Patterns of Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Land Use by Punjabi Hawkers in Southern New South Wales, Australia

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Abstract.—At the end of the nineteenth century a large number of Punjabi men went to Australia to further their family's financial and social fortunes at home. The majority of these men went into the hawking trade, providing a crucial service to the expanding Australian farming communities. Yet, in the dominant Australian settler narrative they have been characterized, by and large, as mere ephemeral players. Drawing on in-depth research on the presence of Punjabi men in in the Riverina of News South Wales, one of colonial Australia's most productive wool and wheat regions, this paper demonstrates that their relationship to the land was not nearly as tenuous as some writers would have it. Rather, the picture is quite multi-facetted, with many Punjabi owning land, either as urban bases for their operations, as investment properties until their return to India, or as land that they farmed with the intent of making Australia their new home.

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Nineteenth century Australian society was heavily gendered and socially normed, with those who did not conform being watched with suspicion and often institutionalised.[1] The common narrative was one of a white settler community, alienating land and making a livelihood for themselves and their family.[2] As such movement was unidirectional,[3]

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[1]. Catharine Coleborne, "Regulating Mobility and Masculinity through Institutions in Colonial Victoria, 1870s-1890s," *Law Text Culture* 15 (2011).

[2]. Nadia Rhook, ""Turban-Clad" British Subjects Tracking the Circuits of Mobility, Visibility, and Sexuality in Settler Nation-Making," *Transfers* 5, no. 3 (2015); Lorenzo Veracini, "Telling the End of the Settler Colonial Story." Studies in Settler Colonialism," in *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture*, ed. Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[3]. "Telling the End of the Settler Colonial Story." Studies in Settler Colonialism."

itinerant people were regarded with suspicion[4] as were people of cultural and/or ethnic backgrounds other than the dominant Anglo-Celtic settler community.[5]

This narrative was more developed in Victoria, which was founded as a colony of free settlers, whereas in New South Wales the social mix also included convicts and former convicts. Even though sedentarism was the universal tenet, the reality was different. During the 1870s and 1880s the agricultural development of the Australian colonies pushed increasingly into the more remote areas. Rural communities, due to their small size, almost invariably lacked resident specialists and hence were forced to rely on services provided by travelling professionals and labourers. In fact, a review of mobility and itinerancy during nineteenth century Australia shows that itinerant professions were a phase in the economic development of all rural communities and that they were instrumental until such time that the communities were large enough to sustain specialist services on a permanent basis.[6]

In addition, there were a range of short-term, yet physically demanding work-opportunities, that utilised largely unskilled labour, but which required mobility from workplace to workplace. Much of the agricultural development and intensification was facilitated by immigrant labour, such as Chinese worker teams taking up the scrub cutting, ring-barking, dam digging and fencing contracts[7] and Afghan camel handlers facilitating inland transport.[8]

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[4]. Coleborne, "Regulating Mobility and Masculinity through Institutions in Colonial Victoria, 1870s-1890s."

[5]. Rhook, ""Turban-Clad" British Subjects Tracking the Circuits of Mobility, Visibility, and Sexuality in Settler Nation-Making."

[6]. Graeme Davison, "The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia," *Australia 1888: Bulletin* 2 no. August (1979); Prue Laidlaw, "A Passing Occupation: An Exploration of the History and Heritage of Itinerant Workers in Rural New South Wales, 1850–1914" (Charles Sturt University, 2009).

[7]. P Hayes, "The Chinese Contribution to Australian Economic Growth and Development During the Period 1850–1875" (Honours Thesis, University of New England, 2003); Rod Lancashire, "European-Chinese Economic Interaction in a Pre-Federation Rural Australian Setting," *Rural Society* 10, no. 2 (2000).

[8]. Christine Stevens, *Tin Mosques and Ghantowns: A History of Afghan Cameldrivers in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989).

While itinerant professions can be classified by a range of attributes including ethnicity,[9] Laidlaw demonstrated convincingly that ethnicity is not a discriminant characteristic of itinerant professions.[10] Yet, ethnicity is a major criterion when we consider the social status of itinerant merchants, tradesmen and labourers. As noted, nineteenth century Australian society was heavily gendered. Masculinity was a *conditio sine qua non* in nineteenth century Australia, which manifested itself in the weak being institutionalised.[11]

The masculinity of colonial males was often threatened when they did not perform according to social and economic expectations. While this could be masked in times of affluence, it came to the fore during periods of increased competition for limited employment opportunities. Following the boom years, the 1890s were a period of economic depression in Australia,[12] with numerous foreclosures of farms[13] and a concomitant surplus in labour.[14] During the same period, the early to mid-1890s a major influx of Punjabi men occurred, the majority of whom who took to hawking various forms of merchandise.[15]

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[9]. Prue Gonzalez, Dirk H. R. Spennemann, and Catherine Allan, "Itinerant Workers in Nineteenth-Century Australia. A Survey of Their Attributes," in *Institute for Land Water and Society Report* (Albury, NSW: Institute for Land Water and Society; Charles Sturt University, 2017).

[10]. Laidlaw, "A Passing Occupation: An Exploration of the History and Heritage of Itinerant Workers in Rural New South Wales, 1850–1914."

[11]. Coleborne, "Regulating Mobility and Masculinity through Institutions in Colonial Victoria, 1870s-1890s."

[12]. David Tolmie Merrett, "The Australian Bank Crashes of the 1890s Revisited," *Business History Review* 87 (2013); A. G. L Shaw, "The Eighteen Nineties in Australia–a Brave New World?," *Arts: The Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association* 1, no. 1 (2012); B.R. Davidson, "Development of Australian Agriculture, 1. Developments up to 1914," *Agriculture and Environment* 2, no. 3 (1975).

[13]. c.f. Dirk H.R. Spennemann, "The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek, Maragle, Nsw. European Context and Land Use History," in *Institute for Land, Water and Society Report* (Albury, NSW: Institute for Land, Water and Society, Charles Sturt University, 2016).

[14]. Jenny Lee and Charles Fahey, "A Boom for Whom? Some Developments in the Australian Labour Market, 1870-1891," *Labour History* 50, no. 1–17 (1986).

[15]. This is not the place the discuss the reasons for the emigration of Punjabi to Australia and other places. For background, see William Hewat McLeod, *Punjabis in New Zealand. A History of Punjabi Migration 1890- 1940* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1986); "Homeland, History, Religion and Emigration," in *A Punjabi Sikh Community: From Indian Sojourners to Australian Citizens*, ed. Rashmere

With late nineteenth and early twentieth century Australia being an overwhelming Christian (96%) population,[16] of Western European ancestry (99%),[17] the emergent male Indian community was marginalised in more ways than one. Their 'otherness' was obvious in many respects.

Bhatti and Verne A. Dusenbery (Woolgoolga, New South Wales: Woolgoolga Neighbourhood Centre, 2001); "The First Forty Years of Sikh Migration: Problems and Possible Solutions," in *The Sikh Diasora. Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab*, ed. N Gerald Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery (Dehli: Chanayka Publications, 1989).; see also N Gerald Barrier, "Sikh Emigrants and Their Homeland. The Transmission of Information, Resources and Values in the Early Twentieth Century," in *The Sikh Diaspora. Migration and the Experience Beyond Punjab*, ed. N Gerald Barrier and Verne A. Dusenbery (Dehli: Chanayka Publications, 1989); Rashmere Bhatti, "From Sojourners to Settlers," in *A Punjabi Sikh Community: From Indian Sojourners to Australian Citizens*, ed. Rashmere Bhatti and Verne A. Dusenbery (Woolgoolga, New South Wales: Woolgoolga Neighbourhood Centre, 2001). and Verne A. Dusenbery, "Sikh Positionings in Australia and the "Diaspora" Concept," in *Diaspora Politics and Identity. Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, ed. Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian Skoggard (Springer, 2005).—For Indian immigration as rural labour see *inter alia* Alan Dwight, "The Use of Indian Labourers in New South Wales," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 62, no. 2 (1976). for the pre-1840s period and Annette Potts, "'I Am a British Subject, and I Can Go Wherever the British Flag Flies': Indians on the Northern Rivers of New South Wales During the Federation Years," ibid.83 (1997). for the Northern Rivers region in the 1890s.—For the more recent Punjabi presence, see Dusenbery, "Sikh Positionings in Australia and the "Diaspora" Concept."; Rashmere Bhatti and Verne A. Dusenbery, "A Community Comes of Age," in *From Settlers to Citizens*, ed. Rashmere Bhatti and Verne A. Dusenbery (Woolgoolga, New South Wales: Woolgoolga Neighbourhood Centre, 2001).

16. The various individual publications for the 1901 census: NSW T A Coghlan, *Results of a Census of New South Wales, Taken for the Night of the 31st March, 1901* (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer, 1904).; Queensland Registrar General, *Ninth Census of Queensland, Taken on the Thrity-First of March, 1901* (Brisbane: George Arthur Vaughan, Government Printer, 1902).; South Australia Government Statistician, *South Australia. Census 1901. Part I Summary Tables* (Adelaide: Government Printer, 1902).; Tasmania Registrar General, *Census of the State of Tasmania 1901 Parts I to Viii with Introductory Report* (Hobart: John Vail, Government Printer, 1903).; Victoria Government Statistician, *Census of Victoria, Australia, Taken on the 31st March, 1901. Parts I to Ix. With Summary Tables* (Melbourne: Robert. S. Brain, Government Printer, 1902). and Western Australia Malcolm A.C. Fraser, *Seventh Census of Western Australia,Taken for the Thrity-First of March, 1901. Volume Ii Detailed Tables* (Perth: William Alfred Watson, Government Printer, 1903).

17. G Knibbs, H, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia Taken for the Night between the 2nd and 3rd April, 1911* (Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Co, 1914).

The Punjabi were visually readily identifiable by their complexion, their beards and also their flowing dress and, in many cases, their turbans; their ability to converse in English was often limited and even if they were fluent, they spoke with a readily discernible accent; and, finally, they differed spiritually, inasmuch as they were Hindu, Sikh or Muslim.

For those white males who were out of work and felt threatened in their masculinity, the mere virtue of the colour of their skin, and their ability to speak English fluently, placed them above the Punjabi and similar immigrant groups, even though the latter often displayed greater intellectual capabilities, aptitude, determination and physical prowess. 'Asiatics' was a very simplistic, yet easy, label to collectively marginalise all those immigrants who were accused of taking the jobs of deserving upright white men struggling to support their large families.[18] Unfair competition, referring to the more frugal life style of the Indian hawkers, was widely asserted.[19] The ethnic 'otherness' of particularly the Lebanese ('Syrian') and Indian rivals lent itself to racist stereotyping, serving as a vehicle for white males to mask their own inadequacies. Fearmongering abounded, ranging from unsubstantiated and later disproven claims that the hawkers would engage in arson to penalise those farmers who refused to purchase their goods[20] or would force their way into homes to effect a sale.[21]

The seemingly unchecked mobility of the Punjabi hawkers, coupled with the fact that these males were single, conjured up other spectres, namely the "unchecked movement of Indian men toward white women's bodies."[22] Unproved assertions abound in the press of the day that Indian hawkers would terrorise or even molest women on isolated farms[23] and would attempt to buy or even steal white children.[24]

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18. e.g. at Chiltern Anonymous, "Chiltern," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Dec 11 1896.
19. "Notes on Current Events," *Albury Banner*, Jun 17 1898; "Chiltern."
20. "Indian Hawkers," *Albury Banner*, Jul 22 1898.
21. "Afghan Hawkers," *Albury Banner*, May 7 1897.
22. Rhook, ""Turban-Clad" British Subjects Tracking the Circuits of Mobility, Visibility, and Sexuality in Settler Nation-Making."
23. Anonymous, "Notes on Current Events."; "Country Notes," *Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney)*, Jan 4 1896; "Afghan's Licences Refused by the Albury Bench," *Evening News (Sydney)*, May 4 1897; Selector, "Foreign Hawkers," *Wagga Wagga Express*, Aug 11 1892.
24. Anonymous, "Eight Days Wthout Food," *Bendigo Advertiser* Sep 6 1894.

Rather than counteracting such ugly manifestations of racism, many newspapers of the day gave a voice to racist organisations such as the Australian Natives Association[25] perpetuating these claims. Local councils, either run by or beholden to local business interests, agitated against the 'Asiatic curse.'[26] Government instrumentalities, such as magistrates presiding over police and licencing courts, often acted in concert with local interests and attempted to limit the number of Syrian and Punjabi hawkers. Such restrictions were more difficult to put in place against the Punjabi as they were British subjects and thus could travel from one British colony (*i.e.* India) to another (e.g. Victoria or New South Wales).[27] Yet the failure to clearly articulate their applications in English could be employed as a justification for the dismissal of a license application for the current year.[28] Moreover, magistrates exercised additional latitude, ruling for example that enough licences had been issued to serve a region[29] and some individual applicants were deemed of an 'unfit' nature, frequently referring to the widely stated, yet unproven threat to women and children. Commonly, the local police were a driving force alleging, without proof, that the Punjabi hawkers "went all over the place and committed crimes, and the police had no way of identifying them. They could not be traced like white men, and many of those trading were criminals".[30]

The turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century in Australia saw the end of colonial governments and thereby severed the subjecthood nexus with India. The creation of a nation spanning the entire continent[31] saw the institutionalisation of racist policies. The Immigration Restriction Act (Cth) (1901) tightly controlled any immigration from persons of non-

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25. e.g. "Chiltern."; "Chiltern," *Border Morning Mail (Albury)*, Dec 5 1903.
26. "Hawkers' and Vehicle Licences. Culcairn Conference," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Dec 11 1908.
27. Nadia Rhook, "Listen to Nodes of Empire: Speech and Whiteness in Victorian Hawker's License Courts," *Journal of Colonialism & Colonial History* 15, no. 2 (2014); Potts, "I Am a British Subject…."
28. Rhook, "Listen to Nodes of Empire: Speech and Whiteness in Victorian Hawker's License Courts."
29. Anonymous, "Albury," *Ovens and Murray Advertiser (Beechworth)*, Jan 13 1894.
30. "The Indian Hawker Question," *The Age (Melbourne)*, Mar 28 1905.
31. John B. Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000).

European background[32] and regulated the temporary departure of Punjabi traders on family visits back to India.[33]

By vehemently opposing Lebanese and Indian hawkers, the majority of white European shop-owners failed to avail themselves to a unique and lucrative business opportunity. Instead of regarding the hawkers as rivals, they could have acted as mobile retailers and sale agents, distributing the shopkeepers' wares to remote communities. In fact, such a symbiotic relationship developed later, when many of the Lebanese hawkers opened stores in their rural service centres and not only supplied the Indian hawkers with wares, but also acted as their guarantors ('bondsmen') for the hawking licences.[34]

The academic literature on Indian hawkers is limited, and is comprised on general overviews,[35] studies of the interface with the colonial administration,[36] and with settler communities.[37] The subject matter is also treated in regional examinations[38] and in individual case studies.[39]

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[32]. *An Act to Place Certain Restrictions on Immigration and to Provide for the Removal from the Commonwealth of Prohibited Immigrants*, (Dec 23, 1901).; Barry McGowan, "Transnational Lives: Colonial Immigration Restrictions and the White Australia Policy in the Riverina District of New South Wales, 1860–1960," *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 6 (2013).

[33]. Margaret Allen, "Innocents Abroad' and 'Prohibited Immigrants': Australians in India and Indians in Australia 1890-1910," in *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective*, ed. Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (Canberra: ANU E-Press, 2005).

[34]. Dirk H.R. Spennemann, "Lebanese and Indian Hawkers in Southern Nsw. A Case Study in Retailing to Remote Communities," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* (projected journal) (in prep.).

[35]. Marie M de Lepervanche, *Indians in White Australia: An Account of Race, Class and Indian Immigration to Eastern Australia* (North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1984); Potts, "I Am a British Subject…."; Bhatti, "From Sojourners to Settlers."

[36]. Rhook, "Listen to Nodes of Empire: Speech and Whiteness in Victorian Hawker's License Courts."; Allen, "Innocents Abroad' and 'Prohibited Immigrants': Australians in India and Indians in Australia 1890-1910."

[37]. Rhook, ""Turban-Clad" British Subjects Tracking the Circuits of Mobility, Visibility, and Sexuality in Settler Nation-Making."

[38]. WC Green, "The Indian Hawkers of the Upper Hunter," *Scone and Upper Hunter Historical Society Journal*, no. 2 (1961); Potts, "I Am a British Subject…."

[39]. Margaret Allen, "'A Fine Type of Hindoo' Meets 'the Australian Type': British Indians in Australia and Diverse Masculinities," in *Transnational Ties. Australian Lives in the World*, ed. Deslie Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott (Canberra: Australian National University e-Press, 2008); Ian Simpson, "Decent

The term 'hawker' which has also been used in the title of this paper, implies ongoing mobility and, in the case of rural hawkers, also suggests a lack of permanent residence. The settler narrative so prevalent in Australia, then and now, sets up a perception that hawkers had no real ties to the land and that, therefore, their land use was limited. While there are exceptions, such as Allen's study of Otim Singh who started as a hawker and became a wealthy business- and landowner on Kangaroo Island,[40] the common popular discourse on the Indian hawkers in rural Australia is that of an itinerant labour force that travelled the country side, on foot or in their wagons, without any firm ties to the land,[41] and thus leaving little trace of their activities. Rhook, in her discussion of Punjabi hawker, for example, commented that "Indian hawkers' relationship to property was a tenuous one."[42]

A systematic survey of nineteenth and twentieth century newspapers covering southern New South Wales and north-eastern Victoria, carried out in the course of wide-ranging research into the manifestations of the presence of Indian hawkers in the region,[43] allowed us to also canvas patterns of land use by the Indian hawker community. This paper will

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Fellows, Making an Honest Living: Indian Hawkers in White Australia," *History Australia* 13, no. 3 (2016).

[40]. Allen "'A Fine Type of Hindoo' Meets 'the Australian Type': British Indians in Australia and Diverse Masculinities."

[41]. e.g. Desmond Martin, "Rajahs of the Border District," *Border Morning Mail (Albury)*, Nov 19 1969.

[42]. Rhook, ""Turban-Clad" British Subjects Tracking the Circuits of Mobility, Visibility, and Sexuality in Settler Nation-Making."

[43]. Spennemann, "Lebanese and Indian Hawkers in Southern Nsw."; "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina and North-Eastern Victoria 1890–1930. A Survey of Newspapers and Archival Data," in *Institute for Land, Water and Society Report* (Albury, NSW: Institute for Land, Water and Society, Charles Sturt University, in prep.); "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers in the Southern Riverina and North-Eastern Victoria until 1952.," in *Institute for Land, Water and Society Report* (Albury, NSW: Institute for Land, Water and Society, Charles Sturt University, 2017); "Sioux Court and the Indians of Albury. Managing Punjabi Heritage in Rural Nsw," *Environment and Planning A* (projected journal) (in prep.); "'With the Outmost Decorum' the Role of Punjabi Funeral Ceremonies in Shaping the Public Discourse on Cremation in Australia," *Mortality* (under review) (subm.).; "Age Heaping among Indian Hawkers in south-eastern Australia and their source communities in the Punjāb." *Journal of Sikh and Punjab Studies*, 24(12), 149–202; "Feeding the cattle on the Temora common: the public atonement and death of the Punjabi hawker Googa Singh in 1902." *Mortality*(under review).

examine the nature and patterns of land use by Indian Hawkers in southern New South Wales. It will demonstrate that the hawkers were regionally based and followed semi-fixed circuits in their travels; and that they systematically used public spaces, such as Camping Reserves and Travelling Stock reserves for semi-permanent and temporary accommodation. In the second part, the paper will demonstrate that travelling hawking was only a phase in the accumulation of wealth for many Punjabi hawkers, and that they often systematically acquired real estate, either in strategic towns that were (or were to become) rural service centres, or as farming land. The paper will challenge the popular notion that Punjabi hawkers were an amorphous group of purely itinerant people. It will show that they were individuals, with varied aspirations and opportunities, leading to different outcomes.

Hawking

The agricultural development of Australia, especially of New South Wales, intensified with the passing of the 1861 Land Acts, which allowed the alienation of land for small scale farming.[44] A number of towns developed into rural service centres, supplying the outlying small communities with goods.[45] The expansion of a long-distance railway network allowed further intensification of agricultural production.[46] Travelling distances and available modes of transport, coupled with the practical constraints of farming, however, meant that a farmer's trips to their local town to conduct business were an irregular occurrence. Travelling hawkers acted as the interface between the resident shop keepers in town and the farmers on the land, their wagons often described

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[44]. *An Act for Regulating the Alienation of Crown Lands*; *An Act for Regulating the Occupation of Crown Lands*, (Oct 18).

[45]. Gordon Leslie Buxton, *The Riverina 1861-1891- an Australian Regional Study* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967); Dirk H.R. Spennemann, "N° 528-530 Kiewa Street, Albury, Nsw. An Historical Analysis of the Site and an Assessment of Heritage Values," in *Johnstone Centre Report* (Albury: The Johnstone Centre, Charles Sturt University, 2003).

[46]. M E Robinson, *The New South Wales Wheat Frontier 1851 to 1911*, vol. HG/10, Research School of Pacific Studies, Department of Human Geography Publication (Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, Department of Human Geography, The Australian National University, 1976).

as a 'general store on wheels.'[47] Not all hawkers travelled with wagons (Figure 1), as newspaper reports of annual hawking licenses issued, for example, make frequent reference to foot hawkers (Figure 2). Some of the latter might, eventually, acquire custom-built wagons, while others continued as foot hawkers for much of their career.[48]

Figure 1. Pollah Singh standing by his wagon,
with his uncle Izar (Esra) Singh holding the horses.[49]

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[47]. Anonymous, "The Hawker," *Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney)*, Aug 1 1874.
[48]. Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."
[49]. Photograph by Gabriel Knight ca 1900-1910, courtesy State Library of Victoria.

Figure 2. Unidentified Indian foot hawker in the Upper Murray region.[50]

While Laidlaw has shown that ethnicity is not a suitable criterion to analyse and classify itinerant occupations,[51] it has a value in a chronological dimension. The early phase of hawking, until the mid 1880s, was conducted by people of European descent.[52] During the 1880s and early 1890s they were gradually supplanted by Chinese, then by Lebanese

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[50]. Photograph by Gabriel Knight ca 1900-1910, courtesy State Library of Victoria.

[51]. Laidlaw, "A Passing Occupation: An Exploration of the History and Heritage of Itinerant Workers in Rural New South Wales, 1850–1914."

[52]. c.f. Anonymous, "Albury Circuit Court. Niehbuhr Vs. Levin," *Border Post (Albury)*, Apr 19 1873.

('Syrian') and finally by Punjabi hawkers.[53] Common to this successive replacement were several factors. Each successive ethnic group had i) a more dedicated work ethic; ii) a preparedness to 'put up' with fewer amenities and greater hardships, and iii) possibly also a better, or more flexible, sense for business opportunities.

As noted above, 'Asiatics' was an easy label to collectively marginalise the Punjabi. Although initially also vilified, Lebanese hawkers found it much easier to integrate into urban communities. The fact that they, unlike the Punjabi, were predominately Christian, proved a major advantage, as was their economic prowess and their general preparedness to contribute to community enterprise. Moreover, most Lebanese had come to Australia to settle, and thus often had a family to support them in their endeavours.[54] This made integration into rural Australian communities easier, compared to the solitary life lived by the majority of the Punjabi men, who saw their presence in Australia as temporary phase. As shown elsewhere, the hawking industry in NSW underwent a change immediately after Federation (1901), when many of the Lebanese hawkers opened drapery stores in towns.[55] The travelling component of their (former) businesses, was taken over by Indian hawkers, who, while operating on their own account, marketed the Lebanese traders' goods to the outlying communities. Increased availability of motor transport in the 1920s cut travel times, and thus gradually diminished the demand for the services provided by travelling hawkers.[56]

By and large, hawking was a solitary affair and only on occasion carried out with a partner, who commonly tended to be a member of the (extended) family. The general routes and circuits which individual hawkers followed are unknown since that information was committed to memory and not written down. Moreover, it may have changed over time

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53. Laidlaw, "A Passing Occupation: An Exploration of the History and Heritage of Itinerant Workers in Rural New South Wales, 1850–1914."; Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."

54. N Bramble, "Country Links — Syrian/Lebanese Settlement in New South Wales up to 1920" (paper presented at the Records made real. Lebanese settlement: 1865 to 1945 — a seminar on historical sources, Sydney Records Centre, The Rocks, N.S.W., 2002); F Backes, "Exploring Lebanese Heritage in Nsw," *Heritage NSW* 13, no. 2 (2006).

55. Spennemann, "Lebanese and Indian Hawkers in Southern Nsw."

56. Ibid.

as some hawkers withdrew from their business and settled on the land (see below), thus opening up their patches for others.

On rare occasions the area of operations covered by an individual hawker can be reconstructed to some extent. An example is the case of Kissin Singh Sundoo, who died on 16 April 1938 at Deniliquin.[57] The probate file relating to his estate contains a list of 53 debtors and, in most cases, their locations.[58] As the list is alphabetised, we cannot reconstruct his route but we are able to ascertain Kissin Singh's 'home range,' which seems to have been the area between the Murrumbidgee and the Edward River (Figure 3). Ignoring three outliers, the majority of locations are within 100km from his base at Deniliquin. Competing hawkers would have operated from Balranald, Hay, Narrandera, Albury, Echuca/Moama and Swan Hill.
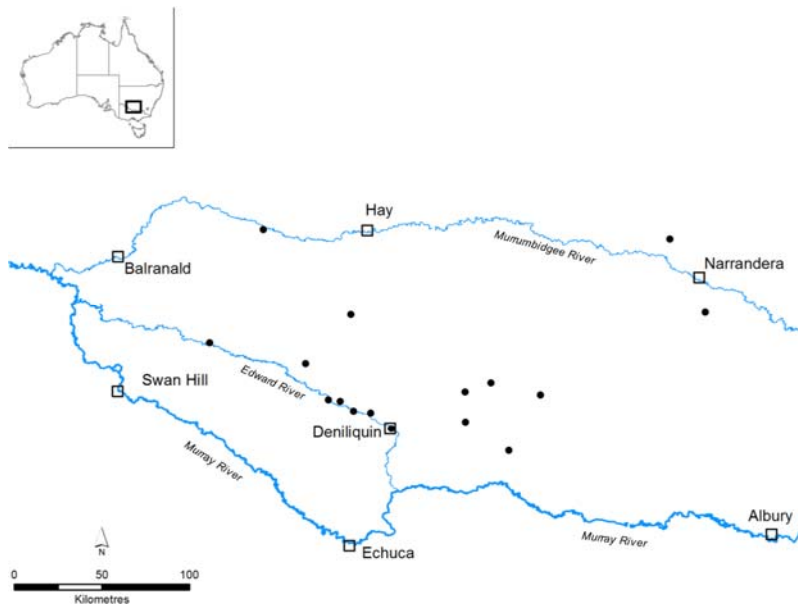

Figure 3. Location of debtors listed in Kissin Singh's probate file

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[57]. "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers….", n° 86.
[58]. Probate of Kissin Singh Sundoo deceased. Schedule 4. Debts due to Estate. NSW Records Service, Series 4, file n° 233249.

While on the road, foot hawkers would stay overnight in farmer's barns or sheds, or in farm accommodation specifically erected for the itinerant trades. Those hawkers who travelled with their wagons were able to camp at a wide range of places, either on someone's farm, at one of the above mentioned camping reserves, or could simply pull up at any spot of public land.[59]

Camping Places

While the 1861 NSW Land Acts allowed small-scale farmers to take up land for intensive agricultural production, there was a need to ensure that pastoral leasehold properties, especially in the less fertile areas of the colony, could maintain access to the livestock markets in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. Consequently, a network of travelling stock routes was established,[60] essentially highways for stock movements that criss-crossed the colony and terminated at the various railheads, such as Wodonga (and later Albury), Echuca, Mildura and so forth. At regular intervals the stock routes were widened into stock reserves, where the travelling mob of sheep or cattle could be rested.

In principle, all crown land was (and still is) open to short term camping by individuals unless otherwise regulated. Thus itinerant workers, including hawkers, could camp as required. To formalise the process, however, a number of dedicated camping reserves had been established that allowed for longer-term camping to occur as well as for camping by larger groups. For practical reasons, these reserves were adjacent to a major road, usually just a few miles outside town. They thus served as stop-overs for bullock drays, the heavy goods transport of the day, travelling circus groups and the like—and of course also for hawkers.

At the turn of the twentieth century, colonial Australian society marginalised the Punjabi hawkers not only socially, but also spatially. The case of Albury exemplifies this well (Figure 4). Albury is a rural service centre on the Sydney to Melbourne communications corridor which developed because of its location at several fords across the Murray River,

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[59]. Usually this was uneventful occurrence and there is only scattered reporting to this in the papers, unless something remarkable happened, such as a death.

[60]. Susan Hughes, "Remnants from the Past: An Exploration of Historic Planning Policies and Their Effects on Native Vegetation Cover in New South Wales (1824–1913)" (PhD thesis, Charles Sturt University, 2008).

that had long been used by Indigenous communities.[61]The town flourished, first servicing the goldfields in North-Eastern Victoria and later the farming communities that developed in the Southern Riverina as a result of the 1861 land acts. The advent of the railway in Wodonga in 1872, and especially at Albury in 1881,[62] further cemented Albury's significance as a rural service centre.[63]

Camping on properties and paddocks in town was actively discouraged. A frequent point of contention for local councils was that Indian hawkers slept in their wagons,[64] and paid no rates[65] while their horses ate the scarce grass.[66] Not surprisingly, the perusal of the Albury newspapers shows Indian hawkers camping at the edge of town, such as the river bank,[67] on the Wodonga Flats near the Halfway Hotel,[68] at McKoy's Paddock in Wodonga (*ibid*.) or at Mungabareena,[69] which was a travelling stock reserve located at one of the two major fords across the Murray.[70] Their presence was viewed with animosity, with the 1890s Albury community more than ready to judge and condemn on mere suspicion. A case in point example is the widely reported disappearance of an Albury woman near Mungabareena in June 1896. The woman's mother asserted that *"[l]ast week [her daughter] complained to her … that in*

61. Dirk H.R. Spennemann, *Nineteenth Century Indigenous Land Use of Albury (Nsw), as Reflected in the Historic Sources*, Institute for Land, Water and Society Report (Albury, NSW: Institute for Land, Water and Society, Charles Sturt University, 2015).

62. "Archaeological Assessment of European Cultural Heritage. Rail-Coach Interchange at Albury Railway Station," in *Johnstone Centre Research in Natural Resources & Society Environmental Consulting Report* (Wagga Wagga: Johnstone Centre Environmental Consulting, 2002).

63. "N° 528-530 Kiewa Street, Albury, Nsw. An Historical Analysis of the Site and an Assessment of Heritage Values."

64. Anonymous, "Hawkers' and Vehicle Licences. Culcairn Conference."

65. "Chiltern."

66. "Yackandah Shire Councl," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Apr 21 1905.

67. "A Row among Indian Hawkers," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Feb 12 1909.

68. Desmond Martin, "A Hookah and a Horse Team," *Border Morning Mail (Albury)*, Nov 26 1969.

69. Anonymous, "An Unaccountable Disappearance," *Wagga Wagga Express*, Jun 6 1896; "Curious Settlement of a Case," *The Age (Melbourne)*, Jul 16 1901.

70. Spennemann, *Nineteenth Century Indigenous Land Use of Albury (Nsw), as Reflected in the Historic Sources*.

passing a camp of Indian hawkers on the ranges they watched her suspiciously."[71] The insinuation that the Indians were somehow to blame for, or even the cause of the woman's disappearance, further fuelled anti-Indian sentiment which widely asserted that Indian hawkers threatened and molested women on isolated farms.[72] Upon investigation, however, the police found that not only had the Indians left the Mungabereena area two weeks before the woman's disappearance, but, moreover, that the woman had actually left her husband and taken the train to Melbourne.[73]

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[71]. Anonymous, "A Woman Missing. Foul Play Suspected," *Age (Melbourne)*, Jun 4 1896.

[72]. "Notes on Current Events."; "Country Notes."; "Afghan's Licences Refused by the Albury Bench."

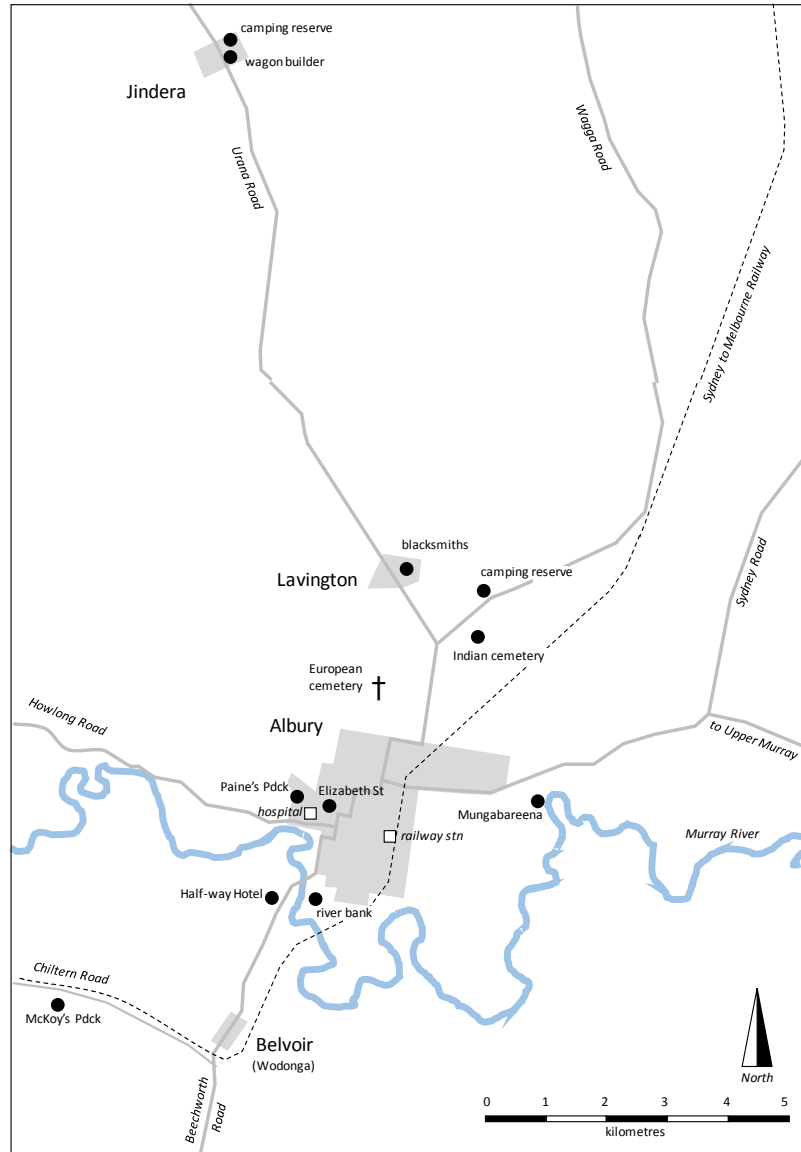[73]. "An Unaccountable Disappearance."

Figure 4. Spatial use of the Albury and environs by Indian hawkers

Punjabi men only ventured into town to renew their licences,[74] and to replenish their goods. Only for much later, in 1909 and 1910 do we have records showing that some Indians camped closer to town (at Paine's paddock and at Elizabeth Street).[75] By that time, at least some of the dynamics had shifted, and Indian hawkers operated in a symbiotic relationship with the Lebanese drapery traders who now owned stores in the western part of town, and who often acted as guarantors of the hawkers' bonds that were to be deposited.[76]

When Devan Singh died in Albury hospital on 18 July 1905 the town had to come to terms with the question as to where to dispose of his body. Given that the custom of cremation was legal in New South Wales as it had been in Victoria, examples of cremations according to Hindu or Sikh religious practice had occurred throughout Victoria and in several NSW communities.[77] Hence there was nothing to prevent the same from happening in Albury. Indeed, the press of the day advertised it as spectacle and the Albury community embraced the exotic event in a manner not much different from the visit of a travelling circus or a Vaudeville troupe.[78] The location, however, was a different matter. While Albury's cemetery had a non-sectarian section, where *inter alia* Chinese were interred, there seems to have been resistance for the cremation to take place there. Numerous regional cemeteries had sections reserved for Chinese (e.g Beechworth). Burying Chinese was one thing, cremating a Hindu (or Sikh) in an open funeral pyre was quite a different matter, especially as the morality of cremations was a hotly contested public discourse at the time.[79]

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74. e.g. "Albury Police Court [Hawkers' Licences]," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Aug 5 1898; "Notes on Current Events [Hawkers' Licences]," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Mar 8 1901; "Notes on Current Events [Hawkers' Licences]," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Jul 10 1903; "Hawkers' Licences," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Dec 4 1903.

75. "Another Assault by a Hindoo," *Border Morning Mail (Albury)*, Jul 23 1909; "A Drunken Indian. Annoyed by Boys," *Border Morning Mail and Riverina Times (Albury)*, Nov 14 1911.

76. Spennemann, "Lebanese and Indian Hawkers in Southern Nsw."

77. *Dates of the First Cremation of Indian Hawkers in Australian Communities. A Data Set* (Albury, NSW: Institute for Land, Water and Society, Charles Sturt University, 2017).

78. "With the Outmost Decorum."

79. Ibid.

The solution was to utilise a hitherto unused cemetery reserve, some 4 ½ km from the centre of town (Figure 4) and close to the camping reserve on the road to Wagga Wagga. When the Albury Commons was partially broken up for subdivision in 1886, a cemetery reserve had been established to accommodate the anticipated future growth of both Lavington and Albury. That growth did not occur, however, as the recession of 1890-95 affected Albury as a rural service centre, with farm bankruptcies both in the fertile Riverina,[80] and in the Upper Murray,[81] as well a termination of public building projects in Albury itself.[82] At the time of Devan Singh's cremation, it was unused but possibly grazed as an extension of the common.[83] The place was conveniently out of town and the cremations did not 'contaminate' the 'proper' Albury cemetery.

A few months after the cremation, some of the Indian hawkers successfully petitioned Albury Borough Council to have part of the cemetery reserve set aside for exclusive use by the Indian community. The Council acquiesced and, in a rare example of foresight, also set aside another ½ acre section for the exclusive use of the Muslim community (which in the event was never used).[84]

At all times, the number of hawkers camping in Albury itself or at its periphery, both at Mungabareena and the camping reserve on Wagga Road, was very small. There is a clear disconnect between the small number of hawkers on record as camping in Albury and the large number of hawkers who obtained their licences at the Albury Licensing Court and/or who had Albury merchants as guarantors for their bonds.[85] This begs the question of where they camped.

It appears that the hawkers preferred to put some distance between their main camps and Albury as the administrative hub and rural service centre. There are, for example, frequent reports of Indian hawkers congregating at a traveling stock and camping reserve at the northern

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[80]. "Keeping It in the Family: Land Use and Cultural Cohesion in the Colonial German Settlements of Southern New South Wales, 1860–1940," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 100, no. 1 (2014); Bill Gammage, *Narrandera Shire* (Narrandera, NSW: Narrandera Shire Council, 1986).

[81]. Spennemann, "Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek."

[82]. "The Manifestation of Adverse National Economic Conditions in the Architecture of a Rural Town," *journal t.b.a.* (in prep.).

[83]. "Sioux Court and the Indians of Albury. Managing Punjabi Heritage in Rural Nsw."

[84]. Ibid.

[85]. "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."

edge of Jindera, a community of primarily German settlers,[86] located some 16km northwest of Albury on the road to Urana. For 1897, for example, we have evidence of such meetings for early April,[87] early May[88] and for most of August.[89] While the 'standard' period seems to have been about three or four days,[90] longer stopovers occurred, such as the prolonged camp during August 1897.[91] The community reacted to the presence of the hawkers with mixed emotions. While some made a profit, such as J Haberecht who completed a wagonette for a hawker,[92] and some merely noted that "[i]t is quite amusing for our villagers to walk up to the camp and witness the Indian service. The noise is not unpleasant, but to witness the sight sometimes would scare people not knowing their custom,"[93] others objected and opined that "[i[t is about time this class gave some other locality a turn."[94]

There are also reports of a camp of Indian hawkers, numbering "upwards of 40" at Gerogery,[95] located 27km north of Albury on the road to Wagga Wagga, and the last railway station before the end of the NSW line at Albury. That event took place at the same time (early May 1897) as the gathering at Jindera. Intriguingly, there are no reports for hawkers camping at Bowna, a town located 20km northeast of Albury on the Sydney Road. Yet there are records for Woomargama, also on the Sydney Road, but some 45km from Albury.[96]

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86. "Keeping It in the Family."; Dirk H.R. Spennemann and Gaye Sutherland, "Late Nineteenth Century German Immigrant Land-and Stock-Holdings in the Southern Riverina: An Exploration of Large-Scale Spatial Patterns," ibid.94 (2008).

87. Anonymous, "Jindera," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Apr 2 1897.

88. "Jindera," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, May 7 1897.

89. "Jindera."; "Jindera."

90. "Jindera."

91. "Jindera."; "Jindera."—Subsequent events on record occurred in early November 1898 "Jindera," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Nov 4 1898. and mid-July 1901 "Jindera," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Jul 19 1901. The lack of recording may be due to the fact that these congregations had become more common and thus less newsworthy.

92. "Jindera."

93. "Jindera."

94. "Jindera."

95. "Albury," *Ovens and Murray Advertiser (Beechworth)*, May 8 1897; "Afghan Hawkers."

96. "Woomargama," *Albury Banner*, Jul 26 1901.

The use of the camping reserves was clearly temporary and left little permanent trace in the landscape. Burials, however, were different.

Locations of burial

A specific kind of land use is the disposal of the dead. In essence, until the more recent introduction of the concept of tenured burial plots, the grave was, and by and large still is, the ultimate private property of an Australian—a permanent marker of possession lasting beyond a person's life time. Cemeteries thus serve as storehouses of a community's social, economic, and to a certain extent also ethnic history.

The pattern of the disposal of the dead is regulated by spiritual demands. Among the Punjabi hawkers, those of Islamic faith required a burial, while Hindu and Sikh required cremation. As far as can be ascertained, only two towns ever reserved burial spaces specifically for Muslims and for Hindus/Sikhs. These were Albury in 1905[97] and Lismore in 1908.[98] While burials occurred in both the 'Mohammedan' and the 'Indian' sections of the Lismore cemetery, the 'Mohammedan' section of Albury's unsectarian burial ground was never used.

A survey of burials of Indian hawkers in the southern New South Wales and north-eastern Victoria showed that hawkers of Muslim faith were primarily buried in the non-denominational sections of the cemetery of the closest town to the place of their death, with a few interments also occurring in the Methodist and the Catholic section.[99]

Punjabi hawkers of Hindu and Sikh faith were cremated where possible. The first documented cremation of an Indian hawker, that of Boota Singh in Pyramid Hill on 18 May 1894, occurred at a time when the Christian communities in Australia were hotly debating the moral and social permissibility of cremations.[100] In subsequent years such events occurred in numerous communities, generally attracting much attention by the press of the day.[101] The cremations were conducted at various locations, either on the town commons, the banks of a local river or similar

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[97]. Spennemann, "Sioux Court and the Indians of Albury. Managing Punjabi Heritage in Rural Nsw."

[98]. Anonymous, "Lismore Cemetery," *Northern Star (Lismore)*, Feb 16 1927.

[99]. Spennemann, "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers…."

[100]. "With the Outmost Decorum."

[101]. *Dates of the First Cremation of Indian Hawkers*; "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers…."

public land, or at spaces in or near a local cemetery. In both Albury and Lismore cremations occurred in the section specifically set aside for Hindu/Sikh burial practices. After cremation, ashes were usually collected, a subset sent to the relatives in India and the rest disposed of, either by burial or by disposal in a body of water.[102]

Land Ownership by Punjabi traders

After Federation, some of the Indian hawkers decided to put down roots. The rationale for the land ownership is not uniform. There were those, who purchased land in towns in order to establish a formal base of operations; those who bought land in order to open and operate stores, those who bought land as an investment and those who bought rural land as they wished to turn to farming.

Acquisition of town allotments

Some of the Punjabi acquired town allotments in rural communities when new areas were subdivided and put up for auction by the Crown lands department. Such sales were notified in the *Government Gazette of New South Wales*[103] and are also recorded on the various Parish Maps.[104] For example, when the urban allotments of Section 1 of the village of Henty were opened up for sale in December 1902,[105] three Indian hawkers purchased land: Gharne Singh (lot 7, 1 acre),[106] Rutten Singh (lot 18, 1 acre)[107] and Herman Singh (lot 10, 30 perches).[108]

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[102]. "Cremations of Indian Hawkers in the Southern Riverina and Northern Victoria," *Australian Archaeology* (projected jounal) (in prep.); "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers…."

[103]. E.g. James Ashton, "Approval of after Auction Purchases," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Aug 1 1906.

[104]. e.g. Department of Lands, "Plan of the Village of Glenrouth (Uranquintry) and Suburban Lands, Parishes of Uranquintry and Pearson, County of Mitchell, Land District and Land Board District of Wagga Wagga," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1919).

[105]. Anonymous, "Crown Land Sales," *Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, Dec 23 1902.

[106]. W.P. Crick, "Approval of after Auction Purchases," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Apr 25 1903.

[107]. W.G.H Williams, "Notice," ibid., Aug 7, 5854.

[108]. T Wadell, "Approval of after Auction Purchases," ibid., Apr 25; H Curry, "Erratum," ibid., Mar 18.—For further details on the transactions, and the

Such acquisitions made a lot of sense. There was no real need to erect a substantial dwelling such as a hut or formal house, as hawkers could simply park their wagon on the allotment when back in town and sleep in it in the same fashion as they would when travelling on their circuit. The building of a house could occur at a later stage—if at all. Because they now owned the land, the local council was no longer able to object to them sleeping in their wagons.[109] Moreover, owning property denied many anti-Indian voices in the area the opportunity to claim that the hawkers paid no rates[110] and thus placed the Punjabi on the same footing as everybody else. Finally, of course, these land acquisitions occurred during a period of economic growth, and thus were a safe investment.

A compilation of land acquisitions in the Southern Riverina shows that the majority of the 28 individuals who purchased land, bought only a single lot and or two adjacent lots.[111] In total 70 property holdings have been identified in 14 towns in Southern NSW. The pattern that emerges (

Figure 5), shows that larger rural service centres, such as Albury, Hay, and Wagga Wagga were eschewed in favour of smaller communities. It is possible that the higher purchase costs were a contributing, if not major factor.

Towns with railway access, such as Henty, The Rock, and Uranquinty, were favoured as were rural towns some distance away from the service centres. Thus, while none of the allotments in Gerogery or Jindera seem to have been purchased, presumably because both were too close to Albury, property in Berrigan, Moulamein and Savernake found buyers.

Different approaches were taken by those who opened stores in the towns, such as Inder Singh in Adelong and Gundah Singh in Barham and Moulamein. Inder Singh, initially operating as a hawker, working the Gundagai–Adelong-Tumut area, attempted to establish a base for himself at Brungle in 1900. While he was the successful purchaser[112] on three-year terms, the sale was annulled on 15 October 1904 as he failed to pay the

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individuals, see the relevant entries in Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."

[109]. Anonymous, "Hawkers' and Vehicle Licences. Culcairn Conference."

[110]. "Chiltern."

[111]. Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930.", table 1.

[112]. Section 2, lot 5 Thomas H. Hassall, "Approval of after Auction Purchases," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Feb 1 1901.

outstanding balance.[113] He eventually settled in Adelong where he operated a store. In February 1922 he leased an entire street block, comprised of seven properties.[114]

Gundah Singh, when operating as a hawker, acquired a base in Barham in 1900 by purchasing a block of land together with Kiham Singh.[115] By January 1907 he was ready to expand to a town-based store business and invested in two adjoining lots in Barham,[116] and then in April 1907 also in four adjoining lots in Moulamein.[117] By the time of his death in November 1909 Gundah Singh had erected on these lots a 'double iron store and warehouse at rear' as well as an adjoining butcher's shop (leased to tenant).[118] Moulamein, located on the Edward River was a thriving rural service centre and hence the focus of much attention by hawkers. In July 1912, four Punjabi men acquired a total of nine town allotments in Moulamein: Bishin Singh (4 lots), Foga Singh (3), Cabool Singh (1) and Kaleb Singh (1).[119] By 1916 Bishin Singh owned a fifth lot.

A third example, that of Gungah Singh shall suffice. He invested heavily in the rural town of Berrigan, which had been connected via branch line to the NSW railway network in 1896. By the time of his death in 1946 Gungah Singh had erected four- or six-room houses on all his four properties, all of which were located strategically near the railway line.[120]

Several Punjabi seem to have perceived real estate as a good investment. For example, when a new subdivision, the 'Station Estate,' was opened up at Henty in September 1923, Putarb Singh took part in the

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[113]. James Ashton, "Annulling of after Auction Purchases," ibid., Oct 15 1904.

[114]. Lots 913–919 Department of Lands, "Map of the Village of Adelong and Suburban Lands, Parishes of Adelong, Euadera, Gadara, Calafat and Ellerslie, County of Wynyard, Land District of Tumut.," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1929).

[115]. Section 7, lot 1 Lands Office Deniliquin, "Sale at the Lands Office Deniliquin," *New South Wales Government Gazette*, Oct 28 1900.

[116]. Section 2, lots 5&6 James Ashton, "Land Sales," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Sep 26 1906, 6603.

[117]. Section 6, lots 1-4 Anonymous, "Moulamein," *Kerang New Times*, Apr 16 1907.

[118]. J.A. Nathan, "Sale of Business by Tender in the Estate of Gundah Singh (Late of Moulamein, Deceased) [Advertisement]," *Riverina Recorder (Balranald)*, May 21 1910; "Sale of Business by Tender in the Estate of Gundah Singh (Late of Moulamein, Deceased) [Advertisement]," *Bendigo Advertiser*, May 19 1910.

[119]. Anonymous, "Sale at Moulamein," *Riverina Recorder (Balranald)*, Jul 17 1912.

[120]. Howard Martin and Co, "Auctionsale of Houses and Land," *Jerilderie Herald and Urana Advertiser* Oct 30 1947. Spennemann, "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers….", n° 100.

auction, acquiring 14 of the 79 quarter-acre lots on offer. He invested a total of £619.[121] Other examples are Goudet Singh († 1930 Mohyu, NE Victoria) who left an estate of £20,729 including three double-block residential properties in Collingwood and Fitzroy, Melbourne,[122] and Gourdit ('Ganda') Singh († 1948 North Wangaratta, NE Victoria) who likewise left a sizeable estate (£19,937) including a ten-room town house in Carlton, Melbourne[123]

Traders turned farmers

For some Punjabi, life turned a full circle. Having left their farming background in their homeland, they engaged in various forms of retail, and then returned to farming, albeit in the Australian setting. Some of the hawkers transitioned from retailing to broad-acre farming (see below) or market gardening such as John Needham Singh at Tooleybuc or Johnnie Argon Singh at Gundagai.[124]

Some transitioned quietly from retailing, either hawking or store-based retail, to farming and thus escape the record. Others sold their stock at public auction, stating their reasons in public fashion, such as Hummo Khan[125] or Herman and Button Singh. The latter operated a successful drapery store in Swan Hill. In August 1918, they sold their stock by auction, as both wished to abandon hawking in order to go into agriculture.[126]

By nature of the data, however, it is difficult to assess how widespread this was. Unlike town allotments that were sequentially offered for sale as a community grew, most if not all rural land was already alienated from the Crown in the 1890s. Thus subsequent sales are only rarely recorded in

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[121]. When for corrected inflation (CPI), these £619 of 1923 are equivalent to Aus$50,290 in December 2016 terms Adjusting Australia's Historic Prices. 1850–December 2016. A Data Calculator. Ver. 2.3., Institute for Land, Water and Society, Albury. Perusal of property prices suggests that the commercial land value of all fourteen lots today would be about $400,000.

[122]. "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers….", n° 66.

[123]. Ibid., n° 104.

[124]. for details see "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."

[125]. W Day, "Unreserved Auction Sale. Drapery Clothing Etc," *Lockhart Review and Oaklands Advertiser*, Jan 17 1911.

[126]. Anonymous, "Auction Sale of Drapery, Clothing Etc at Swan Hill," *Riverina Recorder (Balranald)*, Aug 7 1918; "Alteration of Mart Sale Date [Advertisement]," *Swan Hill Guardian and Lake Boga Advocate*, Aug 1 1918.

the newspapers or government gazettes of the day. The only source of information with regards to ownership by Indian members of the community are reports by the Pasture Protection Board (for example the annual inspections of rabbit prevention) some reports on onward sales, either after death or due to bankruptcy, and ancillary data. As the area which forms the focus of this paper is located within the wheat-sheep belt of NSW, most farmers carried out mixed farming and ran stock of some description. Often this can be documented through stock brand records.[127] While those who led a productive, quiet farming life, tend to retreat into the background, it is usually those individuals who were continuously in and out of courts, for whom we have much detail. One of these was Hummo Khan.

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[127]. Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930.", table 4.

Table 1. Examples of land ownership by former Indian hawkers in Southern New South Wales—Urban Allotments.[128] Multiple purchases shown in italics

Purchaser	Barham	Berrigan	Boree Creek	Brungle	Henty	Moulamein	Mulwala	Pleasant Hills	The Rock	Savernake	Uranquity	Wagga	Wantabadgery
Badan Singh				1900									
Bishin Singh										year?			
Bishin Singh						1912							
Cabool Singh						1912							
Esser Singh									1906				
Foga Singh						1912							
Gharne Singh					1902								
Gundah & Kiham S.	1900												
Gundah Singh	1907					1907							
Gungah Singh		1920s											
Herman Singh					1902								
Hummo Khan			1910										
Inder Singh				1900									
Inder Singh												1922	
John Singh										year?			
Kaleb Singh						1912							
Kedar Singh									1906				
Nabob Khan											*1908*		
Nathoo Singh													*1931*
Partap Singh					*1923*								
Pooman Singh								1903					
Ram & Mundah S.										1907			
Rule Sinhgh									1907				
Ruttten Singh					1903								
Sahib Dad											*1908*		
Sundah Singh					*1924?*								
Sunder Singh							*1899*						
Vision Singh	1906												

An example of an outsider: Hummo Khan

There is little information on Hummo Khan before he bursts on the scene at Boree Creek.[129] When the Boree Creek Holding nº 548 was resumed and broken up, Khan acquired farm nº 15 (which he named 'Pine Hill') in May 1910.[130] In 1910 he is on record as he was running sheep,[131] but still seems to have partially financed his operations by hawking. He gave up retail for good in January 1911 when he put all his hawking stock in trade ("*men's and boy's clothing, Cashmeres, muslin, calicos, silks, hose, dress pieces, overcoats, hats, fancy goods, etc*") up for auction at Lockhart.[132] Khan was reputedly not much liked by neighbouring farmers in 1914,[133] in part, presumably, because he was almost annually cited for doing insufficient work on the eradication of rabbits[134] and because he repeatedly found himself in court. *Inter alia* he was charged with maliciously killing a neighbour's sheep,[135] as a hostile witness in a case of slander[136] and for illegally withholding wages from an employee.[137] In addition, he seems to have kept to himself and not widely engaged in community activities.

   Khan seems to have overreached financially, when he acquired by auction lots 11 and 14 in section 4 in the village Boree Creek, the sale of which was annulled in March 1914 for non-payment of instalments.[138] By

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[129]. There is all but one possible reference; a Hamo Khan is in record at Denman in 1907 in a case of illegally retrieving two impounded horses Anonymous, "Denman," *Muswellbrook Chronicle*, Jun 29 1907.

[130]. Settlement purchase 1901-13, M2666–1888 Department of Lands, "Parish of Faithful, County of Mitchell, Land District of Narrandera and Urana, Yanko Shire Central Divison, Nsw.," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1916).

[131]. S.T.D. Symonds, "Pastures Protection Act 1902. Sheep Brands," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney)*, Feb 15 1911, 1024.

[132]. Day, "Unreserved Auction Sale. Drapery Clothing Etc."

[133]. Anonymous, "Alleged Malicious Killing of Sheep. Borre Creek Farmer Accused," ibid., Nov 18 1914.

[134]. e.g. "Pastures Protection Board " *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Apr 14 1911; "Pastures Protection Board " *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Dec 8 1914; "Pastures Protection Board " *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Dec 11 1917.

[135]. "Alleged Malicious Killing of Sheep. Borre Creek Farmer Accused."— but found not guilty "Narrandera Quarter Sessions," *Urana Independent and Clear Hills Standard*, Mar 26 1915.

[136]. "The Greenvale Case," *Lockhart Review and Oaklands Advertiser*, Nov 24 1915.

[137]. "Police Court," *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, May 13 1921.

[138]. "[News]," *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Apr 21 1914.

December 1918, his property was mortgaged to the Rural Bank of New South Wales (on 11 Dec 1918 Book 1143/644). In February 1924 Khan carried out a successful clearing sale for 'Pine Hill'[139] as he was giving up farming reputedly on account of ill health[140]—yet he seems to have continued farming. Again, when Pine Hill was put up for public auction (to recover debt) on 19 August 1936[141] it appears that he retained ownership as he is still mentioned with regard to the rabbit problem.[142] When Khan died in 1945, the obituary notices were non-committal, not even stating his age, despite Khan having resided at Boree Creek for almost 35 years. A paper noted that he "lived by himself. He was a Mohommedan [sic], but what part of India he hailed from is not known. It is also not known whether he has any relations in Australia."[143]
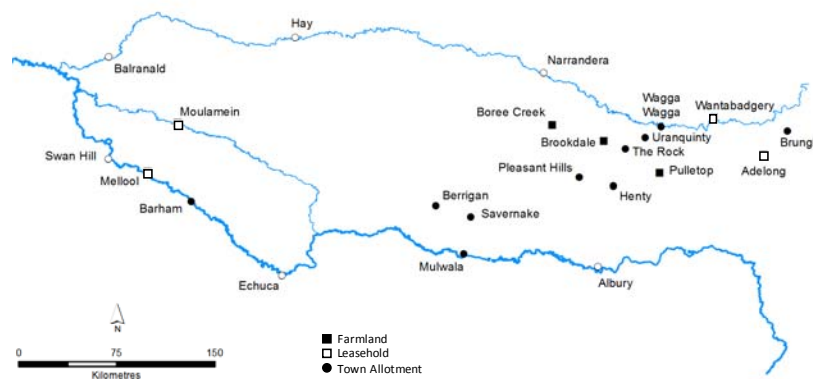

Figure 5. Locations of land ownership by former Indian hawkers in Southern New South Wales

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[139]. "Genuine Clearing Sale Account Hummo Khan, Pine Hill," *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Feb12 1924.

[140]. "Genuine Clearing Sale Account Hummo Khan, Pine Hill," *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Feb 8 1924.

[141]. G.F Murphy and P.W. McCarthy, "In the Supreme Court of New South Wales. Levy Vs Khan," ibid., Jul 17 1936.

[142]. Anonymous, "Pastures Protection Board " ibid., Sep 22; "Pastures Protection Board " *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Jun 14 1938.

[143]. "Hummo Khan," *Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, Jun 29 1945.

An example of success: farming at Pulletop

A microcosm of a more collective mode of farming is provided by the Pulletop area, located some 35 km south-southeast of Wagga Wagga. When the Pulletop pastoral run was resumed by the Crown in 1885, the western section remained as a pastoral holding (Nº 658A) while the eastern section was broken up into small settlement lots[144] which were sold off to various buyers. All purchase records on the Parish maps refer to that time.[145] Some areas to the east of the Pulletop Station were available by conditional purchase in 1891.[146] In both cases, subsequent changes to land ownership are not recorded on the maps.

From newspaper sources we know that a Boota Khan ran a farm at Pulletop in 1913, possibly together with his brothers Nabob Khan and 'Amarally' Khan.[147] It appears that the brothers continued on Boota's farm, as a 'Meer Alle' Khan, is on record as registering his cattle and horse brand in the year 1916.[148] When Nabob Khan struck out on his own and acquired land in the same area in 1920 (see below), 'Meer Alle' continued on the property. In 1922, now on record as 'Mlie' Khan, he is reported as wishing to retire from farming and leave Australia. Consequently he sold his farm at auction in March 1922.[149]

The former hawkers Budin Chund and Esser Singh seem to have farmed in partnership of some sort and acquired, or leased, land at Pulletop from 1917 or 1918 onwards. Budin Chund was no stranger to farming as he is on record as holding horses and cattle at Germanton (now

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144. Department of Lands, "Pulletop Run, Counties of Mitchell, Goulburn and Wynyard. General Sketch Plan," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1885).

145. "Pulletop [Run] Holding, Counties of Mitchell, Goulburn and Wynyard," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1885).

146. "Parish of Pulletop, County of Mitchell, Land District of Wagga Wagga, Central Divison, Nsw.," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1905).

147. Anonymous, "A Mohammedan's Death," *Wagga Wagga Express*, May 13 1913.

148. S.T.D. Symonds, "Stock Act, 1901. Part Vi.—Registration of Brands of Horses and Cattle. Forth Quarterly List of Horse and Cattle Brands for 1916. First Notification," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney)*, May 25 1917, 2695.

149. Shaw, Byrnes, and Toohey, "Unreserved Clearing Sale," *Daily Advertiser (Wagga Wagga)*, Mar 4 1922; Anonymous, "Important Clearing Sale," ibid., Mar 23; Shaw, Byrnes, and Toohey, "Absolute Unreserved Clearing Sale," ibid., Mar 20. [full list of equipment].

Holbrook), having registered his brand mark.[150] In April 1918 Budin Chund called for expressions of interest to drill 300 acres of ploughed land, 200 acres for oats and 100 acres for wheat.[151] A year later, however, both advertised the sale of their horses and farming plant at Pulletop by public auction on 7 March 1919[152] as they wished to give up farming. It is not clear whether the sale went ahead, as on 25 July 1919 Budin Chund advertised for a 'man to erect about 1 mile [of] 6 wire fence.'[153] Soon after, both Chund and Singh seem to have acquired land on their own (see below).

In 1920 the Pulletop pastoral holding N° 658A was surrendered back to the Crown through the implementation of provisions of the Closer Settlement Act.[154] The land was broken up with redefined portion boundaries and redistributed as smaller settlements.[155] Among the purchasers were Nabob Khan,[156] Sahib Dad[157] and Budin Chund (

Figure 6).[158] For both Nabob Khan and Sahib Dad this was not their first venture into the acquisition of real estate, however, as in October 1908

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[150]. S.T.D. Symonds, "Stock Act, 1901. Part Vi.—Registration of Brands of Horses and Cattle. Third Quarterly List of Horse and Cattle Brands for 1909. First Notification," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney)*, Dec 29 1909, 6957.

[151]. Budin Chund, "Tenders," *Daily Advertiser (Wagga Wagga)*, Apr 13 1918.

[152]. Wheatley and Cullen, "Clearing Sale near Pullitop," ibid., Feb 25 1919.

[153]. Budin Chund, "Wanted [Advertisement]," ibid., Jul 25.

[154]. Anonymous, "Surrender of Lands to Crown and Allotment of Same as Settlement Purchases " *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Jul 8 1921; P.F. Loughlin, "Notification of Surrender of Lands to the Crown under the Provisions of the Closer Settlement Acts, and of the Allotment of Same as Settlement Purchases.," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Jul 1 1921, 3916.

[155]. compare Department of Lands, "Parish of Pulletop, County of Mitchell, Land District of Wagga Wagga, Kyeamba and Holbrook Shires, Central Divison, Nsw.," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1916); "Parish of Pulletop, County of Mitchell, Land District of Wagga Wagga, Kyeamba and Holbrook Shires, Central Divison, Nsw.," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1923).

[156]. (SP 1920-68; 693 acres)

[157]. (SP 1920-70, 680 acres)

[158]. (SP 1920-76; 478½ acres)Closer Settlement Branch, "Soldier Settlement Indexes—Registers of Settlement Purchase, 1905-1929," ed. Department of Lands Closer Settlement Branch (State Records of New South Wales, 1929)., entries 4889, 4891, 4897.

both had bought town lots at Uranquinty, a small community on the southern rail line, some 15km southwest of Wagga Wagga.

Sometime before March 1924, Esser Singh, who had been farming in the area since 1918[159] acquired 525 acres in the same area (portion 110, originally settlement purchase 1920-8, parish of Pulletop),[160] some four kilometres to the east of the properties owned by Chund, Dad and Khan (Figure 6).[161]

In mid-1924 both Sahib Dad and Nabob Khan decided to sell their properties. A clearing sale was announced in June 1924 without a set date;[162] and soon after the properties were reported as sold to a Jeremiah William Minahan of Murrumburrah.[163] apparently for the sum of £4019.[164] The sale of the properties to the same purchaser was subject to the approval of the Minister of Lands, which was not granted.[165] The purchaser successfully took both Sahib Dad and Nabob Khan to court to retrieve a combined £200 deposit for the land purchase.[166]

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[159]. S.T.D. Symonds, "Stock Act, 1901. Part Vi.—Registration of Brands of Horses and Cattle. Forth Quarterly List of Horse and Cattle Brands for 1916. First Notification," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney)*, May 3 1918, 2070.

[160]. Closer Settlement Branch, "Closer Settlement Transfer Registers," ed. Department of Lands Closer Settlement Branch (State Records of New South Wales, 1929)., entry 4906; "Soldier Settlement Indexes—Closer Settlement Promotion Files, 1913-1929," ed. Department of Lands Closer Settlement Branch (State Records of New South Wales, 1929)., entry 118.

[161]. Esser Singh purchased the property from Gordon Livingstone Sanbroook, who had acquired portion 110 on 16 January 1920 as part of the breakup of Pulletop Station (settlement purchase 1920-8, plan M3072-1888) P.F. Loughlin, "Notification of Surrender of Lands to the Crown under the Provisions of the Closer Settlement Acts, and of the Allotment of Same as Settlement Purchases.," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Apr 23 1920, 2511.— That property passed to an Albert Cross sometime after 1932 entry on Parish map, Department of Lands, "Parish of Pulletop, County of Mitchell, Land District of Wagga Wagga, Kyeamba and Holbrook Shires, Central Divison, Nsw.," (Sydney: Department of Lands, 1958).

[162]. H.G. Box, "The Riverina. Landseekers, Homeseekers, and Investors' Guide," *Daily Advertiser (Wagga Waga)*, Jun 7 1924.;

[163]. "Properties for Sale," *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, Jul 4 1924; "Property Sales," *Daily Advertiser (Wagga Wagga)*, Jun 28 1924.

[164]. Anonymous, "Nº 2 Jury Causes," *Sydney Morning Herald*, Jun 30 1925.

[165]. "Nº 2 Full Court," *Sydney Morning Herald*, Aug 12 1925.

[166]. "Nº 2 Jury Causes."; "Nº 2 Full Court."

It seems that soon after, either in 1924 or early 1925 Nabob Khan sold his land to Jung Mullick (originally 'Malik' ?), another Indian hawker. He moved to Hanging Rock in 1925 and died in the same year.[167]

In October 1935 Mullick still owed £1862 (with annual instalments of 118/17) on the settlement purchase. It was the intent that Sahib Dad would acquire Mullick's land 'at an early date.'[168] It appears that this did not eventuate and that the property was taken over by the Australian and New Zealand Bank.[169]

Budin Chund, who named his property Sabo, presumably after the community of Sabo in Punjab, ran sheep on his property in 1920.[170] He suffered economic damage when a bushfire started on his property on 3 December 1922 and destroyed eight to ten acres of not yet fully ripe crop.[171] On 29 July 1924 the title of the property was transferred to the Government Savings Bank of NSW.[172] Chund appears to have carried on farming, presumably as a tenant, but seems to have sold his property assets in early 1926, presumably to a John Moore, as the latter is on record as registering Chund's brand mark at the same address of 'Sabo.'[173] Budin

[167]. Mcintosh and Best, "In the Supreme Court Onf Nsw. Probate Jurisdiction. In the Will of Formerly Nabob Khan of Cookardinia, near Wagga Wagga, but Late of Hanging Rock, in the State of New South Wales, Farmer, Deceased," *Northern Star (Lismore)*, Dec 21 1925. (NSW BDM 18451/1925). Probate 21 December 1925, executor Shajawal Khan ibid.; "In the Supreme Court Onf Nsw. Probate Jurisdiction. In the Will of Formerly Nabob Khan of Cookardinia, near Wagga Wagga, but Late of Hanging Rock, in the State of New South Wales, Farmer, Deceased," *Sydney Morning Herald*, Dec 22 1925.— In April 1956 Mitchell Shire county threatened the forced sale of Khan's former three properties as rates had not been paid by the executor's of Nabob Kahn's estate for more than seven years W.J. Casperson, "Mitchell Shire Council.—Local Government Act 1919," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney)*, Apr 20 1956.

[168]. Inspector of Police Wagga Wagga, "Commissioner of Police Sydney," (National Archives of Australia, 1935).

[169]. entry on Parish map Department of Lands, "Parish of Pulletop, County of Mitchell, Land District of Wagga Wagga, Kyeamba and Holbrook Shires, Central Divison, Nsw."

[170]. S.T.D. Symonds, "Pastures Protection Act 1912. Sheep Brands," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney)*, Jan 9 1920, 119; ibid., 159.

[171]. Anonymous, "Smart Save at Pullitop," *Daily Advertiser (Wagga Wagga)*, Dec 7 1922.

[172]. Closer Settlement Branch, "Closer Settlement Transfer Registers.", entry 4877.

[173]. Sydney Smith, "Registration of Stock Brands Act, 1921," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Mar 26 1926, 1423.

Chund himself returned to India in April 1927, and died on 21 December 1927 at Kala Saugian, Jullunur, Punjab.[174]

It should be noted that not all Punjabi who went into farming, actually purchased their land. There are a few instances where they leased the land instead.[175] The most prominent example would be Bishin Singh of Moulamein, who went into agriculture quite early on. In 1902 he leased three adjoining 320a properties in the Parish of Mellool (portions 52, 53 and 69), located some 35km south-southwest of Moulamein. The initial 14-year lease was renewed for another 14 years in 1918.[176] In 1907 he added another small grazing lease in Moulamein itself.[177]
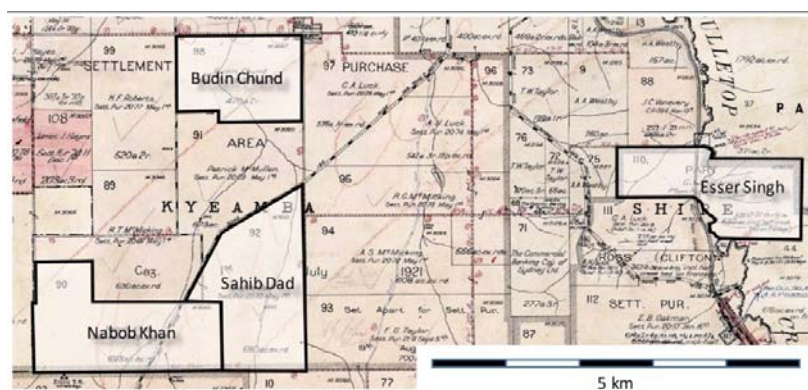

Figure 6. Spatial relationship of the properties owned by Budin Chund, Saib Dad, Nabob Khan and Esser Singh at Pulletop.[178]

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[174]. Anonymous, "Obiturary Budin Chund," *Daily Advertiser (Wagga Wagga)*, Feb 2 1928.

[175]. Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930.", table 3.

[176]. W.G. Ashford, "Extension of Terms of Special Leases," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales (Sydney)*, Apr 26 1918. Ibid., 57.

[177]. G.S. Beeby, "Aleration of Puposes of a Special Lease," *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales*, Apr 24 1912.

[178]. base map Department of Lands, "Parish of Pulletop, County of Mitchell, Land District of Wagga Wagga, Kyeamba and Holbrook Shires, Central Divison, Nsw."

Table 2 Examples of land ownership by former Indian hawkers in Southern New South Wales—Farm Allotments[179]

Dates	Purchaser	Place	Parish	Allotment	area	Endnote
1910, May 23	Hummo Khan	'Pine Hill"	Faithful	P 84 farm 15	639a 2r	[180]
<1918	Esoor Singh		Pulletop			[181]
<1913	Boota Khan Nabob Khan Amarally/ Mlei Khan		Pulletop			[182]
1920, May 1	Nabob Khan		Pulletop	P90	693a	[183]
ca 1925	Jung Mullick		Pulletop	P90	693a	[184]
1920, May 1	Sahib Dad	Victory	Pulletop	P92	680a	[185]
1920, May 1	Budin Chund	Sabo	Pulletop	P98	478a 2r	[186]
< 1924, Mar 31	Esoor Singh		Pulletop	P110	525a21p	[187]
1917, Feb	Gharne Singh	Pine Grove	Osborne	P56	500a	[188]
1934, Mar	Gharne Singh	Roughton's Farm	Osborne		708a 3r	[189]

On the whole, as far as can be ascertained at least, the Punjabi men were successful hawkers and businessmen. Some went bankrupt and the estates voluntarily (or involuntarily) sequestrated. Given that most of them sent remittances to the family back home in the Punjab, the reasons for the bankruptcies may well be more complex than mere mismanagement or misfortune.

An example of a wholly unsuccessful venture into farming is the case of Junda Singh who worked as a hawker in the Wangaratta/Millewa area. His business acumen may be doubted as, unlike many other hawkers, he is continually on record as having to sue for the payment of outstanding debts.[180] By 1908 he is on record as a farmer at Glenrowan, on a 400-acre property with some dairy cows, fined for discharging a gun in the direction of an underperforming employee following an altercation.[181] His estate was sequestrated in October 1908[182] and it took until 1916 to wind up his affairs.[183]

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[179]. For further details on the individuals, see the relevant entries in Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."

[180]. Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."

[181]. Anonymous, "Insulted with a Gun," *The Argus (Melbourne)*, Mar 7 1908.

[182]. Will Blacklow, "Notice," *Victoria Government Gazette* 133 (1908).

[183]. M.Q. M'Namara, "Clearing Sale, Horses Cattle, Furniture and Sundries," *Benalla Standard*, Mar 3 1911; "Clearing Sale. Horses Cattle, Furniture and Sundries,"

Conclusions

The Punjabi community during the period of the 1890s to 1930s was not a homogenous 'mass' of itinerant hawkers as the general literature makes us believe. Rather, they are a complex array of individuals, who utilised the land not only in different ways, but also differently depending on the stage of their own lives. While not much liked in some of the towns, those who engaged in hawking made ample use of the public estate beyond the town boundaries, camping unhindered at the various camping and travelling stock reserves. While this beginning was common to all, their paths soon diverged. Some kept on hawking in the same fashion, presumably sending the bulk of their savings as remittances back to the families in the Punjab. Others chose to purchase land, either as as urban bases for their operations, or as investment properties until their return to India. Some moved from hawking to agricultural production, leasing or acquiring land for market gardening or broad acre farming. While some sold up their land in later life and returned to the Punjab, others settled and made Australia their new home.

There can be little doubt that the community of Punjabi men in any given area was quite small and that all would have known each other. While altercations between some hawkers are on record,[184] these tended to be primarily based on personal differences and business opportunities rather than religious lines (unlike cases in the Lismore area). It is clear that the Punjabi community came together at semi-regular intervals, *i.e.* during the annual granting of licenses, at common camping locations, as well as at funerals. There is ample evidence that, especially for the latter, messages were sent out summonsing fellow countrymen to attend the ceremonies. Only in rare occasions, were individuals shunned by the Punjabi community as in the case of Paul Singh (†1945 Benalla, NE Victoria) who adopted the anglicised name 'Paul' instead of, presumably, 'Pollah' and eschewed the wearing of a turban.[185]

Even though the acquisition of land was, usually, a highly individual decision, it did not occur in a vacuum. The community of Punjabi traders communicated with, and influenced each other. The records at this stage

Benalla Standard, Apr 4 1911; F.W. Briggs, "Insolvency Acts. Dividends by Court of Insolvency, Northern District, Wangaratta," *The Argus (Melbourne)*, May 3 1916.

184. Spennemann, "Hawkers in the Southern Riverina …1890–1930."
185. "Deaths and Cremations of Indian Hawkers….", n° 99.

are too limited to allow us to assess the relationship of most of the Punjabi men before they acquired land. As the paper has shown, there are certainly instances where several Punjabi acquired land in the same area at the same time, or where others followed suit. Examples for this have been cited above: the 1903 acquisition of land in the same section by three hawkers in Henty; the 1912 acquisition of land by four hawkers in Moulamein, where at least one other Punjabi already owned property; and the 1920 acquisition of farming land in the Pulletop area by four Punjabi. The men may have been related through family ties, may have hailed from the same towns or *tahsils* in the Punjab, or they may have merely shared a common interest in land ownership.

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