. His wife, who originates from Broach, does however, read Urdu and Arabic, and this knowledge has been passed on to their sons.

Marriage ceremonies continued to take place in Gujarat. These were arranged and often were between cousins, as is the favoured practice among Sunni Vohoras. In New Zealand Muslim boys were circumcised, which was the standard practice for all male babies born in New Zealand until the nineteen-sixties. According to one Muslim informant no ceremony was attached to this in New Zealand as it was performed in the maternity hospital after the birth. I did note in one family that a small ceremony was observed when the baby's hair was shaved but this did not apply to all Gujarati Muslims in New Zealand.

After death Muslims are always buried and in Auckland they have a separate section in the Waikumete Cemetery. As

106. I could not trace the extent to which they maintained Muslim customs and religion, as most of them were born in later years.

107. Most of the following information from Mohamed S. Bhikoo President of NZ Islamic Organisation.

108. Misra, p. 79, Khatinah or circumcision was normally in the fourth year. In India Muslims were unique in this respect as Hindus do not normally practice circumcision.

109. For further cultural details see Misra, pp. 122-5, Chap. 6.
far as is possible purification is observed, which means that no food may be cooked in the house until the body is buried, and special prayers are offered on the fourth and fortieth days after death. It should be noted that it is only in the nineteen-seventies that Islam has become a widely recognised religion in New Zealand and until the Muslim community grew in numbers, it was extremely difficult to adhere to any corporate festivals and ceremonies. The world-wide trend towards a conservatism in Islamic doctrine and practice has also been felt in the South Pacific, as a number of Muslims here receive literature from Iran.

(e) Caste.

In Chapter I we noted the failure to duplicate the 'caste system' as it was expressed in the villages of Gujarat. This pattern continued in the years after 1920. The immigration regulations meant that only those Gujaratis related to New Zealand residents could normally emigrate there. So it was understandable that the caste composition of the later Gujarati community had been set in the pre-1920 era. The main castes in New Zealand continued to be Talab-das Kolis, and Leva, Kharwa and Matia Kanbis. In addition there was a Dhobi, a Khatri, and a few Hajam, Bawa, Sutar, Khumbhar, Darji, Bhatala, Khalpa and Mochi families.

It has been noted in studies elsewhere that with most overseas Indian or Gujarati communities an awareness of jati distinctiveness and exclusiverness was heightened once the women joined the men. Prasad and Gillion\textsuperscript{110} noted this

\textsuperscript{110} Prasad, pp. 257-9.
amongst the Gujaratis of Fiji.

In-group loyalty transcended social relationships established outside one's immediate circle, contrary to the common belief that all Gujaratis possessed a "uniform sense of loyalty to one another."111

It can be seen that with the presence of women, separate, nucleated living accommodation was preferred, and cultural practices, that were often unique for each jat, were enforced. In particular diet, the distinction between vegetarians and non-vegetarians, religious observances, inter-dining and to an extent, socialising between different castes were restricted. When unmarried daughters were present in New Zealand the additional factor of caste endogamy was introduced into the context. It was difficult to obtain data concerning caste, as it was and remains a highly sensitive and subjective area.112 Both first and second generation informants, however, commented that women did 'bring' the Gujarati awareness of jati exclusiveness with them to New Zealand. Kanbi women have been noted in this respect because of their preference for vegetarianism. I do not, however, see jati awareness as a totally female responsibility. When the women and children joined their husbands overseas, it completed the nuclear family unit and


112. For this reason names will not be cited for sources. All data, unless stated was from several interviews, NZ, England and Gujarat.
represented a shift in emphasis of family, religion and caste to New Zealand.

In New Zealand the inter-jati exclusiveness noted elsewhere was not possible because of the smaller numbers of Gujaratis there. The Indian Associations and Gita Classes continued to attract mixed caste gatherings. It was noted on page 639 that there appeared to be some caste alignments in the Auckland Indian Association but an analysis of the leadership patterns suggested no such loyalties. Many informants, however, have observed that jati loyalties associated with participation and socialisation in the Indian associations became heightened in the years after 1960. Nevertheless age, occupational and economic factors almost always superseded caste ties except for marriage and, in some cases, commensality.

There is clearer evidence for the post-1920 period, than of the preceding years, that caste restrictions on co-habitation and commensality were abandoned. Most Gujaratis did live with members of the same jati but kin and then village attachments were the principal operating factors here. A few examples of individuals from different jati residing together were noted, such as the four men who lived at 20 Jervois Road in 1938. One of these was a Koli and another a Matia-Kanbi. A Leva-Kanbi and a Koli lived together and worked as second-hand dealers from 108 Union

113. A1938/59.
Street in Auckland.\textsuperscript{114}

Caste clearly had little relevance to occupation in New Zealand. Most of the Gujaratis who emigrated here had previously been involved in farming which had little place in the ritual hierarchy. Instead economic considerations, notably the quality and amount of land owned, had been important status factors. It was therefore not surprising to find that most Kolis, Kanbis and some members of the other castes entered into those occupations that were available in the new land. These were bottle-collecting, hawking, retailing and market-gardening. When it came to the more specialised trades there was some correlation with caste. David Pocock's observations in East Africa can be applied to the New Zealand situation.

The formula as regards these specialised castes is that not all members of caste $X$ practise occupation $X$ but all who do practice it are members of caste $X$.\textsuperscript{115}

For Hajams, hairdressing and barber shops were a lucrative investment in New Zealand. Kanji Dullabh ran a hairdressing concern for many years. After he arrived at Auckland in 1918 at the age of twenty-five\textsuperscript{116} he opened two businesses, one situated at 348 Queen Street in the centre of the city, and another at 53 Alexandra Street.\textsuperscript{117}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid
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\textsuperscript{116} ASL, Makura, 1918.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{117} WNZD, 1919-24, Queen St. 1921, Alexandra St.
\end{flushright}
1925 he moved his business to 6a Wakefield and 9 Loughton Street. In addition Jina Lala was a hairdresser at 1 Park Road, Ratanji Dahya had a business in the central city areas of Hobson and later Victoria Street West, and Manchoo Mavji started as a hairdresser at 19 Wellesley Street in the twenties before he shifted to 41 Greys Avenue. The immigration files also recorded two other hairdressers in Wellington, one a first-generation and the other a second-generation immigrant. The former later became a civil servant.

Tailoring was another traditional caste occupation that could be successfully practised in New Zealand by Darji and Khatri. Bhukhandas Masters, a Khatri, who emigrated to New Zealand in 1919, was a tailor in central Auckland before he set up a similar business at Te Puhe in the forties. His son Shivalal joined him there before visiting Navsari. When Shivalal returned to Wellington in 1940 he trained as a fitter and turner, but also was able to work as a tailor and outfitter at Wairoa and Dannevirke. His brother, who settled in Wellington, followed the family tradition of tailoring. Shivalal, however, later moved to Rotorua, where he invested in a dairy and other property.


120. Ibid, 45 Victoria St West, 1921.

121. Int, Shivalal Masters.
By the thirties, other tailors included D. Bhikha at Te Kuiti, where he was joined by B. and J. Dahya. The former brother had worked from 1924 to 1927 as a tailor at nearby Otorohanga, a small town in the King Country.

Bootmaking and shoe-repairing was a third occupation that was ritually demeaning in India but could be profitable and status free in New Zealand. Hari Jagu, a Khalifa by caste, worked as a boot- and shoe-maker on Cuba Street in Wellington with some of his relatives during the Second World War. He had been trained in this occupation when a student at the Godhra Ashram in Gujarat. Later he found employment in various fruit businesses both in Wellington and Auckland.

Three Gujarati boot and shoe repairers and makers were noted in the Trades Directories in Auckland in the twenties and thirties. In Wellington, Chhiba Dayal had a business on Webb Street in the twenties and thirties but later moved to nearby Willis Street. D. Parbhu was another boot and shoe maker located in the central city at 291 Cuba Street, although he had formerly been employed as a butcher. The latter occupation was considered extremely unclean in


123. Int, Hari Jagu.


126. *Ibid*. 1944. He was a butcher 1938- 291 Cuba St Wellington.
Gujarat. Two Gujaratis, Lallu and Dullabh, had also run a boot and shoe-making concern in the Waikato township of Cambridge during the early twenties.127

These men who set up established trades in New Zealand were able to utilise their traditional caste occupations in the new environment. Within the non-Indian society, these once ritually unclean Gujaratis, (especially shoemakers), were categorised amongst the general class of New Zealand tradesmen. The extent to which this acceptance permeated the Gujarati community was ambiguous and limited. Not all the members of the artisan castes, who emigrated to New Zealand followed their traditional callings. J.K. Natali was a Dhobi but as a result of an education in the English medium had found employment as a clerk in Navsari.128 In New Zealand he embarked upon a successful entrepreneurial career.

A common theme was that caste ties were most persistent in marriage arrangements. This correlated with the pattern found in Gujarat and amongst Gujaratis and Indians in

127. Ibid, 1924.
Bharati has made this point but perhaps exaggerated its uniqueness to the East African context when he claims that,

endogamy seems to endure as the steadiest factor contrasting the East African Indian system with virtually all other Indian emigrant groups in the world.\textsuperscript{130}

Schwartz found that with East Indians in Boodram, Trinidad, caste and varna exogamy was the rule, except for the Sudra varna in which there was a relatively high concentration of endogamy. Families in this varna belonged to the lower positions in the economic hierarchy.

The hypothesis may be presented that the greater the involvement in the wider cash economy, the less the reliance upon subsistence activities, and therefore the higher the frequency of exogamous

\textsuperscript{129} e.g. Arni Streefkerk-Hubbeling, "Transformation and Accommodation: The differential meaning of Inter Caste Marriage", in "Modernization, Stagnation and Steady Decline. Sociological Contributions on Social Change in South Gujarat, India", Centre for Comparative Social-Economic Studies, University of Utrecht, Holland, Publication no. 1, nd. (1970s), pp. 197-226. Hilda Kuper, "Changes in Caste in the South African Indian", pp. 237-266, in Caste in Overseas Indian Communities, ed, Barton M. Schwartz, San Francisco, 1967, found a relative persistence of caste amongst Gujarati Hindus - many sent their daughters to husbands selected in India and imported the 'correct' wives for their sons. H.S. Morris, "Caste Among the Indians of Uganda", in, ibid p. 276 noted endogamous marriages. Narsai Patel, "Family Dispersal Among Indian Immigrants", in Family and Social Change in Modern India, ed, Giri Raj Gupta, Durham, 1971, p. 172 in a study of Gujaratis in five countries found that caste was only meaningful for endogamy.

marriages between the different economic groups among rural East Indians in Trinidad.\footnote{131} In the New Zealand context Gujaratis were completely dependent upon the 'wider cash economy' yet in almost all cases rigidly maintained jati-endogamy. I did not find any cases of inter-jati unions amongst those married before 1950. In 1954, however, a marriage was contracted between a Kanbi and a Koli.

It has been discussed on page 257 that many families would condone an inter-racial marriage before a union with a Gujarati of another caste was considered. This trend conforms with findings amongst Gujaratis in Gujarat itself as well as in East Africa, Britain and Fiji. Streefkerk-Hubbeling noted in a survey of intercaste marriage in Bulsar that 'acceptance of intermarriage increased as caste differences between the partners decreased'.\footnote{132} In New Zealand, while differences between Koli and Kanbi were clear, and likewise between the different jati within each, there was considerable competition for status, especially when it was influenced by the socio-economic circumstances in the new environment. Streefkerk-Hubbeling also found this to be the case.

Acceptance of intermarriage in the socio-economic middle stratum appeared to be quite low compared with the top layer. This may be explained by the fact that people of sanskritising castes constitute this category to a large extent. For then ritual


\footnote{132. Streefkerk-Hubbeling, op cit, p. 224.}
status is very important. They are trying to raise their own ritual position by referring to Brahman or Kshatriya ideals of purity and pollution and by adhering to their way of life. Cohesion of the caste group is necessary and usually they have a strong caste organisation.\textsuperscript{133}

These ideals could be applied to the Gujaratis in New Zealand and with reference to their standing in the villages in Gujarat. Therefore, in contrast to the evidence of inter-jati social and occupational relationships, there was a maintenance of an awareness of in-group loyalty. This corresponded to changes in the statuses of these castes in Gujarat.

Kolis from the villages of those who emigrated to New Zealand began to take steps to enhance their status through the adoption of certain practices in a manner which could be termed Sanskritization. It was noted at the 1921 Baroda Census that there had been a large increase in the category 'Koli unspecified' since 1911, probably due to a desire on the part of Kolis such as Thakardas and Talabdas to conceal jati names which they considered a disgrace.\textsuperscript{134} Ghanshyam Shah noted that most Kolis feel ashamed to call themselves by these names and if someone addresses them by these names,

\textsuperscript{133} \textbf{Ibid}, p. 225.

\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Census, Baroda, 1921}, p. 332. By \textit{Census, Baroda, 1941}, vol. 18, pt. 1, p. 62, Kolis were classified amongst the Ujaliparaj.
they feel insulted.\(^{135}\) I found in New Zealand that when asked to name their caste Kolis usually gave their father's name, adopted as a surname. The varna with which they normally identified was Kshatriya. In addition I noted that a large proportion of Kolis, both in New Zealand and overseas, called themselves Patel.\(^{136}\) Shah's book suggests that the Kshatriya varna claim was important to most Kolis in Gujarat as a means of achieving recognition of a higher status.\(^{137}\) In South Gujarat, however, the adoption of the name Patel did not fit into this pattern. It is difficult to assess whether the Kolis in this more prosperous region were emulating any other castes or simply wanted to be recognised as agriculturists or Patels. The wealthier and better educated Kolis certainly did adopt lifestyles that differed little from those of Kanbis, Patidars or Anavala Brahmins.

From the twenties, the adoption of various measures such as teetotalism, an emphasis of education, vegetarianism, and the prohibition of widow-remarriage could be construed as an attempt at Sanskritization. In marriage arrangements, the practice of bride-price became rare, while the offering

\(^{135}\) Ghanshyam Shah, *Caste Association and Political Process in Gujarat*, Bombay 1975, p. 11, fn.3; the Gujarati standard dictionary, *Vinit Jodani Kosh*, Ahmedabad, 1954, explains the word Koli as non-Aryan or a man of lower caste. This explanation is resented by Kolis of Gujarat.

\(^{136}\) See pp. 61-2.

\(^{137}\) G. Shah, p. 14ff.
of a form of dowry, either in cash or expensive gifts to the
groom and his family was preferred. The coincidence of
these practices with Gandhi's influence in the Koli villages
of Surat District can not however be ignored. His Salt Sat-
yagraha in 1930, when he camped at Karadi and 'made salt' at
Dandi had a lasting effect upon the local villagers, many
of whom were my informants. His exhortations for village
uplift, temperance, cow-protection and khadi did much to
foster a sense of village and Koli identity and pride in the
area. It should, however, be noted, that although some
practices such as the prohibition of alcohol or meat-eating
were not universally supported, their adoption by many
Kolis did much to raise the local jati's status vis-a-vis
higher castes. Some developments, such as the Khadi Sangh,
established by Dilkush Divanjibhai around 1930, clearly were

138. Also noted by Streefkerk-Hubbeling, p. 216.

139. For discussion of Salt Satyagraha, see Judith M. Brown,
Gandhi and Civil Disobedience, The Mahatma in Indian
Politics, 1928-1934, Cambridge, 1977, p. 100ff, 'The
march was designed not just to publicise his appeal for
civil disobedience but to educate villagers and those
who read it in the press.' For reports of civil disobedience in these areas, see Special Reports.

140. The Special Reports suggest that a 'hard core' of
villagers and Congress workers abstained from liquor and
picketed toddy shops but that others tended to have vac-
illating attitudes. Ibid, 6 July 1932, noted that lic-
encees, especially Kolis, who had given their shops up
1929-30, had since taken them up again, even at Karadi-
Matwad. But by 1942 there was a reburning of liquor-
shops. My informants have also testified to the
differences in support for Congress in the villages.
Gandhian-inspired. The setting up of rashtriya or Nationalist schools, while aimed at training independence workers, also induced a sense of pride in the caste. This was related to educational development, increased occupational opportunities and political awareness. The effect of overseas emigration was also significant in raising the economic, education and political standards of the Kolis in these villages. The influence of outside finance, both from emigration and occupational advancement within India and overseas, coincided with the introduction of land reforms in the years after World War II. Many Kolis who had formerly leased land from Desais or Barias were subsequently entitled to become the legal proprietors of the land.

Unlike other Koli communities outside Gujarat, those in New Zealand did not form a specifically caste organisation. Sufficient numbers were resident here, but there was no direct necessity for a society such as the Transvaal Koli Hitvardhak Mandal that was founded in South Africa by Kolis from South Gujarat. It is noted on page 644 that Indians


143. G. Shah, p. 21. noted that in Gujarat, as a whole, the majority of Kshatriyas did not benefit from the Acts.

144. Int, Parbhoo Nana, Onjal.
found it more advantageous to maintain, at least overtly, a unified image. Kolis also enjoyed numerical dominance in New Zealand and could usually obtain the representation and involvement in the Indian Associations that they sought. Caste issues did not, according to my informants, have any relevance in New Zealand (particularly in these earlier years) except with regard to marriage. Although there was no Koli organisation here, village and kin ties meant that sufficient support was given to caste members in Gujarat. The local Dikrana Gujarat Koli (Patel) Samaj has also received support in recent years from Gujaratis settled in or retired from New Zealand. Like many other such associations, it has campaigned for the restriction of certain customs, in particular exorbitant dahej or dowry, and the holding of caste dinners after a funeral.145

Group loyalty was also maintained amongst Kanbi sub-castes. For reasons similar to those noted above the Kanbis did not form specifically caste organisations in New Zealand. During this century, however, almost all the Kanbis, both in New Zealand and in their Gujarat villages, identified as Patidars. By the 1931 Census of Baroda the term Patidar was adopted as the enumerator recognised that any attempts to distinguish Patidars from the various Kanbi jati were futile.146

145. Int, Ganesh Sikha, F.T. 8. South Gujarat Koli (Patel) Samaj. Noupragati is a magazine of the Koli community in South Gujarat. It was founded in 1966 and copies are sent to NZ, Canada, South Africa and England.

This corresponded to the process David Pocock investigated in the Charottar, the 'home' of the 'true' Patidars. All the second-generation informants were aware of Matia, Leva, Kharwa or Kachhia divisions but this was not always understood by their children. Jati endogamy, nevertheless, has almost always been completely sustained. Like Kolis, the surname Patel was adopted in many instances.

The Independence movement also precipitated a pride amongst Kanbis in the Bardoli Taluka, centre of the 1928 Satyagraha, where Vallabhbhai Patel and others led a boycott of the payment of land revenue by the land-owners.

It was noted from the responses of some informants that self-perception as a Patidar frequently equated with a belief that they were the only 'true Gujaratis'. In the extreme form this chauvinism extended to the idea that Patidars spoke 'correct', 'sweet', Gujarati, ate 'true', 'more pure' Hindu food, observed religious practices, festivals and ceremonies more than Kolis, and generally were responsible for the survival and refinement of Gujarati culture.


and indeed the higher aspects of Hindu culture, in New Zealand. 149

The economic prosperity of Kanbis in their villages that had been noted in the early twentieth century continued. In particular, in the years following World War II many Kanbi landowners had 'pruned' surplus kin through emigration to New Zealand, East and South Africa, and Panama, 150 which meant that landholdings in Gujarat could be consolidated and developed. The opening of the Bardoli sugar co-operative in the fifties speeded the change from cotton to sugar as the principal cash crop. This resulted in greater prosperity for the members of this caste. Kanbis also took advantage of prime positions in the educational, occupational and political spheres in Gujarat. It can be noted from the above discussion that the emphasis in New Zealand upon the individual caste related to, 'a shift from the caste system to individual castes and this reflects the change that is taking place in India today'. 151

Nevertheless, while the evidence clearly suggested that jati awareness was maintained in New Zealand, almost all informants explicitly criticised the caste system. They were, and are aware that caste implied discrimination in the

149. Ints, second generation Kanbis.

150. Report of the Special Enquiry..., 1929, p. 13. The number of people earning their living in foreign parts was quite considerable. e.g. Sarbhon - 79, Supa - 74, Vankaner - 142. These are all villages from which emigrants went to NZ.

supposedly egalitarian society of New Zealand. This attitude was common in modern India due to the influence of reformist Hindu movements such as the Arya Samaj, and more directly the teachings of Gandhi and other independence workers. Gandhi emphasised the removal of the "evils" of caste, particularly untouchability and taboos upon certain practices, such as contact with dirt. He did not, however, totally reject caste, but emphasised the varna system, which was equated with a four-fold division of labour. Status was supposedly dependent upon achieved means and one's actions rather than being ascribed. This ideology was overtly accepted by most of the Gujaratis of South Gujarat who had been widely exposed to his teachings. Karadi was the first village in 1937 to 1938 in this region to admit Harijans to any mandir and allow them access to wells. Matwad and Machhad followed within the next ten years. 152 Today, however, few Harijans and Kolis inter-dine, although education, economic factors and living conditions are weakening this prohibition.

Almost all Kanbi informants criticised caste but their acceptance of Harijans and Kolis as equals was minimal. At Ganesh-Sisodra, a retired migrant from New Zealand was

152. Int, Dilkush Divanjibhai, F.T.3. For detailed discussion of this see, I.P. Desai, Untouchability in Rural Gujarat, Bombay, 1976. He noted, p. 122, that change with regard to untouchability was more general in his village sample from South Gujarat, especially Surat and Valsad Districts. Desai attributed this as a result of secular forces 'released by the socio-political Gandhian movement'. Other relevant factors were the proximity and migration to Bombay, the early advances in South Gujarat there in education, early contact with Europeans.
censured by his caste-mates because he had Harijan tenants in his house.\textsuperscript{153} I noticed that even when Kanbis were referring to educated Harijans, caste still assumed considerable importance and the criticism of certain aspects, such as speech, were greater than if they were referring to a non-Harijan.

In the New Zealand context, as noted in studies of Indians elsewhere, almost all informants made statements such as 'there is no caste now'.\textsuperscript{154} When J.K. Natali replied to correspondents in the Auckland Star in 1955 who had raised the 'caste problem', he wrote that,

\begin{quote}
The caste system, which even the British rule did not correct, is the curse of modern India and has existed for so long that it will take years for it to disappear... Since India became self-governing the caste system is gradually being broken down, but the passing of laws will not eliminate it and only time and the democratic outlook of educated people will defeat it.

Indians who believe in the caste system are to be pitied and guided, not condemned for their ignorance. But India is not alone with her caste system; it exists, unfortunately, in various forms throughout the world. Could "Ex-Superintendent" tell me of any white "aristocrats" of the Southern States of the U.S.A. who have inter-married with the Negro field workers?\textsuperscript{155}
\end{quote}

Natali, as well as other of my informants have made the

\textsuperscript{153} Int, second generation Matia-Kanbi migrant.

\textsuperscript{154} Int, first generation Koli migrant. Maureen Michaelson, doing research on East African Gujaratis in London, found the denial of caste stated in virtually the same words I found. A stock response about the 'evils' of the caste system. Bharati, p. 27. similar finding.

\textsuperscript{155} AS, 17 February 1955, p. 6.
point that India was not the only country in which there was a rigid system of hierarchy and where discrimination based upon birth was practised. He has been well known for his criticisms of the caste system, an attitude that was influenced by birth into a ritually low caste, an English education and marriage to an English woman. The factor of education should not be over-emphasised, as I noted that often the better educated and professional Indians often had extremely stereotyped views of other castes. They tended to equate lack of education, economic standing and social sophistication with caste background. For example, a Kanbi, second-generation immigrant and a highly qualified professional warned me to be careful that I met the 'right ones', that is the 'correct Gujaratis'. He and his wife were the 'right ones'. They noted that women of one caste 'behaved badly', presumably with reference to morality and spoke 'bad Gujarati'. It is difficult to determine whether these are recent views heightened by the arrival of women and the development of self-contained households of the same jati in New Zealand. The above informant would, however, eat with Kolis and Harijans in New Zealand, but not in the Gujarati village.

It should be stressed that Kolis have caste stereotypes, particularly of Kanbis. These I heard described as 'snobby', 'uppity', and 'dishonest'. Enmity has always been present between Kolis and Patidars in Gujarat both at the village and political level, largely because they frequently competed for the same economic, educational and political
Tensions were not quite so strong in South Gujarat where the villages of the New Zealand emigrants tended to be geographically separated and dominated either by Kanbis or Kolis. In Koli villages the immediate superiors were more frequently Anavala Brahmans. Once in New Zealand, the sense of being an Indian in the face of opposition by the dominant European society alleviated much of the Koli-Kanbi friction. It was really only at the level of socialisation and competition within the Indian associations, particularly as the numbers of Gujaratis here grew larger, that caste difference were accentuated. I was not able to assess how strongly this related to business competition, but it should be emphasised that kin and village connections were significant factors that sustained an awareness of jati difference.

(f) Marriage patterns.

Religion, caste and status were all important factors in marriage. As noted in Chapter III the majority of first-generation Gujarati males were married before they emigrated to New Zealand. This partially reflected the early age of marriage that was prevalent in Gujarat in the early twentieth century but it was more directly related to the age at which the early migrants left India.

Amongst the second generation, however, approximately half were unmarried when they joined their fathers in New Zealand. A direct effect of migration was, therefore, in a

156. See G. Shah, p. 24ff. for historical discussion of antagonisms.
number of cases to delay the age of marriage. Nevertheless, Gujaratis resident in New Zealand were married at considerably younger ages than their New Zealand counterparts. It may be suggested that this resulted in a greater sense of responsibility and maturity, with regard to both financial independence and morality. This is of course a highly debatable point and one that can not be objectively assessed, particularly with regard to the past.

It was not possible to gather a random sample but for those cases in which marital details were available the majority of males in all castes married between 20-24 years of age. They returned to their home village for the wedding after they had spent some time in New Zealand. The preference for marriage at an older age reflected changes in Gujarat. Since the beginning of the century legislation had been introduced to prohibit child marriage. Baroda took the lead with the 1904 Infant Marriage Prevention Act which forbade marriage to a girl who had not completed her twelfth year and a boy who had not completed his sixteenth year. However, parents or guardians of minors above the age of nine could apply to a tribunal to permit marriages under

157. See for e.g., NZ Yearbook, 1950, pp. 69-70. Average age for bachelors in New Zealand Population marrying in 1948 was 27.55; for spinsters it was 24.42. However, the model or popular age for several years prior to 1918 was 26 for bridegrooms and 21 for brides. 'The latter has continued right through to 1948 without alteration, but in the case of bridegrooms, the most popular age has varied, and for 1948 was 23.' Therefore, as the age at marriage of the Gujaratis increased, that of the NZ male decreased.
certain circumstances. This provision was especially necessary for Kadwa Kanbis who had only certain dates upon which marriages could be contracted. The Act was amended in 1929 when those marriages in which the bride or groom was below the age of eight years on the marriage day were declared void. Penalties of fines and imprisonment were imposed upon those who broke the law. In that year a similar law was introduced in the Bombay Presidency which made it an offence to marry a girl under fourteen or a boy under eighteen. Those who aided or abetted such a marriage were also liable to prosecution. By 1932 Baroda had adopted the same age limits for marriage while in 1955 the Hindu Marriage Act set fifteen as the minimum age of marriage for a girl.

It is clear that amongst the second-generation women, marriage was taking place at an older age than in their mothers' generation. The majority of my female informants, in all the castes represented in New Zealand, married between 15-19 years of age. At the 1951 Indian Census the advancing age at marriage for women in Gujarat was noted. In rural


159. See BG, 1901, p. 158.

160. Kapadia, op cit., p. 156.

TABLE 45

Percentage of married and widowed by age and sex, Surat District, 1951. (Rural population only).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group (Years)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>26.84</td>
<td>56.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>91.57</td>
<td>98.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>96.84</td>
<td>99.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>97.68</td>
<td>98.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census BSK, 1951, vol. 4.
Surat District, only approximately 56 per cent of females were recorded as married or widowed in the 15-24 age bracket, although in the years after this, almost all women were married.\textsuperscript{162} In most cases the female Gujaratis in New Zealand and were a few years younger than their husbands. This was not as wide an age-gap, particularly among high status castes, that prevailed in the late nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{163} There were, however, some exceptions, such as a Koli who was thirty-two when he married his seventeen year old wife.\textsuperscript{164}

A proportion of second generation migrants were being married before they left for New Zealand. While I was unable to gather a large sample, I found seven cases of Koli couples marrying under the age of ten in the years after World War II. One man from Tavdi was married when he was a one year old baby to a five year old girl from Padgha. By the age of seventeen he was a father and had two more children before he emigrated to New Zealand illegally in 1951 aged twenty-one. His wife remained in Gujarat. Another illegal immigrant was married at the age of six to a girl of the same age. They had three children before he left India in 1940 aged twenty-six. Amongst earlier generations

\textsuperscript{162} See table 45.

\textsuperscript{163} Although Census, BP, 1881, p. 140 noted that Hindu Gujarati males marry younger than in Deccan or Korkan so avoid a very large gap between them and their spouse. The gap in the number married or widowed for each set at earlier age groups was still clear in 1951, as indicated by table . This relates to the rural population of Surat District.

\textsuperscript{164} Keshav Parsot.
Kolis tended to marry at an older age than Kanbis or other higher castes. The pattern discussed above partially reflected growing Sanskritization amongst Kolis of South Gujarat, which was noted at the 1921 Baroda Census. In addition, some of these younger marriages were a result of a need to have children married before they joined their fathers in New Zealand.

There were only two cases of second-generation Kanbis marrying under ten years. This likewise indicated a growing preference for older marriage than had been prevalent at the turn of the century. One of these men, a Matia Kanbi, was married as a child before he joined his father in New Zealand in 1931 at the age of twelve. Five years later he had a child by a European woman, while following visits to India he had children by his wife. Around 1950 he divorced her and in 1952 remarried a twenty-four year old woman.

It was noted that in Gujarat Muslims married at an older age than Hindus. This preference was continued amongst those who emigrated to New Zealand. Ismail Bhikhoo, a first-generation migrant was married aged twenty-five when his wife was twenty. All his sons returned to Manekpore to marry after they had emigrated to New Zealand. Abdul Samad

165. Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 232. G.C. Mukhtyar, Life and Labour in a South Gujarat Village, Calcutta, 1930, noted at 'Atgam', Bulsar, a tendency towards early marriage amongst Kaliparaj, who were copying the Upali-paraj. (although Kolis were included in the latter group). Boys who had formerly married at around 18-30 years now married at 14-18, while girls who had married at around 15 years married at 9-13.
### TABLE 42

#### Males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Never Married</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Legally Separated</th>
<th>Not Stated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>64.36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>30.38</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>59.77</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>23.45</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>21.46</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>73.48</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>52.20</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Never Married</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Legally Separated</th>
<th>Not Stated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.63</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31.58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>69.57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40.74</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55.56</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>59.79</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>37.63</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was the youngest to marry, at the age of nineteen, while his wife was fourteen, but his four brothers were twenty-one when they married while their wives were about the same age. Ally Moses, however, was married at thirteen to a wife aged seven, before he joined his father in New Zealand when he was twelve years old.166

While divorce was not common amongst the New Zealand general population before the Second World War,167 it was particularly rare amongst Gujaratis both in New Zealand and India.168 Migration did, however, slightly raise the incidence of divorce. According to two Koli and one Matia-Kanbi informant, after the War 'dozens' of Gujarati emigrants returned to their villages to divorce their wives and remarry a 'new fancy wife'.169 This was precipitated by the New Zealand Government's insistence that if a minor was to emigrate to New Zealand, then his mother should accompany him or her.170 One informant suggested that a 'more modern wife' was desirable in New Zealand, although some of the divorced women were later able to remarry Gujarati New Zealanders. It was unclear as to the meaning of the

166. Ints, Bhikhoo, Mohamed Musa.


168. For discussion of divorce, both historical and modern in India, see Kapadia, pp. 184ff.


170. See p. 456.
expression 'modern wife'. It may have indicated cases in which the woman refused to leave the village, or else it may have referred to other reasons, such as the lack of a son.  

A Leva Kanbi informant, now resident in England, suggested that in the nineteen-thirties and forties divorce was more common, particularly amongst emigrants. This he attributed to a reaction against child marriage. The man who married as a child and emigrated to New Zealand in 1931 when he was aged eleven fitted this pattern. After his first wife gave birth to two children he divorced her in 1949 on the grounds of adultery. He also alleged that she had assaulted and ill-treated the youngest son, with the result that it was put in the custody of his parents. In fact the husband had in 1936 been the father of a European child and evaded maintenance payments, which suggests that the 'blame' was not entirely one-sided. It should also be noted that divorce in India is frequently related to property or economic disputes and bears little relation to the feelings of the couple involved.

It proved difficult to estimate the frequency of divorces in the villages and in New Zealand. Documentary

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171. See Y.B. Damle, "Divorce in Poona District", partly published in Society in India, discussed in Kapadia, pp. 186ff. Survey of 363 divorce cases 1964-5. Around 25% of divorces in each caste group except Brahmans and Matias were obtained on the grounds of childlessness.

sources provide little indication. The Indian census did not investigate the matter while provision for the divorce statistics in New Zealand by ethnic origin and religion were only available from 1916 onwards. Very few Hindu or Indians were returned as divorced but this partly reflects the high rate of remarriage amongst divorced Indian males. They would have been categorised as 'married' at the census.

It appears that with the castes represented in New Zealand divorce was not overtly condoned but covertly was practised to some extent. It was relatively easy for a man to divorce his wife in Gujarat, especially when compared to the legal procedures necessary in New Zealand. The castes that emigrated to New Zealand could obtain divorces according to caste customs but in 1931 in Baroda, and in 1947 in the Bombay Presidency, Acts were passed that made divorce accessible for castes in which there had formerly been no provision. With Kolis, the divorce was usually settled at a meeting of the panchayat at the padar or village boundary. If the male initiated the divorce, then he paid around three

173. Census, Baroda, 1931, p. 474. treated divorced people as widowed. Census, BSK, 1951, p. 111, noted that divorce was so uncommon that it was omitted as a subject for comparative study.

174. See table 42. Religious returns by marital status for Hindus only available from 1926. 1926-1 male legally separated. 3 males divorced. 1936 - 2 males legally separated. 1945 - no male Hindus enumerated as divorced.

175. For discussion of Baroda Divorce Act, 1931 and later Acts, and grounds upon which divorce was available, see Kapadia, pp. 185-7.

176. Two Koli informants. Also BG, 1901, p. 250.
hundred rupees and was returned any ornaments that his parents had given the girl at marriage. The typical reaction was for the woman to refuse the divorce when it was initiated by the male. If however she asked for a divorce and paid him money then it was called dharma-dharmi. When the woman was given money it traditionally meant that she could not remarry. The woman normally returned to her father's house and she had by agreement, custody of the children until they reached twenty-one years of age. After that the father could claim them and they did remain his legal heirs.

Kanbis and other Gujarati castes represented in New Zealand, such as KHALPAS, Khumbhars, Hajams, Dhobhis, and Kachhias, all permitted divorce and followed similar procedures to those outlined above. If a Kanbi husband initiated the divorce he did not usually have to pay his wife any money but if she claimed the divorce then she had to pay her husband sufficient money or 'vel' to meet the cost of his second marriage. An informant at Syod-Puni reported that Kanbis, like the Kolis, returned the kanya-dan (the

177. BG, 1901, pp. 161, 166, 171.
jewellery given by the boy's parents to the girl at marriage).  

A recent case on the New Zealand Immigration records illustrated adherence to caste custom in the case of a couple resident in New Zealand. The couple made an agreement in front of a jury of four male relatives in the village near Bardoli. In this case the husband had tried to retain the gold and silver ornaments given to the wife by her father, but he subsequently handed them back.

Most Gujaratis could divorce their wives merely by making a formal declaration in writing. Divorce by proxy clearly suited emigrants and there were few examples of this in New Zealand such as the case discussed above (a Matia-Kanbi). A fargati or deed of divorce granted to a Koli from Kardipore, registered with the Civil Judge at Navsari, indicated how few rights the wife had. In this case the wife was the plaintiff but the settlement had been out of court, according to Koli custom. Although she had joined her husband in Wellington from 1949 to 1959 she had no interest in his property and no right to maintenance. The husband remarried two days after the divorce was granted.

Divorce had always been acceptable and relatively easy for the Muslim male. In addition to being allowed (in theory) four wives and an unlimited number of concubines, he


186. This divorce was recent but the couple married in the 1940s - so it comes within this generation.
could divorce his wife at any time. Under Hanafi law, as observed by the Sunni Bohoros who emigrated to New Zealand, a man could divorce his wife for any or no reason at all. A woman was permitted to instigate a divorce solely on the grounds of sexual impotence on her husband's part. After the Dissolution of the Muslim Marriages Act of 1939, some adjustments were made so that divorce had to be pronounced at the correct time, and an 'iddat', or 'waiting period' of three months was observed. In addition, the woman's grounds for obtaining a divorce were liberalised.

The ease of divorce amongst Muslims, in association with factors induced by youthful marriage and emigration, is illustrated by the following case. The young man concerned was a Gujarati Muslim, born in New Zealand in the late nineteen-thirties, who married a Gujarati Muslim in the fifties. She refused to travel to New Zealand so in 1958 he obtained a Fargat Alias Talak, or a divorce which was issued by a Public Notary for the New Zealand Muslim Association. In the presence of two witnesses, he swore that his wife was unwilling to come to New Zealand and that her mother and mama (maternal uncle) were unwilling to send her, 'Decided

187. For discussion of Muslim Divorce laws, see Alfred Guillame, Islam, Britain, 1964 edition. p. 71, 174-7; Kapadia, 1966, pp. 201.ff. The iddat was a waiting period of three menstrual periods to ascertain if the wife was pregnant. During this the husband had the right to resume his marital rights over the divorced wife and she became his wife again. The consent of the wife was unnecessary for this resumption. Presumably, the iddat 'served as a restraining influence on inconsiderate haste in, and the tempo of, divorce', pp.202-203.

188. Ibid, 205-6.
to give you Talak... utter the words 'Talak' three times... no longer my wife'. The wife had to return the fifty pounds her husband had given her mother and mama, at the marriage settlement for ornaments. They were permitted to deduct 127 rupees and 8 annas for her maintenance. The following year he visited Surat where he married an eighteen year old woman. He was aged twenty. She arrived in New Zealand in 1960 but returned to Gujarat a month later. She refused to return to New Zealand so once again the husband divorced his wife according to Muslim custom. Finally he married a sixteen year old Gujarati born in Fiji, by whom he had three children.

All Hindu castes and Muslims allow a divorced or widowed male to remarry and indeed it is considered almost obligatory for a man with younger children to do so. For women, such approval depends upon the caste, but most permitted divorced women to do so.\(^\text{189}\) Widow remarriage has, however, generally been frowned upon by status-conscious members of the higher castes and those who sought to emulate them through Sanskritization,\(^\text{190}\) though there was some provision among higher castes such as Leva Kanbis for natra (widow remarriage) in a short ceremony performed at night.\(^\text{191}\)

Marriage to widows had its attractions for an impecunious

\(^{189}\) Case on p. 531 Wife remarried. For ceremony followed by Kolis, see BG 1901, p. 250.

\(^{190}\) Census, Baroda, 1921, p. 238, noted that lower castes were discountenacing remarriage.

\(^{191}\) G. Desai, Hindu Families in Gujarat, describes ceremonies; Enthoven, op cit, p. 140.
man as payment on his part was often unnecessary. At the 1921 Baroda Census it was noted that the general prejudice against widow remarriage was almost as strong among Gujarati Muslims as Hindus but that this was slowly passing away. In the earlier years of this century widow remarriage was permitted among non-kulia or Leva Kanbis, Matias, non-kulia Kadwas, Hajams, Kolis, Dhobis, Khumbhar, Kachhia and Khatris.

During the early period of Gujarati settlement in New Zealand the issue of divorced or widowed women remarrying did not arise. With men, there were several examples who after being divorced or widowed simply remarried in Gujarat. This was normally to a woman considerably younger than their first wife.

Table 42 indicates the number of Indians

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192. Enthoven, for Kanbis.
195. BG, 1901, p. 170.
198. Ibid, 249, Enthoven, p. 258.
199. Enthoven, p. 329.
203. As this is a sensitive issue sources will not be given.
who returned themselves at the census as widowed. Amongst full-blooded women this was still a comparatively rare status but approximately four per cent of Indian males were classified as widowers. 204

A Hajam who settled in New Zealand in 1914 illustrates the wide age differences that could occur. He was born in 1895 and after the death of his wife in 1944, he married in 1953 a woman who was aged twenty-three, thirty-five years his junior. In another case a first-generation emigrant remarried in 1952 after the death of his wife in 1930. He was aged fifty-one and his second wife twenty-five.

Another emigrant who had been in New Zealand since 1926, soon remarried after the death of his wife in Wellington in 1957. As he had six young children, aged between three and twelve years he returned to India with them where they were placed under the care of his second wife. In this case she was twenty-nine years old, a slightly older age than most second wives. Following two additions to the family after 1959 she emigrated to New Zealand in 1962.

With remarriage after divorce, also the second wife was typically younger than her husband. In the case described on page 537 he was aged forty-five and his wife, twenty-two, when he remarried. He had three children by his first

204. The 1936 and 1945 percentages were slightly lower than those of the NZ general population. In 1936 4.49% and in 1945 4.95% of NZ males were widowers. Source: Census, NZ.
marriage, of whom one was a son four years younger than the second wife.

(g) Inter-racial liaisons.

Inter-racial liaisons were discussed in Chapter 4 with regard to the first generation of Gujarati immigrants in New Zealand. Such relationships continued in the post-1920 years, particularly until after World War II when Gujarati women began to arrive in New Zealand. Table 21 indicates the rising numbers and proportions of Indians of mixed blood, out of the total Indian population. The proportion climbed dramatically at the 1926 Census to 29.9 per cent, in contrast to 7.89 per cent at the previous one. From 1926 onwards the proportion of Indians of mixed descent began to slowly decline which correlated with the increasing numbers of full-blooded Indians in New Zealand. Actual numbers of children of mixed parentage continued to rise.

From the 1936 Census persons of Indian-European or Indian-Maori descent were discernable. At that census 292 were listed in the former category compared to 41 in the latter. By 1945, however, the number of Indian-Maori births had increased to 124, while that of Indian-European births had dropped to 199. The age structure of the Indian-Maori population gives some indication of the time period of these births.\textsuperscript{205} According to the 1945 Census there had already been three Indian-Maori births by 1900, but it is highly

\textsuperscript{205} Census, NZ, 1945. See table 21. There were problems of enumeration/classification with half-castes who may have been included under the Maori Census.
### TABLE 46
Age-patterns of mixed-blood, Indians and Indian-Maoris in New Zealand, 1926-45, by sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>1926 MB M</th>
<th>1926 MB F</th>
<th>1936 IM M</th>
<th>1936 IM F</th>
<th>1945 MB M</th>
<th>1945 MB F</th>
<th>1945 IM M</th>
<th>1945 IM F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ over</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified adults</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Census, NZ, 1926-45. Indian-Maori totals are not included under mixed-blood.

**Key:** MB - mixed-blood
IM - Indian-Maori
improbable that these were born to Gujarati fathers. Between 1900 and 1920, 9 children were born of Indian-Maori parentage, while in the following decade the number increased to 24. As table 46 indicates, the majority of children of this descent were born after 1929 and before 1945. Most Indian-Maoris were resident in Auckland Province. This was in slight contrast to Wellington Province where only about 10 per cent of Indian Maoris were, compared to approximately 18 per cent of European-Indians.

The higher number of Indian-European births included many Eurasians who had been born in India. J.K. Natali was the only case I found amongst first-generation Gujarati immigrants who married a European. A reluctance to marry Europeans continued with the second-generation Gujaratis although Ganda Nager, also a leader in the Indian Associations married a European wife. They had two sons. There was some evidence of illegitimate offspring resulting from liaisons with Pakehas, as in the example on page 531 . Some of the non-Gujarati Indians married Europeans which accounted for a percentage of the children of Indian-European

206. At least two of these were born to a Punjabi man and his English wife, /personal communication, Prof. McLeod/.

207. See p. 255 Eurasians.

208. Int, Laloo Morar.
descent. Miss O'Gorman, the District Health Nurse at Taumarunui, testified before the 1929 Committee on the Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens that two or three Hindus in her district had married White women, although from this evidence it can not be ascertained if they were Gujaratis or Punjabis.

The outcry expressed by sectors of the New Zealand public about half-caste Asians was mainly directed at those born of Indian fathers and Maori mothers. This culminated in the 1929 Committee on the Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens. The evidence presented showed that while there were undoubtedly sexual relationships between 'Hindus and Maori women, that the extent was exaggerated. Miss O'Gorman was unaware of any Maoris living with Hindus at Taumarunui, possibly because the women did not usually work on the farms or in the shops there. At Pukekohe, Mr. Thompson, the Inspector of Health, had noted only a few cases of immorality amongst Europeans, Maoris, Chinese or Hindus. One of these involved the niece of a Mrs. Marsh.

209. E.g. "Evidence Given Before Committee Investigating Conditions and Accommodation of Maoris Employed in European, Chinese and Asiatic Market Gardens in Auckland and Surrounding Districts", 1929. /Hereafter referred to as Evidence, 1929/ p. 23, Mr. Earl, Registrar of Maori Births and Deaths. 'Salaman', a Punjabi married a European. A solicitor's clerk /probably S. Maharaj/ married to a white girl. Prof. McLeod has confirmed that a number of these Indian-European unions involved Punjabis.

210. Ibid, p. 55. Prof. McLeod confirmed that one of these was a Punjabi.

211. Ibid.
who went down to the 'Hindu camp' at night. 'She immediately gave her the sack.' The President of The White New Zealand League, Mr. Cronin, suggested that Maori women went up to the Hindu and Chinese shacks and 'make free with them, but it is very difficult to prove anything'. Piripene, a Maori grower at Pukekohe confirmed that any liaisons between Maoris and Hindus were based on hearsay. Another representative of the White New Zealand League, Mr. Miller, stated that,

The Hindus seem to like the young girls from about 14 to 20. I think that is for a certain purpose.

Mr. Duke was able to provide a picturesque allegation of these encounters.

As far as my own experience goes there was a Hindu used a shack beside where I lived and on several occasions the Maoris used to congregate there on a Sunday. On one occasion I was passing along the road and I saw this Hindu come out of the tent (where two Maori girls lived) in a nude form and run from there to his own shack.

Mr. Te Anga was able to supply the committee with less explicit evidence of Hindu and Maori liaisons, mainly in the King Country. He submitted seven cases of Indians married

212. Ibid, p. 79.
213. Ibid, p. 82.
214. Ibid, p. 97, Mr. Gathercole, p. 88, also of WNZL, affirmed that it was difficult to prove if Maoris were living with Chinese or Hindus.
215. Ibid, p. 64.
216. Ibid, p. 91.
217. Ibid, p. 130.
to Maoris, including two at Te Kuiti, and one each at angatiki, Otorohanga, Te Awamutu, Onewhero and Waihi. Amo Hamitemiti of Milford recalled a Maori girl at Tauranga married to a Hindu who had since died. 218 Ten children were born from these unions. At Otorohanga another Hindu lived with a Maori woman but they had no children. Wirepaheta Reka of Panmure knew of a Maori living with a Hindu at Kihikihi and of two similar relationships in Auckland. 219 The Hindus mentioned above included both Punjabis and Gujaratis. One of these marriages was with a tailor at Te Kuiti. 220 'R', a Maori girl from Northland was found living in a Hindu fruit shop in Victoria Street in Auckland and would not leave despite her father's protests. 221 Again, it is highly probable that this de facto relationship was with a Gujarati. The son born to a Hindu and Maori at Pukekohe would have been of Gujarati descent. 222

218. Ibid, p. 23, from Mr. Earl, Registrar of Maori Births and Deaths.

219. Ibid, p. 119. Definite statistics of intermarriage were also noted in C+S, 13/14/14, Dr. T.J. Hughes, Health Dept, Auckland, to Government Statistician, 6 September 1929, noted 4 definite cases of intermarriage, 2 of whom were Gujarati. One, a Vasanji Naik aged 29, to Gertrude Mail /names are slightly difficult to read aged 30 in 1928, and a Ranchhod Sala aged 30, to Filly Karona, at Hamilton, 2 April 1927.

220. As noted on p. Band J. Dahya and D. Bhikka were tailors there - WNZP.


222. Evidence 1929, Mr. P. Miller, p. 84. Mr. Denniston, p. 94.
How did Gujaratis respond to intermarriage and the birth of mixed offspring? It was noted in Chapter IV that this was generally looked upon with disapproval but not in all cases. The same attitudes were expressed by my second generation informants, especially those who had been well educated and mixed freely with Europeans in their work. Two informants, one a Kanbi and the other a Koli, felt that the two cultures just do not work together in the context of marriage. The example was given of the Gujarati husband bringing home his friends without any advance warning to his wife, or wishing to have his parents reside with him. These informants, like many others, considered that mixed liaisons inevitable would end in divorce. In many respects, however, such opinions do not differ from those found amongst their contemporary non-Indian New Zealanders.

(h) Kinship.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the structure of the Gujarati family changed in New Zealand because it was not entirely clear as to what generalisations could be made about the family in India. In particular there is a controversy over the relative decline or maintenance of the joint family. The problem is further complicated by regional differences, and those arising between rural and urban dwellers.

The Indologists who were Evolutionists, such as Maine and O'Malley, believed that since the advent of British rule the survival of the traditional Hindu joint family was
threatened. The demise of the joint family was noted at the 1921 Baroda Census although it was considered to be the least disturbed in South Gujarat and Kathiawad. In 1931, G.H. Desai lamented the death of the joint family system. Even modern researchers such as Gough, Karve, Morrison, and Ross, assumed that the joint family was the only familial structure in India's past.

Recent research suggests, however, that the above view is an over simplification, and indeed, any assessment of the relative decline of the joint family, depends upon which definition is adopted. Mandelbaum notes that writers have assumed that there is a basic discontinuity between the single couple family, which is usually termed nuclear or elementary, and the larger family consisting of more than one couple and their children which is usually defined as joint or extended. Some researchers also suggest that the joint family was a merger of nuclear families. Mandelbaum considers that neither assumption is valid from the villagers' point of view, while there is no distinction between nuclear or joint in the Mitakshara or more recent interpretations of


227. Ibid, p. 43.
Hindu law. 228

The traditional legal definition was based upon joint ownership of property as the indispensable feature of the joint family. 229 Mandelbaum notes that a man and his infant son may be coparceners in the traditional legal sense but as a household group they are not joint. 230 With modern land tenure legislation it has been profitable in some places for fathers and sons to separate their property while continuing to share their residence, kitchen and other aspects of joint family living.

The Census of India focused upon the household as the principal unit of enumeration and defined it as a group whose members take food from a common kitchen. 231 This

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230. See also A.M. Shah, The Household Dimension of the Family in India, pt. 1, p. 120.

231. The Census, BSK, 1951, p. 104, defined the house as a 'dwelling with a separate main entrance'. A household was 'all the persons who lived together in the same house and had a common mess.' Up to 1901 a house in the Bombay Presidency was 'the residence of one or more families having a separate entrance from the common way.' From 1911 the commensal family formed the basis of the definition and continued to do so until 1951.
definition is not entirely acceptable as a set of married brothers may have separate kitchens but share their house, property and work. Moreover, recent evidence suggests that the joint family is not in decline and that change and development have always been a feature of familial structure in India. The census returns indicate that the average number of persons per household has not changed markedly since 1891. There has been no decrease in the size of the average house but this may be a result of increased population and insufficient housing rather than an indication of a rise in joint family living.

A further assumption, and one that relates to migration, has been that city dwelling is associated with a decline in joint families. Several studies, however, contradict this


234. Paraphrased from Mandelbaum, p. 52.
argument, especially those in Gujarat. I.P. Desai found that in the town of Mahuva, 21 per cent of a sample of 423 families were joint in the full traditional sense, and that 95 per cent maintained some kind of family co-operation with related families. As longer settled families maintained a higher degree of jointness, Desai suggests that nuclearity amongst newly-arrived families may only be temporary. In an analysis of the National Register data on households in Navsari and the fifteen villages surrounding the town, Kapadia reached the following conclusion.

First, not only the total complement of the joint family is higher in the town but even its size is larger there than in the rural area.


237. Ibid, p. 146.

238. K. Kapadia, "Rural Family Patterns - A Study in Urban-Rural Relations", Sociological Bulletin, vol. V No. 2, Sept 1956, pp. 111-126. Quote - p.119. He surveyed 15 villages and 8260 families. Excluded 3003 families of tribal untouchables and non-Hindu groups probably because of their weaker emphasis on the joint family. From remaining sample 1099 or 20.9% families analysed. With Navsari, 6 wards, where was a higher incidence of castes from village sample were traceable - selected 246 families. The increase of jointness with Kolis in the urban situation, however, was complicated by only 44.8% defined as joint in the 'impact villages', that is, those within 3 miles of Navsari, pp. 115-116.
Amongst Kolis, the percentage of families defined as joint increased from 45.7 in rural families to 53.8 in urban ones.

In his discussion of Kapadia's paper, Shah suggested that the pattern was expected in the more traditional towns in Gujarat as they included more members of the higher castes than in the villages.\(^{239}\) The principal of the residential unity of the patrikin and their wives was stronger amongst the more Sanskritized higher castes than the lower ones. In fact, the term samyukta kutumb or avibhakta kutumb, referring to the joint family, was only used in the villages of Gujarat by those with experience of lawsuits or with high school or college education.\(^{240}\) The 1825 census of Radhvanaj, a village in Central Gujarat indicated that the 'traditional joint family' was not typical of the past in rural areas.\(^ {241}\) In Radhavnaj the average size of the household was 4.54 and small, simple households were the norm. Families that could be classified as complex mostly consisted of parents and one married son.\(^ {242}\)

Conklin has criticised Shah's analysis and adopted the argument that joint living, as defined by married sons living with their fathers, was the norm amongst most castes throughout India except when economic opportunities were


\(^{240}\) \textit{Ibid}, p. 159.

\(^{241}\) \textit{Ibid}, p. 160.

\(^{242}\) Also Ghurye, \textit{After a Century and a Quarter: Lonikand Then and Now}, Bombay, 1960, cited in Shah, p. 160, found similar results in his study of Avalaskar, and the Maharashtrian village.
Thus he stresses class and not caste as the operative factor in residential joint living.

Factors such as those outlined above suggest that emigration did not necessarily lead to substantial changes in familial structure and organisation. Writers in the past, have been led to believe that inevitably the joint family would disintegrate with migration, in keeping with the assumed changes that were expected with migration from the villages to the towns. Dotson and Dotson considered that emigration from Gujarat to Central Africa had led to a weakening of the solidarity of the joint family, because the effective leadership of the branch of the kutumb based in Africa shifted to the original settler, irrespective of his status in the lineage as constituted in Africa. Secondly, in Africa there was equality of the women's formal

243. George H. Conklin, "Family Structure, Caste and Economic Development: An Urban-Rural Comparison from Dharwar, Karnataka", pp. 19-35, in Family and Social Change in Western India, ed, Giri Raj Gupta, Durham, 1971. Conklin follows from Orenstein, "The Recent History of the Extended Family in India", Social Problems, vol. 8, Spring, 1961, pp. 341-50 and Henry Orenstein and Michael Micklin, ("The Hindu Joint Family: The Norms and Numbers", Pacific Affairs, vol. 39, Fall-Winter, 1966, pp. 314-25) that the household size in India is relatively uniform across the country but when census was corrected in 1951 - so that the definition of household was similar, the average size of family rose slightly from 1901 to 1951 to around 5.1 persons per household.


socio-economic and legal status which sometimes led to the husbands treating her relatives as equals. This resulted in a shift from a unilinear kinship principal to bi-lateralism.

Such changes did occur but did not necessarily lead to a weakening of the joint family. While residential joint living may not be possible, the joint family can still be continued through other forms. Indeed, with the economic opportunities available through migration, the joint family may be strengthened although its members do not live together,

The whole discussion of the family farm suggests that outside occupations and individual efforts to exploit economic opportunities is an asset rather than a liability to the family. Migration in particular involved single individuals although migrants were financed by family because the principal goal of movement outside the community was to enhance the family's position.

In his study of the Anavalas of South Gujarat, Van der Veen, similarly observed that migration and urbanization did not undermine the basis of the Indian social system but to a great extent sustained patterns of interrelation that were inherent in the structure of traditional Indian society.


249. Klaas Van der Veen,"Urbanization, Migration and Primordial Attachments", in "Modernization, Stagnation and Steady Decline...", University of Utrecht, p. 27.
Studies have shown that while some or all of the brothers may not be resident in their village or in India that ancestral property may nevertheless be maintained. H.S. Morris noted that for practical purposes the joint family had disappeared in East Africa, which he attributed to the housing conditions, a lack of a proper religious training in the young, and European ideas which undermined the control of the head of the household over their sons and daughters-in-law. Virtually no agnatic relatives were living together but forty-four heads out of ninety households claimed to own property in India jointly with their agnatic relatives. It has also been noted that brothers and their dependents who live in the cities visit their families as often as possible, contribute to the income of the village family, and are consulted, along with other kin in any marriage arrangements or in taking any decisive measures affecting their careers or fortunes.

It has been noted in the previous chapter that such ties were maintained by the first generation in New Zealand and, as I will briefly discuss, continued to be an integral part of the Gujarati life there. Shah's observation is


therefore applicable to an appraisal of the joint family overseas.

It is evident...that an emigrant household may maintain a house (including household equipment) of its own in the village and remain independent in terms of property, income, expenditure and so on, or it may be linked with a village household to form an integrated group.252

Family ties were very important for the newly arrived Gujar- ati emigrant in New Zealand. There was initially, the question of sponsorship, although after 1920, this was only legally permitted through the father. Sibling relationships continued to be of particular importance especially for the younger brothers growing up together in a new environment. The typical arrangement whereby brothers lived with their fathers or uncles may be classified as joint living, although often the all male households extended to cover fellow villagers, members of one's caste and even different castes.253 Whenever the women arrived during this period they usually lived separately with their husbands and children. Settlement in New Zealand was too recent for more than two generations to normally live together.

In New Zealand, family ties were frequently utilised in business and occupations. Informants have indicated that older brothers felt responsibility towards finding their younger siblings accommodation and employment. In particular, the fruit shop lent itself to being a co-operative family venture. This is illustrated by the family of Chhiba Bhana.

253. See p. 509.
Parbhu, the eldest son, joined his father in Wellington in 1928 at the age of seventeen. He was employed in various fruit shops and hotels before opening a fruit business in Courtenay Place in 1939 with his four brothers, who had arrived during the previous ten years. Parbhu remained in this reasonably successful business until 1965, but his two youngest brothers set up a separate venture in Papakura. In the late fifties the third brother joined them, while the second eventually opened a separate shop in Wellington. At various states in their careers the brothers shared accommodation while they could rely upon one another for support and labour, but they kept their property separate.

There are several other examples, from all castes, of brothers or fathers and sons, working as partners in a fruit shop. These include 'Daya and Son' at 899 New North Road, Auckland, in the late forties, and 'Bhana Bros' at 223 Jackson Street, Petone, in the thirties. With brothers as partners in a business, different branches could be opened and separately managed by the various brothers. It has been noted elsewhere that 'David and Co' and the 'Moral Brothers', two of the larger Gujarati fruit businesses, had branches in several North Island towns, managed by family

254. Int, Parbhu Chhiba. 1939 business confirmed in WNZD.
255. Around 22 noted in this period had term 'son' or 'bros' included in shop's name.
256. WNZD, 1948–9, 1939.
members. Brothers from Gujarati Muslim families also relied heavily upon one another as they did not have a wider caste and village circle in New Zealand to draw upon. 258

The above businesses, were not always permanent, however and may be seen as a variation of the joint family. In India the legal system supports this kin institution as all families are presumed to be joint unless the contrary is shown. A parallel may therefore be drawn between the Hindu family in the New Zealand context and Morris's observations among the Patidars of Uganda. 259

(i) **Contact with Gujarat.**

Most of the second generation continued to maintain ancestral property in Gujarat. 260 As noted by I.P. Desai in his study of Mahuva, as long as a property interest was continued by the immigrants there it was assumed that jointness would continue. 261 Frequently brothers in New Zealand would divide their ancestral property, but this had been common in their fathers' and grandfathers' generations too. It usually depended upon the size of the holdings and the number of males in the family. The unfortunate result (all to common

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258. See p. 423ff.
PLATE 5

House of Ganda Hira, Bodali.

PLATE 6

House of Jivan Bawa, Garesh-Sisodra.
Built c. 1970.
in Indian experience) was that the individual was left with only a few acres. This was, however, of little importance to the emigrant who usually leased such land. In the early twentieth century, in the predominately Matia village of Ganesh-Sisodra, Bawa Kana and his two brothers separated, before Bawa emigrated to New Zealand in 1918.\(^{262}\) Later Bawa's three sons also divided their land but shifted the emphasis of investment into maintaining prestigious homes in the village.

There were few cases in which New Zealand emigrants accumulated further land because after the implementation of the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948, the transfer of agricultural land to non-agriculturalists was limited, except in exceptional circumstances.\(^{263}\) Absentee landlordism was actively discouraged with this Act and further amendments\(^{264}\) which conferred rights upon the tenants to purchase the land they cultivated. Tenants were protected unless the landlord personally cultivated his land, and even then he could only evict them if he farmed under fifty acres.\(^{265}\) Of course, those who retired were able to purchase land for cultivation but most invested in houses instead. Keshav Vallabh of Bhulafalia, Matwad, was one such exception. The family had seven acres in ancestral holdings but when he

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262. Ints, Hira, Lala, Jivan Bawa.
retired from Wellington in 1952, he purchased approximately ten acres, partly for economic reasons but also as an interest to keep him busy.\textsuperscript{266} Another case concerned Magan Ravji of Sagra who presently owns approximately forty acres. His father Ravji Hira emigrated to Basra in 1918. When he retired to Sagra in 1922 he purchased further land and became the Police Patel.\textsuperscript{267}

It would appear, however, that emigrant families which owned substantial land and did not decide to sell out completely until after 1960. The three Vallabh brothers of Pardi-Sarpore, all of whom emigrated to New Zealand before 1920, maintained 50-60 acres each. When one of the brothers retired to his village in 1952, the eldest gave him his share. In 1972, the younger brother finally sold this land on the advice of his sons. They kept approximately five acres and built a house costing Rs. 200,000 (approximately NZ$25,000, a very substantial sum in the village context). The son showed little interest in maintaining the land in Gujarat although the father clearly had attached considerable value to it.\textsuperscript{268}

A Koli emigrant to New Zealand from Bodali shared eighty-five bighas of land with his brothers, one of whom also went to New Zealand.\textsuperscript{269} With the help of his son they

\textsuperscript{266}. Int, Keshav Vallabhb, Matwad.
\textsuperscript{267}. Int, Magan Ravji, Sagra.
\textsuperscript{268}. Int, Dayal Vallabh - Pardi, Rama Vallabh, Wellington.
\textsuperscript{269}. Int, Ganda Hira, Bodali.
sold their farm in 1963 as it was too difficult to manage. The father retired to a comfortable two-storied house at Bodali in 1972. Another Leva-Kanbi from Syod-Puni has only made three visits back to his village, but retains an interest in the 40-50 acres of land there which is leased. 

His house, however, is old and in disrepair. A few landowners, particularly Kanbis who own lucrative sugarcane farms, have continued to work their farms as a profitable enterprise but usually this has only been possible when a member of the family is resident in the village. If this person is sick or elderly it may be necessary for the emigrant to make frequent trips back to India to oversee harvesting and other agricultural operations. One case involves an informant from Baben who emigrated to East Africa but married a second-generation female Gujarati who was raised in New Zealand. He retains twenty-two bighas at Bardoli and fifteen at Baben both of which are under sugarcane. Since his father passed away his mother has been ill and it has been necessary for him and his brother, a resident of England, to spend long periods in the village.

A similar case concerned a Koli informant from Supa who shared joint property with his three brothers until 1957. In this family mutual obligations were strong. The informant

270. Devjibhai Patel. Informant, Thakorbhai Lelbhai, F.T.5 House is old and in disrepair.

271. Ranchhod Vallabh. Since 1955 opening of sugar co-operative made it profitable to convert land into sugar-cane. Several examples like this.

who emigrated to New Zealand in 1920 was the eldest. He subsequently sent for his brothers and all helped one another to set up fruit businesses in Wellington. Today, his son and daughter together with their spouses and families work in a grocery shop in Newtown and live in three houses next to each other. While strictly the co-residence of a daughter and husband is not considered part of the traditional joint family, most writers acknowledge the institution known as gharjamai as an integral part of this.

Most Kolis tended to own small land-holdings although as a result of the land legislation many of the relatives of those in New Zealand were able to purchase further small holdings. This was a potent factor in the amelioration of the caste in the years after World War II. Those Kolis in New Zealand who had little ancestral property tended either to neglect it or to lease it to a fellow villager.273 As with Kanbis, those who had a share in holdings over ten acres tended to take a more active interest in the land, especially if an elderly relative was resident in Gujarat.

As noted above, responsibilities towards family in Gujarat were expressed more in building houses than in maintaining workable land-holdings. This trend was reflected in all castes and indeed assumed a special importance for those villages in which such conspicuous consumption was not possible in the days before migration. Most of the first generation of New Zealand emigrants began to build or add to

273. Majority of Koli informants had under 10-15 acres.
existing houses from the late twenties, usually aiming to complete such plans at the time of anticipated retirement. Such expenditure was not possible in the early years of migration. It was noted on page 337 that in 1925 Bhana Chhiba exemplified the trend for ostentatious house building in Kanthabigwad. During the twenties other Kolis from New Zealand began to either add to existing structures or build new ones. Amrut Morar recalled that his grandfather remitted money to his family at Machhad for proposed additions to his father's wooden house there. Today the family own three houses, although these were not completed until the nineteen-fifties. Parsot Maran, an early migrant to New Zealand from Astagam built a large two-storied tiled house in 1924 but did not retire there until 1953. As he had no brothers and only one son he was able to retain a satisfactory land-holding of fifteen acres.

A factor which contributed to this housebuilding was the relative cheapness of construction, especially when the money was remitted from overseas. Rama Ranchhod claimed to have had a two-storied plaster and brick house built at Machhad for Rs. 8,000. He only had a few acres in India, so clearly unless he had not emigrated such extravagance would not have been probable. Like most of the early migrants he did not permanently retire there until 1958, at the age of

274. e.g. Sukha Gosai - 1937, built top floor of house. Int, son, Ganesh.
275. Int, Amrut Morar.
276. Int, Keshav Parsot and wife.
sixty-two. 277 Houses were for the benefit of kin in Gujarat, not only for living in but as a symbol of their new-found wealth,

In India, the house (or the village) and the home have such attraction that even after spending years out of Gujarat in different parts of India or even Asia, Africa or Europe, an Indian will come back to his village and develop his own home.278

By 1938 Rs. 15,000 were spent on a spacious two-storied, tiled-floor house at Dhallafalia, Karadi. This family only owned one acre of land.279 The eldest of these four brothers had remained in India but the other three emigrated to New Zealand between 1920 and 1930. After working for other Gujaratis they ran their own shop on Lambton Quay in Wellington from 1933 to 1957. The wives of these men were able to reside in this house with the eldest brother. Two of the brothers are now dead but one of them, Ranchhod, retired to India in 1963 and lives with the eldest brother.

It was and is usual when constructing a house in Gujarat to have it designed in such a style that brothers may divide it into separate houses in the future. This means that there can be several doors both at the front entrance and leading into the back room and the kitchen. In those families in which earlier migration to South Africa had taken place, such

277. Int, Rama Ranchhod, India.


a style was common. At Bhuvasan, Kasanji Fakir, his brother and another man built a long two-storied house around 1920 but by 1935 had separated. Kasanji's two sons and their families had equal rights to their third of this house.280 One of these sons, Ghelabbhai, recalled that most of the Patel houses were built in the nineteen-twenties. Another migrant to New Zealand from the same village built such a house then, but in 1959 had a more modern larger two-storied house constructed.281 This trend was replicated in other Kanbi villages around Bardoli.282

Not all the Gujaratis who emigrated to New Zealand were able to build a palatial residence in their villages. The obligations of remitting money to kin, especially parents, grandparents, wives, children and brothers was, however, almost always observed. This was usually between 30 and 60 every four months.283 If there was more than one son in New Zealand, the relatives in India could expect greater help, as the Reserve Bank limited the amount of money a New Zealand citizen could send out of the country.

Family ties continued to be maintained with members in New Zealand through correspondence and visits to Gujarat. It would appear that second-generation migrants returned periodically to their home villages almost as frequently as

280. Int, Ghelabbhai Kasanji.
282. e.g. Kharwasa.
283. Depicted in Imm. records 1940s-1950s.
their fathers had. The presence of the wife in New Zealand reduced visiting to only a slight degree. Economic resources and familial relations in Gujarat were more significant factors. With the predominance of small businesses amongst the Gujaratis in New Zealand it was reasonably easy to pass the management of one's affairs over to a fellow Gujarati, particularly if he was kin. The example of the Bhikoo brothers on page 424 was typical of this. Esup has visited his home village in Manekpore seven times since he reached Auckland in 1922. His wife joined him in 1939 but they had no children which may have facilitated the frequency of visits.284 The Second World War prevented overseas civilian travel from 1940 until 1945, while those Gujaratis who had left New Zealand before the War were delayed in their return. 285

On such longer visits most of my informants assisted on the family farm or found alternative employment in Navsari.286 Apart from the war years the majority of visits were of one or two years duration. Out of a non-random sample of 89 visits by Koli males, approximately 67 per cent were of a duration between six months to one year.287 In 35 cases from the same sample, 14 were known to have made two visits and 11 made three. Large samples were unavailable for other

284. Esup Bhikhoo.

285. See p. 359.

286. One enterprising migrant was an agent in an illegal immigration racket to East Africa and New Zealand during World War II.

287. Sample from Imm. records. Insufficient data on women for this period. These are only known visits.
castes in New Zealand, but a similar pattern of visiting can be noted. Approximately 64 per cent of the total sample of 149 visits by second-generation Gujarati males lasted approximately one year.

As noted on page 387 a number of these younger migrants returned to India for part of their education. Esup's brother, AbduLSamad, spent from 1939 to 1948 at Manekpore where he received his secondary education. Narsai Patel makes the following observation:

Education of children in India is arranged with two goals complementary to each other, one is to retain contacts with kinship, community, and culture and the other to provide "wholesome" educational experience.

Thus a number of those young men who had emigrated to New Zealand before World War II did not escape socialisation in family living in Gujarat. Their fathers could return to New Zealand leaving them under the care of their relatives, usually with the son's grandfather or an uncle.

The most frequent reason given for visits was either for the migrant's own wedding or to arrange those of his children. Such visiting was associated with considerable expense, particularly if a daughter's marriage was being celebrated. Although the giving of bride-price and dowry was prohibited by Koli and Kanbi organisations, lavish gift-

288. e.g. 52.63% - Kanbis (sample of 19 visits) 47.83% - Matia Kanbis (sample of 23 visits). 77.7% mixed castes (sample of 18 visits). Note small size of sample.

289. Int, Abdul Samad Bhikhoo.

giving and monetary settlements continued. 291

After marriage visits continued to coincide with the procreation of children if the wife remained in Gujarat. Duties to elderly kin were maintained in a number of cases. Many of my informants made unplanned visits when they heard that their parents were ill. One migrant from Karadi, who emigrated to New Zealand in 1937, returned first for his marriage, then when his father became ill and died, and thirdly when his mother was sick. 292 In association with these obligations, housebuilding was not just for ostentation but was a means through which the affluent son could help his parents end their days in relative comfort. This brief discussion of visiting indicates how kinship ties were maintained and in some cases strengthened through the additional wealth the migrant was able to invest in his home village.

It was noted in chapter III that retirement in the village had been the goal of most of the first generation. They had perceived their stay in New Zealand as temporary. When, however, their sons joined them overseas it became clear that this would not happen in about half of the cases. Because a number of second-generation migrants are still in active employment in New Zealand, it was difficult to test the extent to which they retired to Gujarat.

Even those who may be classified as retired did not

291. Rashmi Desai, "The Social Organisation of Indian Migrant Labour...", pp. 6-7, noted this when Gujaratis returned to India from Britain.

292. Int, Karadi.
completely sever their ties with New Zealand. Most made extended visits to their family overseas, and in some cases (such as a Koli informant at Karadi) considered that their home was in both countries. The majority of the informants I met in Gujarat were recently retired and had comfortable homes with adequate provision for sanitation. In one case a Matia-Kanbi, who had retired in 1970 while still aged in his fifties, is able to enjoy a leisurely standard of living higher than would have been possible in Wellington. He had purchased a few acres and built a modern, two-storied house costing Rs. 150,000. Guests have a choice of a private room equipped with a Western style toilet or one with 'Asian' facilities. A servant takes care of the domestic duties which leaves the informant's wife free to attend to cooking, shopping and social activities. The couple amassed sufficient capital while in New Zealand so as not to be dependent upon remittances from their family in New Zealand. Nevertheless, the impression that is given is that this couple are bored, for they have sought to impose an urban life-style on a rural setting. Unlike his brother this man takes little interest in village affairs or activities such as spinning khadi. Another retired Koli migrant from New Zealand has undertaken an active involvement in village and local affairs, including the Dikrana Gujarat Koli (Patel) Samaj. He and other retired men from South and East Africa join together to attend various meetings. In a sense this was like a 'retired emigrants' club'. This informant has also kept active by land sales and anticipated house improvements. Nevertheless,
he reads an English daily newspaper, tries to keep informed about overseas events, and still has not made a conscious decision about his commitment to remain in Karadi permanently as his family is settled in New Zealand.

For the first generation of migrants, retirement was often dictated by their wives having remained in Gujarat. This was not so applicable to their sons, whose wives and families tended to settle in New Zealand. I noted that amongst the more recent migrants, reasons given for retirement tended to relate more to a preference for the village life-style and to the advantages that could be enjoyed there with money earned in New Zealand. Conversely, there was a stronger disdain towards retirement overseas, amongst second-generation migrants, who perceived the village as dirty, inefficient and boring. Economically most of this generation were committed to New Zealand and once their families were raised there found little inducement to remain in India. Once their own sons and daughters have married and settled in New Zealand it is unlikely that they will contemplate retirement to Gujarat. It should be noted, however, that in some cases elderly Gujaratis felt unwanted, bored and neglected in the suburbs of New Zealand and that this induced them to return to the more intimate village atmosphere.

Of equal importance to the maintenance of kinship ties and social obligations through visiting and retirement, was the role that returned or retired migrants often took in village affairs. On page 334 this was discussed with regard to the first generation, but it also applied to the younger
migrants. In particular, a number participated in the Independence movement, even after they had spent time in New Zealand. Dayal Kesry and others believe that the experience there helped them to realise that they were equal if not superior to Europeans. This was fostered in part by their political allegiance in New Zealand. Although a generalisation it can be said with almost positive certainty that every Gujarati who settled in New Zealand during this period supported the New Zealand Labour Party.\(^{293}\) This was mainly because many Gujaratis had their initial experience of New Zealand during the lean years of the twenties and thirties Depression. Not only did the economy improve when Labour came to office in 1935, but Labour Members of Parliament were generally more sympathetic to minority causes.\(^{294}\) Indians were granted the 'family benefit' for the first time, while Chinese were permitted to claim the Old Age Pension. Informants have spoken of Savage, the first Labour Prime Minister, with almost the same reverence accorded to Congress leaders.

It was from this background that those who returned to India came. In New Zealand it appeared that workers had begun to question those in positions of authority. The following example illustrates the slightly more assertive role migrants returned from New Zealand played in rural

\(^{293}\) Several informants stated this. Also discussion with organisers in the Labour Party confirmed this.

\(^{294}\) This is also clear from Imm. records. Special appeals by Indians were given a more sympathetic hearing by Labour MPs.
Gujarat. After being convicted for his part in the 1942 shooting at Matwad, Dayal Kesry spent nineteen months in prison. He recalled while at Navsari gaol the visit by a young European civil servant to hear if the Congress prisoners had any complaints. According to Kesry, this Inspector did not expect any, but Kesry soon itemised grievances about food, corruption by the jailors, visiting-times and the lack of newspapers. Both the European and fellow-prisoners were surprised at Kesry's stand but he feels that his experiences in New Zealand had helped to prepare him for such confrontations against those in positions of authority.

At a less radical level returned migrants, especially once they were more affluent, were often keen exponents of village improvements. This could be expressed either through an encouragement of khadi activities (in practice or by monetary assistance) or by involvement in village and

295. This incident took place in December 1942, when a protest march involving seven to eight villages in the region was confronted by police. Dayal Kesry claims the police began to beat elderly people, after which shooting broke out. He further adds, 'some younger boys like us off-beat the police and snatched lathis.' During the fracas three people died. That night the military were called in to arrest villagers. Dayal, Rama Unka and J.S. Patel (from NZ), hid in fields in Baroda territory but were informed upon and arrested at Karadi. Dayal claims he was beaten. On 26 December 1942, a party of villagers attacked the police party and secured Dayal's release. /Confirmed by an extract from Pratap, 8 August 1967, trans. in S. Budhia, p.28/ Kesry fled to Maroli but was eventually arrested at Délwada village with four other men, including Jagbhai Pakir a NZ migrant. At Navsari Dayal faced four charges; murder, stealing arms, rioting and absconding while under police custody. The police could not, however, prove the first two charges. Int, Dayal Kesry, 25 July 1977, Papakura. See also p.
local politics. Those migrants who had farms in Gujarat were often the first to experiment with new crops, fertilizers and methods of farming. In later years they were eager to see improved village communications and facilities, especially a tap water supply and electricity. At a different level, they also brought in new ideas. While in Gujarat I heard a prominent New Zealand migrant on a visit to Karadi talk to students about the 'defiling' work New Zealand students and tradesmen were willing to do. I doubt if his positive attitude towards manual work had much effect but it illustrates how emigration had served as an important means through which change had taken place in the village. It was also noted on page 524 that a retired Matia Kanbi from New Zealand risked his caste-mates censure by permitting a Harijan to board in his house. This informant also dressed in 'unmanly' fashion, wearing short pants about the village. Unlike other affluent couples he and his wife did not have servants and he shared in doing the housework. While internal changes within Indian society as a whole should not be underestimated, the correlation between a better standard and quality of life in villages, and sections of villages, where prolonged overseas emigration had occurred, was clear.
CHAPTER VII

PUKEKOHE, 'WHITE NEW ZEALAND', AND INDIAN ORGANISATIONS

It was the leasing and selling of land to Asians and their entry into market gardening that lead to virulent protests at Pukekohe, with the formation of the White New Zealand League. Such hostility was not of course unprecedented, as in the eighteen-nineties and the years after World War I there had been a considerable outcry against the Asian presence in New Zealand. It was at Pukekohe, however, from 1925 to 1926, that racial xenophobia was organised into one of the more spectacular campaigns in New Zealand's history. This will now be examined together with the factors behind the League's inception and popularity throughout New Zealand.

It would appear that the passing of the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act quelled the agitation against Asian immigration into New Zealand. Apart from a few questions raised in Parliament concerning the working of the Act, there was very little attention paid to those Asians settled or arriving in New Zealand. The Act had the intended effect of substantially reducing the number of Indians settling in the country. The Returned Soldiers Association would seemed to have toned down its racial outpourings, if the absence of references to Hindus and Chinese

1. NZPD, vol. 194, 10 February 1922, p.442. Also reported in NZH 11 February 1922: M. Mitchell (Wellington South) asked Downie-Stewart, Minister of Internal Affairs about the number of Chinese and Indians the Government had decided to allow into the country each year. Downie-Stewart replied that the return laid on the table the previous day showed that the working of the IRAA 1920 was very successful and the position was under control.
in its journals, is indicative.\(^2\) There was also a noticeable lack of interest in Asians in the major newspapers. From 1921 until the end of 1925 there were few reported racial incidents or cases of discrimination against Asians in an apparently racially pacified country. One exception, however, was allegation by Indians and another 'dark skinned British Subject' that they were being refused public access to the Auckland City Council's baths.\(^3\) 'Non-Whites', were permitted only the use of a specially reserved bath. On behalf of the Indian community J.K. Natali appealed to the City Council, which gave the matter very little consideration.\(^4\) It seems that the regulation met with public approval as Natali's letter did not provoke any further interest in the matter.

It was not until November 1925 that the Editor of the Franklin Times began to receive correspondence concerning the perceived large number of 'Asiatics' in the Pukekohe area. The first objections were drawn to their leasing of land on Pukekohe Hill by J.J. Coady.\(^5\)

He asserted that 'the influx of Asiatics is out of all proportion to the newcomers from the UK during the last 6 years'. As noted\(^6\) census reports suggest that the alarm at the large numbers of Asiatics was exaggerated. Coady's letter drew support from 'O.H.', presumably O. Heerdegen, later one

\(^2\) QM, Review checked.
\(^3\) AS, 17 July 1922.
\(^4\) AS, 22 July 1922.
\(^5\) FT, LTE, 20 November 1925.
\(^6\) See table 39.
of the stalwarts and treasurer of the White New Zealand League. Concurring with Coady's high figures, A.R. Hatt, a former member of the Defence Department, estimated that five per cent of Pukekohe's population was composed of Asians. He also drew attention to a recent address he had given to the Rotary Club at Hamilton in which he pointed out arguments that were to become commonplace in the rhetoric of the White New Zealand League. Hatt argued that the prestige of the White race had slumped since the War but in the meantime the 'teeming millions' of the East had applied President Wilson's doctrine or self-determination to themselves. While the White nations were recovering from their post-war exhaustion Asians were beginning to take advantage of the situation. One had to look no further than Pukekohe Hill. Spurred on by this correspondence the Franklin Times printed an article specially written by 'Pandion', a retired Indian judge. His moralistic analysis was to provide arguments that were readily accepted by the White New Zealand League and their supporters. He further differentiated between the morality and behaviour of Indians and Chinese, which contemporaries frequently did. The Editor of the Franklin Times expressed this distinction thus:

We are not unduly concerned about the Chinaman. As a rule he is a quiet, unobtrusive fellow, industrious in his habits, and honest in business... It is the Hindoo (sic) who forms the danger point... The great majority of the Hindoos we have are Bengalese, a cowardly race, who never fought for themselves or anyone else... The people we get are the lowest

7. FT, 23 November 1925.
8. FT, 2 December 1925, see p.
classes of the plains - coolies from the towns
and farm labourers from the country.  

These statements were incorrect, as all evidence testifies
to the predominance of Gujaratis amongst the Indians in New
Zealand, few of whom had originated from the towns, and
many of whom had owned land in India. Later when giving
evidence before the 1929 Committee of Inquiry into the
Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens, Mr. Miller, a
representative of the White New Zealand League, testified
that the Hindu was worse than the Chinaman, although in a
later statement he conceded that the Chinese was worse
morally. Back in 1925 it was claimed by the Editor of the
Franklin Times that the Chinese were seldom in trouble
with the police. The evidence suggests that this general-
isation applied to all Asians, while in the few instances
when they did appear before the courts Chinese featured
more than Indians. (a reflection of their greater numbers).
The important point is not to assess the objective truth or
falsehood of these statements but to note that they were
believed as facts by the majority of New Zealanders who had
opinions on the subject. In a letter to the Editor of the
Franklin Times, 'Genghiz Khan' of Pukekohe wrote that while
he did not object to the Chinaman, he felt that the Hindu
would ruin New Zealand. A.R. Hatt declared at the
inaugural meeting of the White New Zealand League that he

9. Ibid.
11. FT, 18 December 1925.
endorsed Pandion's views.  

In April of the following year further correspondence to newspapers endorsed the preference for Chinese over Indians. The view that the Indians settling at Pukekohe were not the 'true' Aryans of India, but a degraded species, continued to hold ground, as for example when the Editor of the Franklin Times compared the local Indians to the 'respectable' visiting Indian hockey team,

> Unfortunately, we in New Zealand know but little of the Aryans of India. A few of them come here and work for a while, but they do not settle in this country. Our knowledge of India is practically confined to inhabitants of Central India, a degraded race that would be exterminated tomorrow by the war-like Northerners, who detest and despise them, were the sovereignty of the British raj removed.

Even in later years stated that the Gujaratis in New Zealand were not 'caste Hindus' because they collected bottles and a few were engaged in ritually demeaning work such as street-cleaning and shoemaking. While admitting that knowledge of the Gujaratis was inadequate he described them as 'New Zealand's least successful immigrant community' also echoed earlier sentiments expressed in

12. Ibid.


14. FT, 19 July 1926.

15. 22/1/134, 6 July 1961.

16. Ibid.

29 September 1962.
the Franklin Times, when he noted that the 'quality of the Indian immigrant leaves much to be desired.'

Back in the twenties Pandion's answer to New Zealand's Indian problem was to propose that every borough and county impose a quota restriction on the number of aliens of each race that would be permitted to remain within the boundaries. This quota would be based on a definite proportion of the population. The quota solution was applauded and encouraged by the Editor of the Franklin Times, with one Hindu per 10,000 of the population suggested as ample.

By the beginning of December opposition to the Asian settlement in Pukekohe extended to the local Chamber of Commerce when E.J. Campbell declared that he would like to see 'some action to impress upon the people the seriousness of the wholesale influx of Asiatics', as within the last few days an area of sixty acres of 'splendid land' on Pukekohe Hill had been leased to Hindus. It was asserted that their presence was depreciating the value of the land, an argument often used to stem 'alien' intrusions into specific neighbourhoods.

18. FT, 2 December 1925.
19. Ibid. FT, LTE, 4 December 1925, 'Genghiz Khan', also gave his support to the quota suggestion and Pandion's article.
20. Ibid.
21. NZH, 4 December 1925, reported this meeting.
Soon after this the inaugural meeting of the White New Zealand League was convened at the Ayrshire tearooms on 17 December 1925. Most of the sixty or so who attended were farmers, although there was one lady present. Local residents, as mentioned above, addressed this meeting, such as E. Campbell, who claimed that unless some action was taken the farmers would be driven off Pukekohe Hill. He called for legislation to prohibit Asians from leasing or buying land. This resulted in the following motion being adopted,

"That the businessmen and landowners in the district - those interested support any action, if favourable by the Chamber of Commerce, to approach the Government to introduce legislation making it illegal to lease or sell land to Asians, and that the immigration from these countries be of a much higher standard than the class now coming in."

The reference to businessmen was in accordance with J.J. Coady's, when he drew attention to the absence of businessmen and fruiterers from the meeting.

Other speeches were made by the two main propounders of the White New Zealand League, the name given to the organisation founded that night. One of these men was O. Heerdegen, who had some virulent descriptions to offer of Indian living conditions.

"As a rule 20 or 30 of these black men were huddled together in a shanty, something approaching an ordinary pig-sty, some sleeping standing up ready to start work in the morning."

This peculiar statement, obviously totally fabricated, in

22. FT, 17 December 1925.
23. Ibid.
fact assumed some popular credence. The numbers were excessively exaggerated and the reference to Asiatics sleeping standing up was perpetuated by George Parvin, at a meeting he addressed in Wellington the following year.25

Serving as the League's secretary, Parvin was perhaps it's and Pukekohe's most virulent spearhead of anti-Asian feeling. At the meeting in the Ayrshire tearooms, which he chaired, he clearly articulated the main points in the opposition to Asians. These were, he claimed, the fear of economic competition, fear for morality, and fear that Asiatics would overrun the country.26

A more detailed plan of action was drawn up by the executive at a meeting held on 14 January 1926,27 and a subcommittee of Parvin, Heerdegen and Ryan was entrusted with drawing up the rules and constitution.28

The organisation was duly incorporated and registered, which indicated the permanence its founders envisaged. The League channelled its energies to meet the demands for Asiatic control and exclusion into the three main areas of deputations to local bodies, pressure on government, and propaganda. The first and most immediate tactic pursued by

25. FT, 26 July 1926.
26. See p.'607 ff for discussion of this.
27. FT, 15 January 1926.
28. The League's objects were listed in their booklet. See Appendix 8. The League's motto was outlined in the FT, 24 February 1926.
the League was to present its case to local bodies and organisations in order to ensure their support. In the immediate vicinity, a deputation from the League was successful in soliciting the support of the Franklin County Council.\(^{29}\) A later deputation used the somewhat more sophisticated tactic of presenting voluminous correspondence, leaflets and booklets, setting out the aims and objects of the White New Zealand League before the Council.\(^ {30}\) The Council's affirmation of the League's aims was shown when all those in attendance at the latter meeting were in favour of legislation being passed to make it prohibitive for landowners to lease land to Asiatics.\(^ {31}\)

A deputation by the League to the Pukekohe Borough Council on 18 January 1926 gained similar support to arguments such as that advanced by Mr. Campbell of the League, that Europeans always 'went under' when in conflict with Asiatics.\(^ {32}\) The Mayor, Mr. J.A. Somerville, however, expressed some reservations. He had been informed that Hindus did not live as poorly as people thought, even if they did work longer hours. He pointed out that the camps in which local Maoris lived were 'not very pleasant', to which Parvin replied that the Maori was far different to the 'Asiatic race'. Perhaps the Mayor's relative caution was

\(^{29}\) \textit{FT}, 22 January 1926.

\(^{30}\) \textit{Ibid}, 18 June 1926.

\(^{31}\) \textit{Ibid}, 21 June 1926, editorial "A White New Zealand", reported this decision.

\(^{32}\) \textit{Ibid}, 20 January 1926.
due to his observation that most of the Asiatics came under the County Council's jurisdiction and not within the Pukekohe Borough.

The League also successfully drew on the support of the local Chamber of Commerce which resolved at a meeting on 3 February 1926 to request associated Chambers of Commerce to join the White New Zealand League in its goal of securing legislation to exclude Asiatics from New Zealand.  

Since most of the members of the League were farmers it came as no surprise when the executive of the Franklin Agricultural and Pastoral Association passed a resolution put forward by Parvin asking for immigration restrictions to be rigidly enforced and legislation to be placed on the Statute book giving power to local bodies to regulate the sale or leasing of land to Asiatics.

Deputations from the League also waited on fruit growers' associations and Labour organisations. Several local bodies were approached, such as the Opaheke-Drury-Bombay-Karaka Ratepayers Association, the Tuakau Town Board, groups at Mangere, and the Matamata County Council. Councillor Allen of the latter body clearly backed

33. Ibid, 5 February 1926.
34. Ibid, 2 July 1926.
35. Ibid, 15 January 1926. At an executive meeting of the White New Zealand League, the groups they would visit were outlined.
36. Ibid, 22 February 1926.
37. Ibid, 15 January 1926.
38. Ibid.
the League, 'there being no doubt that the Asiatics were contaminating the white race.' By July of 1926 at a general meeting of the White New Zealand League Parvin claimed that eighty per cent of the local bodies of New Zealand were behind the League's objectives. While this would have been an exaggerated figure, his claim was indicative of the climate of most local body feeling.

The second avenue through which Parvin and the League worked was to bring their cause to the notice of the Government. At first this began with an enquiry addressed to the Prime Minister for particulars regarding the number of Asiatics in New Zealand and details of the present education test. (The latter request, in fact indicated ignorance of the immigration regulations, as the education test no longer applied). Letters were also sent to the Ministers of Internal Affairs in Australia and New Zealand.

On 19 April, 1926, the Pukekohe Borough Council discussed Massey's reply in which he outlined the immigration law and assured the League that no Asians would be issued

40. Ibid, 19 July 1926. "Citizens of the Future are the Children of Today" claimed that 160 out of 200 local bodies, representing a population of 67,000 replied at Parvin's request endorsing the principle of a White New Zealand and made strong representations to Government.
41. FT, 15 January 1926.
with permits that year. The reply from R.F. Bollard, the Minister of Internal Affairs was however less promising, for he stated that the government could not discriminate against Asiatics, especially British subjects. He also reminded the League that the number of aliens resident in New Zealand was very small.

E.D. McLennan, the Member of Parliament for Franklin, assured a deputation from the White New Zealand League, the Franklin County Council, the President of the Pukekohe Chamber of Commerce, and the Mayor that he would give them his support and present the question to the Prime Minister, Cabinet and Parliament. A more direct approach to Government was taken when on 17 April 1926, at a meeting of forty potato and onion growers at Mr. Ryan's place on Pukekohe Hill, it was planned to submit a memorial to Massey, outlining the disabilities imposed on white settlers through Asiatic competition and requesting legislation to prohibit the selling or leasing of land to Asiatics.

42. Ibid, 21 April 1926. In fact, 52 permits were issued to 65 Indians in 1926 although most of these arrived 1927-1928. - Entry Registers, L/25/2 Indians issued with earlier permits continued to arrive in 1926. 239 entered New Zealand in 1926 either as permanent or temporary immigrants. Source; External Migration Statistics.

43. Ibid, 26 April 1926. Also reply he gave later to White New Zealand League and Tuakau Town Board, FT, 19 May 1926.

44. Ibid, 22 February 1926.

A powerful aspect of the League's approach and perhaps the means through which they attracted considerable attention was their skillful use of propaganda. The first report of this suggestion was at a meeting of the League held on 22 February 1926 when A.T. Church suggested that propaganda against Asiatics should be circulated in the schools. A month later the League had an explanatory booklet printed, of which five thousand pamphlets were printed. An important influence upon the League and its rhetoric were racial writings and theories from overseas. A booklet entitled "Citizens of the Future are the Children of Today" quoted Senator Dr. Jas. Phelan (a Californian legislator), John Fuller, the Reverent K. Stephen (Bishop of Newcastle in Australia), Sir Henry Parkes, and S. McDermott (Proprietor of the Melbourne Graphic). Later in 1929 D.S. Dale, while presenting evidence before the 1929 Committee of Enquiry into the Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens, produced books on this subject. J.W. Gregory's Menace of Colour was quoted at length.

I would restrict them to the smallest possible amount... If the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively /in America/ they must either, if they remain unmixed, form a sub-race in the

46. FT, 24 April 1926.


position, if not of slaves, that of a class approaching to slaves, or if they mix, they must form a bad hybrid. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social miscegenation must arise and eventually social disorganisation.49

Gregory's position as a renowned Professor of Geology supposedly lent 'scientific' credence to such statements. In a similar vein, Professor Earle Finch had presented at the Universal Races Congress in 1911 a paper entitled 'Effects of Miscegenation', which caught the attention of Mr. Dale. It became fashionable during the twenties to compare the 'dilution' of the Maori race with the decline of the native population of Hawaii.50

A section of the first White New Zealand League booklet contained reprints from the Auckland Star, The New Zealand Herald and the Franklin Times. Lurid descriptions of the Franklin Building Inspector's Report were presented as 'evidence' of the present menace. This report was complete with photos of Asiatic shacks, neatly juxtaposed beside a clean modern farmhouse with five rosy children sitting outside. Captions were sarcastically worded, such as the following under the item entitled 'Hindu Shack':

This represents the latest style in a Residential Flat. The Hindus are noted for this type of dwelling, which is in striking contrast to the neat houses of the small settlers.


50. Evidence, 1929, p.143, presented by Mr. Dale, 'Figures Quoted by Prof. Earle Finch, Wilberforce University in Papers on Inter-Racial Problems at the Universal Races Congress held in 1911'.
Compare this with the description of the White Dwelling,

One of Pukekohe's modern Farm Houses - Pukekohe has been noted for intense cultivation, its productivity, its thrifty and industrious small farmers - Note the children, they represent the future citizens of the Dominion in the making, and the greatest asset the Empire has. Think of the environment. Protect them from its contaminating influence.

The captions reflected the emphasis the League made on the security of New Zealand's children being dependent upon a White New Zealand. This was clearly depicted in the League's motto:

Your obligations to posterity are great:
Your inheritance was a White New Zealand,
Keep it so for your childrens' sake,
And the Empire.

"Citizens of the Future Are the Children of Today" was the second booklet issued by the League. Novel fund-raising activities were organised, such as a potato and onion drive designed to augment the funds of the League.

With these funds Parvin was able to post a further thousand circular letters with two booklets to all the trade unions and newspapers throughout New Zealand. This represented four thousand communications that had been sent to local bodies and public institutions by November of 1926. Parvin claimed that ninety per cent of those approached endorsed the League. 51

Parvin's optimism was correct in so far as particular bodies endorsed the policies of the League. He stated that when the campaign began in December 1925 he was backed by nearly all the principal papers in the North Island.

51. FT, 10 November 1926.
exceptions were two 'small up country jobs', one of which was the Nguruawahia Advocate. The Auckland Star gave slightly more coverage to the events at Pukekohe than its rival, the New Zealand Herald. In a leading article of 23 January 1926, the Editor of the Auckland Star wrote that he was glad the Franklin County Council supported the League. 'For in our opinion the views expressed by the founders of the White New Zealand League are quite moderate and reasonable, and the questions that have raised demand very serious attention from the general public as well as the Government.' The New Zealand Herald also lent its support to the causes of the League and emphasised a need for rigid immigration restrictions.

Therefore the lesson of the developments at Pukekohe and Mangere is to guard the gate with greater care than ever.

It was suggested that government concentrate on fostering immigration of the 'proper sort'.

A long article in the Herald, supported Downie Stewart's contention that the existing law was perfectly adequate to control any exaggerated fears of 'Asiatic hordes.' As the following quote indicates the Herald, with a liberal slight-of-hand, shifted the problem on the Asians who were practising what was seen as self-imposed isolation in New Zealand,

This year permits have been suspended altogether.

52. See p.599. FT, 1 February 1926.
53. AS, 23 January 1926.
54. NZH, 22 December 1925.
No Government could go no further than that. It is, in fact, remarkable that so much has been achieved smoothly and without protest. Two conclusions can be drawn from what Mr. Downie Stewart proved. First, that the alarmist statements about the influx of hordes of race aliens have involved great exaggeration, and, second, that no further legislation is needed to control the entry of race aliens. Thus far the result is satisfactory, even if it leaves untouched a very different problem, that of meeting the social conditions threatening as the result of the voluntary segregation of those aliens already in the country.55

Further south, in 1926, at both the annual meeting of the Canterbury Fruit Growers' Association held in April, and the Canterbury Fruit Growers Provincial Conference in June, remits were passed urging government to pass legislation that would ban Asiatics from entering New Zealand during the coming decade.56 The Otago Fruit Growers' Association, however, gave this remit 'short shrift' at its conference by refusing to discuss it. The Chairman considered the matter to be outside the jurisdiction of the Association, while G. Moodie considered the remit as 'all bunk'.57

The New Zealand Natives Association held a meeting in the Civic Square in Auckland at which speakers such as Hall Skelton, J. Oakley Browne, J.W. Meade, F.W. Schramm and Mrs. M. Jones addressed a crowd of approximately two hundred and fifty. The speakers all expressed their opposition to any further immigration while there was

55. NZH, 24 July 1926, p. 10.
56. FT, 6 April 1926; 15 June 1926.
57. AS, 5 June 1926, p. 8.
unemployment in New Zealand, and demanded that the government implement legislation similar to that in force in Australia restricting Chinese and Indians. The New Zealand Natives Association also had the support of the Auckland 'white growers' and 'white retailers'.

In accordance with the role it played in the agitation for immigration restrictions in 1920, the Returned Soldiers Association gave its endorsement to the White New Zealand League. At the annual meeting of the Auckland Branch it was suggested that returned soldiers, rather than the 'yellow race', should 'cultivate the garden'. The immigration question was also debated by the Dominion Council of the Returned Soldiers Association which reaffirmed the policy of a White New Zealand, suggesting that every obstacle be placed in the way of Asiatics entering the Dominion.

Support for the League was not confined to New Zealand. The Daily Guardian of Sydney printed details concerning the New Zealand organisation, while Sir John Fuller, a prominent Australian entrepreneur sent donations to it, accompanied by the following statement:

I have lived 20 years in New Zealand, but I am now in Australia, and have business in both places and travel New Zealand very frequently;

58. AS, 1 May 1926, p.16.
59. AS, 13 April 1926.
60. AS, 30 April 1926.
61. AS, 5 June, 1926.
62. FT, 23 March 1926.
and I am very much struck each time I come over here by the motley crowd of aliens that are allowed into New Zealand. I have no objection to coloured people passing through the country and seeing it, but to have coloured labourers who can never live up to our conditions of life, being our next-door neighbour, and inter-marrying with our children, is a thing I feel very strongly about... I think one of the aims of the White New Zealand League is that we should only get immigrants from British Stock.63

He also forwarded a copy of an address by Dr. K. Stephen, the Bishop of Newcastle, which outlined the serious consequences and danger to society which would allegedly result should large bodies of an alien people enter Australia. Dr. Stephen foresaw a 'caste' system, as had occurred in America and Australia, where White men would be unwilling to pursue manual types of work,

The highest function of a nation was to make its special gift towards the elevation of the race. It was for Australians, as an Anglo-Saxon community, to maintain the traditions it had received, and to preserve its race.64

Australian influence was evident when representatives of the League met the Ministers of Agriculture and Internal Affairs in Pukekohe.65

The League proposed that New Zealand adopt exclusion on Australian lines and gave the Ministers all the correspondence they had received from Australia on the subject. It was hoped that this would be forwarded to Wellington for consideration by Cabinet.

63. "Citizens of the Future...", John Fuller was the director of Fuller's theatres.
64. FT, 21 May 1926.
65. Ibid, 31 May 1926.
Parvin also received a letter from Fiji in which the writer lamented how the Indians and Chinese had overrun the country, and claimed: 'the majority here are the scum of India, steeped in vice and crime.' The writer hoped that the League's agitation would be effective. 66

By July of 1926 the League, which already had a wide basis of support, decided to proselytise in the capital and establish branches there. 67 Parvin addressed a meeting in Wellington on the 22 July in which he drew comparisons between Pukekohe and the Hutt, both areas of market gardening and, in his opinion, in danger of being overrun by Asiatics. 68 The primary producers of Lower Hutt reacted by strongly applauding Parvin when he presented a petition to them concerning the influx of Asiatics. 69 They could not, however, publicly support the White New Zealand League, for fear of being boycotted. 70 In addition to the danger to market gardening Parvin remarked upon the apparent take-over of greengrocery business (particularly in Wellington) by Asiatics. 71 He appealed to the Returned

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66. Ibid, 15 November 1926.

67. Ibid, 19 July 1926. This decision was made at a general meeting of the White New Zealand League.

68. EP, quoted in FT, 26 July 1926.

69. FT, 23 July 1926.

70. FT, 24 November 1926, Parvin reported this at a meeting of the White New Zealand League but it was unclear who would boycott the producers - possibly the Asian greengrocers.

71. EP, quoted in FT, 26 July 1926.
soldiers when he noted that only five per cent of those men who had been encouraged by the Government to enter into this trade had remained in it. Parvin contended that the drapery trade would be captured by Asiatics within the next twenty years.72 It was, he said,

... astonishing how the public support them. He contended [Parvin] that if something was not done, these Asiatics would get a hold and would crush out the white traders.73

Although Parvin only noted two Asiatic drapers in Auckland and two in Wellington74 fears were aroused so that the directors of a large Auckland firm decided not to give credit to Asiatics but only to deal with them on a cash basis.75 While he was visiting Wellington Parvin was able to secure the support of the member for Thames, T.W. Rhodes; the member for Pahiatua, E.A. Ransom; the member for Riccarton, H.S. Kyle; and the member for Taranaki, C.E. Bellringer. When this group waited on Downie Stewart they were accompanied by J. Dean, the Chairman of the Franklin Electric Power Board; H.A. Ransom, the President of the Wellington Branch of the League; the President of the Grocers' Association; and eight prominent businessmen from Wellington.76 He did not sympathise very greatly with the

72. Ibid.
73. FT, 24 November 1926.
74. Ibid, 28 July 1926.
75. EP, quoted in FT, 26 July 1926.
76. FT, 28 July 1926, 26 July 1926.
aims of the League, as he considered the numbers of Asiatics in New Zealand too small to warrant further restrictive legislation. In addition, the Imperial Government would have to be consulted before such steps could be taken.

By the end of 1926 the activities of the League had temporarily quietened down if the coverage given to them by the Franklin Times can be taken as an indication. The editorial of 19 November 1926 still supported the League and Parvin was still concerned that a number of Pukekohe citizens continued to patronise Asiatic shopkeepers. During the same month Parvin announced that the goals of the organisation had shifted away from agitating for legislation towards control based on the quota system, as had been advocated by Pandion and the Editor of the Franklin Times.

The White New Zealand League which began in Pukekohe was strongly based there for one only year, although the opinions embodies in it continued to survive. By 23 March 1927, Robert Groves of Wellington was claiming to be the organising secretary when the League issued a booklet entitled, "Don't Fail to Read this Appeal". The rhetoric in this booklet was Internationalist, referring to the White Australia Policy and quoting The Times of London.

77. FT, 19 November 1926.
78. Ibid, 24 November 1926, although there were not many Asiatic shopkeepers in Pukekohe at this stage.
79. FT, 15 November 1926.
80. See p. 614 ff.
Appeals to economic fear were directed at the White traders in the silk, fruit and laundry businesses not the potato farmers at Pukekohe. The emphasis was on economics, instead of the 'citizens of the future' or the allegedly low morality of Indians.

The foregoing discussion would suggest that the League received unanimous support from most sectors of New Zealand society. Nevertheless criticisms of its claims were detected, from members of the clergy and other individuals. In a letter to the Editor of the Franklin Times, 'Fair Play' acknowledged that the Hindu presence on Pukekohe Hill and in any European community was undesirable but the writer expressed concern over the fate of these men if they were to be evicted from their land. 'Fair Play' suggested the Hindus be given compensation by the residents of Pukekohe.

Otherwise they will be acting in a most arbitrary and oppressive way towards a very weak and helpless minority.

The Editor of the Franklin Times replied to this by raising the question of who would be responsible for the costs of such compensation. He concluded that the state should foot the bill but O. Heerdegen argued that if anyone was going to receive compensation that it should be the growers.

As noted elsewhere, the Mayor expressed reservations over the attention being drawn to Asiatic dwellings. 'Trinidad', in a letter to the Editor of the

81. FT, 4 January 1926.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid. LTE, 8 January 1926.
84. See p. 622 ff.
Auckland Star also argued that,

I think it a great pity that the White New Zealand League should start off by attacking Indians and others before seeing to it that their own stables are cleaned up. The overcrowding and filth in which many of our own white people are condemned to live in Auckland is a disgrace to the city and our own White New Zealanders.85

In another letter to the Editor of the Auckland Star, the writer lodged a protest at the treatment of 'Natives of India' living in Pukekohe and at the Anti-Asiatic Society. Since the writer was signed 'Aryan' there is a possibility that he or she was an Indian.

Not all of the clergy supported a White Australia or a White New Zealand policy. At a conference of the Congregational churches of these two countries the President of the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand reminded his audience that Christ was a coloured man, while the Reverend Stanley Morrison of Mt. Eden suggested that if Christ were to be born again, he would be debarred from Australia and New Zealand. In agreement with these views, the Reverend J. Ernest James urged racial co-operation.86

Criticisms of the League's cause also came from the few 'rebellious' newspapers, such as the Ngaruawahia Advocate. The Editor argued that the Hindus' morals in a strange land were probably quite as good as those of the White man in Asia.

He also questioned whether the standard of living of

85. AS, 22 April, 1926.
86. AS, 16 March 1926.
the Hindu was lower than the white man's or merely simpler, which was a contrast to the ethnocentric views of the supporters of a White New Zealand. The Editor's description of the local Indians also differed from the usual picture, Those Hindus one sees travelling about seem as well fed and as decently clad as their white neighbours... The Hindu is a human being and a fellow subject; he should get his fair share of our vaunted British justice.\(^1\)

It is possible that the \textit{Ngaruawahia Advocate} took its stand because of the percentage of its readers that would have been Maoris. Rore John Josephs, in a letter to the Editor of the \textit{Auckland Star} perceived that a White New Zealand and implied that New Zealand did not belong to the Maori. \textit{Pakeha...Do not think of yourself...Leave race prejudice and class distinction alone...New Zealand is just as much the Maori’s as the Pakeha’s. Then why a White New Zealand, or White New Zealand League?}\(^2\)

Maoris were not, however, completely opposed to a White New Zealand. Parvin presented a petition to Sir Maui Pomare on behalf of the Maoris of Pupekohe, the subject of which was the Asiatic invasion of that district.\(^3\) It is not clear whether this initiative came from Parvin himself or the Maoris, not the extent to which they were concerned about the 'invasion'. Contemporary accounts suggest that relations between Indians and Maoris were more harmonious than those with Indians and Europeans. Indeed Maori farm labourers reported to prefer employment under Indian market

\(^1\) \textit{Ngaruawahia Advocate}, quoted in \textit{FT}, 18 January 1926.

\(^2\) \textit{AS}, LTE, 9 July 1926.

\(^3\) \textit{FT}, 23 July 1926.
gardeners rather than employment under Europeans. 90

As noted on page 592 a further group that paid little attention to the goals of the League was the Otago Fruitgrowers' Association. The Hindu threat certainly was non existent in that part of the country although competition with Chinese market gardeners was strong. This probably would not have affected fruit growers.

Reaction by Asians.

How did the targets of the Leagues' concern, that is the Indians and Chinese react? They did not meekly move on but remained in Pukekohe to develop what would become the main centres of Asian market gardening in New Zealand. The Indian community there grew from 17 at the 1926 census to 211 by 1956. 91 The majority of these were Gujaratis and in the post-war years the high proportion of women and children indicated a commitment to settle in the area. The most significant reaction by the Asians in 1926 was thus that they stayed in Pukekohe.

The Indians and Chinese did, however, lodge protests against the League. This took the immediate form of writing letters to the Editors of newspapers, though it is notable that there was an absence of letters written by Asians appearing in the Franklin Times. This may have

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90. See p. 442.

91. Statistics from Franklin County and Pukekohe Borough - Fullbloods only. See p.437ff for discussion of market gardening.
indicated either that the Editor would not print them or that no Asians could or would write letters of protest to that particular publication. In the Auckland Star, however, a letter signed by the New Zealand Indian Association of Auckland, and probably written by J.K. Natali, was printed on the 17 April 1926. This was a protest at a recently published article in the Auckland Star, which quoted large sections of the League's manifesto and printed a photo of one of the 'Asiatic shacks'. In the opinion of the Indian Association the,

...long article in 13 instant reached the culminating point in the unwholesome and ugly misrepresentation tactics employed by a handful of agitators who designate themselves members of the White New Zealand League... Their activities only create disturbance and racial discrimination in this peaceful country, and can serve no useful purpose whatsoever, especially in view of the fact that their energies are based upon a misrepresentation of facts.92

The writer reminded his readers that Indians were British subjects and belonged to the Aryan race which made them 'brothers and first cousins to the English people'.

The claim to Aryan descent unfortunately reflected divisiveness amongst Indians in New Zealand when some Sikhs and Punjabis tried to dissociate themselves from the Indians at Pukekohe.

We Sikhs and Pubjabees are Aryans but the low bud-mashes /ruffians/ in Pukekohe are Bengalese or Madressees.93

The writer, Runjeet Singh, stated that the latter were not

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92. AS, LTE, 17 April 1926.

93. FT, LTE, 26 April 1926, 'Ranjeet Singh'.


Aryans and had not fought in the war as the Sikhs did. This endorsed stereotypes such as those promoted by the Editor of the Franklin Times that the local Indians were budmashes. 94 Moreover, as we have already noted, the majority of the Indians at Pukekohe were Gujaratis. It should be noted that Inder Singh Radhawa, a prominent Sikh member of the Indian Association and a friend of many Gujaratis, did not draw the above distinctions when he wrote a letter of protest to the Auckland Star. 95

The letter written by the Indian Association also denied that the photos of 'Hindoo dwellings' had ever been used for permanent habitation and drew attention to similar corrugated sheds which had been used by white settlers at Point Chevalier recently. Parvin replied to this by claiming that the photos did represent sheds Asiatics lived in. He denied that the opposition to Asiatics was racial but instead perceived it as based on economic considerations. 96

J.K. Natali lodged his protest 97 to 'White New Zealand's' letter to the Editor of the Auckland Star in which the widely held view was expressed that the Chinese were preferable to the Indians. 98 Like many letters written by Indians, Natali's compared India's war effort with that of China and reminded the newspaper's readers

95. AS, 8 June 1926.
96. AS, 22 April, 1926. See p.
97. AS, 29 April 1926.
98. Ibid, 24 April 1926.
that Indians were British subjects.

Protests at the White New Zealand League and the Natives Association were also lodged by the 'Chinese communities' of Wellington. In a letter written on behalf of the Chinese Association a certain unity with Indians was presented because they were both victims of the same discrimination. The writer defended their living habits, business practices and sanitary conditions, 'emphatically' denying that Chinese fruiterers 'use any other method than an ordinary clean duster to wipe off the dust and dirt' from their fruit. He suggested that in 'New Zealand it seems that to be frugal and industrious is a dreadful crime', in reply to allegations of the long hours and low standard of living conditions by Asians.

Later in August, 1929, Dr. Mildred Stanley of the National Council of Women issued statements suggesting that 'Chinese associations are dangerous morally, spiritually and physically' with regard to their reported liaisons with Maori women. Mr. Ou Tsin Shuing, the Consul for the Republic of China in New Zealand, gave a well-argued reply. He took objection to all of her generalisations, such as that claiming that 'The Chinese...riddled with disease', by noting that this disease was prevalent in New Zealand and

99. AS, 28 April 1926, Open letter to people of New Zealand and Auckland. AS, 4 May 1926.

100. Ibid.

101. Sun, 23 August 1929. See also p. 626.
among Maoris long before any Chinese arrived at Pukekohe.\textsuperscript{102}

Partly in response to the events at Pukekohe and the attitudes towards Asians that were expressed throughout the country, the three Indian Associations based at Auckland, Wellington and Taumarunui amalgamated to form the New Zealand Indian Central Association.\textsuperscript{103} This united body then presented the following petition to Parliament in protest at the White New Zealand League.

\begin{quote}
We, the undersigned British born Indian subjects, protest against the efforts of the White New Zealand League to create racial discrimination between His Majesty's Loyal subjects in peaceful New Zealand and most respectfully appeal to the New Zealand Government to safeguard the interests of the Indian community domiciled in the Dominion, who unflinchingly offered their lives and wealth for the victory of the British banner in the world war; despite our brown colour we are better for the future of the Empire than those white nations who have proved to be the enemies of our great British Empire.\textsuperscript{104}
\end{quote}

The names were printed in Gujarati. The reference to India's war effort was the main argument used in the appeal against the League.

Ravjibhai Hira, the newly elected President of the

\textsuperscript{102} See correspondence between Dr. Stacey and Shuing, published in the \textit{Sun}, 23 August 1929. Although not publicly stated this was venereal disease.

\textsuperscript{103} See p. 644.

\textsuperscript{104} Copy of petition held by NZICA. Not laid before the House as there was no record of it in the \textit{Journals}. Correspondence with Beth Bowden, Clerk of the Journals and Records, suggests that it was not the typical practice of a select committee of the House charged with the duty of hearing a petition. It was probably a departmental meeting under the aegis and control of a Minister. She suggested that the petition was probably presented to a Minister and dealt with by the Government of the day.
Central Association, was present at a hearing at which there were representatives from his Association, the Health Department, the Customs Department, the Police, the White New Zealand League and Bollard, the Minister of Internal Affairs who chaired the proceedings. In reply to questions from the Minister, the Health Inspector stated that he had no special complaints concerning Indians and that 'they were no different to anyone else'.

The Police confirmed that they had not received any special complaints about Indians. Ravjibhai admitted that his countrymen lived rather meagrely as groups of men in one house, but this was because they did not have women or children living with them. The League had also complained about Indians buying land and 'making too much money'. In reply to this accusation (according to Ravjibhai) the Minister suggested that the League should follow the Indians example. Ravjibhai also claims that one of the government officers present at the hearing made the point that Indians were Aryans and therefore different from the Chinese.

The formation of the White New Zealand League did not escape international attention. The Bombay Chronicle outlined the 'virulent Anti-Asiatic campaign conducted in New Zealand' which it perceived as evidence of the futility

105. Unclear if it was held at Wellington or Pukekohe. According to Dayal Vallabh, Dr. Share, a Punjabi, led this deputation. Ravjibhai presumably was referring to the Franklin Health Inspector who had written the controversial reports of Asiatic habitations. (The latter interviewed by W.H. McLeod and Karam Singh Basi). Account of the proceedings based on Ravjibhai Hira's testimony and parts of it were confirmed by Dayal Vallabh.
of equal rights for Indians in the Commonwealth, unless India obtained independence.

It is abundantly clear now that it is futile to depend upon the British Government to safeguard our interests. The poor results of direct negotiations like those of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri; who visited the Dominion of New Zealand, Australia and Canada in 1922... shows that the way to no salvation lies... Till India is herself free, she cannot protect her sons abroad. We can learn from the New Zealanders too. Though they are well off and have the most lucrative trades and industries in their own hands, they are jealous of Asians and want to deprive them of every profession above that of a cooly.106

The Muslim Outlook of India also published extracts from the Auckland Star about the White New Zealand League. On 23 March 1927, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan raised this issue in the Legislative Assembly and was assured by J.W. Bhore that the Government of India had no reason to believe that the White New Zealand League influenced the New Zealand Government or the majority of the people there.107

A question which arises from the foregoing discussion of the White New Zealand League is the extent to which it reflected a 'racist' ideology in New Zealand society. Was it endemically present or was it merely generated under particular circumstances at certain times. Indeed, the extent to which it was racism is questionable as the ideology and behaviour of the citizens of Pukekohe and their supporters could be labelled more as xenophobia,


a 'morbid dislike of foreigners' common in many communities. I now propose to examine the correlation between hostility to Asians, especially Indians, with economic fears, especially with regard to Pukekohe. The following analysis indicates the limitations of attributing racial outbursts to economic recession, as racial tension is deep-rooted in New Zealand society and continued after 1925 at Pukekohe. Secondly, a distrust of Indians was equally rationalised on moral as well as economic grounds.

This does not deny that xenophobia, and more specifically opposition to Asians, had a link with economic crises in New Zealand's history. We have noted that in the early eighteen-nineties (a period of economic recession and depression) there was a very strong agitation for the total exclusion of Asiatics and the restriction of the movements of those, particularly Lebanese hawkers, who were resident in the country. Such renewed pressure for immigration restrictions in the years following World War 1 coincided with a period in which unemployment was high. Unemployment particularly affected returned servicemen, while their Association was one of the main proponents for

108. H.D.M. Chan, "Later Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century New Zealand Images of the Chinese and of China: Some Origins of New Zealand's Yellow Peril Paranoia", Waikato University China Papers, /Proceedings of the First New Zealand International Conference on Chinese Studies, Pt 1, D. Bing, ed, University of Waikato, Hamilton/ 1972, p.34, also suggests that agitation against the Chinese in nineteenth century New Zealand was as much xenophobia as racial prejudice.


110. See p. 342 ff.
the implementation of a White New Zealand immigration policy.

The demand for the exclusion of Asians from New Zealand partly on economic grounds, also came from Chambers of Commerce, and various farmers groups, such as those represented at the Conference of Agriculture held in July 1920. The Labour movement and the Unions tended to express opposition to Asians explicitly in economic terms. For example, fears were conveyed by the Furniture, Trade, Industrial Union of Workers at the Chinese presence in the furniture trade, in a letter discussed at the executive meeting of the Auckland Returned Soldiers' Association held in June 1920. A month earlier the Watersiders Workers' Union had passed a resolution refusing to work the cargo on any vessel landing Hindus and Chinese at Auckland. Further protests emanated from the Grocers' Assistants' Union when they complained to Massey about the unrestricted competition of Asiatics in businesses, particularly in market-gardening, the fruit, laundry, grocery and drapery trades. At the Timber Workers' conference in July 1920 a resolution was passed aimed at the restriction of Asian

111. NZH, 25 June 1920, letter from Hamilton Chamber of Commerce to Auckland Chamber. Endorsed and copy sent to Government.


113. NZH, 16 June 1920.

114. NZH, 26 May 1920, ODT, 3 June 1920.

115. NZH, 14 June 1920.
immigrants into New Zealand. 116

While the Returned Soldiers Association claimed its' White New Zealand Policy had the strong support of every Trade Union in the Dominion, 117 the Labour politicians and similar opinions expressed in the Maoriland Worker were considerably moderate in their attitude towards Asians. Economic fears were paramount but cushioned by the common struggle with oppressed workers everywhere, exploited by 'unprincipled commercialism'. 118 Harry Holland, leader of the Labour Party, and editor of the Maoriland Worker, was concerned in his speech, as the member for Buller, during the second reading of the Immigration Restriction Bill in parliament that,

the legislation of New Zealand shall be framed so as to protect the standards of life of the people of New Zealand, and especially the working-people, but that it shall be framed also so as to protect the coloured immigrants who might be brought here, as they have been taken to other places for specific purposes. 119

Indeed, the Maoriland Worker criticised Unions who would not admit coloured aliens, as such membership was a means through which to control any fears of Asians lowering the rates of wages or standard of living. 'Labour should know no race, colour, or creed'. 120

The opposition to Asians, when it returned to

118. MW, 1 December 1920.
120. MW, 1 December 1920.
prominence in the mid twenties, was certainly expressed in economic terms. A constant theme, as noted earlier and in later years, was that these strangers were undercutting Europeans because they could work longer hours, accept lower rates of pay, and maintain a far lower standard of living than any European. When he gave evidence before the Committee of Enquiry Mr. Miller, along with others, complained that Hindus could afford higher rentals as they were able to live more cheaply. 'The Hindu', he claimed, 'would have much lower expenses - no taxes and no family to keep.' In addition it was suggested that Hindus at Pukekohe were financed by local merchants and in turn they sold to the merchants at lower prices than the white man. These assumptions were not just confined to Pukekohe, as we have noted with regard to the events at Evans Pass near Christchurch and in the Wairarapa in the early twenties. In December 1925 a letter by 'White New Zealand' printed in the New Zealand Herald, expressed the fears of the small self-employed businessman and tradesman.

May I enquire why the competition of Asiatics is considered proper in such trades as fruit, drapery, laundry and cabinetmaking? If they intruded on some trades, there would be a

121. Evidence, 1929, p.86.

122. Ibid, pp.85-86, also, evidence by Mr. Gathercole, member of White New Zealand League, p.89.

123. See pp.290-1 Note also similar economic arguments in Australia e.g. 'No nigger, no Chinamen, no lascar, no Kanaka, no purveyor of cheap coloured labour, is an Australian.' Quote from The Bulletin, 1887, in Bill Hornadge, The Yellow Peril, Dubbo, Australia, 1971, p.16.
The writer suggested that an Asiatic would work for half the wages of a tramwayman. The White New Zealand League also considered that Asiatic competition was hitting the small farmer and certain businessmen harder than the wage-earner or those in other trades.

If it is right in principle that primary producers, fruiterers, grocers, and drapers should be compelled to compete against Asiatics, who work long hours for low wages, it is also right in principle that Asiaties should be welcomed into all avenues of industry... If the principle is right and the economic argument of cheaper production is right, it is also right that painting, signwriting, building, cabinetmaking, printing, and so forth should be numbered among Asiatic activities.

In Pukekohe the foundation of the White New Zealand League coincided with the local economic crisis of a potato blight caused by heavy frosts in 1925. By December 1925 the Franklin Times reported that prices had just about reached rock-bottom as the supply of potatoes was exceeding the demand. This was the same month as the meeting at Ayrshire tearooms when the League was founded. During the last quarter of the following year prices, though again unstable, were better than the previous year. This correlated with the lessened activities of the League.

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124. NZH, LTE, 3 December 1925.
125. "Citizens of the Future Are the Children of Today".
126. FT, 9 November 1925, 25 November 1925.
127. Ibid, 9 November 1925.
128. Ibid, 29 October 1926 to 10 December 1926.
It appears, however, that such an argument is too simplistic. Opposition towards Asiatics, virulent at Pukekohe, was widespread throughout New Zealand during the late twenties. As we have seen, such hostility was particularly evident amongst the small self-employed businessman and farmer, those who would have been feeling the effects of unstable prices in the twenties. Nevertheless, overt hostilities directed towards Asians did not attract public attention when New Zealand was in the throes of the thirties Depression. Informants also noticed that unpleasant remarks or discriminatory behaviour were no more severe at that time than at any other. The New Zealand spokesperson to the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1931 noted that 'with the general apprehension of an influx of unemployed Australians, there has been less public interest of late in Orientals.' The 1937 Fruit Marketing Committee reported an 'Asiatic competition', when the familiar arguments of Asiatics


working longer hours and accepting lower wages and a
standard of living was given.\textsuperscript{131} As had been noted at Puke-
kohe, Asiatic greengrocers were censured for not keeping
Sundays holy. Wholesale auctioneers experienced trouble,
especially with Asiatic retailers and market gardeners.

The Wholesale /sic/merchants also complain of the
bad packing, amounting to positive dishonesty, on
the part of a good many Asiatic growers. This
complaint is endorsed by the retail fruiterers
throughout the Dominion who are quite decided in
their opinion that the quality and pack of
vegetables grown by Asiatics are on the whole
inferior compared with those grown and packed
by European gardeners.\textsuperscript{132}

Such criticisms led to a resolution being passed by the 1937
Fruit Marketing Committee requesting a system of identifi-
cation of Asiatics by means of thumbprint registration.\textsuperscript{133}

Meanwhile discriminatory practices and attitudes re-
mained in Pukekohe and indeed it is claimed by some con-
temporary residents that they are still alive.\textsuperscript{134} This
suggests that economic recession as a cause is limited, but
does not negate that fears of economic competition by persons
of another race may prevail even in prosperous times.

Indians, as well as Chinese and Maoris, were barred for many

\textsuperscript{131} Fruit Marketing Committee, Report, 1937, Wellington,
p. 131.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid, p.133.

\textsuperscript{133} See p. 655-6.

\textsuperscript{134} As recently as 3 July 1980, the Auckland Star printed
an article headed, 'Workers give area a bad image', in
which similar attitudes were expressed to those in
earlier years at Pukekohe - 'A Pukekohe accountant
wants detention workers barred from using a house
there because their presence creates a bad
impression,'
years from the dress circle of a Pukekohe movie theatre.\textsuperscript{135}

In 1932 this discrimination came to the attention of the Government of India when in a session of the Legislative Assembly reference was made to 'serious complaints of harsh treatment received by Indian settlers at the hands of the white population of New Zealand.'\textsuperscript{136} In response to further enquiries from J.H. Thomas, British Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, Bledisloe, as Governor-General of New Zealand gave a rather non-committal answer, assuring Thomas that the Government was aware of the White New Zealand League, but had only on very rare occasions been approached by the Indians complaining of unjust treatment.\textsuperscript{137} The restrictions, however, continued. Later when Lalbhai Patel, the President of the Auckland Indian Association, approached the Manager of the movie theatre he was informed that Indians were refused admittance because of untidy dress.

Lalbhai pointed out that at Saturday matinees potato-growers were allowed to enter wearing their working clothes.

\textsuperscript{135} Ints, Lalbhai Patel, Magan Ranchhod, Keshav Parsot, Dayal Kesry, B. Kernot, \textit{People of the Four Winds}, Auckland 1972, p.17.


\textsuperscript{137} Bledisloe to J.H. Thomas, 31 May 1933. On I+O 3122, 1922 L/E/7/1283, No. F. 436/32 - I+O (New Zealand memo was I.A. 1933/195/20, from J.A. Young for acting Prime Minister, Mr. Coates, to Governor General 30 May 1933).
A second service denied to Indians was haircutting, withdrawn when local Pukekohe barbers refused to cut their hair. 138 Thereafter Indians had to travel into Auckland to patronise their own barbers. Even in the fifties and later Indians, as well as Chinese and Maoris, were unwelcome at the Pukekohe barber shops, although European barbers elsewhere did not actually refuse their business. The unique racial composition at Pukekohe, with Europeans, Maoris, Chinese and Indians, meant that if Europeans allowed Asians into the privileged areas of the theatres or the barbers, then they would have to allow Maoris access as well. This, at least, was the rationale given to a Gujarati informant by the manager of the theatre. 139 Racial distance would therefore no longer be maintained, particularly in a situation where the Whites were usually employers and Blacks employees. A third 'race', the Asians, complicated matters by creating an ambiguity in which 'coloureds' were employers and demanded equal access to public amenities.

A prominent Gujarati market gardener at Pukekohe also noted that his countrymen found difficulty in renewing leases after they had cultivated land leased from Europeans. 140 Some Gujaratis were fortunate to purchase land early and consequently amass considerable economic power vis-à-vis other Gujarati and European growers. For most Indians, however, it proved extremely difficult to purchase

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139. Int, Keshav Parsot.

140. Ibid.
land due to the reluctance by Europeans to sell land except at high prices.

The unique race relations situation at Pukekohe was also reflected in the independent growers' organisations for each racial group of growers. (Europeans, Chinese and Indians). For many years the former, called the Franklin Growers' Association, would not allow Indians to become members. My informant claims that having been asked to be their Vice-President he had to be passed over when it was realised that he was not in fact eligible for membership! According to him the Franklin Growers' Association was eventually obliged to accept the support and financial backing of these successful Indians. At a more practical level the Asian growers' help was needed when the growers, threatened with low prices, were forced to unite and boycott the auction rooms. Non-Europeans could therefore join the European organisation and from 1957 were permitted to hold office.\textsuperscript{141}

Racial tension had always been present at Pukekohe and ready to flare up, as it did in the fifties.\textsuperscript{142} Such a resurgence was in fact world-wide which may lead some credence to the theory that racial tensions come and go in 'drifts'. There was, however, no direct relationship with an economic crisis as the fifties was a period of post war economic boom.

\textbf{Parvin renewed his agitation against}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{141} Kernot, p.5.
\item \textsuperscript{142} Ibid, notes that bitterness engendered by White New Zealand League lingered on at Pukekohe.
\end{itemize}
Indians at a meeting of the Pukekohe Borough Council in September 1950 by drawing attention to their buying up property in the district.

If this business of Indians continually buying up property continues, New Zealand, before long, will find itself in much the same position as Fiji is today, where the Indian community is more or less in control. Why, Indians are arriving in this country in increasing numbers. I am informed that 50% of the passengers by plane from Sydney are Indians. In Australia they are not allowed to land. What is good enough for Australia is good enough for us.143

Parvin's observations concerning the new arrivals were incorrect as noted by R.C. Hari, the President of the Pukekohe Indian Association,144 and a market gardener, and Keshav Parsot, also a grower.145 Most of the Indian arrivals were New Zealand residents or their dependents, returning after a visit to India. As in the twenties Parvin stressed the economic competition of Indians, drawing attention to their low standard of living and claiming that some of them could live on five shillings a week. 'The White man hasn't a hope with them.'146 The Mayor of Pukekohe, Mr. M.R. Grierson, dismissed Parvin's fears, suggesting that the matter was one for Parliament. Keshav Parsot also wrote to the Editor of the Franklin Times, denying Parvin's claims that an Indian could live on five shillings

143. FT, 25 September 1950.
144. Ibid, 2 October 1950.
146. FT, 25 September 1950.
a week. 'Being an Indian, I know that is "utter trash",' he wrote. Both Keshav and Lalbhai Patel have suggested that the main reason for Parvin's renewed 'venom' was that he had failed to secure assurances of a proposed maternity hospital for Pukekohe, and was using the 'Hindu scare' as a diversion.

Two years later, however, further agitation came from the Federated Farmers of Franklin, when a member noted at a meeting in August 1952 that considerable areas of land in the district had been acquired by Asiatics paying high prices. The usual references were made to the lower living standards of Asiatics, but this time with regard to their families and not just single men.

The whole market gardening industry in the Franklin County might ultimately be controlled by Asiatics unless the European grower chooses to live as a peasant to enable him to compete on an equal footing.

A call for the confiscation of the Asiatics' land and their repatriation by a Mr. Woolsey was greeted by a 'buzz of approval from the delegates'. Other allegations made by the growers were:

Certain practices, particularly by Indians, are regarded as being the thin end of the wedge. It


148. PT, 29 August 1952, NZH, 6 February 1952 also reported the growers concern.

149. NZH, Ibid.

150. NZH, 29 August 1952. I22/l/134, W.G.Metcalfe to Holbit /name unclear/, 2 January 1957 felt that no Indian should be allowed to hold freehold property in the future.
is alleged, e.g. that some Indians have made early-morning visits to European properties to entice Maori labour away. Sunday work by Asiatics is another complaint.151

The following year wrote to the Minister of Immigration, Mr. Sullivan, expressing concern at the Indian presence in the district.

They are as thick as flies in Pukekohe and they are getting control of all the good land and creeping into businesses in town, they breed like flies and in time to come will join up with the Maori and cause trouble. I put this up to Mr. Massey at a national party meeting in Pukekohe, could not get much satisfaction. 152

The hostility in the fifties at Pukekohe, while not widely supported, did nevertheless reflect attitudes that were still prevalent in sections of New Zealand society.

a member of the Wellington Club, also commented on the breeding habits of Indians, comparing them to rabbits, and referred to their 'clannishness', that is, their adherence to their culture.

Indians are quite unassimilable nationally and have no loyalty to their land of adoption. They cling together, quite understandably in sealed up coterie and take little or no part in national life, and for their habits, unpleasing personality and incivility are cordially disliked by most of their neighbours. 153

Criticisms of the unassimilability of Indians have been repeatedly made and indeed are still common in New Zealand.

An indication of the mixed feelings that developed

151. NZH, 6 February 1952.


153. Ibid, to Mr. Holland, 20 August 1953.
towards Asians, occurred a year after the outburst from the Federated Farmers in the fifties, when the Editor of the Franklin Times praised the effort of the local Indians when they opened Nehru Hall. The Mayor of Pukekohe noted that Parsot Naram and Jimmy Parsot had been resident there since 1924 and 'they as well as others of their countrymen had proved themselves good, industrious farmers'.

Objections to Asians based on moral grounds clearly suggest that antagonisms went deeper than economic fears or jealousy. We have discussed the latter expressions and also overt instances of discriminatory behaviour at Pukekohe up to the fifties. The following accounts will analyse the attitude towards Indians that were not articulated in narrowly economic terms..

As noted on page 589 one of the main criticisms of the White New Zealand League was of the huts and filthy conditions which the local Chinese and Indians were reported to occupy at Pukekohe. The Report of the 1929 Committee of Enquiry into the Employment of Maoris on Market Gardens noted the poor living conditions of the Asians in Pukekohe, which was perceived as a bad influence on their Maori employees,

the general health of such occupants as we saw was good, but the general environment and living conditions must of necessity have a degrading effect on the Maori race. The general standard nowadays set by the Maoris themselves in suburban areas is much higher than the standard set

154. FT, 19 August 1953. Also reported favourably in NZH, 17 August 1953, p.13.

155. FT, 19 August 1953.
by both Chinese and Hindu employers.\footnote{156} The Indians and Chinese denied that they considered these 'shacks' as permanent dwellings.\footnote{157} It was noted by the Mayor of Pukekohe at a Borough Council meeting on 18 January 1926 that he and those related to him had a camp of Maoris living near their residence in unpleasant conditions.\footnote{158} Indeed, the evidence submitted before the 1929 Committee revealed that equally unsanitary and make-shift accommodation was common on some European as well as Asian market gardens.\footnote{159} It should moreover be remembered that attention was also being focused on the White slums of Auckland during these years.\footnote{160}

Criticisms of Asian dwellings extended to a belief that Asians, and in particular Indians, were completely degraded and untrustworthy. The following statement by Pandion in the \textit{Franklin Times} claimed that since Indians had left India and presumably broken caste rules they were subsequently free from any moral restraint. This became a popular argument.

The Indians cannot escape the feeling that in a like amalgamation they are breaking the most sacred of their social traditions of their motherland. Now, when men consciously break

\begin{flushleft}
\footnote{156} A-J, 1929, G-11, p.3. \\
\footnote{157} See p.603. \\
\footnote{158} FT, 20 January 1926. \\
\footnote{159} Evidence, 1929. See Inspection of Pukekohe Gardens by Committee, 118A-118E. \\
\footnote{160} e.g. AS, LTE, 22 April 1926.
\end{flushleft}
social tradition they are apt to become loud and aggressive. And this is what is actually happening. The Chinese are quietly and unassuringly keeping to themselves and building up fortunes with which they look forward to retiring in comfort eventually in China. The Indians, on the other hand, swagger about earning when they feel like it, loafing when they don't, but in any case spending when they do earn. What blame to them? They are compelled by circumstances to offend against every caste every day, and what hope have they of a welcome in India if they should return there from this Dominion.161

Pandion also lamented the lack of higher castes in New Zealand. It did not matter that his 'first-hand knowledge' was completely impressionistic and misinformed. Indians, especially Gujaratis, did not violate their social traditions once they left India as the very act of migration was a means by which to enhance social conventions. These migrants did not 'loaf about' or spend as they earned money. By all accounts they were willing to attempt virtually any available occupation and certainly most saved as much as they could. The goal of retirement in their birth-place was by no means confined to the Chinese, as Pandion claimed, but was also held by Gujaratis.162 The last line of the above extract was completely misleading as the returned migrant in fact had a relatively high status and role to play in his home community. Along with Pandion's other arguments163 the moralistic ones were replicated by the Editor of the Franklin Times, as in his 18 December 1925 issue, when he

161. FT, 2 December 1925.
162. See p. 335 ff.
claimed that the Indian migrant was a 'pariah, outcast'.

Such conceptions of the morality of Asians easily related to the popular fears of heightened Asiatic sexuality. When he gave evidence before the 1929 Committee Mr. Miller explained at length the economic rivalries and lack of co-operation between Hindus and the local growers in regard to exporting onions. In the same statement he related their business scruples to immorality.

The Hindus have depreciated the value of my property so that I cannot sell it. Our children are not safe coming home from school. They have a long way to come and it is sometimes dark before they reach home. There has been one girl molested.164

This combination of economic and moral fears is similar to that which was constantly being pushed by the Returned Soldiers' Association. At their 1920 Annual Conference, for example, Hindus were perceived as having a serious effect on the businesses of many of those returned soldiers who had been aided by the Repatriation Department. It was equally feared that any mixture of the white and coloured races would lead to a degradation of the population.165 Six years later Asian market gardeners were accused of enticing Maori women into their employment and exploiting them both economically and sexually, while Asian fruitiers in the cities had been noted consorting with white women. When Parvin addressed a meeting in Wellington on 23 November 1926 he reported:

164. Evidence, 1929, p.86.
165. QM, vol 3, no 27, July 1920, p.73.
Asiatics were a grave menace to the general morality of the city of Wellington and he was also informed that dozens of young girls ranging in age from 16 years consorted with the undesirable Asiatic element.166

Such claims were undoubtedly exaggerated although according to a representative from the Chinese Association white girls did pester the fruiterers.167 In this case the group being accused of immorality had transferred the blame towards the women. One of the main fears of such liaisons was based on the popular theory of racial contamination and a need to preserve the 'purity of the race', both the Maori and White.168 This was eloquently expressed in an editorial in the Franklin Times.

The resulting mongrel offspring, unable to bear the burden of civilisation, will sink to a lower and still lower plane.169

A number of individuals and groups expressed a concern for the need to maintain racial purity. One such group was the Akarana Maori Association, an organisation of urban Maoris under the leadership of James Rukutai, a licensed Maori interpreter, and George Graham, a Pakeha solicitor. By 1927 they began to take an interest in the question of Maori girls employed on market-gardens. The following statement by Rukutai epitomises the rationale behind the Associations' opposition to intermarriage between Asians and Maoris.

166. FT, 15 November 1926.
167. AS, 4 May 1926.
168. White New Zealand League, booklet, Object 3, p.3.
169. FT, 18 January 1926.
It should not take place as far as we are concerned from physical point of view, moral or otherwise. I think it is detrimental to the interests of the national life of this country if that sort of thing is permitted. From a physical point of view the result of a union of that kind is obvious.170

The Association released various statements concerning these real or imagined liaisons.171 Following a conference between the Akarana Maori Association and the White New Zealand League, Parvin visited Wellington with the aim of approaching Government to investigate the living conditions of Indian gardeners at Pukekohe. 'The degradation of a section of Maori women and girls who associated with Asiatics is to be pointed out to the Government.'172 Support from the National Council of Women was also assured, when at a meeting with the Akarana Maori Association, Dr. Mildred Stacey declared: 'The Europeans are bound in every way to assist the Maoris in overcoming the Asiatic evil.'173 She personally favoured keeping the Chinese out of New Zealand. George Graham agreed. 'If Maori women are to become mere consorts of Chinese and Indians,' he said 'then the race will become a failure.'174

This popular concern was a factor which led to Sir Apirana Ngata's decision to appoint a Committee to investigate 'Conditions and Accommodation of Maoris Employed in

171. Sun, 17 June 1929.
172. Ibid, 19 July 1929.
173. See p. 604-5.
174. Sun, 26 July 1929.
European, Chinese and Asiatic Market Gardens in Auckland and Surrounding Districts' in 1929. While certain of the objects of the Enquiry concerned the numbers, payment, housing, health and sanitary conditions of Maoris on market gardens, others were to ascertain the numbers of female Maoris living with Asians. Its terms of reference also included: 'Whether it is in the interests of public morality that the employment of Maori girls and women by Chinese and Hindus should be permitted to take place.'

The evidence submitted of relations between Maoris and their employers was difficult to substantiate and the bulk of such accusations were directed at Chinese because few Indians employed Maori labour. The blame for such sexual 'overtures' was again placed on 'white girls and the Maori girls'. Disregarding the small numbers involved, the Committee endorsed fears of racial contamination.

The indiscriminate intermingling of the lower types of the races - i.e., Maoris, Chinese, and Hindus - will, in the opinion of the Committee, have an effect that must eventually cause deterioration not only in the family and national life of the Maori race, but also in the national life of this country, by the introduction of a hybrid race, the successful absorption of which is problematical. There is also a very real danger that in so far as the offspring of Chinese fathers are concerned such miscegenation may eventually result in the submergence of the Maori race similar to what has occurred in Hawaii. The intermingling of Maoris with the lower type of Chinese or Hindus, whether legally married or not, will have the effect of lowering the standard of living. The moral aspect is one that must also be taken into consideration...

175. The Sun reported decision, 15 August 1929.
176. Evidence, 1929, Committee.
present conditions, brought about by economic stress, and to some extent by the improvidence of the Maoris affected, the employment of Maori females by Chinese, who are deprived of the right to bring their own women into this country, and Hindus, and the indiscriminate intermingling of the sexes such as now obtains, must be viewed with alarm as tending to inevitably lead to immorality. 178

The moralistic stand against Asians perhaps points to deeper reasons for these outbreaks of racial tension. It seems unlikely that any universal hypothesis can be suggested to explain this, but in New Zealand, such xenophobia occurred after both of the World Wars. In both cases, particularly in the twenties, Asiatics were one of the scapegoats for the failures in post-war society. These failures were particularly rooted in economic problems, especially unemployment, a shortage of housing and uncertain agricultural prices. At the same time moral and ethical questions were being asked about the role of the Church, the family and (perhaps of most significance) the Empire. The members of these racial vigilante groups looked back to the time before Indians had settled in New Zealand when the Empire was still glorious and there was optimism about the society New Zealanders were striving towards. 179 It was also a time when New Zealand was perceived as White. The White Race League, also founded around 1926, stated as one of its' aims the preservation of the White Race, which was seen to be threatened by the 'military and economic invasions of the Eastern peoples'. It was simultaneously recognised that

178. Ibid, p.5.

'strong tendencies towards race extinction are making themselves felt within the race itself', such as disease and immorality.¹⁸⁰

Of course, it was not only Indians who were used as scapegoats in times of social and economic change.¹⁸¹ The following extracts do, however, illustrate how, because of their obvious differences, they could conveniently be used as scapegoats at certain periods in New Zealand's history. In 1926 the Franklin Times, reprinted a poem that had been written during the agitation for immigration legislation in 1921;

**The Alien Immigration**

In good old days that used to be
We sang a song at every spree
Britannia Always Rules the Waves
and Britons Never Shall be Slaves,
We did our trade with one another
and treated every Brit as brother.

But in these days of competition
We get a constant exhibition
Of how Zealandia rules the waves,
By letting in alot of slaves,
Who working hard and living mean,
Are coming in a constant stream.

These yellow dusky sons of Ham
Are not concerned the slightest dam
With fancy rules of arbitration,
And thought out scheme of legislation
Where every worker with his neighbour
Shall rest assured of decent labour.

¹⁸⁰. 'The White Race League', White Race Pamphlets No. 1, Wellington, 1926. Dr. T.F. MacDonald was the President.

¹⁸¹. H.D.M. Chan, p.33 notes that the cultural and demographic distinctiveness of the Chinese community in New Zealand contributed to its image as an out group threatening the host society. In recent years Pacific Islanders have been used as scapegoats for various social and economic problems in New Zealand.
And while we sing 'God Save the King'
And think we are the only thing,
The alien builds his habitation
By means of 'peaceful penetration'
And not withstanding scores of Diggers
The public buys its fruit from niggers
When no new circumstances later suit
The alien will not stop at fruit;
He'll try his 'peaceful penetration',
To change his colour of this nation
And when you find this thing come true
We'll have to look for pastures new.

Le Envoi.
Away with mad procrastination!
Don't ask for fancy legislation,
Nor ask for Parliamentary Bills
To settle with these hybrid ills,
Boycott the alien, close up the 'docks'
And let them know we want no 'knocks'.182

The Editor of the Franklin Times expressed the same concern about the deterioration of contemporary 'civilisation' and the 'rising tide of colour' in more eloquent terms.

The serious danger with which civilisation is threatened does not come from actual savages, or even those of a little plane, who may be called barbarians. The peril is from those dark-skinned races which have long ago put on a thin veneer of semi-civilisation, but have remained for centuries without rising any higher - are really constitutionally incapable of rising any higher. No better example of this class can be found than the Hindus... Mentally and morally incapable of real civilisation.183

The Indian Associations.

One of the most important effects of the hostility directed against Indians was the foundation of the Indian Associations. Through them Indians could effect a

182. Quoted in FT, 1 February 1926, by J.R., Papakura. Unfortunately the copy was unclear and although the New Zealand Observer, 1921 was checked I could not locate the original.

183. FT, 18 January 1926.
means of concerted action on matters of discrimination and immigration. These organisations also served cultural and religious purposes, which is the main role they discharge today. 184 A third important function of the associations was that they were a means by which individual Gujaratis could assume and develop leadership qualities. Most Gujaratis were reluctant to enter such roles in the host community, while from the side of the host community access to leadership positions was frequently denied either overtly or covertly.

Certain attributes were necessary to assume leadership within the Indian community in New Zealand. First, the individual would probably possess superior skills and status amongst his own community, although the latter was complicated by caste and other alignments. High status amongst Kolis was not necessarily reflected amongst Kanbis and vice versa. Included in the list of desirable leadership attributes in Gujarati communities in New Zealand were fluency and literacy in Gujarati; and being in an influential position, through patronage, in employment, sponsoring immigration, providing accommodation, money-lending and arranging marriages. A certain 'moral integrity' and willingness to listen to others was also necessary. As noted above, status was complicated by kin, village, jati

184. Palakshappa, p. 11, noted that the Waikato Indian Association focused much of its' attention on social and cultural activities, especially sports, although the original objectives of the Indian Association was to protest to the government about immigration restrictions.
and caste alignments, but the factors of linguistic and religious differences were significant when it came to status and leadership within the whole Indian community. It was therefore important that a leader could command a certain degree of respect not just from Gujaratis but also from Punjabis and any other Indian regional groups in New Zealand. Religious differences were also an important consideration, as Indians could be Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian.

An ability to represent the Indian community in New Zealand society was equally important. Skills such as English fluency and literacy, familiarity with legal procedures, a reasonably high status occupation and influence outside of the Indian community were all relevant. Because these men possessed such skills, a number of them married Pakeha or Maori women, which in turn enhanced their ability to communicate with non-Indians.

These two aspects of leadership, power and status within one's immediate community and the ability to relate to the wider society, assumed different degrees of significance with certain individuals. Some Gujarati leaders were not fluent in English but had a high degree of loyalty amongst their own group. Others excelled at representing the Indians' causes in New Zealand because of their educational and personal qualities. This skill, however

185. Indians from Fiji in New Zealand were frequently descended from ancestors originating from areas in India outside Gujarat and the Punjab. Dr. Satyanand a prominent leader in the AIA fell into such a category.
bore associated risks, As they became familiar with and skilful at manipulating various aspects of New Zealand society they became 'assimilated' and lost the more personal support of their countrymen.

Informants agree that the first Indian association began in Auckland around 1918. Chhotu Jivanji was one of the men responsible for its inception. According to Hira Bava, Chhotu spoke better English than the other Gujuratis, was well educated and was employed in a clerical position. All of these advantages contributed to his leadership abilities.\(^{186}\) He was well known amongst Indians as he performed various services for them, such as translating when they were required to take the oath of allegiance under the immigration laws. The discriminatory treatment he had received while working as a shipping clerk probably strengthened his decision to defend Indians' rights.

Another founder of the Auckland Indian Association, Parsottam Chhana, came from Kasba. It was not possible to obtain very much information concerning him, except that he ran a carrier business in Wellington.\(^{187}\) As we have seen self-employment was perceived by Gujuratis as a desirable characteristic.

A third Gujrati who played a prominent role in the early days of the association was Kanji Kevel.\(^{188}\) All oral

188. Ints, J.K. Natali, Ganesh Sukha; He was listed on A 1938/59, at 336 Sandringham Road, Auckland.
accounts suggest he was a high-status Kanbi, as he was referred to as a Patidar from near the city of Baroda. Wises Trade Directory lists a fruiterer called 'Kangi Kadl' living in Melvern Terrace in 1919 and 1920, who was presumably the same man. He also ran a successful fruit business in Sandringham Road and was able to sponsor Gujaratis to New Zealand to work in his shop.

Sadanand N. Mahraj, another founding member of the association, while not a Gujarati, nevertheless mixed with them. He came from Fiji and as a Brahman had high ritual status. Of more significance, however, was his family background as his father, Badri Mahraj, was a member of Parliament in India. Sadanand studied law at Auckland University in the twenties before he worked as a solicitor. These qualifications made him ideal as a leader of the Indians in New Zealand and he became the first president of the New Zealand Indian Central Association. Like many other Indian leaders he married a European but after her death he returned to Fiji where he later became a member of the Governor's Executive Council.  

I was unable to interview any of these founding members but J.K. Natali recalled that the Association was operating when he arrived at Auckland in 1920. He immediately played a prominent role in it and later in the

Central Association. His main qualification for leadership was his English education and he soon displayed a skill at representing the rights of Indians in New Zealand, India and elsewhere, to the New Zealand public. Examples include when he appeared before the Royal Licensing Commission in 1945 and the many letters he wrote to newspapers. In reply to a letter to the editor of the Auckland Star on criticising the demand for self-rule, Natali expressed his opinion in the following eloquent words.

The British...must be prepared to give India the same freedom as England, for whose liberty and protection India gave life and treasure at the most critical moment. All and every Britisher must realise that the Indian masses have awakened to a sense of their power and dignity, and there is no prophet today at whose bidding the sun will go back on his course.  

A further letter by Natali criticised the effects of British rule in India. This was in reply to a letter by W. Beamish and A. Morrison who considered India as unfit for Dominion status. When Natali wrote another letter on 4 August 1923 suggesting that alien rule helped to propagate and stimulate the communal tensions between Muslims

190. AS, 16 May 1922, p.7.

191. Natali dates this letter by Beamish and Morrison on 19 July 1922 but I could not trace it or Natali's reply in the two Auckland daily newspapers. Tiwari, op.cit. p.16 has therefore incorrectly attributed this reference to the AS. Natali wrote several letters on the subject of India's independence - e.g. Dominion, 3 January 1923 as President of New Zealand Indian Association, from New Plymouth. Another cutting, Natali's scrapbook, 30 December 1922 he justified the Indian National Congress in boycotting elections of provincial and other legislative councils.
and Hindus,\textsuperscript{192} he was strongly admonished by 'H.P.R.'.

His statement would cut no ice in India, but is in the worst of taste and gives offence when made in a country which gives him shelter and protection. To charge your host with being a cheat and a low intriguer is falling to a pretty low standard.\textsuperscript{193}

Natali was still defending India's right to independence, in letters he wrote to newspapers in the nineteen-forties.\textsuperscript{194} He also replied to criticisms of the caste system by claiming: 'These are nothing but a kind of trade union... more rigid than the modern trade unions the caste is slowly but surely breaking down.'\textsuperscript{195}

The conditions and pay under which indentured labourers worked in Fiji also drew comment from Mr. Natali in 1922 and 1923 when he debated in the newspapers with critics who noted the wealth which Indians were evidently taking from Fiji.\textsuperscript{196} These letters were the personal opinions of

\textsuperscript{192} AS, 4 August 1923, p.14.

\textsuperscript{193} AS, 11 August 1923, p.9. Natali replied to this letter AS, 16 August 1923, p.8. pointing out that every land has some religious strife and that Hindus and Muslims will live together as brothers.

\textsuperscript{194} 13 August 1943, LTE, 'India', signed 9 August 1943, Waimiha In reply to letter by Sgt. Pilot G. Sutherland In Natali's scrapbook. Not in AS or NZH. Also cutting June, 1946.

\textsuperscript{195} 13 August 1943, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{196} AS, 14 June 1922, p.12, by D.C. Fraser, reply by J.K. Natali AS 17 June 1922. 2 July 1922 'From the East', reply by J.K. Natali, 3 July 1922. Editor closed correspondence. Also, see, Taranaki Herald, 19 January 1923, J.K. Natali refers to extract from an Auckland newspaper. (from Natali's scrapbook).
Mr. Natali but they articulated the political attitudes held by most of the Indians in New Zealand. He also acted on behalf of the Indians in New Zealand on several occasions, both as their official leader and in an unofficial capacity. In 1922 he appealed on behalf of his countrymen to the Auckland City Council concerning discriminatory treatment at the public baths.\footnote{197} Issues in which he represented the Indian Association included the activities of the White New Zealand League, immigration, proposals to implement thumbprint registration for Indian fruiterers, sly gogging, and the issue of objecting to military conscription following World War II.

Natali was also a leader within his local community, particularly when he ran a general store at Waimiha from 1923 to 1946. This came both from being a locally influential businessman with financial interests in a number of concerns and from a willingness to take an interest in local issues. His role as a benefactor at Waimiha and his popularity with the local Maoris and Europeans is described on page 427. In later years he continued his interest in charities, as for example when he urged all Asiatics and rice-eating peoples to donate money towards famine relief in China.\footnote{198} His ability to relate his opinions and experiences as an Indian, was particularly important on the many occasions when he addressed gatherings, both

\footnote{197. AS, 22 July 1922. See p. 577.}

\footnote{198. NZH, date uncertain, from Natali's scrapbook, c 1954.}
officially and unofficially. On two trips he made overseas (the first with his family from 1946 to 1948 to India and England, and the second with the Maori All Blacks rugby team to Fiji in 1954), he wrote interesting reports for local newspapers in New Zealand.

Devjibhai Chhita Patel had similar attributes which enabled him to serve as President of the Auckland Indian Association for various terms throughout the nineteen-forties and fifties and from 1953 to 1954 as President of the Indian Central Association. Originally from the Kanbi village of Syod-Puni, he came to New Zealand in 1932 aged nineteen. Not only was he a successful businessman but he served as Vice-President of the Auckland Fruit and Vegetable Retailers' Association. When he left Auckland in 1959 he opened a general store at Parawera near Te Awamutu and like Mr. Natali became well known in the local community. His daughter's wedding was reported in detail in the local newspapers. When he retired from Parawera in 1972 he was given 'one of the biggest farewell functions

199. e.g. of unofficial abilities, when he addressed the meeting at the Taumarunui Rotary Club and outlined Congress Party and Muslim League, c 1946.


201. 16 January 1959, from Devjibhai Patel's scrapbook. Not NZH or AS.

the district has yet known'. Like Mr. Natali, he was noted for his generosity to community projects and local people 'emphasised how highly Mr. Devji and his family were respected'.

It was, however, under the presidency of Parbhubhai Kasanji Patel, a relative of Devji, that the Auckland Indian Association was incorporated in November 1938. The registered office of the Association was situated at the fruit business on Manukau Road which he shared with Naranji Dahya. Twenty-five of the thirty-three registered members were fruiterers. The other included two importers, two second-hand dealers and two hairdressers, and a carrier, a gardener and a tobacconist. The majority of these members were first-generation migrants. Kanbis were over-represented amongst the membership in proportion to their distribution in the total Gujarati population in New Zealand. Two Hajams and one 'Bawa' also signed this list.

Parbhubhai, like many of the Indian leaders, was well educated. He was one of the first to obtain his

203. Te Awamutu Courier, 1 December 1972.

204. A1938/59, 17 November 1938. List of members who made application for incorporation of AIA but this does not necessarily reflect the total membership.

205. Of the total number approximately 10 were second generation migrants.

206. Of those for whom castes were known: 5 Leva Kanbis, 2 Maha Kanbis, 8 Kolis, 2 Hajams and 1 'Bawa'.
Secondary School Certificate in his village of Bhuvasan. While he retained strong ties with his home where his family enjoyed a relatively high status, he nevertheless committed himself to settlement in New Zealand. His wife, Jamnaben, and son Thakor, joined him in 1941 and soon after the couple took over a store at Glen Eden in partnership with Naranji Dahya.

The second Indian Association was formed in Wellington in 1925. Prior to this there had been informal meetings of the immigrants at one another's houses, when they discussed mutual grievances and had religious gatherings. Dayal Vallabh claimed that the first such informal but slightly 'structured' meetings began in 1920. The association was founded with sixty-four members. Like the Auckland Indian Association the members paid two shillings and sixpence a month in membership fees and met at public meetings every Sunday, the only day free for most of them. The Wellington Indian Association's Jubilee publication reports:

Attendances at these meetings were quite enthusiastic and proportionately much greater when compared with attendances.

208. Entry Registers, permit 1940, arrived 7 February 1941.
209. WNZD, 1947 Store, 'Patel and Naranji'.
210. Ints, Golden Jubilee Booklet, W.I.A.
211. Int, Dayal Vallabh, Ravjibhai Hira.
212. Golden Jubilee Booklet, W.I.A.
The Wellington Indian Association became an incorporated society in 1944. The principal founder of the Wellington Indian Association was Ravjibhai Hira who was elected its first President. Unlike some of the other leaders he was not highly educated or fluent at speaking English. His occupational history during these years was also somewhat unsettled as he was engaged in a number of different collecting, labouring and hawking pursuits. This did, however, enable him to have wide contacts within the Indian community in Wellington. His relatively early arrival in New Zealand in 1914 meant that he was able to help others adjust to life in the new country.

The first Secretary of the Association was Vithaldas Nagindas. The only information I have concerning him was that he came from the village of Kadod. Ravjibhai, a Koli from Kardipore, was from a different background from Vithaldas who was a Kanbi. It seems that in the early years caste and village alignments did not play a highly significant role in determining leadership patterns, mainly because the Gujarati and Indian communities were so small. Informants have suggested that in later years these allegiances affected who was elected within the associations and who supported the leaders. A trend in this direction

214. W44/36, 11 October 1944.
216. See p. 299.
was apparent in the composition of the registered members of the Auckland Indian Association in 1939.

An analysis of the presidents and secretaries of the Wellington Indian Association indicates that members of all the principal Gujarati castes represented in the city served as leaders. Kolis however, dominated the Association up to the fifties which correlated with their numerical dominance in the Gujarati population of New Zealand.

Following, Ravjibhai, Chhiba Bhana, another early Koli migrant to New Zealand from Karadi, served as President. Chhibabhai had been employed at odd jobs such as hawking, although he did learn to speak and write English in New Zealand. The Secretary from 1925 to 1937 was Dayal Vallabh, a Matia-Kanbi from Pardi-Sarpore. While he was uneducated in English, he did acquire a partial fluency by attending classes in New Zealand. He was a partner in a fruit business with his two brothers and well known among the Gujaratis of Wellington. The third President of the Wellington Indian Association, Keshav Parshottam, was also a fruiterer and a Koli from Matwad. He spoke English and acted as an interpreter for other Gujaratis in court and with Customs officials. The next President was Keshav Fakir who was succeeded by Lala Kika. Lala was a Koli

217. Names from Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA. Personal details from interviews and immigration records. I used the W.I.A. because of the above list being available but I was not able to acquire details about all the individuals and it was not possible to place leaders in a fixed chronology.

218. Int, Dayal Vallabh. For 6 months in 1937 he was President of the WIA but returned to India.
from Kardipore and had worked as a bottle cleaner before opening a shop in Wellington in the nineteen-forties. 219

Following Lalabhai, Parbhu Chhiba briefly served a term as President of the Association in the forties. He was a Koli by caste and a fruiterer by occupation. His father was Chhiba Bhana, a former President of the Association. In later years it became common for sons of Indian leaders to follow their fathers as officers in the associations. 220

Lakhu Vasanji broke the caste pattern of the Wellington Indian Association, as he was a Leva Kanbi from Pisa. 221

Well educated in India, and a successful fruiterer, he had a high standing with the Indians in Wellington. Ganda Nager the next President, also enjoyed popularity. He was a Koli from Navsari but acquired a reputation for representing Indians' rights in New Zealand, especially when he organised the Wellington Indian Bottle Dealers and Waste Products Association in 1943. 222 Like many of the Indian leaders he married a European woman which enhanced his ability to communicate between the two cultures. His cousin, Lallu Morar, had previously served as secretary of the Wellington Indian Association. After Nager's death around 1949, Lala Bava, a Matia-Kanbi from Ganesh-Sisodra, became President. He, his two brothers and his father, were well known amongst

219. Int, Lala Kika.

220. Int, Parbhu Chhiba.

221. Int, Kanti Vasan. Shanti Parbhu, two of his children. Kanti served as President of the W.I.A.

222. No.43/36, Incorporated Society, National Archives. See p.
Gujaratis in Wellington, while Lala had also been involved in the Indian bottle collectors' organisation. Dullabh Madhav, who served as secretary around this period, was another Matai Kanbi from Ganesh-Sisodra. He had succeeded Baldev Singh Jhooti, the only non-Gujarati to serve as an officer in the Association.

It can be noted from this sketchy analysis of leaders in the Wellington Indian Association up to the fifties, that the importance of caste and village allegiances is debatable. Other factors, such as education, economic status and the ability to communicate with the wider society supplemented more traditional ties.

In 1926 the three branches at Auckland, Wellington and Taumarunui decided to amalgamate to form the New Zealand Indian Central Association. The Taumarunui branch had been constituted on 17 April 1926 and consisted predominately of Punjabis. The few Gujarati members were mostly employed at the Taumarunui brickworks. Within a few years this branch became known as the Country Section. The formation of the White New Zealand League and the antagonisms expressed towards Indians throughout the country were potent factors in the decision to form a national group. The consensus among Gujaratis and Punjabis was to present a more united front in their defence against the League. The first meeting of the Central Association was held at Taumarunui when an executive committee of thirteen members was

223. The following information is mainly from the President's Report, NZICA, Golden Jubilee Conference, April 1976 Wellington NZICA, Incorporated at Hamilton, 1927/28.
appointed. In the early days of the Association non-Gujaratis played a prominent role, men such as Sadanand Mahraj the first President, and Inder Singh Randhawa, a Sikh who became the General Secretary. He was a member of the Taumarunui branch which had five representatives on the Central executive, all of whom were Sikhs, Santa Singh, another delegate from the Auckland branch was also a Sikh. Both Punjabi and Gujarati informants have noted, however, that there was considerable interaction amongst the two regional groups, particularly when Gujaratis travelled and worked in rural areas. The other three representatives from Auckland were Morar Vallabh, Bhullabhai Morar and Dahya Ratanji. On the executive from Wellington was Ravjibhai Hira, the President of the Wellington Branch; Parsottam Chhana, formerly of the Auckland Indian Association; and Dayal Vallabh.

By 1935 - 1936 three other branches had been formed and had joined the Central Organisation. These were Pukekohe, Rotorua-Bay of Plenty and Christchurch. Keshav Parsot was the first Secretary of the Pukekohe Indian Association, when it convened at his house on Pukekohe Hill in 1935. He was well qualified for this position as he had been educated in New Zealand. Like the majority of the members of the Association he was a market-gardener at Pukekohe. The main factors uniting Indians in the

224. Int, Keshav Parsot.

area was their work as market-gardeners and the opposition and discrimination they had faced from white growers since they settled there. From 1918 to 1923 there had been a short-lived attempt to establish a Pukekohe Indians Growers' Association, but until the Pukekohe Indian Association was founded the men met at informal gatherings. By 1947 the Association was incorporated with seventeen registered members, who represented a cross-section of Gujarati castes. This indicated how they could achieve some unity when the conditions necessitated it.

Morar Kali, Wallabhb Bhana and 'Jack' Fakira Manak and Bhana Unka founded the Rotorua-Bay of Plenty Indian Association. According to Tiwari's record, Parbhu Vaga convened the first meeting in 1935 and became President from 1941 to 1944 and in 1946. As noted on page I was also informed that Parbhu Vaga had been instrumental in the foundation of the Auckland Indian Association when he owned a shop on Victoria Street. The leaders mentioned above were representative of their members, as most were Kolis and storekeepers around Te Puke and Rotorua. Tiwari, however, notes that the Punjabi family of Banta Singh also

226. Tiwari, p.57.
229. Int, Shivalal Masters.
230. Tiwari, pp.63, 84 fn. 43.
231. Caste of Parbhu Vaga unknown.
took an active part, so that it was not just a Gujarati institution. In particular, members of this Indian Association interacted with the local Maori communities in which they worked and lived. Again as noted elsewhere, leaders often married outside their Indian community. 'Jack' Manak another Punjabi, who served as President in 1945 and 1948 married a Maori woman.

The Christchurch Indian Association was founded in 1936. This was quite surprising as there were only approximately seventy-eight Indians in the Canterbury Province noted at the 1935 Census and eleven members when the Association was founded. The small numbers would, however, have induced a need to congregate at regular intervals for social contacts with fellow Gujaratis. In addition most were employed in the same business of bottle-collecting and hence faced similar problems. The first President, Vallabh Chhiba, from Sagra, was also one of the early Indians to settle in Christchurch before 1920. Sukha Kanji Patel became the first Secretary, and according to my informants was well educated. Most of the members were Kolis from Karadi, Matwad, Dandi, Kardipore and Tavdi, although as noted on page 201 there was one Gujarati Muslim family from Aarda who were involved in the Association. The Christchurch Indian Association had difficulty participating in

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232. Tiwari, p.63. See p. 83, fn 42-43, for full list of early settlers and members of Executive Committee.

233. Census, NZ, 1936. Informants were Natu Rama and father, Govind Lal Lu and father.
the affairs of the Central Association, but in 1945 the Annual Conference was held in their home town.

In 1945 the Manawatu-Hawkes Bay Indian Association was established covering towns such as Palmerston North, Feilding, Foxton, Levin, Masterton, Eketahuna, Pahiatua, Woodville, Dannevirke, Waipukurau and Napier. These are all towns mentioned on page 386 with reference to the growth of rural Indian greengroceries and stores in the thirties and forties.

In the same year the Waikato Indian Association was established to represent the needs of Indians resident in Hamilton, Matamata, Te Kuiti, Huntly, Te Awamutu, Otorohanga and the surrounding area. Khusal Parag was the first President and Esup Bhikoo acted as Secretary. Esup, who had been in New Zealand since the age of fourteen, was by the nineteen-forties operating a store at Huntly. He served as President of the Association from 1949 to 1951, and during this period was also the founding President of the New Zealand Muslim Association. Devjibhai Patel, a later President of the Waikato Indian Association from 1959 to 1962, had also served as a leader in other capacities. He was President of the Auckland Indian Association from 1941


235. Tiwari, p.65ff.

236. Tiwari, pp.67, 84, fn 44.

237. Int, Esup Bhikoo.
to 1942, and 1948 to 1953; 238 and Vice-President of the Auckland Fruit and Vegetable Retailers' Association. Well educated, he spoke fluent English and had a respected position as a storekeeper and fruiterer, both within his own ethnic group and the wider community. 239

The latest addition to the New Zealand Indian Central Association was the Taranaki Branch, founded in 1956. 240

Membership in any of these branches was open to Indians within their boundaries, provided the applicant was over the age of eighteen years and of 'good repute'. At first meetings were held when convenient, 241 but it soon became the established practice for the Central Association to hold an annual meeting every Easter, at which officers were elected and business discussed.

The New Zealand Indian Central Association was incorporated at Hamilton in 1927. The constitution clearly defined the objects under which the organisation had been founded. 242 Object 2 (d) embodies the following:

To watch and consider proposed changes in law relating to Indians and to make representations to the authorities in connection with the existing law and any such proposed changes and to take such other steps in relation there to as may be expedient.

This specified the Association's intention of acting as a

238. Tiwari, p. 82, fn 24, p. 84, fn 44.

239. See p. 243.

240. This strictly is out of the period under study. See Tiwari, pp. 68-69.


pressure group when it felt that laws affecting Indians might be implemented. Object (i) was: 'To seek the redress of wrongs affecting the Indians in New Zealand.' This allowed the Association to act in general cases of discrimination against Indians. It is noted before that the most immediate concern of the newly-instituted Central Organisation was to petition the Government about the White New Zealand League. It has always been a firm policy of the Central Association that it would only assume such a role in matters affecting all Indians. The organisation did not develop political aspirations nor did it seek to represent individuals, particularly in immigration cases.

In the latter instance responsibility was put on the families concerned to find members of the Indian Community and New Zealand public, either lay or professional, to work on their behalf. Regional Indian Associations similarly would only act as a pressure group when events would affect all its members and not just one of them.

The Auckland Indian Association took such a step in 1920 when Chhotu Jivanji, acting on their behalf, wrote to

243. This is discussed in detail on pp. 638-9.
244. Int, Ramji Hira.
245. See Imm. records.
246. WIA, draft of new constitution, Rules, 'To conserve and advance generally the interest and welfare and status of Indians resident in the Southern part of the North Island lying within sixty miles of the General Post Office Wellington'. The objects of the Auckland and Pukekohe Indian Associations were virtually identical to those of the Central's constitution. A - L.S. 1938/59 and A - L.S. 1947/40.
Massey to express his grievance that Indians would be included in the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act.\textsuperscript{247} He appealed to the government to show some consideration towards those who had left India under the old immigration regulations, and in particular the group of approximately one hundred and fifty who were stranded in Fiji.\textsuperscript{248} Chhotu also forwarded a copy of this diplomatically written letter to Polak of the Indians Overseas Association in London, who in turn supported it and passed it on to the Under Secretary of State for India.\textsuperscript{249} A further copy was eventually forwarded on to India. The New Zealand government did in fact permit those who had sailed under the previous regulations to land in New Zealand.

In Wellington, the local Indian Association found it necessary to act on behalf of its members when the Wellington City Council passed a by-law in 1927 requiring all Indian bottle collectors to wear arm-bands.\textsuperscript{250} The Association called a general meeting under the chairmanship of Mr. Anion, a retired magistrate, and under his leadership sent a delegation to the Council requesting it to withdraw the regulation. The by-law was amended so that a small bottle collectors' badge was placed on the coat instead of straps on coat sleeves. It has been noted on page 278 that in the years following World War 1 the Indian hawkers of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{247} L/E/7/1192, 1 +O 222, 10 December 1920.
\item \textsuperscript{248} See pp. 240-1.
\item \textsuperscript{249} 9 February 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{250} Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA.
\end{itemize}
Wellington employed a Mr. O'Leary to act on their behalf when the Wellington City Council imposed restrictions on their livelihood.

In the nineteen-fifties, however, the Wellington Indian Association again was forced to act as a pressure group when around 1956 the City Council refused to employ Indians on its buses. Such restrictions were, according to the Indian Association's Jubilee Booklet, on the grounds of colour. The Association approached the Council, with the result that it agreed to employ persons for their ability rather than their race.

As noted above, the Indian Associations could not intervene in individual immigration cases but when approximately fifteen of the sons of New Zealand residents were prevented from emigrating to New Zealand because of shipping delays during the Second World War the Central Association decided to take up the matter. First a deputation consisting of Ganda Nager (President), Baldev Singh Jhooti, Banta Singh and H. Dahya (Secretary), approached the Department of Customs and Walter Nash, the Minister in Charge of the Department. When this failed a petition was drafted under the direction of Denis McGrath, a Wellington solicitor, and by Robert Semple, Minister of Works. The petition was on behalf of those Indians would would have been lawfully eligible to enter New Zealand but because of war time delays were now prohibited on the grounds that they were either over twenty-one years or else their fathers had died

251. Typescript ms, NZICA, n.d.
during the war. A further plea was entered for those Indians who were permanent residents of New Zealand but had temporarily visited India before the outbreak of war. Although they were in possession of re-entry permits valid for ten years they had been prevented from returning within this period and had since been refused permission to re-enter New Zealand.

The Public Petitions M to Z Committee recommended that the Government give 'most favourable consideration in granting permits to a total of not more than fifteen in respect of the classes of persons mentioned in the petition'. The Customs Department, however, still declined to give special consideration to these cases.

It was considered that the main object of granting permits to Indian children was to enable them to be under paternal care during minority, and as Indians were apparently reluctant to bring their children here until they had reached working age, there was no great merit in the application and it was declined.

With regard to those children whose fathers had died, seven special cases were taken up by the Indian Government, on the understanding that the action should not be regarded as a precedent. One of these young men was born in 1925 and therefore reached the age of majority after the war. His father was a resident of Wellington for many years and originally applied for an entry permit for his son in 1935.


253. C33/253M, 'Immigration of Indians'.

254. Imm record.
Following the success of the Indian Government's requests, the son was permitted to emigrate to New Zealand in 1950. He subsequently served as an energetic officer of the Wellington Indian Association and the Central Association.\(^{255}\)

The Central Association again took a stand about existing immigration regulations when in 1955 Mr. Natali, the President, advocated a quota system for future Indian immigrants into New Zealand. His comments drew criticism from correspondents who suggested that the caste system prevented the Hindu from adopting the 'white man's way of life', and hoped that the error in Fiji would not be repeated.\(^{256}\) Other correspondents to the Auckland Star, such as N. MacKenzie, inquired as to whether Asian immigrants would be eligible for military conscription.\(^{257}\) 'Beware NZ' asked Mr. Natali why the present New Zealand Indians kept strictly to themselves and did not intermarry?\(^{258}\) In reply to these and other questions, Natali wrote a lengthy article stating that Asian immigrants should be compelled to join compulsory military training. He also criticised the caste system and suggested that the reluctance to inter-

\(^{255}\) Another special case was a Hajam who originally was granted a permit on 13 September 1940. It was cancelled as he was over 21 years, but he was subsequently permitted to permanently settle in New Zealand on 23 September 1950. (\(^{\text{Int., Hira Bava, Entry Registers/}}\)).

\(^{256}\) AS, 27 January 1955, p.4.

\(^{257}\) AS, 9 February 1955, p.6.

\(^{258}\) Ibid.
marry came from both sides, not just from Indians. His opinions may have been somewhat more extreme than some of the members of the Indian Association, but he did argue a case that most accepted. For example, Lalabhai Patel, a lawyer and president of the Auckland Indian Association in the fifties, and President of the Central Association in the sixties, told an adult education class in 1954 that Indians in New Zealand wanted a quota immigration system. He suggested that since about 1940 Indians 'had been mixing quite a bit' and that in the future assimilation would become easier.

Immigration was not the only issue that the Indian Association made representations to the government about. J.K. Natali acted on behalf of the Auckland Indian Association when in 1937 the Fruit Marketing Committee recommended that legislation be enacted providing for the identification of all Asiatics by means of thumb print records.

The difficulty will be in enforcing such measures owing to difficulties of language and identification, particularly the latter regarding which the only satisfactory method would be the thumb-print identification.

The Auckland Indian Association passed the following resolution at a meeting and telegraphed it to the acting Prime Minister, Peter Fraser,


This meeting of the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Indian Association views with grave concern the thumb prints recommendation made by the Fruit and Vegetable Committee for all Asiatics engaged in the fruit and vegetable trade. If put into operation, this unjust recommendation will be most humiliating to our nationals, and we have not the slightest doubt that the fair-minded legislators of this wonderful Dominion will not pay any serious attention to this un-British suggestion.  

Fraser replied to the Indian Association, stating, that no slight or reflection was intended towards New Zealand's Indian citizens, in the proposal of the Fruit Marketing Committee. He expressed his sympathy with the point of view of the Association, assuring them that the Government would consider the Association's representations and would 'not be party to any unjust discrimination against Indian citizens in New Zealand'. The New Zealand Indian Central Association later passed a similar resolution at its annual conference at Taumarunui, although there was no record of the Fruit Marketing Committee's recommendations being put into effect. In April 1945 Mr. Natali also made a submission before the Royal Licensing Commission on behalf of the New Zealand Indian Association. It had been alleged by various

262. News cutting, Natali's scrapbook, c. 1937: Probably AS or NZH.

263. Date of Conference uncertain - from Natali's scrapbook. Tiwari, p.17 says this was annual conference, 1942.

people such as the Commissioner of Police that Indians were obtaining liquor for Maoris in the King Country and selling it to them in pas and elsewhere. While it was acknowledged that most of the sly groggers were Europeans, it was also claimed that smaller numbers of Maoris, Hindus and Dalmatians operated in the business. A representative of the New Zealand Indian Association stated that as far as his Association could ascertain,

...there were not more than 10 Indians resident in Native pas (R.6529) and that during the last 5 years, 14 Indians had been convicted of the offence of supplying liquor to Maoris. The offences had been confined to Rotorua, Frankton, Te. Kuiti, Te Awamutu, Pukekohe, Hamilton and Kawhia. There was no record of any conviction in Wellington, Taranaki, or Hawke’s Bay Province or in the South Island.

There was also some evidence that Hindus were suspected at one time of supplying liquor to Maoris in Auckland.

Mr. Natali’s objection was to the Commissioner of Police’s suggestion that Indians be prohibited from taking liquor home from hotels. Mr. Natali noted the 'few selfish and misguided Indians' described above, but he claimed that 'There was more drunkenness and sly-grogging among Europeans than among Indians, and if the Indian disobeyed the laws of the land he stood to suffer the consequences... we are also very sensitive people and resentful to any discriminating laws against us...we will not agree to any laws that will lower our status.'

266. Natali’s letter, op.cit.
He also lodged an objection with Mr. Shepherd, the Under-Secretary of Native Affairs who recommended to the Commission that Hindus should be licensed if they wished to visit Maori pas. The discriminatory recommendations were not put into effect, although as noted on page 268 there were still problems in certain areas for Indians wanting to be served in hotels.

The second function of the Indian Associations in New Zealand was to serve as a means through which to preserve Indian culture. Because of the predominance of Gujaratis and Hindus this normally meant Gujarati culture and the Hindu religion. This applied to all branches except for the Taumarunui branch which later became the Country Section. As this branch was composed predominantly of Punjabis it reflected their culture and the Sikh religion. It is a common complaint among the non-Gujarati Indians who reside within the boundaries of the other branches that the Indian Association is a 'Gujarati Association'. In addition, few of the present generation of Gujarati Muslims participate in the Indian Associations although in the earlier years some of their fathers did.

268. Natali's letter, op.cit. He also objected to use of word Hindu and noted that correct word was Indian.


270. President's Report by J.K. Natali, 28-29 March 1959 Gandhi Hall, Auckland, quoted in Tiwari, p.21, commented on friction between Gujarati speaking and non-Gujarati members of Association, as business concluded in Gujarati or translated into Gujarati. See also Tiwari, p.28.
Religion is an important means of maintaining cultural identity amongst the Gujarati community. Ravjibhai Hira recalled that even before the establishment of the Wellington Indian Association small groups of men used to meet together regularly to pray and listen to readings from the Gita. A few months after the inauguration of the Wellington Indian Association a regular system of prayers and readings from the Gita were introduced to commence the Sunday meetings of the Association. By 1926 this had developed into a Gita Class held every Sunday. Similar meetings took place in Auckland and by 1935 a Gita Class was founded there. This lapsed until revived in 1964 by the Sanskara Kendra (Centre for Religious Instruction).

In addition to the readings there were occasional lectures or discussions on religious topics, devotional songs, aarti, and the offering of prasad. Whenever a visiting guru or swami visited New Zealand he or she would address the local Indian associations. An important aspect of these classes was to disseminate Hindu teachings to the younger generation growing up in New Zealand, a role which assumed greater importance in the years after World War II when there were more Gujarati families in the country.

A further function of the associations that also assumed greater significance in later years was the

271. Int, Ravjibhai Hira.
272. Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA.
274. Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA.
organisation and practice of Hindu religious festivals, such as Diwali, Navratri, Janmasthami, Ganesh Chaturthi, Sivaratri, Holi and Ramnavmi. These festivals had not normally been celebrated during the period in which the community was predominately male. In many of the festivals the ritual is performed by females, as for example in Sivaratri; while in others, such as Navratri, women perform the garba dance. Men can do this also, but it is not usual without the women.

Instead, in the earlier years, dates of political significance were remembered and celebrated. On 2 October Gandhi Jaganti or his birthday was always celebrated by the Indian Associations in New Zealand. The New Zealand Herald and the Auckland Star reported the celebrations held by the Auckland Indian Association in 1947, a year of particular significance as it was that of India's independence. Seventy-nine twists of cotton-wool soaked in ghee were burned beneath a portrait of the Mahatma in the Manchester Unity Hall before a gathering of about 150 Indians. India's Independence Day has been celebrated on 15 August 1947 onwards and it has been customary for Indian shopkeepers throughout New Zealand to close their shops for the day as a mark of respect. The decision to stop work on India's Independence Day was made at the 1947 meeting of the Central Association when the following resolution was

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This Association mourns the loss of their country-men who gave their lives for achieving Independence. It pays /sic/tribute and sympathises with dependents in the irreparable loss of these heroes.278

The Auckland and Wellington Indian Association celebrated India's first Independence Day by holding indoor meetings at which speeches were made by prominent members of the Indian community and others, such as a Chinese representative, at the Auckland gathering. There was also outdoor picnics accompanied by sporting activities.279 Similar celebrations and the closing of shops controlled by Indians took place on 26 January, from 1950 onwards, to celebrate the anniversary of the declaration of independence and the founding of the Republic of India.280 The January anniversary superseded the August date as one of more importance.281

The sudden death of Gandhi coincided with the annual general meeting of the New Zealand Indian Central Association held at Te Kuiti in January 1948.282 A tribute to the Mahatma's memory was held at a local Maori pa. The Association declared that 30 January would be a general holiday for its members and cables were sent to the Prime

278. Central ms, 1947, n.d.
279. AS, 12 August 1948, p.3. Golden Jubilee Booklet, WIA.
282. King Country Chronicle, 3 February 1948.
Minister of India expressing sorrow at Gandhi's untimely death.

These functions were important as serving as a means through which Indians could assert their identity in a country which did not encourage and indeed was frequently hostile to cultural diversity. To Gujaratis the celebrations associated with the Independence of India were important, for Gandhi was a Gujarati and local satyagraha had taken place in their home villages. As social occasions the celebrations organised by the Indian Association were particularly important. In later years when betrothals, marriages, housewarmings, birthdays, and other rites of passage became more common amongst Gujaratis in New Zealand, the larger social occasions were to assume a role of lessened significance.

In the earlier period one of the main reasons for the incorporation of the Wellington, Auckland and Pukekohe Indian Associations was to be able to accumulate, invest and save money towards the building of their own halls. The Auckland Indian Association stated in its constitution that one of its aims was 'To establish and build a Church' as it had already purchased a site on Victoria Street in 1937. Ten years later the Pukekohe Indian Association declared an object to be 'To acquire any property' for a

284. Tiwari, p.37.
Hall, and on Independence Day in 1953 Nehru Hall was opened. As with all the Indian Association halls, donations came from Indians in other parts of New Zealand as well as from the local Indian community.

The Auckland Indian Association, under the leadership of Devjibhai Patel, had by 1955 built Gandhi Hall. Most of the money for this was acquired from the profits from film evenings. In Wellington, the members of the Indian Association, began collecting money for a hall in 1950. The foundation stone for the Bharat Bhavan was laid by Ganda Nager in 1956 and it was officially opened in 1959 with Sir Walter Nash, a former Labour Prime Minister, as the chief guest.

The establishment of these halls reflected the growing pride Indians in New Zealand had in their own culture, while also asserting themselves as a visible organisation in the wider community. With a permanent building it became easier to hold regular Indian Association meetings, religious classes, and concerts, to celebrate festivals and establish Gujarati schools for the generation growing up in New Zealand. The buildings were also available for private functions, notably weddings, for both Indians and others. These sentiments were expressed in the newspaper coverage:

285. PIA, 8/9/47, Constitution, Object No. 2(h).
287. NZH, 31 August 1955.
289. Tiwari, p.44. Also Ints, Lala Bawa, Parbhu Naran et al.
of the opening of Nehru Hall in 1953,

Although Maori and Pakeha guests swelled the gathering, it was very much a family affair on Saturday. Emphasising the fact that they have elected to return cultural attributes of their old country while adapting themselves to the new, most of the speeches were given in two languages.

They had a series of common denominators—pride in achievement, an emphasis on the fact that the hall had been built for the whole community and not just for the Indian folk, the importance of becoming good citizens of their country of adoption as well as unofficial ambassadors of their country of ancestry, plus gratitude for being permitted to settle in a country of peace and plenty and live in unity with Maori and pakeha alike. 290

Further attempts to encourage a sense of cultural identity were also made through various short-lived ventures to establish a magazine for Indians in New Zealand. My information is somewhat sketchy concerning these attempts, but J.K. Natali was Editor of a magazine called Aryaday printed in New Zealand on a tin gelatine press. 291 It survived for only a few months in 1921 selling at one shilling and sixpence a copy or fifteen shillings annual subscription. Gujaratis in New Zealand also subscribed to Navjivan, the paper edited by Gandhi. 292 Another attempt was made by Parbhu Kasanji and Khusal Madhu to establish a cycolstyled magazine, Uday, from 1933 to 1935. Writing in Gujarati, the contributors discussed such issues as the Independence movement, why Indians should be united in New

290. NZH, 17 August 1953, p.13.
291. Int, J.K. Natali, Means 'Victory to Arya'.
292. Ibid.
Zealand, and sports. The main reason for the short
duration of this literature was probably economic as the
Indian community in New Zealand was too small to support a
magazine, particularly if it was written in the vernan-
cular. A later attempt in 1972 to promote the New Zealand
Indian Chronicle, printed in both Gujarati and English, was
also unsuccessful, as it lasted only two issues. It would
appear that the venture was over-ambitious and costs proved
too high.

An important function of the Indian Association was to
take action on matters of general welfare within the
community. This was stated in the rules of the Central
Association,

2. (a) To assist the common welfare of the Indians
in New Zealand...
(f) To promote the advancement of education
among Indians in New Zealand...
(g) To assist poor and needy Indians and their
dependents...

The constitutions of the branch associations contained
similar ideals. These were, however, directed at issues
of general concern and rarely did the associations intervene
in personal matters. Members feared that if it did it
promote factionalism. Moreover, it was customary for
individual welfare to be the responsibility of the family.
Many Indians were reluctant to resort to government or
church welfare agencies, so that the issue did not assume

293. Int, Ganesh Sukha; Tiwari, p.35.
294. NZICA, Old Constitution.
295. e.g. WIA, Old Constitution, Object (4)(g); PIA,
Constitution 2(a)(b)(f)(g); AIA, Constitution, 2(a)
(f),(h).
much importance within the Indian Association.

During and after the Second World War the Central Association overtook the distribution of rice which was rationed to the Indian community in New Zealand. There was some misunderstanding between the Pukekohe and Auckland branches over the profits derived from the rice distribution until at a meeting of the Central Association in 1947 it was decided that the whole profit would be donated towards the proposed building of Gandhi Hall by the Auckland Indian Association.297

At the same meeting it was also proposed that the Indian Association should sponsor a lawyer and a doctor from India. The latter suggestion was for 'the welfare and better treatment of Indian patients'.298 These resolutions demonstrate the language difficulties Indian clients and patients were experiencing when consulting European lawyers and doctors. The proposals were not followed up, however, as immigration restrictions would have prevented the entry of Indian professionals unrelated to the community in New Zealand. It was not in fact an enduring issue, for during the post-war years there was an increase in the number of Indian professionals in New Zealand. Unkabhai probably was more concerned with the welfare of Gujaratis, as there were no Gujarati doctors resident in the country by


297. 1947, ms.

298. Proposed by Unka Kanji, former President of NZICA. Other resolution was put forward by AIA, 1947, ms, nd.
A further means through which the cultural and political identity of Indians in New Zealand was maintained by the Indian Associations was through collections and the organisation of various funds pertinent to Indians. These were usually related to the Independence movement in India or famines in Asia. The associations also gave equal importance towards donations to New Zealand charities, indicating a commitment towards their new country and a desire to be seen as 'good citizens'.

The first record of such a collection was in 1925 when the Wellington Indian Association raised money to remit to India for a memorial in honour of the late Shri Chitranjan Das. Following World War II branches of the Indian Association collected money and sent milk powder to India as aid for the recent famines there. Ganda Nager, the President of the Central Association, called on members to support the 'Aid to Britain' campaign, but he also added that all Indians should endorse the Punjabi Refugees Relief Fund. A member of the Country Section commented to a reporter from the King Country Chronicle that 'To us a 'Rice for India' campaign is just as compelling as "Bullocks for Britain Campaign".'

Within New Zealand, in 1925, the Wellington Indian Association gave contributions to the Mount School to

300. 1947, m$ NZICA.
301. King Country Chronicle, 3 February 1948.
finance its' sports' activities. In 1927 monetary assistance was also given by the same organisation to the Home of Compassion—a Catholic institution. All of the Indian Associations over the years collected annual funds for various organisations in their regions and nationally.

The second major means through which Indian and Gujarati identity was maintained by the Indian Association was through sports. Until the twenties there was no organised recreational activity by Indians in New Zealand. Parbhu Naran recalled playing rugby with Maoris in timber camps in the Central North Island during this period. He also played tennis with them using wooden rackets. During the later years of the twenties groups of the younger Indians would congregate, particularly in Auckland and Wellington to play games of cricket and hockey. According to one informant, three or four of them would play in their back yards using the lids of banana cases as bats. This was invariably on a Sunday, as it was the only day on which there was some free time from work. In the thirties these developed into Indian sports clubs, such as the Indian Sports Association founded in Auckland by Khusal Madhu and a few other men. A second generation immigrant, Khusal had been partly educated in New Zealand and was keenly interested—

303. Int, Parbhu Naran.
304. Int, Dayal Kesry.
305. Int, Khusal Madhu.
ted in cricket and hockey.

At about the same time as the Indian Sports Club was founded in Auckland, a second one began in Wellington. It appears that both were greatly inspired by a recent tour of New Zealand by the All-India Hockey Team. Groups of Indians had begun casually playing hockey at Seatoun Park in Wellington, but with the establishment of a sporting club regular practices and games were held at the Hutt Trotting Park in Lower Hutt. Because this was some distance from Wellington many of the players would travel there on a fellow member's fruit truck. In fact, one informant claims that some of them were able to successfully combine the sports meetings in their fruit round! A Gujarati named Wallabhbhai Hira was elected as the first President of the club and a subscription of sixpence per week was set to cover the cost of hiring the ground at five shillings a week. An informant estimated that approximately thirty boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three took part. By 1937 or 1938 the first hockey team was formed in which Dayal Kesry was the captain. The team entered the Wellington tournament in the fourth grade. A cricket team was also established.

The Indian communities at Pukekohe and Christchurch

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308. Int, Ranchhod Rama.

309. Ibid.

310. Int, Dayal Kesry.
were also keen supporters of sports and later established their own clubs. The Pukekohe Hockey Club was originally founded in 1945 but did not start functioning on a regular basis until 1960.311 A year earlier the Christchurch Indian Sports Club had been established.312

Grimes reported that an informant, who was a founder member of the Auckland Indian Sports Club, claimed that the fathers of these young sportsmen disapproved of their activities, as it diverted their attention from their work. I did not, however, note this amongst my informants. Indeed the Indian sporting activities were encouraged by the associations and were an important aspect of Indian and Gujarati social activities in New Zealand. As sport on Sundays has only recently been adopted amongst Europeans in New Zealand the clubs played at first amongst one another. These were 'home and away' games, such as one ill-fated match between the Wellington Indian Sports Club and a group of Indians at Foxton, when they were flooded out.

Many of the Indian children who were educated in New Zealand were able to play cricket and hockey at school. This extra coaching greatly benefited the skills they later brought to the Indian Sports clubs, so that the clubs began to compete against Europeans.313 Regular sporting tournaments came to be an important means through which Indians in different parts of the country were able to meet

311. Tiwari, p.60.
313. Int, Khusal Madhu.
in a friendly if competitive atmosphere. Caste and village divisions could be put aside, although some informants have questioned the extent of this in later years, claiming that certain clubs were Koli-dominated. New Zealand was and is a country in which success at sports is very highly valued, perhaps more so than more intellectual or artistic achievements. The Gujaratis in New Zealand did not come from a part of India that emphasised the classical Indian traditions in art, music, literature or dancing, so they were not able to develop these as a means of ethnic identify in their new home. Instead they have emphasised sport, which enables them to feel pride in their 'Indianness' while also enhancing their acceptance by other New Zealanders. This is particularly so in more recent years with the success of many New Zealand Gujarati sportsmen in New Zealand national teams. I noticed that when Gujaratis were visiting their homes in India they would use sport as a means to establish their separate identity from Gujaratis in India and elsewhere. New Zealand is well known internationally for its sporting achievements and Gujaratis want to be recognised amongst their overseas community in this way too.

Following the Second World War the Indian Associations began to hire and screen films. These were obtained from a Fiji distributor by the Central Association and then circulated to the different branches, each of which was responsible for hiring a hall and organising the screening.

Profits went to the local associations but unfortunately it has always been a problem for the smaller branches to meet the costs. The screening of Indian films has always been a contentious issue amongst the different branches, possibly because of the expenses involved.

These movies proved very popular and although few were in Gujarati, most viewers could understand the Hindi dialogue. The picture shows served as a means for the Gujarati communities to socialize while they imparted some conception of Indian and Hindu culture to the younger generation, even if in a distorted version. When Gujarati women began to settle in New Zealand, outings to the movies were one of the ways they could mix with other Gujarati women.

Organisations for Indians in New Zealand therefore served many needs in addition to their earlier protective role, especially against the White New Zealand League. In particular they were a means through which individuals could become leaders and achieve status within their own community. Indian Associations were also an effective means through which other New Zealanders could communicate with Indians, most notably in sport.
CONCLUSION

Although a cliche, it is appropriate to note in this very brief conclusion that this thesis is only a beginning to the task of understanding Gujarati settlement in New Zealand. The largest omission remains data on the woman and family, largely as a result of the small numbers in this category who settled in New Zealand before 1945.

It was stated in the introduction that this study could not claim to examine or offer any major hypothesis, but that it is intended to highlight patterns and examine contributory factors. In the first two chapters the cultural and economic origins of the migrants are established. Early emigration from South Gujarat has been traced so that the migration to New Zealand can be perceived as part of an established practice and not as unusual. No definite answer has been given to the question as to why Gujaratis originating from a small nucleus of villages left Surat District at the turn of this century. It is, however, contended that economic factors alone are not a sufficient explanation. The role of status and cultural expectations is intermeshed with economic needs. Thus the final argument adopted to account for emigration proceeds on the following lines. Certain villages in Gujarat were well endowed and held high economic and cultural expectations. Various factors, particularly pressure on agricultural resources and a lack of land, induced certain men and in turn certain villages to emigrate, principally to areas of the British Empire such as South Africa. When restrictions were introduced in South Africa movement turned towards the South
Chapter III examines why, when and how, settlement took place in New Zealand. Its proximity to Fiji, already a destination popular in the 'migration stakes', was important. Of more significance probably were the relatively relaxed immigration regulations in New Zealand to 1920, and the perceived economic opportunities in this country.

Chapter IV offers a discussion of the men who made up the 'pioneer' society before the immigration regulations were implemented in 1920. We noted their youthfulness, the lack of females, a preference for settlement with fellow villagers in Auckland and Wellington, and an early tendency to enter mobile or self employed 'low status' occupations such as scrub-cutting, labouring, bottle-collecting, fruit and vegetable hawking and hotel-work. An attempt was made to re-establish the cultural patterns of the Gujaratis in New Zealand and assess cultural change in Gujarat. In the early years caste persisted but generally as an identity only. Indian religious practices were limited. Instead, almost all the pioneers saw retirement in Gujarat as the ultimate goal and had little time or motivation to cater for cultural or religious needs in New Zealand.

The last three chapters indicate how the early goals of the pioneers became diffused for a large proportion of the Gujaratis in New Zealand, as in the years after 1920 their families began to join them. In the twenties and thirties it had been mainly the sons who came to New Zealand. Superficially it would seem that as Gujaratis moved towards settled occupations and invested in property,
especially fruit businesses, the young men were brought to New Zealand only to provide additional labour. This view of Gujaratis in New Zealand as primarily concerned with material gain is a misinterpretation, particularly as during the years between the wars an identification with New Zealand developed. Most of the second-generation Gujaratis received some education in New Zealand, spoke almost fluent English, invested not only in New Zealand businesses but also in homes, and perhaps of greatest significance would almost all send for their wives to join them by the fifties. Simultaneously, there was an almost passionate identification with India because it was in the throes of the struggle for independence. Aspects of Gujarati culture were given a boost by the development of the Indian Associations and the arrival of the families. The sad sequel is that as the Gujaratis in New Zealand began to make a firm commitment to their new environment the white (and to a lesser extent Maori) New Zealanders did not welcome them. Indeed nasty incidents of 'anti-Asianism' broke out. This reached a climax with the White New Zealand League at Pukekohe in the mid-twenties, though as we have seen it was by no means absent in later years. Purely economic explanations seem inadequate. Racism or xenophobia appears to be more a correlate of broader social and economic change.

Some Gujaratis did not remain in what appeared as a hostile and cold society, but the majority either accepted this or were able to encounter more pleasant aspects. Otherwise 'respectable' Indians have been willing to evade the law in order to have their relatives join them in New
Zealand, a country which is still (although somewhat more cynically) referred to as a 'land of plenty'. The dream of retirement in a luxurious home in Gujarat was achieved by a number of the early pioneers but later generations have been content with visits to their village farms. Economic mobility has to some extent meant social mobility as families settled overseas are in high demand in the 'marriage stakes' in Gujarati villages. Indeed the marriage arrangements have replaced house-building as the primary indicator of family wealth and status in the village. Some things cannot be bought and a family of 'good character' or with well-educated children is still held in high esteem. The patterns of economic and social mobility are as much part of the post-1945 period and will need further examination.

The biggest of all changes has been the change in attitude on the part of other New Zealanders. Even during the period of this study I have been aware of a greater acceptance of the culture of New Zealand Gujaratis. At long last, an appreciation by other New Zealanders of the contribution Indians have made to New Zealand society is being openly expressed. The response has been, in my opinion, a greater readiness by Gujaratis to communicate these differences and a pride in retaining, indeed enriching, their own culture.
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KAKAHI, 29 August 1977.
Govind Bhana.
Manu and Kamu Lala.

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Gulabbhai V.S. Moral.

PUKEKOHE
Keshav Parsot, 11 February 1978.
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ROTORUA

TAUPO

WELLINGTON
Lala Bava, 10 December 1977.
Lalloo Morar, December 1977.
Parbhubhai Chhiba, 18 December 1977.
Ranchhod Rama and wife, 23 November 1977.

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Note: The number at the end denotes the field-trip.
Amrut and Babara Morar, Machhad, 2.
Arvin Balu Girdhar and uncle, Astan, 4.
Bhana Prema, Ganesh-Sisodra, 8.
Chemainbhai Govind, Matvad, 2.
Chhaganbhai Budhia, Karadi, 9.
Chhiba Ramji, Matvad, 2.
Chhotubhai Gokuldas Patel, Bhuvasan, 4.
Chhotubhai Patel, Karadi, 2.
Dayalbhai Dajibhai Patel and wife, Sagra, 6.
Dayalbhai Vallabh Patel, Pardi-Sarpore, 8.
Dilkush Divanjibhai, Karadi, 3.
Esup and Miriam Bhikoo, Manekpore, 10.
Ganda Hira, Bodali, 2.
Ganesh Sukha, Karadi, 2,8,9.
Ghelabbhai Kasanji Patel, Bhuvasan, 4.
Gopalbhai Sukha and Manchuben Patel and family, Kharwasa, 5.
Gosaibhai Naran Patel and family, Matvad, 3.
Govindji Dayalji Patel, Matvad, 3.
Hira, Jivan Bava and families, Ganesh-Sisodra, 8.
Jeram Govind, Karadi, 3.
Jivan Dahya, Pardi-Sarpore, 8.
Kuverji Samji Patel, Syod-Puni, 5.
Lala Ravla, Matvad, 2.
Maganbhai Ravji, Sagra, 6.
Maginbhai Morar and wife, Karadi, 9.
Motiram Patel, Baben, 4.
Nathoo family, Karadi, 3.
Parshott Parbhu, Bodali, 2.
Prabhoobhai Nana Patel, Onjal, 2,8,9.
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Prabhoubhai Chhiba Patel, Matvad, 3.
Rama Ranchhod, Machhad, 2.
Rambhai Patel, Sagra, 6.
Ramanbhai Patel, Astagam, 7.
Rameshbhai Patel, Karadi, 2,3.
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LONDON

Dansukh Patel; Gangaram Taylor; Gopalbhai Patel; Gosaibhai Naranbhai Patel; Hansraj Chauhan; Ishvardatt Patel; Keshalal B. Patel; Kishor B. Patel.

MANCHESTER

Bhanabhai Patel; Dahya Daji Patel; Dullabhbbhai Patel; Gita Mehta; Hasmukh Patel; Mrs Hassim; Kanti Joshi; Mr. Kapadia; Maganbhai and Ushaben Patel; Makan Ramji Patel; Parbhubhai Patel; K.C. Patel; Dr. Shah; T.C. Shah; Mr. Vithlani.
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## APPENDIX 1

**Area of selected villages and extent of uncultivable land.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Gross Area</th>
<th>Land not available for cultivation</th>
<th>Revision Survey</th>
<th>Land not available for cultivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acres</td>
<td>% to gross area</td>
<td>Gross Area</td>
<td>Acres % to gross area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalalpore</td>
<td>2951</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>2954</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taluka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodali</td>
<td>2537</td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>2536</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macchod</td>
<td>3357</td>
<td>2645</td>
<td>3358</td>
<td>916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>86</td>
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<td>127</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td>1285</td>
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<td>Onjal</td>
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<td>Bardoli</td>
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<td>Siker</td>
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<td>653</td>
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<td>Veraval</td>
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</table>

Source: RS, Jalalpore, 1900, appendix Q; RS, Bardoli, 1897, appendix Q; RS, Navsari, 1907, appendix X-A. These are selected villages from which emigration to NZ took place. Figures in parentheses are those of salt lands leased for reclamation. Gross area includes Inam.
### APPENDIX 2

**Prices of Food-grains in the Bombay Market.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Barley</th>
<th>Rice, Common</th>
<th>Jowari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
<td>3 14 0</td>
<td>1 12 0</td>
<td>4 9 1</td>
<td>1 12 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-82</td>
<td>3 10 5</td>
<td>2 0 6</td>
<td>5 1 9</td>
<td>1 13 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-83</td>
<td>4 3 6</td>
<td>2 7 0</td>
<td>4 12 0</td>
<td>2 1 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>4 3 10</td>
<td>2 4 3</td>
<td>5 5 0</td>
<td>2 4 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>3 7 3</td>
<td>1 15 11</td>
<td>5 5 4</td>
<td>2 7 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>4 2 0</td>
<td>2 0 0</td>
<td>5 4 0</td>
<td>2 5 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>4 10 1</td>
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<td>5 5 7</td>
<td>2 13 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>4 7 8</td>
<td>2 5 2</td>
<td>5 7 0</td>
<td>2 7 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>4 13 0</td>
<td>2 2 4</td>
<td>5 4 11</td>
<td>2 7 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>3 13 4</td>
<td>2 2 6</td>
<td>4 10 8</td>
<td>2 6 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>3 14 3</td>
<td>2 9 3</td>
<td>5 1 8</td>
<td>2 7 3</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Census, BP, 1891, p. 22, table no. 4.
APPENDIX 2 (contd).

Prices in seers (80 tolas) per rupee and monthly wages (at District Head-quarters).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year*</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Jåri</th>
<th>Jowari</th>
<th>Salt</th>
<th>Mason</th>
<th>Carpenter</th>
<th>Blacksmith</th>
<th>Able-bodied agricultural labourer</th>
<th>Servant or Housekeeper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
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<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>16-22</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>16-22</td>
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<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>16-22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>1867</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: BG, 1914, vol. 2, p. 10. This table is for Surat District.
APPENDIX 3

Emigration by falias in the village of Karadi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FALIAS</th>
<th>8. Nabhalia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Patel</td>
<td>9. Swaraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bala</td>
<td>10. Bata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chabba</td>
<td>11. Mandir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bala</td>
<td>12. Chhotra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shala</td>
<td>13. Harijanvas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Pani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Bus stop</td>
<td>G. Post Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. School</td>
<td>D. Shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ Sealed road</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a survey of separate habitations in Karadi.
The summary table provides an analysis of known countries of emigration by falia (or neighbourhood). The notes for each habitation give any other relevant details. This survey was in March 1979 and chief informants were Ganeshbhai Sukha, Chhaganbhai Budhia, Maginbhai Morar and the village Sarpanch.

Note that these maps are sketch maps only and not drawn to scale.
Summary table of countries of emigration from households in Karadi by *falia* and showing period (if available) for first migration only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Falia</th>
<th>Number of households and destination</th>
<th>No overseas migration</th>
<th>No data</th>
<th>Total relevant hhs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NZ Pre-1920</td>
<td>South Africa Pre-1920</td>
<td>East Africa Pre-1920</td>
<td>u/c No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1920-48</td>
<td>u/c</td>
<td>1920-48</td>
<td>u/c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bala</td>
<td>8 3 2</td>
<td>36 2 1</td>
<td>8 2</td>
<td>4 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhaba</td>
<td>9 2 1</td>
<td>33 1 33</td>
<td>3 3</td>
<td>9 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhalia</td>
<td>1 2 16</td>
<td>7 37</td>
<td>1 5 2 11</td>
<td>6 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pani</td>
<td>7 1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1 6 6 38</td>
<td>5 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabhania</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patel</td>
<td>7 12 1</td>
<td>2 19</td>
<td>3 16</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanjawad</td>
<td>6 1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3 6</td>
<td>2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bata</td>
<td>2 1 7 2</td>
<td>5 4</td>
<td>10 22 54</td>
<td>10 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandira</td>
<td>4 1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12 24</td>
<td>23 45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chhotra</td>
<td>1 1 3 15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12 7 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darja</td>
<td>1 17</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swara</td>
<td>7 4</td>
<td>23 1</td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td>6 12 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41 13 2 14 22 5 7 9 2</td>
<td>52 2 14 109 28</td>
<td>134 34</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: There is a slight discrepancy between the above table and the notes as some known emigrants were not able to be located to a specific dwelling but nevertheless are agreed to have originated from a specific *falia*. 

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Key to maps

M - chhana (mud)  • - culvert/bridge
B - bamboo  ● - well/community tap
C - brick + plaster  ££ - cattle shed/derelict hut
- two storey

Key to notes.

NZ - New Zealand  bro(s) - brother(s)
Eng - England  d'(s) - daughter(s)
E.Af - East Africa  G/son - grandson
S. Af - South Africa  d/law - daughter-in-law
Can - Canada  b/o - brother of
Chch - Christchurch  hh - household
Ak - Auckland  n/d - no data
Wn - Wellington  n/o - no one known
ret.Ind - retired in village, to be overseas.

Notes give (where known) principal owners of dwelling, main areas of emigration with the first country coming first. Date given where available. If emigrated to NZ, main city of settlement given. 'Marriage', means that emigration probably was post 1945 for marriage purposes. Where possible wives are noted if they emigrated overseas, especially to NZ. ? denotes uncertainty about data.
1A. Shop. Family - E. Af/Eng.

1B. Family from Patelfalia. Rana Soma - NZ, pre-1920, Chch. Son - NZ.

2A. Some - NZ. Gopal Sukha, NZ, c.1908-10, Chch. Son-NZ.
   Chhiba Dayal - Eng?


5. n/o.

6. 4-5 bros. One has son Eng/Canada.

7. 2 bros. One - Eng.

8. Very small house. n/d

10. 2 bros. Narsai Manga - Eng.
11. 2 bros. Lala Bhana - NZ, c. 1923, Ak. Son-NZ.
12. n/o.
13. 2 bros. One - NZ.
14. Manga Nathoo - NZ, 1919, c.Rotorua. 2 sons and families
NZ. Chhiba Dayal - NZ, 1914, died 1918, NZ.
15. Related to 14, 16.
17. Govind Soma - NZ, 1940s.
18. Vinod Jasmat - NZ, Ak, marriage.
20. n/o.
21. Simkla Lala - NZ, Ak, marriage.
27. Empty. (was shop).
Did not like it. Son - NZ.
30- 3 bros. One - Zambia? One - Eng? (sister in NZ aged
31. c.55 yrs).
32. Nana Makan - S.Af, c.1920-12/ret. India. Sons and d/laws
34. Unka Makan, (b/o 32). Son - S. Af.
35. Father - Ind. One son - NZ, marriage, one son - E. Af.
36. n/o. Broken down, bamboo huts.

37. d/law. 52. (Dhallafalia). Her husband born NZ.

38. One - Eng.


40. n/o.


42. 2 ds - NZ, marriage. Father - Bombay.

43. n/d.

44. gf/o. 42.

45. n/d.

Note: This is a poorer falia.
DHALLAFALIA

46. Cattlehouse.

47-8 2 bros. 1 - Eng. 1 - NZ, c.1930s.

49. 1 house, divided. Ravji Hira - NZ, c.1918. 2 sons - NZ. House built 1977.


51. s/o. 49. NZ - c.1940s, Wanganui.

52. Ranchhod Manga - NZ, 1920, Ak. Married Maori.

53-4 n/d.


57. n/o. Works Surat/Poona.
58-60 One family.

58. Son - Can.

59. Father - NZ, pre-1920. Son - NZ.

60. Chhiba Bhana Patel - NZ, 1913, Wn/Ak. No bros. 3 sons + families - NZ.


62. Ranchhod Parsot - NZ, pre-1920, Wn. 2 sons - NZ.

63. E.Af/ret.India.

64. E.Af?

65. n/o.


67. Rama Unka - NZ, 1939, Hamilton. Sons - NZ.

68. n/d.


71. Wallabhb Soma Moral - NZ, c.1915, New Plymouth. Wife + family - NZ.

72. Brahman priest.

73-5 n/o.

76. Bamboo huts. 1 man - NZ, marriage.

77. E.Af.

78-80 2 bros - Can.
81-3 Kanji, Daji, Fakir Chhiba + families - S.Af, early. 1 son - NZ.

84. Nana Chhiba - E.Af/Eng.

85-7 3 bros.

85-6 Families - S.Af, early.

87. Naran - Fiji, c.1918, (Tailoring)/ret.Ind. 2 sons - NZ.

88-9 3 bros - Ind, Bombay.


91. S.Af.

92. n/o.
93. Cattle house.

94. Chhiba Panchia. - Ind.

95. Son - Raman - NZ, 1949, Ak.

96. Bhana Panchia - NZ, pre-1920, Ak. Wife + 4 sons - NZ.

97-8 n/d.


100. Fiji/Eng.
101. Kanu Ramji - E.Af/Eng, c.1940s.

102-4 n/o.

105. n/o. Small contractor - Bombay. Recent house.

106. n/o. Bombay.

107-8 n/o.


110. Soma Kika + family - S.Af, early.

111. n/o.


113. Sons - Can.

114. Son - NZ, marriage.


116. n/d.


119. n/o.

120-1 2 bros. both - Eng, marriage, recent.

122. 2 bros and sons - Kenya.

123. n/o.


126. Bhana Govind. n/o. India - Bokoa fertiliser.

128. Son and d - Eng, marriage.
133. Lead craftsman. Elder bro. died on boat - E.Af. W.War II.
135. 2 bros. Eldest - Dhansada chemical works, India. Youngest and family - Eng.
139. n/o. New house.
140. n/o. New house.
142. n/o.
144. n/o. Lala Budhi and sons - Jamsatpir - Tata Iron and Steelworks, electrician.
145. son - Middle East.
146. n/o. Dayal Lala - Dhangsnadhar Chemical Works.
147. n/o.
149. b/o. 148 - Sudan, craftsman.
150. 5 bros + families - S.Af, early younger bro's son - S.Af/NZ.

151. Daji Manga, NZ, pre-1920, Chch. Sons - India.

152. n/o.


154. 2 families. Sons + d's - Eng.


159-60 - big, modern house.

161. Unka Bhana - NZ, pre-1920, Wanganui. 2 sons - NZ.


163-4 n/o.


166. Bhana Govind - NZ, pre.1920, Chch. Sons + D's - NZ.


169-73 n/o. 2 - Bombay.


VANIAWAD

Jewellers + dressmakers formerly lived there. Early emigrants got loans from them. Business declined, Vanias left. Sold out to Kolis in recent years. All houses concrete. Many have fences, courtyards or 2 storied.

176. Flour mill.
177. Darji. Rented from Gandhi (Ganchi) - 1 son - Eng.
179. Shops rented to Gandhi.
181. Hajam rents shop. Owner - Eng?
182. Soma Daji - NZ, c.1915. Son - NZ.
183. Eng.
184. n/o.
186-8 n/o.

194. Unka Morar - NZ, pre-1920, Ak. Family - NZ.
199. S.Af.
200. n/o.
201. Relatives - NZ.
202. n/d.
203. S.Af.
204. Eng.

205. 2 houses. Budhia Manga - NZ, pre-1920. Sons - NZ.

206. n/d.

207. House built by 197.

208. n/o.

209. Owned by man from Onjal - overseas.

210. Darji.

211. n/d.

212. Son - Eng.


Note: in map the following houses are not recorded 191, 199, 200, 206-211.
214. n/o.


216. n/o.

217. 2 sons - Eng, recent, marriage.

218. n/o.

219. n/o. Tailor.


221. n/o.

222. Son - Burma, c.45 years old.

225. s/o 224 - Eng.
226. n/o. 3 families.
228. Son - Eng, marriage.
230. n/o.
231. n/o.
232. n/o.
233. n/o.
234. d - NZ, c.1976, marriage.
236. n/o.
237. Chhiba Morar and family (except wife) - E.Af/Eng.
238. Family - Kenya/Eng.
239. Parbhu Pancha and family - Fiji. Son - NZ.
240. n/o. Empty.
241. n/o. Empty.
242. n/o.
244. Shop.
245. f/o. 244. Rented.
246. Rama Kanji - NZ, pre-1920, Ak. Wife, son - NZ.
248. n/o. Khadi worker with Dilkish Divaryibhai.
249. Son - NZ, Ak. House divided in two.
251. n/o.


252-3 = one big house, divided. Built 1936.

254. n/o.

255. n/o.

Note: Most houses in Batafalia and Mandifalia are kachha
with tiled roofs, some bamboo huts. Paths not very well
maintained. Not very affluent falias.
256. n/o.

257-9. 3 bros. 257 - Libya, one year contract. 258 - Dharampur, India. 259 - Bombay.


261. 3 houses. Dharampur, India.


263. 4 bros - Eng. (One - Kenya/Eng).


266-7. n/o.


270. Kaka of 269.


272-3. n/o.


275. Ramji and Govind Lala and families - S.Af.

276. 2 sons - Eng, marriage.


278. n/o.


281. Son - Eng.


283. 2 sons and families - Kenya/Eng.

284-7. n/o.

288. 2 sons - Can.

289. n/o.


291-2. n/o.


294. n/o.

295. 3 bros. Govind Wallabh and family - S.Af. (2 doors locked up).


297. Family - S.Af, early.

298-301. n/o.
302. 3 bros. 1 son - Eng, marriage.


306-7. n/o.

309. n/o.


312. 3 bros. One - Eng.

313. 3 bros. One - Eng, 1975.

314. Empty, n/d.


316. Unka Chhiba - Eng.


318. n/o.

320. n/o.

321. n/o.

322. n/o.

323. n/o.


325. Young man - Eng.


327. Empty, n/d.

328. Rented, n/d.


331. Muslim barber and son - Eng.

332. n/d.


334. n/o.

335. Blacksmith. Uncle's son - Durban.
All houses chhana and bamboo. Men all in Bombay, only women and children in village. Initially worked as peons for the British. All houses have separate taps and electricity.
345. - n/o.
346. - Sukha Puna - NZ, 1920, Otahuhu. Wife and family - NZ.
347. - b/o 346. Ind.
348 - 351. - n/o.
Swarajpalia

352. 4 sons. One - Bombay. 3 - USA, post-1972.


355. n/o.


357. Son - Can, c.1972.

358. n/o.

359. (3 houses (4 bros. One son - Can.


361. 1 son - India.


363. 3 sons of 360-1.

364. 2 sons. 1 - Kenya/Eng.

365. n/o.

366. Sukha Gosai - NZ, c.1914. Son - NZ.


368. Parbhu Sukha - NZ, 1925, Ak. Wife and sons - NZ.


370. n/o.

371. Son - Eng, marriage.

372. Son and d - Eng.


375. Bhana Jasmat - NZ, c.1920, all over NZ. Bro - NZ. Big two storied house.

376. Bala Dhalia - NZ, 1920, Ak. No Bros. 2 sons - NZ.

377. House belongs to man in Bombay, (originally from another falia).


382. Sukha and Budhia Gopal - NZ, c.1920, Ak. Budhia's wife - NZ/ret.India. Son - NZ.

383. n/o.

384. n/o. Fisherman.


386. Fakir Chhiba - NZ, c.1918, Chch/ret.India, c.1950. Sons - NZ 'Bhana Bros'.

387. n/o. Sarpanch.

388. Cattle stable.


392-3. 3 bros. Soma and Nana Pema - S.Af, very early. 1 bro. - India.


394. Dayal Nana's house.

395. New house being built by g/sons of 393.

396. n/o.

397. n/o.


399. Ramesh Patel, NZ, 1940, Ak. Wife and d's - NZ.

400. Vallabh and Dayal Fakir - Kenya/Eng.
SHALAFALIA

A. Gandhi memorial  F. Primary school
B. House (caretaker)  H. Shop
C. Kindergarten (old)  K. Post Office
D. Kindergarten (new)  L. School (secondary)
E. Games room  M. Bus stop
               N. House
**APPENDIX 4**

Religious professions of Indians at each census, 1916-45, according to sex and distinguishing full-bloods and mixed-blood.

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<td>10</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>138</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>599</td>
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</table>

Source: Census, NZ, 1916-45, Race Aliens - Religious Professions. The 1921 figures for Sikhs taken from Religious Professions and do not distinguish full-blood from mixed blood. It is unlikely that many Sikhs were of mixed-blood. These figures are included in Totals2.
APPLICATION FOR A PERMIT TO ENTER NEW ZEALAND.

(Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1920.)

To the Honourable the Minister of Customs,
Wellington, New Zealand.

I, 

of 

do hereby make this application to enter New Zealand accompanied by my wife, family, servants, and employees, and in support of the same submit the following particulars concerning myself and my wife, family, servants, and employees.

(a) Full name:

(b) Nationality:

(c) Place of birth and nationality of parents—

(l) Father:

(Place of birth.)

(Sta.tionary.)

(2) Mother:

(Place of birth.)

(Sta.tionary.)

(d) Last place of permanent residence:

(e) I was born at 

on the 

of , 

(f) I am

(g) If married, full name and age of wife, and full names and ages and states of children; also full names, age, and sexes of servants or employees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Name</th>
<th>Male/Female</th>
<th>Wife/Child</th>
<th>Servant/Employee</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(h) Occupation or business proposed to be undertaken in New Zealand, or purpose in coming to New Zealand:

(i) The amount of money in English currency which I undertake to bring to New Zealand:

(j) Condition of mental and physical health of myself:

Mental health:

Physical health:

Height: 

foot

inches

Weight:

pounds

Chest measurements: Full inspiration: 

inches

Expiration: 

inches

* Condition of mental and physical health of the other persons to accompany me:

Name of Person:

Mental Health:

Physical Health:

* Supported by a certificate from a qualified medical practitioner.

(k) Name of (a) a European language in which I am able to read and write fluently:

or (b) any other language in which I am able to read and write fluently:

(l) Intended place of future permanent residence in New Zealand (if known):

(m) That I am a person of good character and reputation, and that I have never been in prison or the recipient of charitable aid or in a mental hospital, and that I am not a disaffected or dangerous person or one who advocates the overthrow by force or violence of constitutional Government.

(Supported by a certificate from a police officer or other public official.)

(n) Address and full name of any relatives in New Zealand:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(o) That I am prepared to swear or affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty the King.

(Photographs taken in enclosed.)

Signature of Applicant:

Dated at this day of 

[BRITISH SUBJECT]
Norm.—(1.) The applicant must forward along with his application two unmounted half-length recent photographs of himself or herself, not to exceed in size 4½ in. by 3½ in. and to be not less than 3 in. by 2 in.

(2.) This application must be filled up in the English language.

(3.) If the applicant intends to remain only temporarily in New Zealand, it will not be necessary to fill in particulars under (c), (d), (e), and (f), but he must state the length of time during which he desires to stay. Unless for extraordinary reasons temporary permits will be granted only for six months.

(4.) This application must be sent by post from the country where the applicant was born, or where he has resided for one year prior to the date of application.

Brought from Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1920.

10. Every person commits an offence against this Part of this Act who makes any false statement or representation for the purpose of obtaining a permit to enter New Zealand and who obtains such permit and enters New Zealand in accordance thereby.

11. Every person who commits an offence against this Part of this Act is liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for one year or to a fine of one hundred pounds, and may be deported from New Zealand.

12. A person who is required by this Part of this Act to obtain a permit to enter New Zealand and who is not at the time of the arrival in New Zealand of the ship in which he travels in possession of a permit in the prescribed form shall be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant for all the purposes of Part II of the principal Act, and all the provisions of that Part shall accordingly apply in respect of such person, and in respect of the ship in which he travels and the master and owners thereof, and in respect of the persons defined in section twenty-five of the principal Act.
### APPENDIX 6

Number of permits issued and utilised for male Gujaratis and non-Gujaratis (sons) in New Zealand, for permits issued 1921-45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gujaratis</th>
<th>Non-Gujaratis</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<th>Non-Gujaratis</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
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</table>

Source: Entry Registers. The above figures do not include temporary permits. Arrivals on permits go up to 1951, although permits issued after 1945 are not included.
### Appendix 7

**Provincial distribution of full-blood Indians in New Zealand, 1916-45, according to sex.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provincial District</th>
<th>Auckland Bay</th>
<th>Hawkes Bay</th>
<th>Taranaki</th>
<th>Wellington</th>
<th>Marlborough</th>
<th>Nelson</th>
<th>Westland</th>
<th>Canterbury</th>
<th>Otago</th>
<th>Southland</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>5.16</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* 1916, includes 1 male in military and internment camp.

### Appendix 7

**Provincial distribution of Hindus in New Zealand, 1936-45, according to sex.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provincial District</th>
<th>Auckland</th>
<th>Hawkes Bay</th>
<th>Taranaki</th>
<th>Wellington</th>
<th>Canterbury</th>
<th>Otago</th>
<th>Southland</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>64.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>36.0</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>14</td>
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</table>

**Source:** Census, NZ, 1936-45 'Religious Professions', Provincial Distribution.

*Hindus may be considered as mostly Gujaratis.*
KEEP NEW ZEALAND WHITE!

OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE

1. The exclusion of Asiatics from New Zealand.

2. To secure, protect and preserve our heritage of a White New Zealand for our children, and our children's children.

3. To maintain the purity of the Maori and the White Race and to preserve them from Asiatic contamination.

4. To procure provision by Statute to make leasing, letting or sale of land to Asiatics now resident in the Dominion subject to the approval of Local Bodies.

5. To enlist the aid of Local Bodies and Municipalities to enforce the Public Health Act and compel the erection of suitable habitation and sanitary conveniences under the provisions of such Act.

6. To secure legislation to bring Asiatics more rigidly under the provision of the Shop Assistants' Act and Amendments thereto, and giving particular attention to supposed partnerships and compel same to be validated.

7. To secure contribution by way of taxation for Defence purpose in lieu of personal service from which Asiatics are at present exempt.

8. To bring pressure to bear by constitutional means upon the responsible authorities to secure the consummation of the objects of the League.

9. To co-operate with any other organisation having similar objects and to procure from and to communicate to such organisations such information as may be likely to promote the objects of the League.

Source: White New Zealand League, booklet, 1926.
APPENDIX 9

RULES

OF

THE NEW ZEALAND INDIAN CENTRAL ASSOCIATION INCORPORATED

NAME

1. The Association shall be called THE NEW ZEALAND INDIAN CENTRAL ASSOCIATION INCORPORATED.

OBJECTS

2. The objects of the Association are:-
(a) To assist the common welfare of the Indians in N.Z., to assist all Indians permanently resident in N.Z. to become good citizens of the country of their adoption and to educate them in their responsibilities as N.Z. citizens.
(b) To uphold the dignity and prestige of India in N.Z. and to promote better feeling between Indians and other citizens in N.Z.
(c) To afford a means of reference and communication between Indians in N.Z. and in other parts of the world.
(d) To watch and consider proposed changes in law relating to Indians and to make representations to the authorities in connection with the existing law and any such proposed changes and to take such other steps in relation thereto as may be expedient.
(e) To establish and maintain Branches throughout N.Z. and to formulate their procedure and policies.
(f) To promote the advancement of education among Indians in N.Z.
(g) To assist poor and needy Indians and their dependents.
(h) To establish, maintain and conduct clubs or club rooms for the accommodation of members and their friends and to provide generally to members all the usual privileges, advantages, conveniences and accommodation of a club and to provide such entertainments as may be decided from time to time.
(i) To seek the redress of wrongs affecting the Indians in N.Z.
(j) To use the funds of the Association for furthering any of the objects of the Association.
(k) To acquire and hold personal and real property.
(l) To borrow money as hereinafter provided.
(m) To undertake and do all such things as are incidental or conductive to the attainment of the above objects.

Source: Constitution of NZICA.
FIGURE 1.

Annual Rainfall, Surat District, Bardoli and Jalalpore Taluka, 1891-1911


Key:
- Bardoli taluka
- Jalalpore taluka
- Surat District
FIGURE 2

Percentage of gross cultivated area in South Gujarat under main crops, 1921.

Source: Census, Baroda, 1921, P. 62.
FIGURE 3
Arrivals of Indians into New Zealand, 1897-1921

Source: C33/253M. Both temporary and permanent arrivals are included.

Key: --- males
----- females
FIGURE 4
Principal Occupations of Indians in New Zealand, 1916-1945

A - 1916-1921, Full-bloods only

Key: ■-1916 ■-1921

Note: This figure differs from table 27 due to differences in categorisation.

B - 1926-1945

Key: ■-1926 ■-1936 ■-1945

Note: From the 1926 census occupations of mixed-blood Indians were not available.
FIGURE 5

Indian and Gujarati arrivals into New Zealand, intending permanent residence, 1922-1945.
Males only.

Source: Migration Statistics, 1922-45; Entry Registers, 1921-45.

Key: — Gujaratis only (Entry Registers)
----- Indians (Migration Statistics)

Note: It seems probable that many of the arrivals did not stay in New Zealand although they were recorded on the Migration Statistics as intending permanent residence. They did not show up on the Entry Registers as having applied for or being granted a permit to reside in New Zealand.
FIGURE 6

Indian and Gujarati arrivals into New Zealand, intending permanent residence, 1922-1945.

Females only.


Key:  —— Gujaratis only (Entry Registers)

-------- Indians (Migration Statistics)
akulia - 'men of no family'.


bagayat - good quality soil for sugarcane.

bajri - a small millet.

bania/vania - merchant/trading caste.

bhaghatai/bhagdari villages - held in shares with manager.

bhajans - a devotional song.

bhakti - devotion. A term employed by those schools of Hinduism advocating the worship of a personal deity by prayer and praise.

bigha - standard bigha equals five-eighths of an acre. The kacca bigha (rough bigha) varies from a fourth to a third of an acre.

cudo - bride's bangles.

Darji - caste, traditionally of tailors.

dehra - memorials to the dead.

devite - family goddess.

dewar/diwar - light.

Dhobi - caste, traditionally of washermen.

dukandar - shopkeeper. (South Africa).

falia - neighbourhood (ward) of a village.

gorat - deep, fertile soil.

guru - spiritual guide/teacher.

Hajam - caste, traditionally hairdressers/barbers.

halal - to kill (an animal) in the manner prescribed by Muslim law. 'Lawful food'.

Hali - Indentured servants and labourers of South Gujarat. See pp. 67.

Harijan - 'Children of God'. - Gandhi's name for untouchables.
In'am - A gift or reward. In this thesis refers to land held rent-free and in hereditary and perpetual occupation.

jagmani [system] - hereditary personal relationships to express division of labour.

jahaji - fellow travellers.

jarayat - garden soil.

jat(i) - 'sub-caste(s)'.

juwar (jowar) - a millet.

Kacca (Kakka) - 'rough' or ordinary.

Kachedo - traditional dress worn by women in South Gujarat.

Kachhia - caste of mainly vegetable growers and sellers.
      See pp. 88-9.

Kadwa - sub-division of Kanbis.

Kaliparaj - dark-skinned people.

Kanbi - a caste of cultivators in Gujarat. See pp. 71 ff.

Kanya-dan - jewellery given by groom's parents to bride.

Khadi - hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

Khalpa - caste, traditionally of tanners. See pp. 95-7.

Kharif - 'wet' crops.

Khatedar - registered landowner.

Khatri - caste, traditionally of weavers. Today many are tailors. See p. 94.

Khumbar - caste, traditionally of potter.

Kirtans - musical performance of a sacred character, with a moral theme.


Kuldevi - family goddess.

Kulia - men of family.

Kutumb - household, family.

lakh (of rupees) - 100,000 rupees.

Levas - highest sub-division of Kanbis.
Mahabharata - great Indian epic gradually built up from a narrative begun around 500 B.C. The Bhagavadgita (Song of the Lord) is included in it.

Mahal - a revenue sub-division under Ga kwad territory.

Maharaja - sovereign prince. Applied in courtesy to all rajas.

Mama and Mami - maternal uncle and aunty.

Mamlatdar - Chief Officer entrusted with local revenue administration of a taluka.

Mandir - temple.

Manuka - native shrub of New Zealand or 'ti-tree'.

Mata - mother goddess.

Matia - sub-division of Kanbis. See pp. 80-1.

Mochi - caste, traditionally of shoemakers. See pp. 95-7.

Mosalu - presents for bride and parents given by Mama and Mami.

Mullah - a religious leader of Islam.

Murti - images for worship.

Natra - widow re-marriage.

pacca (pukka) - 'perfect', 'refined'.

pallo - dowry.

pallu - bride-price.

panchayat - literally a committee of five. Used to describe an association of any number of persons instituted for objects of an administration or judicial nature.

Parsi - Zorastrian of Persian origin. Settled mainly in Gujarat and Bombay.


Patidar - literally a 'shareholder'. High status jat from Charotar, Kaira. See p. 7.

patheramni/paithan - dowry or portion with bride paid to bridegroom.

puja - worship, adoration.
**purana** - Hindu sacred book of later composition than the Vedas. Deals mainly with mythology and cosmology.

**Quran** - literally 'the reading'. The name of the sacred book of the Muslims.

**raiyat** (ryot) - cultivator, peasant.

**raiyatwari** (ryotwari) - land tenure in rural Gujarat. Revenue settlement made by government officers with each cultivator of the soil without intervention of a third party.

**Ramayana** - great Indian epic which recounts the adventures of Rama, King of Kosala (Oudh) at an epoch which is quite uncertain.

**rasti** - fertile.

**rupee** - standard coin of Muslim and British Indian monetary system. Fixed at ls4d in 1899. 1920 at 2s and in 1927 at ls6d. 1 rupee = 16 annas. 1 anna = 4 pice. 1 pice = 3 pice.

**Sabha** - an assembly/hall of residence.

**Samskaras** - rites of passage.

**salat** - Muslim daily prayers. Usually five times per day.

**Samvat** - a year especially applied to years of the era of Vikrama, beginning with the year 58 B.C. Used in official statistics of Baroda.

**sadhu** - pious, particularly applied to an ascetic.

**sari** - long robe worn by Hindu women, wrapped around body and passed over head.

**satyagraha** - literally 'insistence on truth'. Non-violent resistance.

**sawcar** - moneylender.

**Suni Vohra** - community of trading and agricultural Muslims in Gujarat. See pp. 102-4.

**Sutar** - caste, traditionally of carpenters.

**swami** - a master or lord. Applied especially as title to the head of a religious order or establishment.

**Talabda's** - highest sub-division of Kolis of South Gujarat. See pp. 66-8.

**talpati** - landlord.
taluka - sub-division of a District. Generally around 100-200 villages.

talukdar - in Gujarat, the holder of an estate.

val - a common pulse in Gujarat.

vankado - cash payment settled at betrothal and paid to bridegroom's father.

varna - a division of the Hindu community. The four varnas are Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Shudras. Each varna is made up of a large number of separate castes.

veda - name of the chief scriptural authorities of the Hindus; the sacred books of the Brahmans.