CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACT
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The economic and socio-cultural impact of migration can be studied taking into consideration the various periods of history of the district. Due to the changing circumstances the impact of migration on the district as well as on the community varied time to time from 1900 to 1980. Throughout the period under study, the community was getting transformed socially and economically due to migration. Economically poverty was brought down. Socially new customs and new practices crept into the community. They had to reciprocate to various issues at various points of time due to new exposure. By 1980, to a large extent poverty was contained and the worldview of the community had undergone a change.

Economic Impact:

Since people migrate to faraway lands due to the economic compulsions at home economic well-being is foremost in the minds of the people when they decide to migrate. Those who migrate expect better economic conditions and returns in the places of migration. Therefore migration, more often than not, brings economic benefits to the migrants and the community. The migration of the Catholics had taken place due to the similar reasons, which is discussed in Chapter 3. The migration brought immense economic benefits to the community as well as the district throughout the period under study.

The skilled and unskilled migrants mostly led a hard life.1 The establishment of Coods, Death Funds and later on Co-operative Societies in Bombay indicated their economic status in the initial stages.2 In Chikmagalure

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1In Bombay, women had to work for long hours in strange and new households. Often there were complaints that they were abused or molested. Men had to live in Coods or share dormitory accommodation where there was no privacy. At times these Coods were only Chawls of single rooms that were over filled.

2The KCA had a Death Fund initially. Later on other clubs established such funds. For instance,
area the living conditions of the labourers were said to have been poor. Migrants to West Asian countries too led a hard life.

The skilled and unskilled migrants made use of the night schools in Bombay and acquired higher educational qualifications which enabled them to get better employment. The educated section passed higher examinations to climb the economic ladder. It is only the educated section of the migrants which had less difficulties. Large majority of the unskilled and skilled migrants were either from the rural areas or town and outskirts of Mangalore. They were either from Chalgueni or Mulgueni tenant families, who were under the grip of the landlords which is discussed in Chapter 3.

Migration to places such as Chikmagalore, Bombay, Persia and later on West Asian countries brought them subsidiary income. As a result they could eat enough, build better houses, send their children or siblings to school, or get their family members jobs or meet the dowry needs of their children or siblings, and so on. It enabled "them to pay overdue debts and rents. But for the prosperity of these emigrants the lot of hundreds of our Catholic village population, would have been much more depressing and distressful than it

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Bolkunje parishioners club opened a death fund in 1946. RAKNO, 27 September, 1946, p.3.

3They lived in thatched sheds near the coffee estates often becoming victims of fever and various diseases which frequented the region. K.D., 2 October, 1923, pp. 220-221.


5Migrants in Bombay studied in their spare time and acquired new skills. They also wrote departmental exams. For instance, Martin Saldanha passed a higher examination in First Aid of St. John's Ambulance and received a medal from Prince of Wales in 1904. M. M., Vol. III, 1904-1906, p. 56.

6The educated section lived in good houses in Chikmagalore region or in cities like Bombay, Madras or Bangalore.

7In 1930s Catholics migrated to Bombay from the "....arid tracts of South Canara and arriving in Bombay in ship loads in the city for domestic service." Our Bombay Notes: K.D., 2 September, 1936, eng. supp. p.1.

8Girls who worked in Bombay collected a good sum of money for their dowry. Therefore after working for some years they were in a position to marry. In Mangalore their salary was only Rs 2 or 3 whereas in Bombay it was Rs 8-15. They could remit money home. Welfare of the Domestic Servants: RAKNO, 12 September, 1941, p.2.

Poverty was rampant in the district. However those who went to Bombay said to have had enough to eat. Though, some of them did not have education to work in offices they could do mundane jobs. There were cases of return migrants from Bombay who purchased land in the district. The women who were working in the mills earned above Rs. 100. Kari Purto Vavr Ani Potbor Shith (Plenty of work and enough to eat): RAKNO, 22 March, 1946, p. 3.
It had been acknowledged by certain writers in 1930s that contact with Bombay increased the standard of living of the Catholics and resulted in the spread of education among them. Similarly migrants to other parts brought affluence to their families. Migrants to West Asian countries were temporary migrants since they were not allowed to settle down there. As a result the entire earned income flowed to the district. The wealth which thus came into the district was channelised to various fields. The money remitted to their families led to the construction of RCC houses with modern amenities hitherto unknown in the villages such as toilets, dining tables, music systems and so on in every village, be it on a hill or a field. Some of them purchased land. Many migrants due to their hard work could give better education to their children and in return get a job for them. According to one estimate the foreign exchange brought to the district by the Catholic migrants from the

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9 Emigration to Bombay: Jerome A. Saldanha. K.D., 2 August, 1933, eng. supp. pp.ii-iii.
10 Land Revenue Settlement of South Canara (editorial) K.D., 2 September, 1933, eng. supp. p.i-ii.
12 Debt due to Dowry, debt in order to pay the landlord, debt of hypothecation of jewellery, was inherited by their children. Many women who went to Bombay repay this debt. Many women did not marry in time and then go to Bombay to earn. Parents send them to Bombay in order to support other younger children. If these women are exploited Dowry was the main reason.” Dothivine Kazar (Marriage without Dowry): RAKNO, 4 August, 1939, p.1.
13 Land Revenue Settlement of South Canara (editorial) K.D., 2 September, 1933, eng. supp. p.i-ii.
14 Land Revenue Settlement of South Canara (editorial) K.D., 2 September, 1933, eng. supp. p.1-ii.
West Asian countries was estimated at about 60-79 crores in 1978. Though the land tenure system had impoverished them, the affluence due to the migration to the West Asian countries made them economically sound. Abolition of land tenure system took place only in 1974 when the State of Karnataka passed the Land Reforms Act. By 1980 the Catholics were getting conscious of the wealth they were pumping into the economy and wanted to channelize the same for furthering the interest of the community. A well known migrant to Qatar, Eddy Podwol lamented that with such contribution to the district “we still remain behind the curtains.” Their lifetime savings which were deposited in the Banks was injected to the economy of the district. The various Banks too had cashed on the wealth by issuing attractive advertisements for special non-resident accounts including depositing of foreign currency in Konkani newsmagazines to attract their investment. It also led to the establishment of multiple Bank branches in pockets where the families of the migrants lived.

Migrants to West Asian countries brought all kinds of articles which were unknown in the district, hitherto. Apart from bringing affluence to themselves and their families, the migrants contributed financially to the

15 According to one estimate out of Rs.100 Cr. flow of foreign exchange to the district the Catholic’s share was about 60-79 cr. Dakshin Kannadanth Kaigarikabhivriddi-2 (Industrial Development of South Canara-2): RAKNO, 13 July, 1978, p. 8.
Advertisement of Indian Overseas Bank: It requested the readers to send addresses of friends and relatives so that the Bank would contact them. RAKNO, 26 September, 1976, p.3.
Such advertisements appeared repeatedly in Konkani newsmagazines.
18Due to the presence of large number of Catholic migrants various banks have opened their branches in places such as Moodubelle, Shirva, Shankerpura, Mudarangadi and Kinnigoly areas. As a result these villages have multiple bank branches.
19For instance, 'The Paradela Nite' was organized in Mangalore by a group of migrants to the Middle East countries in the later part of 1970s. They introduced the cycadecic lightings and stereophonic sound effects for the first time in Mangalore in Konkani dramas. RAKNO, 22 November, 1979, p. 10. It is said that one who was wearing a torn pant and shirt, who had no enough money for the bus fare and therefore walked the distance, one who used bidi to smoke ..., but having gone to West Asian countries wore costly spectacles, big belt, Rado watch, Rothmans cigarette, high-heeled shoes and so on and also gave high tips to the auto. Letter to the Editor: RAKNO, 10 July, 1980, p.4.
Church and to other philanthropic activities throughout the period under study. The money contributed by the migrants to the church in the places of migration as well as the district was utilized by the church broadly in three spheres- Missionary activities, Church infrastructure, and Education. As a result there was tremendous growth of Church institutions in the district.

From the last decades of the 19th century onwards the Church solicited monetary help from the migrants. The European Jesuits who ran St. Aloysius College always emphasised to their alumni that it was their bounden duty to help their *Alma Mater* financially through their organ *Mangalore Magazine* from about 1897. Such appeals continued thereafter by the Rector of the College. The educational institutions were the first ones to exploit this source of income especially in the form of Christian charity. The Jesuit clergy continued to tap this financial source then onwards. In 1930s when a science building was planned their representative C.J. Varkey was sent to Bombay, Nagpur and other places to raise funds. In 1940, for the Diamond Jubilee the college authorities acknowledged that the subscriptions were "pouring in from old boys all over the world." There have been migrant families donating the College entire blocks of buildings. Apart from it the migrants always contributed to various funds, prizes, scholarships so on in the college. Whenever a teacher priest died scholarships or funds were established in his name. Whenever a member of the community occupied some higher positions or a member expired there was a practice to institute a prize, a

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20 The call was given to the alumni in the Mangalore Magazine in 1901. *M. M.*, Easter1901-Christmas1903, Vol. II, p. 53. When the college authorities wanted to put up a mural slab to mark Fr. Ryan's (an English Jesuit who served in the St. Aloysius College during its early years) last resting place, an appeal was sent to the alumni of the college through *Mangalore Magazine*, working in all parts of India. The alumni from all over from Colombo, Bombay, Poona, Mahabaleshwar, Hosur, Cannanore, Madras, Kodaikanal and so on came forward to contribute their mite. The Aloysian alumni from Bombay contributed about Rs.21. In no time the college collected an amount more than Rs.300 from its alumni, majority of who were migrants to various places. *M. M.*, Easter1901-Christmas1903, Vol. II, p. 53.


scholarship or memorial fund in the college. The Jesuits continued to raise funds among the Alumni and later on strengthened the Alumni Association to improve their financial capacity to help their educational institutions monetarily.

The Mangalore Diocese too approached the migrants independently for its various needs. It sent various missionaries and priests to the Coods and Associations to give retreats and to collect funds. In the early stages the missionaries in charge of missions such as Kadaba and Uppinangady had raised funds from the migrants in Bombay. The migrants too were sympathetic towards them. While some of the priests requested the migrants

25 David Benjamin Pinto, a head clerk in the Bombay Secretariat used to hand over handsome prizes to be awarded on the annual prize distribution day in St. Aloysius College. *M.M.,* Vol. III, 1904-1906, p. 64.
In 1905, migrants to Bombay collected about Rs. 1200 for the Silver Jubilee Memorial Fund of the College. This fund was utilized for scholarships. *M.M.,* Vol. III, 1904-1906, p. 154.
There were about 12 scholarships in St. Aloysius College by 1906. Jerome Saldanha, a Judge in the Bombay Presidency contributed a handsome donation to that fund in 1906. *M.M.,* Vol. III, 1904-1906, p. 64.
When J. Baizini, a priest teacher of St. Aloysius College expired the old students instituted a scholarship. A committee was formed to raise funds in Bombay. *K.D.*, 2 January, 1925, eng. supp. p. iv.
The Diocese of Mangalore was under the administration of the Jesuits till 1923. In 1925, a native priest was appointed Bishop.
26In 1923, R. D. Sequeira of Kokkada Mission visited the migrants in Bombay and their clubs "to remind them" of his work *K.D.*, 2 December, 1923, p.269.
A clergy from Kelarai had gone to Bombay twice to raise funds for the Church here. *K.D.*, 16 December, 1936, p. 267.
29There were instances where the missionaries requested the migrants to sponsor their school fully. In return they offered to name the school after their parish. Each club(cood) became a model to other club and these clubs competed with each other in contributing more to such demands. *K.D.*, 2 January, 1925, p.10.
The migrants working in Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd. Abadan, under the guidance of Mrs. Lizzie Noronha conducted a fancy bazaar and lottery and collected about Rs. 460 as help to Ursuline sisters of Vorkady for their educational efforts in 1929, where economically backward Catholics lived. The Ursulines: *K.D.*, 16 August, 1929, eng. supp. p.iii.
In 1933, Lizzie Noronha of Abadan sent Rs. 418 to the chaplain of Nirkan(near Bantwal) for his
to send donations, others had thanked them for their help. 30

From about 1930s the various Coods or clubs made it a practice to stage Konkani dramas and raise funds and the majority of these funds were donated to the Church establishments in its various schemes. The various Coods thus devised a scheme and contributed to their respective parishes monetarily. 31 Some of them were established with the sole aim of helping their parishes. 32 In the post-independence period this activity further intensified. There has been exchange of drama troupes to help the Church on its various programmes between Bombay and Mangalore in the 1960s. 33 There have been some parishes which always depended on these Coods for favours mainly due to the poverty prevalent in the district even in the post-

A migrant in Bombay requested members of different clubs to help the missionary work of Father Camissa S.J. saying even if one member contributes one anna a big fund will be collected. Father Camissa Korgar (Korgas of Father Camissa): RAKNO, 14 July, 1939, p.2.
St. Joseph’s Club under the leadership of Pius Castelino donated Rs.100 to Belman Church, Rs. 105 to Shirva Local Fund Hospital and Rs. 50 to the South Canara missionary at Trichy, Gasper Pinto. Bombay Taxi Driver Union: RAKNO, 16 June, 1939, p.6.
30 Cascia St. Rita’s Union in Bombay staged a drama to raise funds for Cascia Church Jubilee Fund at Dobitalao in St. Xavier’s Hall in 1960 on the request of the parish priest of Cascia, F.X. Fernandes. Bomboigarankade Vinantti (A request to the Bombayites): RAKNO, 8 June, 1960, p. 3.
L.S. Pais, parish priest of Kundapur met the donors of his parish in Bombay to thank them. Sarvank Argun (Thanks to all): RAKNO, September, 1967, p.10.
31 Belle parishioners in Bombay contributed to the compound wall of the cemetery of their parish at Belle in 1940, RAKNO, 26 January, 1940, p.5.
Tacode Christian Association had collected Rs.10,000 for advertisements for the souvenier when their church was newly built. The Senior Construction Company which was run by the migrants of Tacode donated a church bell worth Rs. 8000 in 1976. Tacode Christian Association Bombay: RAKNO, 26 December, 1976, p.19.
32 ‘Surathkal Welfare Association’ was formed in 1976 with the following objectives- sending monetary help to the Surathkal parish, instituting scholarships to the poor students of parish, social and moral obligations of religion and nation, help the members when in distress. Surathkal Welfare Association, Bomboi Stapan (Inauguration of Surathkal Welfare Association Bombay) RAKNO, 14 March, 1976, p.10.
33 A Konkani drama troupe from Bombay came to Mangalore to stage Fudaraso Divo drama in Don Bosco Hall, Mangalore in 1961. The funds raised were donated to the Valencia Church. Fudaraso Divo (written by K.E. Stanley): RAKNO, 14 January, 1962, p.7.
Independence period. Apart from these Coods there were individuals who donated to the Church for its various funds.

The migrants to West Asian region too contributed immensely the same way. They staged dramas, invited the priests to the region and so on. The contribution of the migrants to the Church was also immense and rather in many more folds than the previous migrants to Bombay due to the higher income of the migrants. Migration to Bombay and West Asian countries also led to the increased Sunday Collections which has been pumped into the Church economy. Whenever a migrant visited the district from Bombay or West Asian countries he contributed much more than the others. The families of migrants who are affluent also contributed similarly. A writer in 1978 asserted that the migrants’ money has to be acknowledged in large number of institutions of the Catholics in Mangalore and the district. Thus the migration led to the establishment of strong institutions under the Church managements in the district. Migrants to Bombay and West Asia profusely supported the Diocesan newsletter RAKNO and other journals.

34In 1940, a parishioner of Shirva requested the migrants in Bombay to contribute a Church bell. RAKNO, 13 September, 1940, p. 2.
The Urwa parishioners met in Nagpada neighbourhood hall, Bombay and formed a committee in 1963 to raise funds for a new hall for the parish of Urwa. The Urwa parishioners residing in Bombay were called to help. Urwagarank Ulo (Call to the Urwa parishioners): RAKNO, 11 March, 1964, p.7.
35Peter Lobo of Cordel who was an early migrant to Bombay donated Rs. 1000 to St. Aloysius College, Rs 3,000 to the seminary, 2,000 to the Diocese of Mangalore, 1,000 to the Cordel Church in 1929 in his Death Will. K.D., 2 March, 1929, eng. supp. p. iii; K.D., 2 April, 1929, eng. supp. p. iv.
In 1930 Alex Joseph Rebello donated Rs. 3,932-10-4 and Peter Paul Pinto donated Rs. 2000 to the Bishop. K.D., 2 February, 1930, p. 23.
Albert M. Rego of Bombay donated Rs.150 for the Shrine of Sacred Heart in the St. Aloysius College, Middle School in 1942. RAKNO, 27 February, 1942, p. 1.
Antony Denis Coelho erected a grotto in the Milagres Church in Mangalore in 1942 in memory of his parents. RAKNO, 18 December, 1942, p.1.
Dr. Stany Patrao of Bombay donated a school block for the Girls’ School at Puttur in 1944. RAKNO, 25 February, 1944, p.2.
37 Here, Church management means the clergy, various religious orders, parishes and the Bishop of Mangalore who run numerous institutions inclusive of schools in the district.
Migrants became sponsors and benefactors to the RAKNO and supported it. RAKNO, 12 January, 1978, p.7.
John Pinto, a migrant to West Asia donated 100 subscriptions of Jezu Rai newsletter in 1979. RAKNO, 13 September, 1970, p.4.
The migrants were also active in various philanthropic activities and donated to various people and institutions such as hospitals, refugee funds, flood victims, school buildings and so on at various points of time. 39

The migrants also raised funds to donate to the Church where they lived in places such as Bombay, Chikmagalure, Madras, Bangalore, Dar es Salam and so on. 40 Migrants to Chikmagalure area contributed fabulously to the Church and helped in the establishment of the Church infrastructure and new parishes in the region which later on became an independent Diocese. They involved themselves holding Mass together in the initial period.

39On retirement of Jerome Saldanha from Government service J. A. Saldanha Scholarship was instituted to a Catholic student of South Canara in Bombay. K.D., 2 May, 1923, eng. supp. p. iv. When Mirza Ismail came to Kadur in Chikmagalure in 1927, S.L. Mathias contributed Rs 10,000 to build a hospital at Mudigere. K. D., 16 March, 1927, p.50.
In 1930 Bijai Poorman’s Lodge raised a fund of about Rs. 951 from Chikmagalure region. Ijai Garib Seva Mandiraso Pandravya Varsaso report (Fifteenth year’s report of Poorman’s Lodge, Bijai): K.D., 16 May, 1930, pp. 105-106.
The Kanara Catholic Club, Bombay sent some money to the flood affected people of Venur in 1941 through RAKNO. RAKNO, 4 July, 1941, p.2.
The Relief fund constituted under the leadership of Victor D’ Souza of Kemman, an accountant in the nearby Industry, donated Rs. 450 to those affected by the Jogeshwari fire accident in 1946. RAKNO, 12 April, 1946, p.6.
Members of erstwhile Lourdes Union of Mangalore who had migrated to Bombay had started the same Union there. They staged dramas to raise money. In 1947 they donated to the St. Aloysius Building Fund. RAKNO, 12 December, 1947, p.3.
Donors from Bombay, Delhi, Khorranshahr, Iran and so on contributed to Dr. L.P. Fernandes Memorial Fund. Dr. L.P. Memorial Fund: RAKNO, 14 February, 1947, p.2.
In 1969, a priest named Stanley Periera was donated a car worth 20,000 by a migrant well wisher of Bombay. Pirer Bapak Kar Inaam (A gift of car for Fr. Periera): RAKNO, 12 November, 1969, p.2.
The migrants under the leadership of Mark. F. Vaz, established a fund called ‘The Mangalorean Relief Fund.’ in 1973, to help S. M. D’Souza, the editor of ‘The Mangalorean’ who lost all his property in a fire accident in Bombay. Ek Vinanthi: RAKNO, 14 April, 1974, p.2.
The migrants contributed to RAKNO Flood Relief Fund of 1974. Rakno Aavr- Nirashrithancha Nidhik Dhan ( RAKNO Flood Relief Fund): RAKNO, 18 August, 1974, p.2. 40
In 1942 St. Ann’s Konkani Sodality in Bombay staged their seventh drama Bomboi Sarg and collected Rs 600 which were donated to the St. Ann’s Free School. Bombeio Sarg - Bomboith Kokal Natak ( Konkani dramas in Bombay): RAKNO, 30 January, 1942, p.7.
A. L. Sequeira and Mrs A.L. Sequeira helped in raising funds through the benefit show “O.K. for Sound” for St. Joseph’s School, Dar-es-Salaam run by the Missionary Nuns in 1939. The Sequeira couple had earlier collected Rs. 500 for missionary work. RAKNO, 30 June, 1939, p. 6.

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Thereafter they established cemeteries and chapels. 41 Here the majority of the migrants were labourers and were not as affluent as the migrants of Bombay. Inspite of it the labourers along with affluent planters and writers contributed to the Church apparatus.

Economic affluence led to the developments which attracted the ire of the traditional society. As early as 1920s there were accusations in Mangalore on the children of migrants to Bombay, that they were wasting their hard earned money. 42 Later on, the migrants to West Asian countries were criticised as they spent money lavishly on certain functions and it was termed unhealthy. 43 They were accused of causing inflation, especially in local markets and in land prices.44

The educated and the skilled and unskilled labourer section of migrants who settled permanently in places such as Chikmagalure or Bombay, Madras, Bangalore also flourished. They could purchase houses and send their children to better schools and as a result this section availed better education. They also had better exposure to the cities.

41 In 1914, Catholic migrants near Balur estates in Chikmagalur region came together to plan a new Church for themselves. Letters to the editor: **K.D.**, 14 August, 1914, p. 155.
42 In 1915, the bungalow of Subbangudigi estate was used for Mass by the Catholics of the area. Thereafter they wrote a memorandum, to acquire one acre land for cemetery in Basrikatte to be submitted to the Deputy Commissioner of Kadur. **K.D.**, 1 January, 1915, p. 8.
43 In 1915, the Catholic labourers, writers and owners of the estates collected funds for the construction of a church at Basrikatte. Labourers from each estate of the locality contributed a days pay for the purpose. Daniel Mascarenhas, the proprietor of Thirtha Gundi estate and its writer Sebastian Sequeira promised Rs. 500 and required wood, tiles and other accessories for the purpose. **K.D.**, 2 November, 1915, pp. 210-v.

At Javali, in Coove Estate a special Mass and enthronement of the Sacred Heart was held in 1930. ‘Lourdes Union’ of Mangalore under the leadership of P. D’sa staged a Konkani drama. **K.D.**, 2 February, 1930, eng. supp. p. iv.

Each estate had a gurkar in Hirebail area in 1930s. Thus the Catholic migrant labourers were organised to undertake religious activity and to raise funds for the same. **RAKNO**, 19 February, 1939, p.5.

2 In lottery and gamble such as ‘Satta’ and ‘Race’. **K.D.**, 2 March, 1929, pp. 56-57.
44 In 1980, a writer named Austin Prabhu advised the migrants to bargain in the market. He lamented that they paid whatever was demanded. *Poishanso Hankar (Arrogance of money):* Austin Prabhu. **RAKNO**, 5 June, 1980, p.4.
Though they were mainly in various services of public and private enterprises, among them also emerged a few entrepreneurs. The new exposure and opportunities created many individual achievers. From about the closing years of 19th century small time entrepreneurs emerged in Bombay, Bangalore and in Chikmagalur region. In the post-colonial period more such entrepreneurs emerged. Among the migrants there were some rags to riches stories. In the Chikmagalur region, those who went on foot due to poverty later became affluent planters. The city of Bangalore also had such instances. The return migrants from Bombay too became entrepreneurs in the district.

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45 Martin Pinto was one of the partners of Roy & Co., at Kalbadevi, Bombay which was dealing in Homeopathic medicines. *M. M.*, Vol. I, 1897-1900, p.306.

Thomas Mascarenhas one of the old students trained at the Castelino's Commercial Night School at Mangalore opened morning and evening commercial classes in Fort High School in Bombay. *M. M.*, Vol. I, 1897-1900, p.374.


There were many small-scale entrepreneurs emerged in Bombay by 1963. Some of these merchants dealt with the wares of South Canara. Some of them were small scale hoteliers. Advertisement Section, *RAKNO*, Silver Jubilee Souvenir, 1939-1963.

46 Maurice Lobo of Louis Silk Mills, Bombay belonged to Bolkunje.

John D'silva founded Abhyudaya Cooperative Bank in 1964 with Rs.5000 which made a business of 6.50 crores in 1978. He employed about 220 people. He had also formed Tenant's Association, Christian Family Society, Civic Centre, Education Society and so on. He was the convener of Bombay and Thana Cooperative Banks. He said to have helped George Fernandes to establish Bombay Labour Cooperative Bank (later called new India Cooperative Bank). *Bombointh Porolso Manglarar: Shri John D'Silva (A Shining Manglorean in Bombay)*; Mr. John D'Silva) editor: *RAKNO*, 22 June, 1978, p.10.


He went to the Ghats at the age of 11 and had walked 110 miles for five days in about 1912. When he died he was a large estate owner and a successful business man. *Dubyanso Sardar: Casmir Pinto* (Knight of the Poor: Casmir Pinto): *RAKNO*, 3 April, 1980, p.10.


48 A.V. Rego founded the firm "Brilliant Printers" at Bangalore in 1970. Later he established its branch in Mangalore.

49 Denis Roche, a teacher had written text books at Bombay for 8, 9, 10, 11, standards which were also
The migrants also supported and promoted further migration throughout the period and thereby helped to bring more affluence. The migrants in Chikmagalore region were informing the others of availability of land which could be colonized. Advertisements were issued in Konkani Dirven, if any estates were on sale. In Bombay, apart from various clubs and the KCA, associations such as the Catholic Clerks Union, helped the educated Catholics to get employment as clerks and assistants there. The main objective of some of the associations in Bombay was to provide employment to the Catholics. There were other individual migrants who promoted such migration too. A writer wrote acknowledging the support of the migrants in Bombay to the newcomers. He said when Catholics migrated they had support. The earlier generation provided them shelter and got them jobs with their contacts, influence through their family members, friends and neighbours. They also were provided accommodation in Bombay till they got jobs. To the West Asian countries much of the migration was due to such efforts. As a result the Catholics could migrate to various places at various points of time and could bring affluence.

used outside Maharasta. Later he founded the firm 'V.L. Roche and Brothers, Engineers and Contractors.' RAKNO, 27 March, 1963, p. 2.
P.B. D'sa, I.J.P D'Sa and L.C.A. D'sa who were the proprietors of Royal Tuff had previously been working in Bombay. RAKNO, 28 August, 1977, p.2.
Advertisement of Bapponje estate and Yellagode estate, in Koppa, Kadur districts owned by Owen Scot Skirving and Mrs. A.G Erington of Umbidy estate, Koppa. K.D., 2 September, 1923, p. v.
Firm P.F.X. Saldanha & Sons of Highland Coffee Works often acted as an agent for such activities. It also helped the estates to recruit labourers from South Canara.
Levi B. Pinto was the Secretary and James A. Coelho was the Chairman of the employment committee of the Catholic Clerks Union. K.D., 2 April, 1923, eng. supp. p. iv.
Main objective of Bolkunj Parishioners Club was to provide employment to the parishioners of Bolkunj in Bombay. RAKNO, 27 September, 1946, p.3.
S. Castelino who was an employee of G.I.P. Railways from 1902 helped many Catholics to get employment in Railways. He was one of the founders of the Kanara Club at Mazgaon. RAKNO, 21 June, 1940, p.2.
Bombaiath Kama (Jobs in Bombay): RAKNO, 21 July, 1944, p.3.
Prominent Catholic enterprenuers in West Asian region such as Felix Lobo, M.D.D'souza, John Mendonca have acknowledged that they had procured Visas to hundreds of Catholics including their relatives and friends in their interviews. Mr. Pais from Valencia who was a migrant to Kuwait in 1950s told this researcher that he had taken about ten people to Kuwait in 1950s. Many such examples are available.
The Catholics at home too were concerned about their migrant brethren especially with the migrants in Chikmagalore since the region had proximity to the district. They raised issues with concerned authorities related to them. Large number of migrants in Bombay and Chikmagalore regions made the local Catholic financial institutions to open the branches there for their benefits.

Thus migration brought affluence to the families as well as helped them to build a strong Church apparatus and educational institutions in the district. In the initial years the migrants also had promoted missionary activity in the district. As a result the community became financially self-sufficient along with large Church administered institutions.

Socio-Cultural Impact:

Migration of the Catholics led to social change. Though people migrate to various places mainly for economic reasons its impact will be felt on various aspects of the society. When societies get exposed to newer situations they undergo change. The community underwent change in its various manifestations. Apart from becoming economically affluent the migrants could avail of positions in religious, political and cultural fields since they

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57To ameliorate the conditions of the labourers in Chikmagalore region, the representative of Christian community to the Madras Legislative Assembly tried to amend the Madras Planter’s Labour Act “in order to save a large number of our Kanara labourers largely Christians from slavish conditions and terrible misery.” This move forced the Government to appoint a committee with members of European planters along with J.A. Saldanha. The Next Elections: J.A. Saldanha. K.D., 4 June, 1926, eng. supp. pp. ii-iii.

When the colonial Government of South Canara imposed income tax on the Catholic planters, they resisted. They wrote memorandums to the Government saying that they already pay the land revenue therefore it was a double levy. The memorandum was signed by many Catholics residing in South Canara. K.D., 2 September, 1934, eng. supp. p. iii.

Kanara Christian Civic League represented the problems of Charmadi Ghat Road (from Kadur to Mangalore) and demanded bus service facility to that road with the authorities. K.D., 16 February, 1928, eng. supp. p. iv.

58The Popular Insurance Company Limited was an enterprise run by the Catholics which had its main office at Popular Building in Mangalore and a branch at Bombay Fort area. K.D., Silver Jubilee Souvenir, op.cit., p.94.

Migrants had established a branch of Mangalore Roman Catholic Pioneer Fund at Bombay. Advertisement: RAKNO. 22 June, 1945, p.45.

were active in social activities in host societies. Migration also led to social tensions in the community. The reaction of the community and the Church was immense. Due to the exposure the Catholics too underwent thorough change and adopted a different worldview.

Catholics of all sections i.e. the educated and the less educated had migrated to Bombay and Chikmagalure region in the colonial period. Migrants to other places mainly belonged to the educated sections. The educated section generally occupied higher posts in the government and private establishments. Skilled and unskilled section mainly worked as sailors, drivers, cooks and other domestic labourers. The Catholics of both these sections were exposed to newer environment and newer communities. In Bombay in due course of time they formed their own associations for their betterment. As the number of migrants increased new associations were formed by them. These associations later on promoted migration to a large extent by offering guidance and other help like accommodation to the newcomers to the city. The educated section formed the Kanara Catholic Association (KCA)in 1901. It was during the same period the Mangalorean Club in ‘Sitaram Building’ was established mainly by unskilled and skilled sections in contrast to the elite and educated Catholics. Thereafter many clubs were established which promoted similar activities. Similarly migrants to Chikmagalure promoted migration to the region. Many of the migrants went to the region through their acquaintances. The planters recruited labour for their estates. Apart from it the learned Catholics informed the others of availability of land which could be colonized. They also advertised in Konkani Dirven, whenever estates were to be sold. Migration to the West

F.X.D’Souza, I.C.S. was a Sessions Judge at Ahmedabad in 1890s. Jerome Saldanh was a judge at Thana, F.L.Silva was an accomplished Accountant in the early decades of 20th century. Numerous such examples are available.
60 The educated sections of the migrant in Madras, Bangalore, Bellary, Poona and such other palces too formed their associations.
61 Many of its members had been meeting previously in Bombay as alumni of St.Aloysius College. M. M., Vol.II, Easter1901-Christmas1903, pp.157-159.
Asian region was also due to similar promotion. Establishing of associations and clubs and such activities further promoted migration to these regions and in return brought economic affluence and exposure.

Initially, the KCA wanted to create a favourable public opinion about themselves in the city. It tried to bring skilled and unskilled sections under its ambit by introducing loans, Death Funds, reading rooms, employment bureau and so on. It indicated a large number of poorer sections of Catholics working in Bombay. These initiatives were meant to bring the poorer sections of the migrants under the leadership of the elitist section. It pioneered the establishment of Educational Co-operative Society, Garden Home Society and so on which benefitted the Catholics of all sections in Bombay to avail education and housing facilities. The loan facility which the Educational Cooperative Society provided helped many Catholics to pursue higher education and enabled to enter various services in India and abroad. Many Catholics also were helped to own their houses in the city. The elite section invested their money in these Co-operative Societies.

The KCA used to praise the colonial government. In the beginning

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62 They claimed that in the very first year they could succeed in placing one of their co-migrants as Justice of Peace to the Island and the city of Bombay. Mr. F.A.C. Rebello was appointed to the position of Justice of Peace at the instance of the Association. M. M., Vol.II, Easter1901-Christmas1903, pp.157-159.

In 1907, it established a bureau of information to provide guidance and financial assistance to the new migrants. It enabled a section of the Catholics to gain employment out side the district, including the government services. Such initiatives fostered further migration. M. M., Vol. IV, 1907-1909, p. 61. It proposed a loan fund during the period. The article of P.V. Domingo on K.C.A. M. M., Vol. IV, 1907-1909, p.68.

Its other initiatives were keeping a register of applicants for employment, making the information available regarding concessions from government and local authorities, facilities from steamer companies and so on. It thought of renting big houses and subletting them among themselves so that they could live in batches of eight or ten people. It was planning to provide loans to the migrants to purchase houses in Bombay and if required to sublet them. To attract more members they established a Death Fund and reduced the membership fee. M. M., Vol.II, Easter1901-Christmas1903, pp.157-159.

On the occasion of death of a member, it decided that every person would subscribe one rupee and from it Rs 50 would be spent towards the funeral expenses and the rest handed over to the family. It started a movement to increase the membership instructing each member to bring another member. M. M., Vol. IV, 1907-1909, pp.68-69.
decades of the 20th century, it prayed for its continuation. This section availed whatever facilities offered by the colonial Government. They often pleaded the colonial Government to give them positions in Bombay which resulted in Catholics getting appointed as Justice of Peace and as judges of small causes. The large majority of the educated section came under the western influence. It was visible in their views, behaviour, language, food and dress habits. These attitudes of the elite percolated into a section of the community. Many of the migrants among the educated section received titles or medals such as Rao Sahib, Rai Sahib, Rao Bahadur, Dewan Bahadur and such other awards. The Catholic migrants to Africa and West Asian region too were recipients of these awards from the colonial government from time to time. The KCA at Madras which was considered a branch of the KCA of Bombay had similar activities.

The educated section of the migrants used to guide the community in Mangalore to bring reforms in the initial years. They proposed changes regarding women wearing Vol. etiquette at home, rejecting age-old, obsolete customs of elaborate marriage functions, need to establish good relations

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64 They used to sing the 'Rule Britannica' anthem or 'God Save the King' and proposed toast to the Royalty of England in their public functions saying that Royalty of England were their rulers.
The rich Catholics had benefited from western education. Many had entered the services of the government. Saldanha created a positive opinion of the British among the migrants. The migrants were lobbying for positions as well as promotions in city and the presidency of Bombay. They were also vying for other general positions which were offered by the government.
P. D'Cunha, the officiating Assistant Collector of Customs, Karachi and Dr. Frank G. D' Souza officiating Civil Surgeon, Hyderabad, in Sind Province received Coronation Medals in 1937. K.D., 2 October, 1937, eng. supp. p.iv.
M.A.F Coelho, the Bombay Presidency Magistrate was honoured with Dewan Bahadur in 1945. RAKNO, 22 June, 1945, p.1.
Many such examples are available.
68 Jerome Saldanha and F. L. Silva, initiated a “Congress of the Catholics of South Canara” in 1907 at Bombay. Those who were in prominent positions and social world ‘far and near’ were invited to participate and contribute financially to this event. M. M., Vol. IV, 1907-1909, p.61.
between father and sons, and decorum among women, need for the Konkani newsmagazine, Cooperative Credit Society, Catholic Association, Jutka and Municipal lights and so on.69 The educated section of the migrants also tried to bring development to the community in the district. 70 They helped Catholics of other regions in establishing Co-operative Societies. 71 They also owned landed property and houses in the city because of their affluence. The skilled and the unskilled section despised the educated section since they were under the western influence and used English for communication considering their poorer brethren as inferior. 72

The skilled and unskilled migrants formed their own associations as pointed out earlier.73 Many of these associations were called the Coods because they were primarily established to provide accommodation to the migrants. In course of time these coods were of great help to the new migrants in the city. The unskilled and skilled labourers earned less salaries and many of them were temporary migrants who did not have their families with them. They only visited their families once in a year or so. The Coods were a necessity to them. Gradually, coods grew into bigger clubs where food

70The KCA and other migrants expressed concern and wanted to develop industries in the native district. They were of the opinion that the tile industry had been overdone. When there were plans of the railways to connect the town of Mangalore to Calicut and thus to Madras, the KCA thought of training mechanics and fitters to fill the new vacancies which would arise in due course. Culturally, they wanted the progress of their mother tongue, Konkani. They lamented the degradation and erosion of Konkani due to the powerful influence of the English. They proposed to encourage new enterprises such as trading in coconut oil, ghee, the yellow cucumbers of South Canara, Mangalore pickles, ginger preserves and so on at Bombay. M. M., Vol.II, Easter1901-Christmas1903, pp.157-159.
71F.A.C. Rebello and F.L. Silva helped to establish cooperative societies among Catholics all over Bombay Presidency (i.e.Honavar, Karwar, Ratnagiri, Belgaum, Dharwar and other mofussil centers) as well as in Mangalore. K.D., 2 December, 1934, eng. supp. pp. ii-iii.
72A writer called some of the rural areas in South Canara as 'nursery of the servile class' from where the skilled and the unskilled migrated to Bombay. Another writer called them 'the working class', a rhetoric of the western societies in the colonial times.
Mark D'Souza, accuses the educated section of the migrants of snobbery. Basaillya Gavanth 'Ami' ('We' in the Promised Land) -Mark D'Souza. RAKNO, Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Mangalore, 1963, pp. 97-100.
73Mark D'Souza, Basaillya Gavanth 'Ami' ('We' in the Promised Land) in RAKNO, Silver Jubilee Souvenir, op.cit., pp. 97-100.
One of the first such associations was 'The Mangalorean Club' in 'Sitaram Building' in Bombay. Bombayyanthle Manglurgar, (Mangaloreans in Bombay) P. D'Souza, Maigaum, 15 March, 1982, pp.10-12,17, 20.
and accommodation was arranged and members were appointed to look into its various functions. These Coods and other cultural organisations contributed immensely to the progress of Konkani language, dramatics, journalism and literature in Bombay. They also raised funds to various causes, much of which were donated to the Church.  

Migration to new places brought them new opportunities. They were also influenced by the other communities whom they came in contact with. As a result, among them emerged activists, social workers politicians and so on. The educated section of the migrants appropriated the political leadership of the native Christians in presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Mysore Princely state and in the country as a whole. In the colonial period, a few of the migrants entered politics and were involved in the national agitation and labour unions. Later in post-independence period some of them gravitated to the mainstream parties like the Congress and the Jan Sangh.  

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74In Chikmagalure region one does not find any such associations due to the proximity of the region to the district. Many could reach the district even on foot.  
75Dr. F. X. De Souza who worked in Bombay Presidency after retirement purchased an estate from an European planter. He was appointed to the Mysore Legislative Assembly in 1920s. However, in 1931, he was appointed to the Central Assembly to represent the Indian Christians. Thereafter he was appointed to various committees constituted by the Government of India. Aloysian, 1943, pp.13-14. Sylvester Pais, F.L. Silva, P. D'souza represented Indian Christians in the Mysore Legislatures during the colonial period.  
F.L. Silva a migrant to Bombay, later on settled in Bangalore. He was nominated to the Mysore Legislative Council succeeding Sylvester Pais. He had started silk filament industry in Mysore. He led the Select Committee of Mysore Industry Department to agitate for the facilities for the Mysore industry at Delhi. K.D., 16 July, 1934, eng. supp. p. ii.  
A.L. Pinto was appointed member of the District Board, Nilgiris in 1929. K.D., 16 September, 1929, eng. supp. p. iv.  
Mr. Franklin T.J. Colaco B.A. B.L. advocate, had been elected Municipal Councilor at Bhusaval in 1933. K.D., 16 September, 1933, eng. supp. p. iv.  
S.J. Gonsalves was elected to the Upper House of the Madras Legislative Council from Ooty. K.D., 2 March, 1937, eng. supp. p. iv.  
He was a migrant lawyer at Ootacamund and was earlier the Chairman of the Municipality there. K.D., 16 October, 1937, eng. supp. p. iii.  
76Alex Pais had contested Election to the Bombay Corporation in 1930s. He was a lawyer working for the Mahar community. A street was named after him in Agripada called 'Pais Street' -RAKNO-Golden Jubilee Souvenir, Mangalore, 1988, p.158.  
The Catholics had provided pioneer leadership to taxi drivers Union and Port labour Unions in Bombay. Pius D'mello was the Port Union leader. Pius Castelino of Shirva became the President of Taxi Drivers Union in Bombay in 1939, which had 900 members. There was a large number of drivers from the district in Bombay. Bombay Taxi Driver Union: RAKNO, 16 June, 1939, p.6.  
Joachim Alva who had left his native village in Udupi taluk went to Bombay, studied law and later formed the Nationalist Christian party. He was also the publisher of 'Forum' news magazine. Later on he joined the Congress Party. Joackim Alva was elected to the standing committee of All-India...
Chikmagalure region, some of the planters of Chikmagalure area were either elected or nominated to the Mysore Legislative Council from 1920s onwards. Catholics were also nominated to the Municipal councils or district boards in Chikamagalure. Migration also led to the emergence of leadership among the Catholics in other fields at various periods. Thus migration to Bombay, Chikmagalure and other places enabled them to enter politics and widen their vision. Later on some among them could rise to the mainstream national level politics. Some of the migrants who returned to the native district also entered politics.

There also emerged enterprenuers due to the opportunities available in the city of Bombay and thrived and became role models to the others. A few

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He later attended Wavell Conference at Simla. *RAKNO*, 20 July, 1945, p.4.
George Fernandes was the labour union leader at Bombay. Later on, he joined the Railway Union and Jan Sangh. Alva and Fernandes were the two Catholic of the district ably 'utilized' Bombay to enter into national level politics. There have been no other cases of national level politicians from among the Catholic of South Canara till 1980.
F.M. Pinto, Alice Alvares were active in nationalistic agitation and contested the Council elections in Bombay. F. M. Pinto who worked among the rent paying tenants in Bombay became a member of Maharashtra State Legislature, in the post-independence period.
77 Sylvester Pais had moved a resolution in the Mysore Legislative Council for increasing postal facilities in the state in 1925. *K. D.*, 1 May, 1925, eng. supp. p.iii.
He was later appointed the member of the Mysore Economic Survey Committee. *K. D.*, November, 6, 1925, eng. supp. p. iv.
He was elected to Mysore Representative Assembly unopposed in 1927. *K. D.*, 2 October, 1927, eng. supp. p. iv.
In 1937, Dr. F.X. D’souza (then, a planter in Chikmagalure) was nominated to the Mysore Legislative Council and Mrs. F.Q. D’Souza and Mr. B. D’Souza to the Mysore Representative Assembly. *K. D.*, 2 July, 1937, eng. supp. p. iv.
Mrs. Winnie Vas, wife of L. M. G Vas, Bench Magistrate was nominated to the District Board of Kadur. *K. D.*, 2 May, 1929, eng. supp. p. iv.
79 John D’Silva and George Fernandes founded Abhyudaya Cooperative Bank in 1960 and Bombay Labour Bank in 1968, respectively.
80 *K. D.*, 2 September, 1936, eng. supp. p. i.
Jerome Saldanha who was a judge at various places in the Bombay Presidency, was elected to the Mangalore Municipality as Councilor in 1923. *K. D.*, 16 November, 1923, p. 259.
S.L. Mathias became a District Board Member of South Canara in 1928. *K. D.*, 2 December, 1928, eng. supp. p. iv.
F.X. D’Souza was nominated to the Council of State (by the government) *K. D.*, 2 July, 1928, eng. supp. p. iv.
M.S. Shrestha, who was earlier the Chief General Post master in Ceylon, formed an independent party and contested for the Madras Council in 1935. *K. D.*, 16 August, 1935, p. 160.
J.A. Saldhana and M.S. Shresta emerged as two important leaders among the Catholics of South Canara by 1930s. *Botl Bond Soro (Sealed Bottle Liquor): K. D.*, 2 February, 1933, p.21; *RAKNO*, 30 April, 1943, p. 3.

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Catholics also won laurels in their adopted places in various spheres.  

In the beginning of the 20th century the educated section of the Catholics with the help of the Goan writers tried to promote Konkani to fight the onslaught of English. However, the practise was gradually given up. It is the unskilled and skilled labour section always used Konkani. In 1930s they began Konkani dramas and journals which brought them together socially in the growing city of Bombay. The profusion of dramas promoted fine arts such as acting, writing of dramas and songs on the one hand and raised funds, on the other. It also promoted Konkani literature and journalism. Many of these stories and dramas had the theme of migration to Bombay including exploitation of women who served as domestic labourers. Popular writers of the time in Konkani like G.M.B. Rodrigues, who was a migrant himself, wrote stories on the migration of men and women to Bombay. Similarly other writers wrote on migration.  

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81 Jerome Saldanha was elected the President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. K.D., 16 March, 1923, eng. supp. p. iv. Later he was invited to preside over the All-Travancore Latin Christian Conference at Travancore. K.D., 2 May, 1936, eng. supp. p. iv  
82 Goan Union of Bombay initiated revival of Konkani literature, by organizing a meeting of the Konkani writers. Thereafter, a committee of the Konkani writers was formed of which Joseph M. Saldanha, a Catholic of South Canara was the President. The committee was to work towards the advancement of the language, improve its literature and to emphasize a "uniform systematic orthography". M. M., Vol. III, 1904-1906, p. 255.  
83 Mai, Havn Bombay Vethan (Mummy, I am going to Bombay) - a story by G.M.B. Rodrigues. RAKNO, 27 March, 1942, pp.4-5.  
84 P.D.Vaz wrote Mayag Zallen Kankan in RAKNO Silver Jubilee issue in 1963 depicting the story of
P.D. Vaz wrote many humorous anecdotes portraying the life of migrants and its impact on Catholics.  

The enactment of the dramas and later on the Nites of folk songs raised funds for various causes apart from bringing the migrants together. Since folk songs were an integral part of the dramas many composers and singers emerged. These composers and singers were recognised by music agencies in Bombay and organisations of the community. Later on Nites were organised in Bombay and in other places. The profusion of such cultural activity led the Akashwani at Bombay to broadcast Konkani dramas and songs. In 1970s a large number of exchanges of such drama troupes and singers for Nites took place between Bombay and Mangalore. For instance, the popular Konkani film, *Mog an Maipas* was produced with the help of the artists from Bombay.

Migrant Catholics at Bombay were also involved in Konkani
journalism probably due to their exposure to new ideas. Various news journals were published by them in Konkani in Bombay. The community had a history of journalism from the last quarters of the 19th century in the district. 89 From about 1940s newsmagazines in Konkani were published by the migrants in Bombay. The first of its kind was Sukh-Dukh established by G.M. B. Rodrigues in 1940s. Thereafter many such initiatives were made. 90 Such journalistic enthusiasm continued in Bombay and the district thereafter. Bombay continued to maintain close contact with Mangalore in terms of publications of newsmagazines. The journalists also met to discuss their common interests. 91 Some shifted their publications to the district. A hosts of them started Konkani newsmagazines in the district which furthered the cause of Konkani by giving the Konkani enthusiasts, a forum for their writings and stories. There were other migrants who were involved in journalistic endeavours. Among them politicians and Konkani literary figures were prominent.92 Apart from bringing the Catholics together it kept them informed about the various issues on the society in general and their community in particular. The Konkani journalism promoted literature of various kind such as stories, articles, dramas, poems and humour. The contribution of the migrants in Bombay to the development of Konkani helped in its own way to

89In 1897 the Jesuits had started publishing Mangalore Magazine, from St.Aloysius College which became popular among the educated Catholics. In 1912 a few Konkani enthusiasts came together to publish Konkani Dirven in which Alex Pais a migrant to Bombay played a decisive role. KCA began publishing Mangalorean Review, with various articles of relevance to the migrant community in Bombay in 1920. Articles on economic development of the community, its history, education, humour, travel experiences and so on were published. K.D., 2 April, 1923, eng. supp. p. i. Later on another enterprising gentleman published The Manglorean in Bombay. In 1928 the Catholic Association of South Canara began publishing Mangalure. Joachim Alva published Forum newsmagazine in Bombay which contained general issues.

90Poinary newsmagazine was established in Bombay in 1950 by VJP Saldanha. Cha. Fra. D’Costa and Mark D’Souza had helped him. A few other Konkani newsmagazines such as Konkan Kamal, Zagnmag, Vishaal Konkan of Cha. Fra. Konkani Daiz of A. A. Saldanha were published in Bombay from 1940s onwards. RAKNO Silver Jubilee Souvenir, op.cit., p.37

91Austin D’ Souza Prabhu, the editor of Mithr, Jhelo and Kannik Konkani newsmagazines was felicitated by about 40 young journalists in 1975 in Bombay. Sampadakak Sanman(Felicitation to the Editor): RAKNO, 17 August, 1975, p.16.

92J.C. Veigas started Kannik (Konkani Weekly) in 1955. J.S.Alvares started Jhelo (Konkani Fortnightly) in 1956. Mrs. Louella Lobo Prabhu started Gaon Sevaka in 1956. Insight (in English) was started by J.M.Lobo Prabhu, ICS in 1958 and Olanota weekly in 1961. All of them were temporary migrants to Bombay or to other palces. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., pp.686-691. J.M. Lobo Prabhu contested parliamentary elections and was elected M.P. He had formed ‘Swatantra Party’.

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get recognition to the language, especially for its inclusion in the 8th schedule of the constitution. Thus migration to Bombay helped many to enter the field of journalism and literature. At the same time it led to the transformation of the society and dissemination of new ideas.

The educated section always followed western way of life in Bombay which percolated into the community. It began with the students who came to study there. They underwent a transformation due to the influence of the city. They underwent changes especially in their food and dress habits, language and so on. Prior to the colonial rule there is no evidence to suggest that there was considerable western (Portuguese) influence on them except of certain Portuguese terms in Konkani and their Portuguese surnames. Their dress habits were purely Indian; Women wore sarees and Gagro, Bazu and Kirgi. Men wore Kutaum, Kas, Thodop, Urmal and so on for special occasions and functions. They were also wearing overcoats and caps. In the villages, for daily wear they had loin cloth and a upper garment and a headgear. It is said some wore shortpants when they travelled. The migration to Bombay brought considerable change in their dress habits. They started wearing especially European costumes and anything attractive. In 1897 some writer calls them that they would throw ‘imitative Japanese into the shade’. This trend continued throughout. There was also a thinking among them that to get employed in Europeans firms they should dress like a European; but it was

93 Ronald Periera, Angelore, who had come to Bombay in 1959 later on wrote a story titled Magon Gethelli Kyasth. RAKNO, 5 September, 1976, p.12.

P. D'souza who was the editor of Poinary in 1976 had previously worked in a small press in Colaba and intended to bring out a newspaper called Vasrudi. George Fernandes had requested him for his help to bring out Yavak newspaper. However, later on he joined VJP Saldanha to work for Poinary in 1950. Konkani Sahityaniklen Manik: Poinary Sampadak (A diamond of Konkani literature: Poinary Editor): RAKNO, 31 October, 1976, p.8.

J.B.Moraes who was working in Parke Davis Company, was in the Editorial Board of Poinary in 1976. Kavincha Volinth (In the lines of Poets): RAKNO, 7 November, 1976, p.7.


Many popular Konkani writers and dramatist have similar stories.


95 Joachim Alva, in 1944, while presiding over the Benefit Show of 'The Mangalorean Catholic's Mutual Welfare Association' at St. Xavier's College Hall expressed that in Bombay they "throw the dhoti to the Arabian Sea and start permanently wearing pants." Bombointh Drama (Drama in Bombay): RAKNO, 20 October, 1944, p.3.
not always true. In 1920's some of the Catholics who were wearing dhoti were employed by the Europeans. Probably western dress of their colonial masters attracted them. Therefore male members adopted pants and suits instead of dhoti (pudwen or mundu). This dress habits percolated into the community. For instance, a groom for the wedding ceremony began to wear a suit. From about 1950's in the villages a suit for the wedding among the Catholics became common.

Towards the close of the 19th century women wore sarees and a dress to cover the entire body called the Vol, when they came out in public. Such puritanism disappeared in 1920s and 1930s probably due to the contact with Bombay and spread of education. However, women adopting western fashions were not welcome. The schools and Colleges run by the Church introduced dress codes for the female students. In 1927 a priest named Zanetti S.J. wrote a booklet in English titled 'Woman's Dress' prescribing a modest dress code for women to fight the onslaught of fashions among women. The fashions of Bombay continued to make their appearance in Mangalore and the Catholics began adopting them. In 1930s the Church authorities and conservative sections continued emphasizing decorum in dress habits for females in Mangalore and opposed the new fashions, particularly the ones exposing female body. The conservative society became suspicious of their morals and created rumours. The Christian women in Bombay were projected in Hindi films in various roles such as dancers or women with loose morals. After 1960s a large number of Catholics who migrated to the West Asian countries also brought new fashions to the villages.

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96 K.D., 31 July, 1925, p. 201.
97 There were women wearing short skirts, open-necked blouses and sleeveless dresses in Mangalore which was a influence of Bombay. Bailanchi Neson : (Dress of Women): K.D., 2 October, 1928, pp. 203-205.
98 An association of students who emphasized 'decorum in dressing' was started in the schools run by the Apostolic Carmel in 1925. K.D., 16 March, 1925, p. 71.
99 K.D., 2 September, 1927, eng. supp. p.iii.
100 Complaints were received by the editor about women not wearing decent dress. Letter to the editor: RAKNO, 18 September, 1942, pp. 2-3.
The colonial rule and the introduction of western education brought about a 'sanskritisation' process among a section of the Catholics from the later part of the 19th century. Apart from a section blindly aping the West in their dress habits there were other concrete reasons. English was taught in schools from colonial times. It was the language of official correspondence and of the colonial masters. The missionary educational institutions also emphasised English.101 The official language of the Church too was English.102 English was essential to get employment outside the district. Against this background, the Catholics considered English as superior to their own Konkani. The migration of the community only aggravated this process. The educated section of the migrants spoke English in places where they were living, be it be Madras, Bombay or Bangalore. Since Catholics were migrating continuously they considered English useful. A large section of the Catholics in the town of Mangalore itself had taken to English. It was evident from the fact that a section of the Catholics demanded that English be the language of transaction in 1938 when there was Eucharistic Congress held in Mangalore.103 The authorities were forced to adopt both the languages. It is therefore when there was a debate to adopt Kannada medium in schools in the district, towards the close of the 1930s, the educated section of Catholics and the Church favoured English medium schools.104 After Independence some schools run by the nuns of Apostolic Carmel in the town of Mangalore retained English medium instructions indicating their faith in English. One of the reasons for this was that the migrants needed a link language. Secondly English had been practically adopted in administration in the country. When this trend continued among the people of the town in the 1970s the proliferation of English medium schools in the entire state of Karnataka

101 For instance, in St. Aloysius College and Boarding House vernaculairs were dissallowed by the College authorities. K.D., 16 July, 1933, eng. supp. p.i.
102 All records of the parishioners and Church are maintained in English.
103 It is said that the parents spoke in English to their children at home before they joined a school and even to the new born babies. Prayers were said in English to the utter dismay of the elderly at home. Leave alone they speaking it, they could not even understand or follow.
104 They emphasised that Kannada can only be a second language. Kannada as a Medium of Instruction: RAKNO, 22 January, 1939, p.1; RAKNO, 29 January, 1939, p.4.
started. The migrants to the West Asian countries preferred English medium schools for their children in the district. The usefulness of English in future careers was also responsible for such a development. Thus the educated Catholics of South Canara largely adopted English.

Migration also led to minor social tensions in the community. The Catholic community did not approve the migration of the poorer classes and women during the period under study, because the migrants faced hardships in the places where they had migrated. Many of them initially did menial jobs. They had problems of finding houses. They were also losing their traditional lands which they had cultivated for generations. The 'ideal family' concept had started breaking down in a few families among the Catholics due to migration. The women were accused of falling into wrong hands and adopting loose morals. Therefore, opposition to migration continued throughout the period. Often writers pointed out that migration has to be contained. The Church too moralised regarding migration. However, strong push factors forced the poorer sections to seek opportunities outside and as a result migration continued unhindered.

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105 The Mazgaon Improvement Trust allotted No. 15 chawl to the Catholics of South Canara due to the efforts of Alex A. Pais at the rate of Rs. 10-8-0 and 11-8-0 rent. He also found hundreds jobs in a match box factory run by Europeans at Ambarnath near Kalyan. K.D., 23 October, 1925, p. 307.

106 During the First World War, a writer suggested that instead of going to the “gullies of Bombay” Catholics should be start self-employment and other enterprises. Schemes of earnings for our young men: K.D., 16 November, 1915, p. 214.
When large number of young men were migrating fears expressed in the community that it would be like Goa where big houses and churches were deserted and old people left behind. Fears also were expressed about young people leaving the district and settling down outside to the great disadvantage of the community especially depriving the benefits of their experience gained by some of its most enterprising countrymen.

As discussed earlier from about the first decades many uneducated Catholic women went to Bombay in search of domestic labour. Like any migrant women from traditional societies they were exposed to the city life where they were free from the bondage of customs, traditions and conservatism. Among them were minor children, grown up girls, married women as well as widows. Women sought employment in non-Catholic households where there was more salary. Some among them had fallen prey to unscrupulous elements of the city. There have been cases where employers themselves exploited them. The ignorant were trapped or cheated. Some ended up in brothels. Therefore, efforts were made by the individual migrants to rehabilitate them during the early years.

Migrants to Bombay were selling their estates in the outskirts and in Mangalore through their representatives. Notice: RAKNO, 14 August, 1942, p.6.
2 acres of land opposite to St. Joseph’s Asylum workshops in Mangalore was sold by M. A. F Coelho who was a resident at Clare road, Byculla Bombay. Advertisement: For Sale: RAKNO, 31 January, 1947, p.4.
108 Article of M.S. Shresta: K. D., 23 April,1926, pp. i-viii.
Migrants such as F.L.Silva settled at Bangalore after their retirement. Konkani Katholic Samaj ani Durbolkai (Konkani Catholic Society and Poverty) by Samajeso Hithachintak : K.D., 2 April, 1930, pp.69-70.
D.S. Monteiro who served as Office Superintendent at the Secretariat of British Somaliland in 1920’s and 30’s at Berbera won many medals from the government, after his retirement settled down at Bangalore. K.D., 2 June 1937, eng. supp. p. iv.
110 Emigration to Bombay: M.S.Shreshta K.D., 16 July, 1933, eng. supp. pp. i-ii.
111 In 1920’s some writers in Konkani Dirven have referred to this problem.
112 Since the Catholic women of the district did not have their own club they were in distress. Therfore Alex A. Pais, a popular Lawyer of Nesbit Road, Mazgaon , thought of a club, with the help of Franciscan nuns who were ready to provide employment for women. A school, for the children of the
Many reports about their exploitation appeared during the period in *Konkani Dirven*, the Konkani newsmagazine. Many wrote to the editors. Such reports led to debates in which some suggested improving the conditions of the domestic servants in Mangalore so that they be retained in the district. It attracted the criticism of the conservative elements and the Church. In 1933 an article in *Bombay Chronicle* titled “the lure of the city – a grave problem for Christians” created further debate. When some called the migration of women an “unmitigated evil”, others were of the opinion that some reports were exaggerated because women who had fallen prey to evils were very few. Instead, the migrant women were helping their families particularly who were *Chalgueni* tenants. They argued that migration of females led to the migration of boys to find jobs in Bombay and it was necessary due to the increase in population. The migration of women continued during the period. Suggestions were made to train the women in various household trades to avoid migration. In 1936 a writer wrote about

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n3Some appealed to the parish priests in the district to set right this ‘evil’. *K.D.*, 14 August, 1925, p. 223.

The Archbishop of Bombay appointed a vigilance worker in 1927 to look into the matter. This vigilance worker warned the parents not to send their daughters and sons to Bombay. She advised, if it was inevitable, they be sent through their parish priests. The boys were warned about the spread of STD in Bombay. *K.D.*, 2 September, 1927, p. 151; *K.D.*, 2 September, 1927, eng. supp. p. i.


115 Bombay Chronicle had written, “No sane parents would consent to send their little girls to Bombay knowing the hazard to their moral life even for all the treasures of the whole world; but parents who value money more than heaven itself, do not mind sacrificing the future of their children, alas, they are Christians!” Some recommended the improvement in the conditions of the domestic servants in Mangalore, creating an employment bureau, creating avenues of employment in the district especially in Mangalore, recommending the clergy to discourage migration of women, local nuns opening a hostel at Bombay for women and so on. Emigration to Bombay: M.S.Shreshta *K.D.*, 16 July, 1933, eng. supp. pp. i-ii.

Others suggested religious, social, economic, literary and vocational education, extension of St. Vincent de Paul’s Society to every parish, rural uplift and ending of *chalgueni* tenure, introduction of ‘Cooperative Farming Society’ as in Malabar, universal literacy, tapping more extensively the charity of the rich in towns by the Catholic Association of South Kanara (CASK) to spread education in the district, supporting St. Antony’s League of KCA in Bombay for establishing needle work rooms, night schools and so on. Emigration to Bombay: Jerome A. Saldanha *K.D.*, 2 August, 1933, eng. supp. pp. ii-iii.

116 The women migrants remitted money to their parents, sisters and brothers and saved them from starvation and “enable them to pay overdue debts and rents. But for the prosperity of these emigrants the lot of hundreds of our Catholic village population, would have been much more depressing and distressful than it is.” The increase of Catholic population from 10,000 in 1801 to 1,10,000 in 1931 was cited as one of the reasons. Since succor came from Bombay to the Catholic families who suffered under the landlords and *Sawkars*, it was considered a relief and blessing. Emigration to Bombay: Jerome A. Saldanha, *K.D.*, 2 August, 1933, eng. supp. pp.ii-iii.
their ‘spiritual ministration’ in a city such as Bombay hinting that spiritual care would keep them away from the danger of indulging in any immoral activity in alien lands.\textsuperscript{117} The Church tried to stop migration of people, especially women. However, the ethical norms alone could not arrest migration. The reason was extreme poverty, an equally intense desire to get out of this poverty and flourish. In 1939, the Archbishop of Bombay intervened once again because of the unhindered migration and carried out some relief measures.\textsuperscript{118} The Association which was established was called “The Catholic Women’s Welfare Society” which later on did yeomen service among the helpless women stranded and trapped. It also raised funds for the purpose.\textsuperscript{119} A similar Society was established in Mangalore which contacted

\textsuperscript{117} K. D., 2 September, 1936, eng. supp. p. i.

\textsuperscript{118} He established an organisation for women called the “Catholic Women’s Welfare Society”. It helped those who had been cheated by unscrupulous elements. Its members went from street to street to recognize such women. \textit{RAKNO}, 7 March, 1941, p. 3.

Some of the cases of maidservants or women who were cheated in Bombay were published in \textit{Examiner}. They were-

1. A girl of 12 years from Mangalore was taken to Bombay by her brother. When her brother went to work in a steamer and she was left with his friends. She had to work in a place where there were many people. She borrowed money which she could not repay. Therefore at the age of 13 she became a prostitute. One day she was stamped with a hot iron rod by her owner and a case was filed. Since the case was filed the Catholic Women’s Welfare Society came to know about it and she was kept in St. Katharine Orphanage. However she escaped from there. By the time she was traced, she had become a concubine of Muslim gentleman. She insisted that she will marry him. Later she gave birth to a baby and Catholic Women’s Welfare Society had to help her.

2. A girl of 14 years was taken to Bombay by her paternal uncle, from the district. All her salary was taken by him. She was harassed by the cook where she was working. Therefore, she was kept at Villa Theresa, an orphanage. From there she went to work. However, one day when she was alone one peon entered her room. When she shouted others came to her rescue. Therefore she was kept in one of the orphanages. She had saved about Rs. 800. It was claimed that even such hard working girls had risk in the city.

3. In 1939-40, a woman agent from the district had taken 16 children to Bombay—11 girls and 5 boys. All were below 12 years. She sent all of them for work and collected their salary every month. In case she could not find them work she would employ the children to sell sweets in red light areas, till they get a job. One of the boys was treated as slave, abused and beaten up and food was not given to him. It was claimed there were such ‘criminal minded’ agents, in Mangalore, who brought servants from the villages for money. The money earned by these children was pocketed by them. Editorial: \textit{RAKNO}, March 7, 1941 p.3.

Another case that was reported - A girl was taken from South Canara by her brother-in-law to Bombay. He used to collected all her salary. However, after some time, the non-Christian family where she was working did not allow her to see her brother-in-law and forced her to say that she was an orphan though she had her parents in the district. She was paid no wages and was beaten up frequently. One day when the girl was sent with the child of the owner to a kindergarten, she took the opportunity to beg others to rescue her. A member of Santa Cruz Recreation Club reported the matter. It was claimed that one of the reasons for such danger to women was large number of men in the city. Child Slavery in Bombay & Help from a girl club Member: \textit{RAKNO}, 28 March, 1941, p.3.

\textsuperscript{119} It filed cases against gangs men who were operating to entrap girls and selling them from South Canara. In 1941 about twelve girls were rescued. They established a working girls’ hostel, with the charges equivalent of a \textit{cood}, called Martha’s Hostel, above Baretto School, Cavel, Bombay. When women appealed to the Court of Law and a case was pending they were kept at the rescue home.
the parish priests in South Canara in case of need. The Bishop of Mangalore too tried to contain the migration of women through various measures such as requesting various organisations to stop migration and punitive action on the parents of the migrant women. The clergy also through their news letter RAKNO emphasized the evils of migration continuously. At a later stage they emphasised the education of women. During the period women also had begun to seek employment in factories and industries in Bombay. Therefore this Society established a hostel for such women. The Church also organised Retreats for maidservants.

The Catholic society was so conservative that a Catholic woman acting in a film was bitterly criticised during the period. However, there were also cases of pseudo aunts claiming these girls. The elite Catholic families of South Canara at Bombay, at times, accommodated such Catholic women from the vigilance centre. Catholic Women’s Welfare Society of Mangalore planned how to cooperate with the parishes regarding the migration of women. Later on, in cooperation with its counter-part at Bombay, it tried to trace Catholic women in the city in case of difficulty. Important information: RAKNO, 18 October, 1946, p. 1.

In 1960s, it tried to stop Catholic women working in non- Catholic households. Catholic Stri Kamagar Sukachar Sangh, Manglur ( Catholic Women Labourer’s Welfare Society, Mangalore): RAKNO, 19 April, 1961, p.5.

Bishop of Mangalore requested the Catholic Action Conference to strive to stop women going to Bombay in 1941. RAKNO, 2 May, 1941, p.1.

Those parents who had lost contact with their children were requested to contact Marcel D’Cunha, a top Customs officer at Bombay who visited Mangalore in 1942. RAKNO, 15 May, 1942, p.8.

When the Collector of South Canara said to have been contacted by Miss Meliscent Shephard, central organizer in India for the protection of women and girls stranded in towns far from their homes, on the issue of Catholic girls from South Canara stranded in Bombay, the Bishop of Mangalore issued a circular giving power to the parish priests to conduct a census of girls working outside their respective parishes and initiate punitive action such as sanctions on the parents so that they do not send the girls outside the parish. The report regarding this had to reach the Bishop within a stipulated time. Circular dated 26 July 1944 of Bishop of Mangalore: RAKNO, 28 July, 1944, p.2.

In 1946 the Bishop of Mangalore spoke to the KCA in Bombay requesting them to help their less fortunate brothers and sisters and advised them to form committees according to their respective parishes in order to cooperate with the parish priests’ in the district. Reception to our Bishops: RAKNO, 12 July, 1946, p. 1.


During the period women did not want to stay with men in coods in Bombay. Owners of rooms too preferred couples rather than single women to rent their rooms. Single rooms were expensive. Men, who took women such as their nieces or sisters-in-law to work, stayed where they were working. Therefore the Catholic Women’s Welfare Society’ established a hostel under the charge of Mrs. M.D. Cunha in 1941. RAKNO, 15 August, 1941, p.1.

The members of Legion of Mary persuaded the mistresses to send their maidservants to the retreats organised exclusively for them. RAKNO, 24 March, 1944, p. 2.

The K.C.A arranged a debate in 1937, whether Indian Christian women could act in films. Dr. Maushardt of America explained as how when a new profession is available people agitate and
many instances of women who toiled as maidservants in Bombay bringing dignity to the family through their remittances. They were the breadwinners of the family. They could give their younger sisters in marriage to keep up with the societal norms. "...The emigration of thousands of men and women, boys and girls to Bombay and elsewhere has therefore been a source of much relief and blessing from an economic point of view..." wrote a retired district Judge and M.L.C. of the Madras Presidency and a prominent Catholic Jerome A. Saldanha in 1933. 

Since the push factors had not undergone any changes the migration of women continued in the post-Independence period. During this period the Church created new institutions to fight the migration of women. In 1960s the distress was so much that many women sought migration to Bombay for livelihood. The Church with the help of various clubs organised a conference of the maid servants in 1971. It had organised Samajik Sudharan Sangh for the betterment of the Catholic domestic servants in the 1970s in Bombay. It had enrolled about 1150 members in 1972 and lent money to many of its members to support them in marriage and dowry. Its branch at Mangalore had about 67 members in 1972. However, within short
span of time in 1977 their number declined to only 70, in Bombay. It is indicative of women migrants to Bombay decreasing considerably, largely due to education and their migration to the West Asian countries. Women by this time sought jobs in the offices as clerks, teachers, nurses and so on in larger numbers. In 1979 an article by CGS Taccoder advertising its work amply indicated that women no more sought its help. It suggested that migration of women to Bombay had thinned considerably. As a result the organisations which were established for the purpose largely fell into disuse. However, again fears were expressed by the conservative elements about the 'honour of women' in Arab households.

However, migration on the whole brought empowerment of the women of the community. Towards the close of the 19th century the majority of the women were not educated and served like drudges. Migration of women and a large number of men along with the spread of education brought them to the public life. The maid servants who went to Bombay and later on the West Asian countries were exposed to city life and shouldered new responsibilities away from the bondage of customs and tradition. Large number of men migrating earlier to Bombay and later to the West Asian countries leaving their families in the village forced the women to shoulder new responsibilities. The spread of education from about 1940s also contributed to a large extent to these new developments. In the post-Independence period women went to various kinds of jobs to Bombay as well as to the West Asian countries in larger number. They availed of education and went to various destinations to work. As a result, by 1980 in the district

started an organization for the maidservants called Catholic Women Worker's Association. Its objective was promotion of moral, social and economic welfare of the Catholic women workers in Mangalore and its suburbs. It looked after the maidservants and worked as an agency to provide them employment. In 1972, it claimed that it provided employment for about 50 persons. It also encouraged thrift fund among these workers to promote savings. The parish priests of various parishes were actively involved in its activities. It had 67 members including patrons, benefactors, well-wishers and ordinary members in 1972. K. Abhishankar, op.cit., p. 711.

133 Some writers have argued that Arabs were culturally inferior to the Catholics. Patrick Prabhu D'Sa, Perestrioka Christiana, Viswas Printers, Mangalore, 1992, p. 29.
as well as in the places where they had migrated they were in various fields of human endeavours such as politics, social service, education, medicine and all other possible fields which were earlier open only to the males. At times the traditional society was harsh on them. Their empowerment and the new role they played in the society were criticised and rumours were spread about their morals and dignity.

Apart from migration of women, the sale of family owned land by some educated section in the town of Mangalore created social tensions. Leaders and well-known people of the community persuaded the Catholics not to sell their land, which was prime land in the town of Mangalore. Debates were initiated about the selling of land in the community news magazines. Similarly the Chalgueni tenants who abandoned the land were also criticised. There were cries that they were losing their lands to other communities. Some suggested to put a stop to migration itself.

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Rai Saheb E.C.M Mascarenhas who was in Forest Service (later a MLC) after retirement sold his land named Hill-dale house and a garden at Vas lane in Mangalore. His son was working in Bombay. (Advertisement section) K.D., 16 May, 1938, p. vi. Gradually many pieces of land were sold in Mangalore by a number of migrants.
Migrants also sold land in and outskirts of Mangalore through their representatives. Notice: RAKNO, 14 August, 1942, p.6.
Notice: RAKNO, 2 April, 1969, p.6.
Advertisement: Bungalow for sale: RAKNO, 30 April, 1969, p.4.
Advertisement: RAKNO, 26 March, 1972, p.11.
136 Joachim Alva lamented over Catholics selling their land in Mangalore, in his address to the Catholics in the Catholic Club in Mangalore. RAKNO, 6 February, 1948, p.5.
137 Letter to the Editor: M.M. Peris, RAKNO, 14 May, 1958, p.3.
Letter to the Editor: S. B. Rego, RAKNO, 28 May, 1958, p.3.
Our Ghetto Complex: Michael Saldanha, RAKNO, 18 June, 1958, p. 3.
Ghetto Complex: Perturbed, RAKNO, 16 July, 1958, p.3. A series of letters were written in the pages of RAKNO on the subject.
One acre and sixty three cents land of deceased Martin Sequeira was auctioned by Bank of India of M.G.Road, Bombay. Elam-Zago (Auction-land): RAKNO, 25 October, 1979, p.9.
139 It was said that since the educated Catholics were leaving to Bombay, their chalgueni tenancies in the district were taken up by the other communities. As a result Catholics lost their land. K.D., 17 July, 1925, p. 186.
A writer suggested to the rich Catholics to establish institutions, like the Konkanas, who had established banks; so that the Catholics would not migrate to far off lands. Since Catholics were losing their culture and identity in their native villages there was unhappiness over migration to Basra and East Africa. Catholics Vs Konkanas: by Observer. K.D., 16 February, 1930, eng. supp. p. ii.
migrants who purchased lands in the district seemed to have been few. Though some migrants purchased land, they were few in number compared to those who sold land or were selling prime land in the city.

Catholic boys from Bombay were matrimonially attracted to the girls of the district. In 1940s some girls adamantly wanted to marry only boys from Bombay. However, some of such girls were cheated. Some grooms were said to have posed as affluent and lied about their salary and wealth to get a hefty dowry. The agents of marriage used to play an important role by arranging proposals to such bridegrooms of Bombay due to the high commissions they received. Many of these were very poor and were wearing 'short pants' in Bombay—a symbol of poverty. After reaching Bombay they used to sell the jewellery of the bride. They would go for work only after spending all the money. Later on many girls also expected to find migrant boys to the West Asian countries, as their husbands.

Migration to Bombay also led the Catholics becoming victims of city life. There were a few reported cases of excessive drinking or crimes such as gambling. Similarly concerns were expressed when the affluence and wealth spoiled the character of the children of the migrants in the town of Mangalore. Migration also brought health hazards to the community. In the Ghat regions of Chikmagalore many Catholics fell prey to various endemic diseases. Migrants to Bombay too at times became victims of various contagious diseases such as plague. These created fears among the

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141 Bombaygar Novro: (Groom of Bombay): RAKNO, 24 March, 1944, p. 3.
142 The folk song written by Wilfy Rebimbus, titled Manglaranithe Komble Ami (We, the Cockrels of Mangalore) amply suggests the predicament of a local prospective groom who finds shortage of girls due to the competition of migrant grooms. Kogul Gaytha, Vol. III, Wilfy Rebimbus, United Youngsters, Konkani Cultural Association, Jeppu, Mangalore 2002, pp. 58-59.
143 Paul Alexander Sequiera who was drunk and living in a flat threw his baby from the second floor killing it instantly. K.D., first issue of the month, March, 1916, p. 67. Isolated cases of people gambling and losing all their belongings were reported. K.D., 16 August, 1937, p.161.
144 A few children of the migrants were playing in lottery and were gambling in games such as 'Satta' and 'Race' in Mangalore in 1920's. K.D., 2 March, 1929, pp. 56-57.
145 K.D., 2 October, 1923, pp. 220-221.
prospective migrants, though temporarily.

The migration had other negative impact on society. In recent years, especially after 1970s migration became complex due to people leaving to all destinations. As a result many of the affluent sections of migrants either to West Asia or to the West have left their aged parents in old age homes. By 1980 many old-age homes were coming up under the management of some religious orders of nuns. It was not considered ideal, in fairly conservative society like the Catholics, apart from other social issues it raises. Such parents, some of whom were migrants themselves, were said to be suffering psychologically and emotionally.

Recent studies have pointed out that negative tendencies among the migrant families have increased due to affluence. Though economically the community has gained, migration also has led to certain vices. For instance the consumption of alcohol among the Catholic women and children, among the members of the migrant families under the guise of social drinking has increased. 146

From the closing years of 19th century many affluent families sent their children to Bombay for higher education. Due to migration a large number of migrants were already present in the city and the continuous migration of the Catholics also kept on increasing. As a result of all this more students went there through their contacts for higher education which led to the percolation of higher education among them. 147 Among the migrants of both the sections who availed higher education in Bombay, improved their employability and enabled to climb the social and economic ladder as it has been pointed out earlier. 148

146 Patrick E. Furtado, op.cit., pp. 91-94.
147 There have been many students studying law, medicine and other subjects in Bombay from the closing years of the 19th century. K.D., 16 August, 1915, p.160.
148 Opportunities to pass special examinations and get promotions were available in Bombay. One such examination was Senior Accountants' Examination conducted by London Chamber of Commerce.
Migration also induced general educational advancement among the Catholics. In 1930s the writers had acknowledged this fact. The Catholic grooms migrating to Bombay and who worked in offices as petty clerks in 1940s, wanted to marry educated women so that they would fit into the Bombay society. After 1960s when migration to West Asian countries increased the male migrants preferred skilled female partners such as nurses, stenographers, teachers and so on. Similarly the nurses who worked in West Asian countries looked for technically qualified young men to get married. Demand for such educational qualifications by prospective brides and grooms indirectly gave a boost to education. The migrants, apart from monetarily supporting the schools run by the Church, also suggested to start more technical schools so that they would get employment in the West Asian countries. Thus migration indirectly promoted education among the Catholics.

Migration of Catholics to various places inside the Indian subcontinent and outside from about 1850 has created an elitist section which is educated and affluent due to better income and exposure. Many of the practices of this affluent section have seeped into the community at large. There is a general tendency among them to be self-sufficient and self-dependent for their personal and social needs and not solicit political leaders for favours. This is also related to the fact that the leadership of the community in general lies in the Church authorities. Therefore accusations have been levelled against them saying they are politically inactive, and that they lack enthusiasm in exercising their voting rights.


The Catholics of poorer sections availed facilities of studying in night schools in Bombay. Migration led to the spread of education. Land Revenue Settlement of South Canara(Editorial) K.D., 2 September, 1933, eng. supp. pp.i-ii.

The Catholics of poorer sections availed facilities of studying in night schools in Bombay. Migration led to the spread of education. Land Revenue Settlement of South Canara(Editorial) K.D., 2 September, 1933, eng. supp. pp.i-ii.

149 Migration led to the spread of education. Land Revenue Settlement of South Canara( Editorial) K.D., 2 September, 1933, eng. supp. pp.i-ii.

150 Doth Naka; Shikap Zai (Not dowry but education): RAKNO, 12 May, 1944, p.3.

151 RAKNO, 25 May, 1975, p.5.


154 Math salay, Desh Urai (Vote and save the Nation): Dr. Edward Nazareth, Bendurso Taloi Voice of
The societies which have higher exposure to outside or to newer societies or have gone outside its cocoon bound to lose some of their social customs and practices. In the 19th and the early part of the 20th century, dowry, had been a menace and various efforts were made to get rid of it, as it has been mentioned earlier. However, by the close of the 20th century the dowry became a non-issue. How has this transformation has taken place is difficult to determine. But one of the causes may be the large number of young people leaving the native land for greener pastures, and imbibing better awareness of the societal problems.

Men and women who migrated demanded mates who were educated and later part of the 20th century demanded employed mates, which may be a disguised form of dowry. In the 1940s the migrant grooms to Bombay who worked in offices as petty clerks wanted to marry educated women so that they would fit into the Bombay society, which to some extent promoted education among women. This was the case with the migrants to West Asian countries too. Secondly, the educated and employed women often did not offer dowry, except in the form of ornaments which were only symbolic. From about 1970s the practice of dividing the parental property equally between male and female children may also have abolished overt dowry system. Thus the dowry problem has under gone a thorough change. It may have taken a different shape, however, has not intensified as in some other local communities in the district.

The caste among the Catholics, which was not apparent to the outsiders, was followed meticulously among the Catholics towards the close of the 19th century. The colonial writers had pointed out that intermarriages between various castes was not favoured. By the close of the 20th century much of the caste system and its injunctions were fast disappearing. One reason for it was being education coupled with large number of migrant youth

in the community.

Evening marriages held in public halls were becoming popular among the elite educated Catholic migrants in 1920's in Bombay. This practice was followed by the educated section in the town of Mangalore. In 1970s such practices percolated into the community, mainly due to the popularisation of such practices by migrants of West Asian region.

Bombay was a veritable springboard to go to places such as Aden, Basrah, Abadan, in the present West Asian region and British colonies of Africa such as Zanzibar, Nyasaland and so on during the later part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century and to the West and West Asian Region in the later part of the twentieth century. The early migrants to West Asian region were mainly from Bombay. Thus migration to Bombay also led the Catholics to migrate to other parts.

The Catholic Church had maintained close contact with the migrants. The migrant Catholics to various places honoured their religious practices and took active part in the religious activities. They kept good rapport with the church authorities through these activities. In Bombay a large number of

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155 Practice of holding marriage functions in public halls in the evenings were common in Bombay. K.D., June 2, 1923, eng. supp. p.iii; RAKNO, 15 September, 1950, p.2.

156 In 1920's Europeans had begun extracting petroleum products in West Asian countries.

157 Bishop Gracias of Bombay appointed a special chaplain (Fr. Vector Dias) exclusively for the members of the clubs(coods) which were about 370 in number with a membership of 40,000, in 1947. He had an employment bureau through which he secured jobs in the Persian Gulf as clerks, stenographers, technicians, drivers and domestic servants and so on by 1950 for about 400 members. RAKNO, 17 March, 1950, p.5.

158 A large number of the Catholics had joined the Sodality of Immaculate Conception at Fort Chapel at Bombay in 1900. M. M., Vol.I, 1897-1900 p.277.

The members of Kanara Catholic Club celebrated St. Ann's Feast and printed religious cards in the Church of St. Ignatius in Mandvi in 1927. At Nagpur too they had similar religious activities such as celebrating community Masses. K.D., 2 September, 1927, p.156.

Catholics of South Canara at Khar Parish at Santacruz, near Jawahar Nagar collected funds to construct a Chapel for them. The profit from selling certain newspapers was reserved for this purpose. RAKNO, 4 March, 1964, p.5.

When the Cross of Bishop's House in Mangalore was denigrated, the migrants held a special veneration of the Cross in St. Theresa's Church, Girgaum in Bombay in 1958. RAKNO, 18 June, 1958, p. 5.

A Church sponsored Association named 'Union Ethena' had organized a workshop on 'Family Planning' in Gloria Church, Byculla in 1967. It was the time when Government of India was
clubs honoured the religious leaders by felicitating them whenever they passed through the city. Various clubs invited the clergy to give them retreats. 159 Such invited clergy often collected funds among them. The clergy approached them for monetary help to establish various institutions in the district. The role of the migrant Catholics in various religious and Church activities in Bombay attracted the praise of the Cardinals who visited the district at various times. 160 In Chikmagalore region their charity contributed to the Church infrastructure in a big way. The Church played the role of moral police and thwarted mainly the migration of the poorer sections and women. In Madras, Bangalore and Chikmagalore regions, where the number of migrants was comparatively a little higher same patterns have been observed. In the post independent period in West Asian region and Africa the migrants followed same practices. For the support the clergy honoured them with positions and titles like ‘Pro ecclesia et Pontifice’, ‘Benemerant’ and a few elite section the 'Knight of St. Gregory' (K.S.G). 161 Thus the Church played an important role among the migrants either by involving them in religious activities or guiding them through religious and moral prescriptions.

emphasising family planning which the Church was not in favour of. The participants and the resource persons have been the Catholics of the district. Kutumb Nyojan (Family Planning): RAKNO, 13 September, 1967, p.9.

159 In 1925, Salvadore D’Souza a Catholic priest from Karkal, gave retreats in St. Ignatius Church, Jacob Circle, Bombay in Konkani. Thereafter he went to Holy Cross Church, Parel, on the popular demand. It indicated the areas where there was the concentration of Catholic migrants in Bombay, though they were spread all over. K.D., May 22, 1925, p. 127. Antony D’Souza, priest of Siddakatte went to Bombay to give retreat at St. Joseph’s Club, Mazgaon in 1962. Bomboi Klubbbanth Retir (Retreat in Bombay Club): RAKNO, 28 February, 1962 p. 8.

160 Kardinalacha Bashananthlyo Songthi (Aspects from the speech of the Cardinal): RAKNO, February,17, 1954 p.4


161 F.X. D’Souza after retirement became the President of the All- India Catholic League in 1933. K. D., 16 September, 1933, eng. supp. pp.ii-iii.


Sylvestre J.F. Saldanha attended International Eucharistic Congress held at Manila in 1937. He was the only lay member from Catholic India to attend it. Bombay: K.D., 2 April, 1937, eng. supp. p.iv.

Joachim Alva was the member of the Joint Committee of the Catholic Union of India and All India Conference of Indian Christians and presided over the Allahabad Conference of Indian Christians. Allahabad Christian Conference: RAKNO, 25 April, 1947, p.1.


Through it, Church extended its influence among the migrant 'sheep'. However, certain factors were beyond its control like the migration of female domestic servants.

In 1960s the migration to Bombay and the West Asian countries increased. It was the time of distress in the district. The increase in migration was visible in the fallow fertile fields of the Catholics in some parts of the district. During the period new associations were coming up in Bombay. Though the migration to the West Asian countries began in 1940s, it gained momentum from 1960s onwards. In 1970s it reached its peak and continued thereafter. A large number of migrants from Bombay now were leaving to the West Asian countries. It was indicative in the increasing number of defaulters in paying the club membership in Bombay. A rush to the West Asian countries led to the emergence of recruitment agents in the town of Mangalore. Some such agents involved in fraudulent activities and cheated innocent people. It led to the Government of India passing certain rules and regulations to restrict such activities.

The large number of migrants in 1970s led to the same developments

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162 Bishop Gracias had established an office to look into the spiritual needs of Catholics who were working in ships at Mole station, Ballard Pier, Bombay. Many Catholics were working in steamers and on board ships. Apostleship of the Sea: RAKNO, 25 July, 1947, p.1.

163 Fr. Alex Noronha was assigned with St. Christopher Association of taxi drivers in Bombay in 1951. RAKNO, 20 July, 1951, p.6.

164 Migration of Catholics of South Canara had increased to Bombay and other places by 1965. Thodya Samasya Vishyaanth (About some problems): V.L. Kumar. RAKNO, 24 November, 1965, p.5.

165 St. John Catholic Association of Pangla, Bombay gave a notice to its members to pay their membership fees at least once in three months. Those who did not oblige were warned that their membership would be annulled. RAKNO, 18 June, 1969, p.4.

166 The rush to West Asian countries was pictured in a folk song titled “Visa” of Wilfy Rebimbus. Wilfy Rebimbus, Kogul Gaytha, op.cit., pp.20-21.

167 A man from Mangalore was arrested on such charges in 1973. Such agents were said to have been plenty in Bombay. Dubai Vethai Hazard Di (Want to go to Dubai-Give thousand): RAKNO, 15 July, 1973, p.11.

168 Eight people were cheated by an agent from Mangalore in Bombay. Each person had paid Rs. 5 to 8 thousands. In Moodabidri and Mangalore too there were such agents. Galafak Vecha Sheliyank Darn Kavnche Bolpe Sadyath (The wolves that predate on the Gulf going lambs, have increased): RAKNO, 25 January, 1979, p.1.

169 The Government of India passed special rules and new regulations to the agents in order to safeguard the interests of the migrants who were seeking jobs in West Asian countries in 1978. Kama Sodun Videshak Vethelyancha Gamanak (For the attention of people seeking jobs abroad): RAKNO, 16 March, 1978, p.1.
which earlier migrants in Bombay were involved in. They were actively involved in religious and cultural activity. They enacted dramas, invited migrant Catholic singers from Bombay and the district and raised funds. They contributed immensely to the Church and promotion of Konkani literature, folk music and so on. During the period the clergy requested the migrants to bring cassettes, tape recorders and so on to support Evangelization in the Diocese.\textsuperscript{169} Often they sponsored music.\textsuperscript{170} Popular books of the Konkani publishers were sold in Persian gulf and the migrants in these fields became agents of these publishers.\textsuperscript{171} Among the migrants some Konkani writer too emerged\textsuperscript{172}

It is they who began soliciting the catering firms, a master of ceremony in wedding and other functions. Pomp and show was adopted by them in every tiny celebration such as christening, first communion, birthdays, and so on. Migrants to the West Asian countries began building RCC houses with facilities such as dining tables, indoor toilets and such other amenities in the villages. These practices such as toilets, dining tables soon reached to other Catholic households. Apart from it they brought various articles such as taperecorders, fridges, watches, sunglasses and so on which were not known in the district hitherto. There was a craze for foreign articles which were considered to be of higher quality. Such a craze, the affluence, show of wealth of the migrants at times influenced others to seek migration to the West Asian countries. In 1978, according to one estimate about 15 thousand Catholics of South Canara were working in these countries at the peak of the 'Oil Boom'.\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{169}The Diocesan Director of Evangelization, Denis Castelino issued advertisements for this effect. \textit{Gulfanthiya Jesuca Siisank Bori Kabar!} (Good news for followers of Jesus Christ in Gulf?): \textit{RAKNO}, 30 August, 1979, p.1; \textit{RAKNO}, 20 September, 1979, p.1.
\textsuperscript{170} A stereo cassette of Wilfy Rebimbus was sold like a hot cake in West Asian countries in 1980. 1500 cassettes were reserved for them. Advertisement: \textit{RAKNO}, 26 June, 1980, p.10.
\textsuperscript{171} Salak Publication sold its books through their agents in West Asian countries. \textit{RAKNO}, 25 December, 1977, p.5.
\textsuperscript{172} S.J. Goveas wrote \textit{Bhyuranthlo Ghat}. It was published by Punov Prakashan in 1978. \textit{RAKNO}, 26 October, 1978, p. 9.
During the time the migration of educated Catholics began trickling down to the developed countries. Continuous migration of the Catholics to other parts of the country from the later part of the 19th century spread the community all over the country and outside. The migrants in these places especially the cities such as Bangalore, Madras, Bombay and so on availed of better educational facilities. They also sought better opportunities in the country and abroad. Among them one stream availed of higher positions in India itself. As result one observes in the post Independence era especially

174 They were Miss SMT Albuquerque, daughter of Col. JWF Albuquerque, Eric Gonsalves son of Lawrence Gonsalves and Falvian J. Fernandes son of Alebrt Fernandes were the three Catholics who passed IAS in 1950. The IAS service : RAKNO, 28 April, 1950, p.5. They were the Children of migrants to various places.


Arthur Roche was the Assistant Commissioner in Chikmagalur and Shimoga later transferred to Tumkur. RAKNO, 18 July, 1962, p.4.

Victor D'Souza was a Professor at Punjab University in 1965. Mornan (Death): RAKNO, 6 October, 1965, p.3.

Stanely Coelho IAS was the Collector of Baroda in 1966, who was awarded 'Padmashri.' Announcement: RAKNO, 11 May, 1966, p.8.

He was the Collector of Kutch district in India-Pakistan border who had stopped 300 Pakistanis trying to enter India, with the help of 200 policemen. Padmashree Stanley Coelho: RAKNO, 25 May, 1966, p.9.

Godfrey Saldanha was the Chief Operating Superintendent of the Southern Railway(Madras). An invitation: RAKNO, 14 May, 1969, p.3.

H.F. Pinto was the Chief Commercial Superintendent of Southern Railway during 1969. RAKNO, 20 August, 1969, p.11.

D.Norona was the Additional Judge of Mysore High Court in 1969. He was earlier the Deputy Director of State Vigilance. RAKNO, 24 December, 1969, p.23.

Gregory Mathias was the Chairman of the India Coffee Board during 1969. San Juvauanchi Medical College(St. John’s Medical college): RAKNO, 22 July, 1970, p.7.

Clifford Saldanha was the Senior Superintendent of Police who was awarded President’s Medal in 1970. He was the deputy Inspector General of intelligence in Railways during the period. Manglurgar Police adikarik Rastrapathiso Sanman (Presidential honour of Mangalorean Police officer): RAKNO, 25 February, 1970, p.11.

Reginald Rebello was the Chief Secretary of Mysore Government during 1971. Devadin Aveline Rebel Bap (Late Aveline Rebello): RAKNO, 16 May, 1971, p.4.


Eric Gonsalves became Ambassador in Japan in 1975. RAKNO, 5 October, 1975, p.4.

Professor V.L. D’Souza was the Professor of Economics in the Mysore University from 1925 to 1950. He became the V.C. of Mysore University in 1954. RAKNO, 16 November, 1975, p.1.

Alfred Vas was the Ambassador in Madagascar. RAKNO, 28 August, 1977, p.11.

Boniface Miranda was the Secretary of Indian High Commissioner in Malaysia who was killed in 1977. RAKNO, 11 December, 1977, p.11.


Francis Vas was appointed Assistant Collector of Poona city. RAKNO, 28 August, 1977, p.11.
from 1960s onwards a few Catholics occupying some of the higher positions in state and central government services at various places in the country. Another stream went to the developed countries of the West such as Canada, America and Great Britain as "secondary migrants". Thus, migration led to Catholics availing of better educational facilities in the places where they had migrated and helped them to enter new spheres of human endeavours.

Another small section of the Catholics who had availed of higher education in the district also migrated to the West. A small section of Catholics who were in Africa previously and a few from West Asian countries also migrated to the Western countries. Compared to the migration to Bombay and West Asian countries migration to the developed countries was less. Those who have migrated to the western countries were individual professionals who took their families later on. They became a part of the 'brain drain' migration which had reached a new height in 1970s.

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Cecil Noronha was the Managing Director of Iron Industry at Badravathi in 1977. Badravathi Lonkda Karkanyaso Novo Managing Director Shri Cecil Noronha (Mr. Cecil Noronha is the New Managing Director of Badravathi Iron Ore Ltd): RAKNO, 27 November, 1977, p.9.

Eric Gonsalves became the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, Francis Vaz the Secretary at Indian High Commission at Brazil, and P.J. Fernandes was Chief Adviser to UNDP. RAKNO, 19 June, 1978, p.10. Most of them were secondary migrants.

P.A. Nazareth was the Ambassador of India in Ghana. RAKNO, 3 May, 1979, p.10.

F.L. F. Alvares was the Special Secretary in Law Department in Karnataka state in 1979. RAKNO, 3 May, 1979, p.10.


Lindsay H. A. Rego I.F.S. was the Chief Conservator of Forests at Augrangbad circle. RAKNO, 17 July, 1980, p.2.

Fabian Fernandes was the Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University; Maxwell Pereira was Police Commissioner of Delhi in 1980. Firgajanchi Kobar (News from the Parishes): RAKNO, 4 December, 1980, p.10.

175"Secondary Migrants" were those whose parents or grandparents had earlier migrated to various cities with in the country, See N. Jayaram, op.cit., p. 29
176Family of Boniface Fernandes and Carmen was one such. In 1972 they were forced to leave Uganda and move to Canada during Idi Amin. Their son Ivan Fernandes became attorney and judge in Toronto, www. daijiworld.com. Nov. 16th 2005;
177The Catholics who have migrated to the developed economies in post-Independent period were mainly 'secondary migrants'. Dr. Gerald Aranha and his family who is an oncology specialist in Chicago is one such migrant who migrated in 1970. His father was working Bombay. He studied at Bangalore. He was featured in www. mangalorean.com. as a 'Mangalorean Star' in march 2005. Jim Pinto, who was an engineer and entrepreneur in USA, migrated to England in 1960. He did his early education in Bangalore. He was featured as a Mangalorean Star in www. mangalorean.com. Many such cases can be cited.
Since Western countries were developed economies and offered rights of citizenship to the immigrants, a section of them settled down there. Their remittances to the district seems to be very meagre except to their immediate families, to the Church and its educational institutions. The children of these migrants to the West availed of better and higher education which led to them occupying good positions in these countries. The large majority of the Catholics among them have completely taken to western ways of life and culturally their contact with the community have been minimum. Since the migrants in Western countries were few and were spread all over these countries sparsely except in London they had no organised Associations till 1980s.

In 1978 planning department of Karnataka State government prescribed a new industrial policy to bring development to the district, indicating previous backwardness. An airport, a port, a railway line to Bangalore and other communication facilities had brought signs of change in the district. Some people thought that development of the district would slowdown the migration of Catholics to far off lands. In contrast, the traffic between Bombay and Mangalore had increased mainly due to the migration to the city. As a result there was a request from the people to introduce steamer services to Bombay. The new push factors and failure in arresting the previous push factors allowed migration to continue unhindered.

During the period Catholics favoured the arrest of migration of their large number of youth. The leaders and intellectuals of the community emphasised that the amount of wealth stacked in banks in the district by the Catholic migrants could be used for entering commerce, business and self-employment with the kind of industriousness and the education they posses.

180 The traffic between Mangalore and Bombay had increased during the period. When the Transport Minister A.P. Sharma visited Mangalore the people requested him to introduce steamer service to Bombay due to the paucity of land transport system. Editorial: Jillyanth Nove Shikshan Samsthe (New educational institutions in the district): RAKNO, 19 June, 1980, p.2.
The RAKNO, the Diocesan newsletter, called the Catholics to engage in serious retrospection because their money was used by other communities for the welfare of others. The Catholics even did not get small jobs in banks in which they had stacked their money. Suggestions were made if Catholics enter business their youth will not remain unemployed at all. Call was given to get rid of unemployment with their own resources and stop migrating to far off lands. In 1980 various West Asian countries were also bringing stringent laws against the migrants which were viewed with fear by the prospective migrants of the community.

Thus, migration of about a century made a tiny community of Catholics enter various fields of endeavours. The migration to Bombay and later on to West Asian countries brought about changes in all facets of the Catholic community.

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182 Gulf Rastrancha Barathiyancher Kastanche Dees (Difficult days for the Indians in Middle East countries): RAKNO, February, 14, 1980 p.8

The authorities in Kuwait had besieged a Cinema Hall frequented by the Indian and Pakistani migrants to check the passports and other records. There were about 80,000 Indians in Kuwait in 1980. Kuvait Thavnyi Gavak Davndaithath.(They chase from Kuwait too): RAKNO, 6 March, 1980, p.10.

Ministers in Saudi Arabia were claiming that non-Muslims were becoming a nuisance to the Islamic country, in 1980. Muslim Nahin Aisyank Saudichin Daran Bondh: (Doors closed for the non-Muslims to Saudi Arabia): RAKNO, 22 May, 1980, p.10.